# Fire and Sword in Shansi

The Story of the Martyrdom of Foreigners and Chinese Christians

By

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With Introductory Note by

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# INTRODUCTORY NOTE

### BY DR. ALEXANDER MACLAREN, MANCHESTER

THE story of Christian heroism told in the following pages finds a worthy narrator in Dr. Edwards, whose self-repression may make a word of introduction from me suitable. Dr. Edwards has been a medical missionary in China for twenty years, eighteen of which were spent in Shansi, in which province he has carried on, in conjunction with his relatives, Mr. and Mrs. Pigott. a Mission the cost of which was largely borne by themselves. It is only the "accident" of his having been on furlough at the time of the massacres that saved him from sharing the fate of the other members of that Mission; and he is now on the eve of returning, with his wife, to the city in which he and they laboured, and they died, for Christ. He has therefore given guarantees of his disinterested zeal, which may well ensure him an audience for his narrative.

Dr. Edwards returned to China immediately on the news of the massacres reaching England, and waited for some months for an opportunity to reenter Shansi, during which time he was able to

open communications with the scattered survivors among the Chinese Christians, and came into possession of many of the blood-stained letters and diaries which he has used in this book. For part of that time he acted as interpreter to the German forces, and at the close of it was one of the first party of missionaries to return to the scene of his labours, hallowed now by the blood He was there *alone* for several months, of saints. till reinforcements arrived. He had therefore unequalled opportunities of gathering facts, and his narrative includes many hitherto unpublished particulars, obtained and verified on the spot. The terror and the greatness of the facts are enhanced by the quiet simplicity of the way of telling them.

And the facts are such as the whole Christian Church should be thankful for, even more than sorrowful. "The noble army of martyrs praise Thee," and it is for martyrdom that their praise swells highest and most joyful. The last recruits of that army, "these from the land of Sinim," have long since joined their new notes with the others; and we do not well if we only lament the loss of valuable lives, or question the prudence of the sacrifice. Now that time has somewhat healed wounds, we should feel, even while we mourn, that

> "Nothing is here for tears, nothing to wail, . . . nothing but fair and good, And what may quiet us in a death so noble."

The page which these martyrdoms has added to

the Book of Martyrs is of a piece with all the preceding pages,-the same Christ-sustained heroism displayed by tender women, mothers, maidens, and children; the same meek forgiveness, the same unalterable constancy. Stephen need not be ashamed of his last successors. Nor were the Chinese converts a whit behind in their devotion. The cynical belittlers of Missions, both of the missionaries and the "rice Christians," as they call the converts, would be silenced, if they have any fairness or sense of shame, by the unshrinking fidelity of these dimly-seeing but deeply-loving Chinese Christians. They could not argue for Him, but they could and did die for Him. The man is not to be envied who can read, without a lump in his throat, the story told on pages 185-6 of the massacre of a whole family, husband and wife, with his mother and sister, who joined in singing a hymn, "He leadeth me," while they were being carted to their deaths, and were slain one by onefirst the man, then his mother, next his sister, and, last of all, the young wife. There is a story of a mother looking on at the martyrdom of her sons in the Maccabean times which is immortal. and that Chinese household's fate and constancy is a worthy companion to it.

The Church at home has not sufficiently realised the sad, glorious story told in the succeeding pages, and some of us have wondered and sorrowed that so little impression has been produced by it. It is no good sign of the state of the Churches; and this volume, it is hoped, will do something to bring the facts home to Christian hearts. These English men and women, these Chinese converts, gladly died for their Lord. Surely their example will point the sharp arrow of questioning to some of us, whether we really believe that a Christian life is a daily dying, and that, whether martyrs or not, we are scarcely Christians, unless we continually yield life, self, and all to Jesus Christ.



# PREFACE

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O<sup>F</sup> the Boxer movement in general little remains to be said after the exhaustive work on the subject, *China in Convulsion*, by Dr. Arthur H. Smith; but his account necessarily contains only the earliest reports concerning the massacre in Shansi.

Mr. Marshall Broomhall's *Martyred Mission*aries and Last Letters relate chiefly to the sufferings of the missionaries of the China Inland Mission.

The following narrative is intended mainly to be a memorial of those who were connected with the late Shou Yang Mission. Several partial accounts of their martyrdom have already been published; but careful inquiries having been made during a four months' residence at T'ai Yüan Fu, it is now possible to give, what I believe to be, the true version of their sufferings. The fact that many of the places of martyrdom are

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# Preface

familiar to me, and that most of the martyrs were my personal friends, may be regarded as a further qualification for this sad task.

The spread of Boxerism throughout the entire province is traced from the advent of the Governor Yü Hsien in April to the latest massacre in September.

The history of subsequent events in Shansi is brought up to date, special reference being made to the circumstances which led to the return of the Protestant missionaries to the province on the invitation of the then Governor Ts'en Ch'un Hsüan; the establishment of the College of Western Learning; and the settlement of the Indemnity question.

In Chapter V. will be found, in addition to memorial sketches of all those connected with the Shou Yang Mission, a striking address delivered by the late Rev. Geo. B. Farthing shortly before his martyrdom, and which may be regarded as his last message; together with several letters and diaries hitherto unpublished in England.

Most of the illustrations are from photographs taken on my return to Shansi in 1901, and form

# Preface

a pictorial record of the memorial services for the martyrs.

The result of my work is offered as a loving tribute to the memory of all the martyrs of Shansi, and an effort to rouse interest in Mission work throughout China.

To the editors of *China's Millions* and *All Nations* I am indebted for blocks of maps, and of photographs of some of the martyrs; and to Miss Jessie H. Denholm Young for kind help in the revision of proofs.

E. H. EDWARDS.

EDINBURGH,

# THE MARTYRS OF SHANSI

"The noble army of Martyrs praise Thee"

THE (LATE) SHOU YANG MISSION

Mr. Thomas Wellesley Pigo	Ľt,
B.A. Dub.	
Mrs. E. Jessie Pigott.	
William Wellesley Pigott.	
Mr. George W. Stokes.	
Mrs. Stokes.	
Mr. James Simpson.	

Mrs. Simpson. Miss Edith Anna Coombs. Dr. Arnold E. Lovitt. Mrs. Lovitt. John Lovitt. Miss Emily Duval. Mr. John Robinson, B.A. Lond.

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### The Martyrs of Shansi

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Miss Mildred Clarke. Miss F. Edith Nathan. Miss Mary R. Nathan. Miss Mary E. Huston. Miss Margaret E. Smith. Mr. John Young. Mrs. Young. Mr. David Barratt. Mrs. Glover. Faith Glover. Mr. Alfred Woodroofe. Miss Eliza M. Heaysman. Miss Emma G. Hurn. Miss Elizabeth Burton. Miss Annie Eldred. Miss S. Annie King. Mr. Peter A. Ogren. Mary Lutley. Edith Lutley. **Jessie Saunders.** Isabel Saunders. Mr. Nathaniel Carleson. Miss Mina Hedlund. Mr. Sven A. Persson. Mrs. Persson. Mr. Gustaf E. Karlberg. Mr. Oscar A. Larsson. Miss Anna Johannsen. Miss Jennie Lundell. Miss Justina Engvall. Mr. Ernest Petterson.

### The Martyrs of Shansi

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Mrs. Helleberg.	Mr. Wahlstedt.

#### THE CHRISTIAN AND MISSIONARY ALLIANCE

Mr. Emil Olssen. Mrs. Olssen. Three children. Mr. Noren. Two children. Mr. Bingmark. Mrs. Bingmark. Two children. Mr. Blomberg. Mrs. Blomberg. One child. Miss E. Erickson. Mr. E. Anderson. Mrs. Anderson.

,

Three children. Mr. O. Forsberg. Mrs. Forsberg. One child. Mr. C. L. Lundberg. Mrs. Lundberg. Two children. Mr. M. Nystrom. Mrs. Nystrom. One child. Miss A. Gustafson. Miss C. Hall. Mr. A. E. Palm. Miss K. Orn (unconnected).

#### THE SCANDINAVIAN ALLIANCE MONGOLIAN MISSION

Mr. D. Sternberg.	Miss Clara Anderson.
Miss H. Lund.	Miss Hilda Anderson.
Mr. S. Suber.	

#### "God shall wipe away every tear from their eyes "

"The work was done, the shadow on the dial showed the hour, and the workman was called away to his rest."

GEO. B. FARTHING, Martyred at T'ai Yüan Fu, 9th July 1900.

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# INTRODUCTION

**D**<sup>URING</sup> the summer of 1900, while the eyes of the civilised world were turned towards Peking anxiously awaiting news of the beleaguered Legations, far away in the province of Shansi helpless men, women, and children-European and American-were being done to death. The siege of the Legations lasted from 20th June to 14th August; and as during that time they were almost completely cut off from communication with the outside world, their probable fate was the allabsorbing topic. The reports that the besieged had been massacred were believed; biographical notices of the more prominent among them were written, and memorial services arranged for. The joy with which the news of the relief was received was commensurate with the previous suspense, and the excitement was so great that contemporaneous events in other parts of China were almost overlooked except by those immediately interested.

Even now there are but few who realise that in the one province of Shansi alone one hundred and

fifty-nine foreigners were massacred—the majority of them at the time the Legations were besieged, but quite a number even after the Allies had taken possession of Peking. The one man responsible for those atrocities was the Manchu Governor Yü Hsien. When he was appointed to that post his character was well known to the Ambassadors; but they, having "protested" because of his anti-foreign proclivities, evidently considered that all had been done that was necessary to protect the missionaries in that province from the rage of the man who has not been inaptly described as the "Chinese Nero."

After the cessation of hostilities the new English Ambassador did not think it advisable that there should be a judicial inquiry into the massacre of some one hundred British subjects! "The missionary societies have placed their offering upon the altar, and it has been accepted. Let them renew their offering," he said. Such might have been—and were—the views expressed by representatives of some missionary societies; but was it not the duty of the Minister of a Power whose subjects had been massacred in defiance of treaties made, to insist that inquiry should be held and the really guilty punished? True—some officials had by Imperial decree been sentenced to different degrees of punishment, but no proof whatever was forthcoming that such sentences had been carried out.

Even with regard to Yü Hsien himself, it is not certain that he was executed-at least half a dozen stories having been already published as to the manner of his death. Another official whose hands were red with the blood of many Chinese Christians, and who was responsible for the death of seven foreigners, was sentenced to perpetual banishment by an Imperial decree of February 1901; but when the officials of T'ai Yüan Fu applied to the Court at Hsi An Fu for confirmation before carrying it out, they were told they need take no notice of such decree, as it was only meant for Peking! That banished (!) official was still in office in September 1901, and in November of the same year, though he had been removed from office, the sentence had not been carried out.

That it has long been the practice of the Chinese Government to reinstate in office Mandarins degraded for encouraging anti-foreign riots, or for their responsibility in the case of the massacre of foreigners, is well known; and a melancholy interest now attaches to the following letter written by the late Mr. T. W. Pigott as far back as 1895:—

"The cause ot riots and murders, including heartless massacres, in China is so serious and

threatening, so full of future danger, and withal so plainly revealed in the judgment of a large number of competent judges, that the time is now more than ripe for laying the facts before the public.

" Let us review them briefly.

"The first which occurred after the years of security following the burning of the Summer Palace was the Yang Chou riot in 1868, where the Rev. J. H. Taylor and colleagues barely escaped with their lives. This was quickly followed by the murder of the Rev. James Williamson of the London Mission, in 1869. Though there was no failure of evidence as to who the real rioters and murderers were, yet none suffered. No strong hand of English justice appeared to avenge an Englishman's blood, and the astonished Chinese learned how cheaply foreign lives might be tampered with, and how easy it was to check the foreigner and to terrorise by deeds of violence, and yet secure retreat under cover of endless verbiage and profuse professions of friendly zeal

"No long time sufficed to develop patriotic Chinamen capable of bringing their new discovery into efficient practice. In 1870 we have the massacre of Tientsin, where twenty Europeans, thirteen of whom were defenceless ladies, were butchered through the collusion of the Taot'ai,

Prefect, and county magistrate, Iustice and expediency alike demanded stern and speedy punishment of the guilty parties, as well as all possible amends on the part of the Chinese Government; but neither was effected. Instead. the chief official offender was appointed Commissioner to France as the bearer of a formal apology. The other two members of the local trio were sentenced to banishment to the province of Manchuria I-the Emperor's native home, and a pet province of the Empire. But even this genteel sentence was never carried out, and no restriction was put on them. For the twenty Europeans killed, twenty poor men were sentenced to be executed. How far these had any part in the riot it would be hard to sav. The Russian Minister refused to allow the execution of four of them as satisfaction for the four Russians killed, not satisfied of their guilt. Dr. Williamson records that-

"'The Government paid large monetary compensation to the families of the men who were executed, permitted them to be feasted during the preceding night, afterwards decapitated in grand robes said to be a present from the Government, and buried with honours.'

" In 1873 we have the murder of Mr. Margary by Brigadier-General Li.

"Wells Williams says of this sad tragedy that-

"'The weight of evidence obtained at Yunnan Fu went to prove that the repulse of the British party was countenanced, if not planned, by the Governor-General, and carried into effect with the cognisance of Brigadier Li.'

" In 1884 Admiral Péng was appointed Imperial Commissioner to Canton to co-operate with the Viceroy against the French forces. Immediately upon his advent came reports that Christianity was to be suppressed. He issued a proclamation, in which he said that China would not hold herself responsible for the destruction of foreign-owned property by popular violence. This was at once followed by such an outbreak as destroyed eighteen Protestant stations and almost the entire number of Roman Catholic ones. The same official followed up this by a memorial to the Throne, in which he spoke of Mission chapels as Heavenly Lord's Devil Halls, and did not hesitate to recommend their destruction and the massacre of the missionaries. This official enjoyed high favour at Peking up to the day of his death.

"In 1886 there were riots in Kiangsi and Szechuan, evidence pointing suspiciously to the authorities as their authors.

"A German Consul who was sent to investigate the riots of Shantung during 1886 to 1890, discovered the instigator to be none other than a member of the Government.

"The serious riots and murders in Central China in 1891 were found to be carried on under the leadership of Chou Han, a man of Taot'ai rank. Copies of documents before me abundantly prove that the Governor of Hunan not only approved, but abetted his design. In a despatch to the Governor of Hupeh this Chou Han demanded the release of the man who had been caught by foreigners in the act of inciting the people to riot and murder at Hankow and Wuchang, and at their request arrested by the Wuchang authorities; threatening to appeal to the Throne if his demand was not complied with. *The man was liberated.* 

"A resident at Wuchang, writing of these times, says-

"' I never believed that the riots were an official movement till I saw how they were put down in our city: . . . We felt we were living on the mouth of a volcano, and many a sleepless night did I pass, waiting for those rioters whom we were warned on all hands to expect. But just as it seemed as if the outbreak could not be staved off another day, there came a great change. . . . The people looked pleasant and agreeable again, the very dogs seemed friendly. I learned that

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on the previous evening the Viceroy had summoned the Mandarins to his yâmen, and that they had been rushing about all the night in consequence.

"'Next I was told of a remarkable interview which the British Consul and the commander of the Archer had had with the Vicerov in the afternoon. They had told him plainly that the firing of a single missionary establishment would be the signal for instant retaliation on the part of the war vessels in the river. His Excellency, it is said, manifested great incredulity, and pointed out that such an unwarrantable proceeding would be quite contrary to international law. However, he was fortunately convinced that they were in earnest; so he called his subordinates, issued his instructions, and all was changed in a night. From that time not only has there been no more trouble threatened and no more talk of uncontrolled soldiers and people, but there is hardly a hostile rumour even to be heard. This was what convinced me that the whole movement was under official control all the time.'

"At Ichang the Brigadier-General and district magistrate superintended the riot in 1891 in person. The Shanghai *Daily News* said— Officials and soldiers escorted the Sisters. . . . As soon as the bank of the river was reached the Sisters were thrown in headlong over it by the very soldiers who aided in their protection (?) so far.'

"At Sungpu, where two Swedish missionaries were murdered in 1893, beyond all possibility of a doubt with official connivance, the magistrates exposed the bodies naked, and mutilated with nameless mutilations, on the street for four days. The murderers have never been punished; but, instead, servants and those who in any way befriended the victims have been tortured most unmercifully, some done to death, others driven insane, while others had to flee the country, forfeiting all their possessions.

"The same year in Manchuria Dr. Greig was barbarously assaulted by some of the bodyguard of Taot'ai General Yeh of Kirin, and tortured all but to death.

"The Szechuan riots of the summer were, according to the most trustworthy accounts, planned and carried out by the Viceroy and his officials, who, when entreated for protection, issued proclamations urging on the rioters. These very officials are now appointed on a Commission to investigate the cause of the riots. Naturally, the strange conduct of the British Minister in accepting such men as Commissioners has aroused the indignation of all foreign residents in China, who,



The massacre took place between the dragon-painted wall and the gateway beyond. (See page 72.) View of T'ai Yüan Fu from the Central Tower, showing the Governor's Yämen.

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as well by public meetings as by the local press, denounce the Commission as a dangerous farce. It seems incredible that our British representatives could be gulled by such fabricated explanations and excuses as the Chinese Government offer, in face of the conclusive and overwhelming evidence as to the real cause of the outrages.

"There has been of late years almost a constant succession of outrages, some more and some less serious, but each and all part of the same movement, having its origin and source in the Chinese Government. Twelve months ago Mr. Wylie was murdered in Manchuria by the same General's troops that committed the murderous outrage on Dr. Greig in 1891. A few weeks after that murder we find the following paragraph in the local press:—

"'The Kirin General whose bodyguard attacked Dr. Greig some time ago, and whose soldiers have given considerable trouble by attacking chapels and killing Mr. Wylie and lady missionaries, has been promoted to the very important post of Tartar General in the province of Fu Kien.'

"And now we have the harrowing details of the almost unparalleled tragedy of Ku Cheng in that province. Along with this news comes China's expression of horror at the revolting crime, and her ready excuse and explanation,

as usual thought out and prepared beforehand. But the veil is too thin. Shedding of blood is not a principle of vegetarianism in China any more than elsewhere. Does not my quotation from that local press furnish the clue to the real culprit? How vain to accept China's protestations of horror and verbose promises to bring the perpetrators of the shameless crime to justice, while we see her, publicly and barefacedly, countenance the last deed of blood by rewarding it with high promotion! Until guilt is brought home, not to poor simpletons of the people, who as likely as not have no part in it, but to the high officials and the central Government, who seem to be the true instigators, we shall, I fear, wear everlasting mourning for our murdered sons and daughters in China."

His words proved, unfortunately, only too true, and it appears as if this sad chapter was not yet completed; for, while we mourn his loss as well as that of many others, the news reaches us that two more missionaries have been murdered, and the guilty official so far unpunished.

At the same time we should like to place beside the foregoing the following extract from a letter written by Mr. Pigott in 1896, when the news of the Armenian massacres reached us in China:—

"I look back on 1879, when I first reached China, and am filled with thanksgiving and joy at the change God has wrought, and the more than hundredfold He has given for the labour and treasure expended in this province (Shansi). When I reached this province there was not one baptized Christian here, and only two recently opened stations. Now there are many hundreds of converts, many of them earnest, faithful men, and a large number of stations where thousands are brought under Christian influence. How shall we look on the investment of our lives and labour here, even from the near standpoint of one hundred years hence? I am, I can truly say, more grateful every day for the opportunity of serving Christ, and I believe this to be the only true and sober view of life's realities. The work pressed home now will make all the difference. With Armenia before us, we dare not count too much on future years. How suddenly the work was arrested there, and the door shut against much hoped-for labour."

By both precept and example he endeavoured to "press home the work," and, only the week before he had to flee from his station, baptized his last four converts. To the end he sought opportunities to preach to the people, and we may be sure that he never regretted the investment of

his life and labour. May his example be a stimulus to not a few who have both means and leisure, to devote themselves and all they have to the cause of God in China.

Since the above was written the important news has come to hand that, owing to the firm attitude assumed by the British Ambassador after the last massacre of missionaries, an Imperial decree was issued on 2nd November, pointing out that First Captain Liu (the military Mandarin at the city where the tragedy occurred), in refusing to shelter one of the missionaries, was doubly execrable, and ordering his summary execution; the Brigadier Yen, who made no attempt to stop the mob, is sentenced to prison to await decapitation; while other severe punishments are awarded "as a warning to all," among the culprits being a grandson of the Grand Councillor Wang Wen Shao.

As confirming what has been written on this subject, the North China Herald, in commenting on the issue of this edict, says: "It is not much credit to Sir Ernest Satow's predecessors at Peking, that, after a long series of massacres, it is only at this late date that such a decree has been forced from the Throne."







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# FIRE AND SWORD IN SHANSI

### CHAPTER I

### THE PROVINCE OF SHANSI—THE SCENE OF THE MASSACRE

L ONG before the eventful year 1900 the province of Shansi had attracted the attention of travellers, scientists, and capitalists by its abounding mineral wealth, first brought to the knowledge of the world by the explorations of Baron von Richthofen.

The name Shansi signifies "West of the Hills," the province being separated on the east from Chihli by high mountain ranges, while the Yellow River is the boundary which divides it from Shensi on the west and Honan on the south. On the north it is bounded by Mongolia. Its area is about equal to that of England and Wales, and the population is estimated to be 14,000,000.

The eastern and western portions are very mountainous, but between these are several rich, fertile plains. The largest of these is that of

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T'ai Yüan, at the northern end of which is the capital, T'ai Yüan Fu. This plain is 3000 feet above sea-level, and is some 2000 square miles in area. It is thickly populated, containing eleven cities besides the capital, and many hundreds of walled villages and market-towns. On the south the plain is bounded by the Ho Shan range, crossing which by the Ling Shih Pass we get a view of the large Ping Yang Fu plain. One of the mountain peaks west of this plain is pointed out as the "Ararat" of China, and is commonly called Ren Tsu Shan (Mountain of the Ancestors of Man); and the story is told that, when the whole race was destroyed by a flood, two persons saved their lives by jumping on the backs of two great lions, and were carried by them to the topmost ledge of the mountain, and thus saved from the general destruction. These two afterwards became the parents of the whole human race. On the top of the mountain is a very old temple, erected not to Ren Tsu, as commonly reported, but to Wen Tsu, the Ancestor of Literature. The most noted and best known of the mountains of this province is Wu Tai Shan (the Five Peaks), the sacred Buddhist retreat, situated about 80 miles north of T'ai Yüan Fu; and the presence of a living Buddha attracts thousands of Mongols from the north to adore him.

A large part of Shansi is covered by the peculiar loess formation, a brownish-coloured earth, extremely porous, and, when dug, easily powdered between the fingers. One of the most striking as well as important phenomena of this formation is the perpendicular splitting of its mass into sudden and multitudinous clefts that cut up the country in every direction, and render observation as well as travel often exceedingly difficult. The cliffs vary from cracks measured by inches to cafions half a mile wide and hundreds of feet deep. The loess exhibits, too, a terrace formation, rendering its surface not only habitable, but highly convenient for agricultural purposes.

The extreme ease with which loess is cut away tends at times to seriously embarrass traffic. Dust made by the cart wheels on a highway is taken up by strong winds during the dry season and blown over the surrounding lands. This action, continued for centuries, and assisted by occasional deluges of rain, which find a ready channel in the road bed, has hollowed the country routes into depressions of often 50 or 100 feet, where the passenger may ride for miles without obtaining a glimpse of the surrounding scenery.

The rivers of Shansi are all very small. The northern part of the province is drained by those ending at Tientsin, while the Fen River, about 300 miles long, drains the central section and then falls into the Yellow River.

Many wild animals are met with in the mountain recesses, such as the deer, leopard, and bear; but the wolf is the most numerous and dangerous, because, when hard pressed for food, it will venture out into the plain and carry off little children found playing near the villages. Not a few patients have been brought to the Mission hospitals suffering from severe wolf-bites; and quite a number of people are met with disfigured, as the result of such injuries.

The great roads from Peking to the south-west and west of the empire pass through the chief towns of this province. Wells Williams says that, "when new they equalled in engineering and construction anything of the kind ever built by the Romans." At the present time they are little more than time-worn tracks; in some places passing through rocky gorges and over difficult passes, and then creeping along a ledge of loess with a drop of several hundred feet on the outer In the rainy season many of the roads are side. impassable; and on the plains in the summer it is not at all an unusual thing for the main road to be turned into an irrigation ditch. Everything has to give way to agriculture; and the patient. uncomplaining carters will sometimes have to go miles round when their road is blocked by the local farmers.

The telegraph line which runs from Peking to the west and north-west, where it joins on to the Russian system, passes through this province, and telegraph offices for the transmission of messages have been opened at three towns—T'ai Yüan Fu, Ping Yao Hsien, and Hou Wa. A message between T'ai Yüan Fu and England generally took two days, and was charged for at the rate of \$2.60 (a little more than 5s.) per word. In the autumn of 1901 a post office was opened in T'ai Yüan Fu in connection with the Imperial Maritime Customs, and it was the intention to extend the service to several other towns in the province.

The climate of Shansi resembles to a great extent that of Eastern Canada. The winter is long and dry. About the middle of September frost at night may be expected, so that the farmers strain every nerve to get the crops in by In January the thermometer will that time. occasionally go below zero at night, but the bright sunshine during the short day helps considerably to tide one over the winter months. It is when the winds from the north blow that one realises what the cold is; and when this is accompanied by a dust storm, which sometimes lasts three days, one's misery is complete! Frequently little or no snow falls in the winter, and the consequence is that the crops sown in the autumn may entirely fail. Summer succeeds winter without any intervening spring; but it is comparatively short, and the thermometer in the shade seldom registers more than 100° F., though it occasionally goes up to 103° F.

The rainfall is very uncertain, as some years there may be superabundance, while at another time there may be a scarcity for several years in succession, causing either terrible famine, as in 1877-79, or great distress, as during the last three years. When the rain fails there is very little water available for irrigation, and of course in the mountainous regions that method of watering the
land would be out of the question. There are a few springs here and there, but most of the water for domestic purposes is obtained from wells, some of which are very deep. The Shansi people are experts in the art of well-digging, and if the supply of water needed is not great they will dig down 150 or even 200 feet without anything to support the walls. If the well has to be large, they excavate till they reach water, and then on a circular platform of willow planks build with bricks, what will be the bottom of the well, to the height of 10 or 12 feet. This brick structure is made firm by binding poles both inside and out. Relays of workmen then dig out the earth from under the wooden platform, which, with the superimposed brick structure, sinks as the mud is removed. When a sufficient depth has been reached the poles are removed, the earth filled in outside the bricks, to which layer after layer is added till the top is reached.

While the water supply is variable and uncertain, good fuel is fortunately in abundance, as the coal formation of Shansi is probably the largest in the world. Baron Richthofen estimates that the anthracite coal alone of Shansi amounts to 630,000,000,000 tons, and that the coal area of the province is greater than the area of the State of Pennsylvania.

The mines are but imperfectly worked, most of the shafts in the neighbourhood of T'ai Yüan Fu being horizontal.

Occasionally perpendicular shafts have been

METEOROLOGICAL NOTES AT T'AI YUAN FU, SHANSI, NORTH CHINA. Tat 33° cc' N

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The Province of Shansi

we are much indebted to Mr. F. Jacomb Hood for sending us the abstract of observations by Mr. E. H. Edwards, M.B., C.M., which we have arranged in the above table.—EDITOR, Symon's Monthly Meteorological Magazine, October 1899.

sunk, but these mines are now nearly all flooded. and await the introduction of foreign machinery before they can be worked again. A mining engineer, in reporting on the coalfield of Tseh Chou Fu, said, "Practically, all the coal is mined through shafts which vary from about 50 to a little over 300 feet. A partial probable explanation of this circumstance may be, that the inferior character of the coal above the outcrops of the bed causes the miners to sink shafts away from the outcrops. Or it may be that the outcropping edges of the coal have been mined away during past ages, so that the Chinese are now discouraged in attempts to find the coal by tunnelling." Notwithstanding the primitive methods of mining. the coal in the neighbourhood of the mines is very cheap: and in T'ai Yüan Fu it is delivered to the customer at the rate of 7s. per ton.

Iron, too, is found in abundance in more than one locality, and is extensively worked, the districts of Ping Ting Chou and Lu An Fu being chiefly noted for that mineral. Copper and sulphur are also found; and in the extreme south there is a remarkable deposit of salt in a shallow lake 18 miles long and 3 broad. The salt is evaporated in the sun under Government direction, and brings in a large revenue. It is said that salt has been obtained from that region for two thousand years.

The soil is productive, and easily worked; and in places where irrigation is possible two crops can be procured every year. The principal EN ROUTE FOR T'AI YÜAN FU.



 $\Lambda$  Road through the Loess.



Crossing a River in Flood.



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grains are: wheat, Indian corn, various kinds of millet, beans, barley, and oats. Rice can be grown in the neighbourhood of springs, but unfortunately that land is generally devoted to the cultivation of opium. A large variety of vegetables and fruits is grown, such as potatoes, cabbages, lettuces, onions, leeks, etc.; and peaches, apricots, pears, apples, dates, persimmons, and grapes—the last being the best and in the greatest variety.

If the roads are poor, the means of transport are equally primitive. For the carriage of heavy goods and farming operations rude springless carts are employed, drawn by as many as five or six animals. The passenger carts are smaller, but also springless; and the traveller employing that mode of conveyance had better be well provided with wadded quilts to act as "buffers," or he will be a sadder-howbeit wiser-man before a day's journey is completed. A more comfortable mode of travelling is by the "litter," an enlarged sedan chair carried by two mulesone behind and one in front. When good trained animals can be procured, together with a reliable muleteer, one can get over his 30 miles per day quite comfortably. For carrying ordinary luggage, not exceeding about 150 lb. in weight, mules are also employed, the strongest animals being able to carry at least 300 lb. and keep up their 30 miles a day for weeks together. The sedan chair carried by bearers is in Shansi reserved almost exclusively for the

highest officials. As to accommodation while travelling, at regular stages on the main road inns will be found. These differ greatly, but all follow one general plan. On entering the main gate is a courtvard for the accommodation of the mules and equipages; and at the upper end of this, or in a separate enclosure, are the rooms for the These rooms contain nothing but the guests. brick stove bed (k'ang), a table and a few chairs -plus any amount of dirt. In the summer hosts of vermin have to be encountered-and fought; and while in the winter they are somewhat quiescent, one has then to run the risk of being suffocated by the fumes of the fire in the brick stove bed, the chimney of which frequently opens into the room.

Shansi may be regarded as the cradle of the Chinese nation; for while the origin of the race is shrouded in obscurity, the first records represent it as a band of emigrants from the north-east which settled in the fertile plains of Shansi and Honan. Near the present city of Ping Yang Fu lived and ruled the famous emperors, Yao, Shuen, and Yü (B.C. 2356-2196); and 5 miles south of that city was a great memorial temple to these three great worthies, the remains of which could be traced some few years ago.

The present inhabitants were, till two years ago, regarded as the most peaceable and lawabiding people of the whole empire. Many of them are keen bankers and business people, one of the cities—Ping Yao on the T'ai Yüan plain. . . . . . . . . . .

being regarded as the banking centre of the whole of China; and Shansi men may be found as bankers and pawnshop-keepers in every province of the empire.

Unfortunately, the use of opium has spread rapidly throughout the province, and now has within its toils a large proportion both of the men and women. This is not the place to enter into a discussion of the subject, but a residence of twenty years among the people has but confirmed the opinion that this is one of the most serious questions which the Chinese Government has to face, affecting as it does the welfare of the whole nation.

The architecture of Shansi presents two notable Many of the villages consist of cave features. houses dug out of the peculiar loess formation, the front being built up with brick or stone, with door and window. Where the position is favourable-as on a sloping hillside-these houses rise in terrace after terrace with just a narrow pathway in front of each. Cool in summer, these residences are warm in winter; but the great drawback is that there is no possibility of ventilation. On the plains, the houses in many of the villages are flatroofed; while in others the houses of the well-todo are far better than any to be found in the Not a few of the rich people, previously towns. referred to as bankers and traders, have their family residences in the villages; and on the T'ai Yüan plain especially many of these houses present quite a castellated appearance with their

high towers. Even where such elaborate structures cannot be erected, the majority of the Shansi houses, with their solid brick walls and tiled roofs, are in great contrast to the much poorer dwellings of the neighbouring province of Chihli. As to why the people of Shansi are so much better housed, the story is, that many years ago a native of the province had risen to be a Minister at Court. One day when in attendance on the Emperor it rained very heavily, and the Minister began to weep. "What is the matter?" asked the Emperor. «T am thinking of my poor father and mother away in Shansi, who have no proper shelter in such The Emperor, struck with his weather as this." fidelity, at once gave him permission to erect for his parents a substantial dwelling; and ever since the people of Shansi have availed themselves of the licence granted to build for themselves superior houses to those in the adjoining provinces.

So far as known, the first Protestant missionaries to visit Shansi were Revs. Alexander Williamson and Jonathan Lees, who travelled extensively in North China during the years 1869–70; but the first to go to the province with a view to permanent settlement were Messrs. Turner and James. After a long overland journey from Nanking they arrived at the south-east border of Shansi in November 1876, and, passing through several cities of the Tseh Chou Fu district, reached Ping Yang Fu two weeks later. Having preached and sold books in seven walled cities and many other smaller places, they returned to Hankow in January 1877. A month later they set out on a second journey to the province, and passing through Ping Yang Fu reached the capital in April, and made it their headquarters for several months while visiting the cities and towns of the plain.

The terrible famine of 1877-79 had already begun to claim its victims, and Mr. James became so ill that Mr. Turner had to accompany him to the coast. News of the distress in Shansi had reached the Treaty ports; and, two days after Messrs. Turner and James had left T'ai Yüan Fu, Rev. Timothy Richard arrived with relief funds.

Early in 1878 Mr. Turner was on his way back to Shansi with further relief, and was accompanied by Rev. A. Whiting of an American Mission, and Rev. David Hill of the Wesleyan Mission, Hankow. Mr. Whiting was not permitted to do much work, for soon after arrival he was taken ill with typhus fever, and died on 25th April. That summer Messrs. Turner and David Hill visited the prefecture of Ping Yang Fu to distribute famine relief, and saved many lives.

The first ladies to visit the province were Mrs. Hudson Taylor, Miss Horne, and Miss Crickmay (now Mrs. Turner), who arrived in T'ai Yüan Fu on 23rd Oct. 1878. A few days later Mr. and Mrs. James, and subsequently Mr. and Mrs. Richard, arrived. The single ladies opened schools for the orphan girls who had been received after the famine.

In 1880 the first Medical Mission in Shansi was

opened by the late Dr. Harold Schofield; and about the same time the first members of the Oberlin Band of the American Board Mission entered the province, and, after studying the language, occupied the two stations of T'ai Ku Hsien and Fen Chou Fu. The China Inland Mission during the next few years opened several stations south of the T'ai Yüan plain, while the Baptist Mission extended its operations northwards.

In the district between the two arms of the Great Wall in the north, work was commenced in 1886, when Mr. Thomas King of the China Inland Mission opened a station at Ta T'ung Fu. At the time of the outbreak this station was occupied by Mr. and Mrs. Stewart M'Kie, Mr. and Mrs. I'Anson, and two single ladies. Within the same district the cities of So Ping Fu, Hun Yüan Hsien, and Ying Chou had been occupied by members of the Swedish Holiness Mission, Associates of the C.I.M., by whom much valuable itinerate work has been done.

In the extreme north the cities of Kwei Hwa Chéng and Pao Téo were occupied in 1886 by Messrs. Geo. W. Clarke and W. T. Beynon of the C.I.M., and during the following years much itinerate work was done and a few converts gathered. In 1893 a large band of new workers of the Christian Missionary Alliance went to that district, and the two C.I.M. stations were used by them as training homes until they could obtain some knowledge of the language and people. Later on these two stations were handed over to them, and

the whole area outside the northern arm of the Great Wall was allotted to that Mission.

Statistics can never convey an accurate impression of the results of Mission work, but it may be stated that, while in 1880 there were 12 missionaries (including the wives and single ladies) in the province and no baptized converts, in 1898 the number of missionaries was 151, many of whom had only been in China a few years, and the members of the different churches in good standing numbered 1513.

## CHAPTER II

#### THE SPREAD OF BOXERISM IN SHANSI

I T is now recognised by those foreigners who have taken the trouble to make inquiries, as well as by the Chinese authorities themselves, that if one man more than another was responsible for the troubles of 1900, that man was the Manchu Yü Hsien; and it will be instructive to trace a little of his history.

In 1898 two German missionaries were murdered in the province of Shantung, and at the request of the German Ambassador the then Governor, Li Ping Heng, was dismissed from office; and the edict in the Peking Gasette dismissing him contained the words "vung puh ti yung" (not to be mentioned for employment again). The same man not long after was put into a new and highly influential position, created for his sole use, where his power was almost In 1899 this Li Ping Heng recomunlimited. mended to the Throne, as one loyal and patriotic and to be implicitly trusted, Yü Hsien; and he was rapidly promoted from one post to another, until in March of that year he was made Governor





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# The Spread of Boxerism in Shansi 49

of Shantung. He only held that office for eight months, but during that time he gave a new lease of life to the Boxers, and left a track of ruin behind him. Hundreds of native Christian families were rendered homeless, many were killed; and the Boxers, unchecked, looted, burned, and killed with the tacit approval of the Governor. On 26th December Yü Hsien was removed under foreign pressure, and replaced by General Yüan Shih Kái; but, although supposed to be in disgrace for his failure to suppress the rioters, he was received with honour by the Court in Peking, and presented with a scroll written by the hand of the Empress Dowager herself—a mark of high favour.

On 31st December, immediately after Yü Hsien had resigned his office, and as a natural consequence of his course, the Rev. S. P. Brooks of the Anglican Mission was barbarously murdered by the Boxers.

Two of the most well-known missionaries in China—Dr. Arthur H. Smith and Dr. H. P. Porter —who had been in the centre of the trouble from the beginning, drew up a memorandum of charges against Yü Hsien to guard against the possibility of his reappointment, sending, on 22nd January 1900, one copy to the military Governor and another to the American Minister, Major Conger. It is so important, as clearly proving that the true character of the ex-Governor of Shantung was known even then, that it will be well to quote it in full.

### 50 Fire and Sword in Shansi

#### "MEMORANDUM OF CHARGES against H. E. YŪ HSIEN, late Governor of Shantung.

"That knowing the existence of the I Ho Ch'uan in this province on a large and threatening scale, a society wholly contrary to the Imperial laws, and in previous reigns severely punished. he took no steps to antagonise it: That, after a fight had taken place in October between the provincial troops and the Boxers. the said Governor was very angry that about a hundred of the latter had been killed, although told by the military officials that the encounter was unavoidable: That he then secured the degradation of the Prefect and of the Hsien of Ping Yuan, not for allowing this rebellion to go unchecked, but for trying at last to stop it: That he dismissed the military commander in charge at the time, and employed him no more for this reason: That he encouraged the Boxers by releasing the prisoners taken in that action, requiring no guarantee of good behaviour, to the immediate encouragement of the leaders, who had been ready to give up the cause after this fight: That he secretly promoted and fomented the rebellion by refusing to allow the troops to fight, repeatedly sending them into the field with these implicit orders: That his wellknown attitude was immediately influential in strengthening the rebellion, and was the direct cause of the murder of the late Mr. Brooks, as much as if the late Governor had despatched

# The Spread of Boxerism in Shansi 51

him with his own hand: That in a secret memorial to the Throne he advocated the employment of the I Ho Ch'uan as an agency for driving foreigners out of the province, thus giving an official sanction to the movement: That, for all the complicated storm of ruin in which so large a part of Shantung has been involved for so many months, Yū Hsien is directly responsible. We think that the Foreign Powers interested in the good government of this province ought to insist that he be degraded, and the edict should be published in the Peking Gasette with the phrase 'never to be mentioned for employment again,' and his conduct should be assigned. Also that the said Powers should see to the perpetual enforcement of this punishment, as only an adequate guarantee of peace in this province. (To demand the issuing of such a decree and then let it lapse into 'innocuous desuetude' would be much worse than not to demand it.)"1

The English Ambassador, Sir Claude Macdonald, also knew this man's character, for in his despatch to the Tsung Li Yamen on 17th January he says: "The whole of the present difficulty can be traced to the attitude of the late Governor of Shantung, who secretly encouraged the seditious society known as 'The Boxers.'"

Notwithstanding this, in two months' time that is, on 15th March—Yü Hsien the degraded was appointed Governor of Shansi. The Ambas-

<sup>1</sup> The Boxer Rising. Shanghai, Aug. 1901.

sadors "protested," but did nothing else to induce the Chinese authorities to cancel the appointment, and made no further effort to save the two hundred odd missionaries who were in that province from a man who had already shown himself so distinctly anti-foreign. Smarting under the rebuff received in Shantung, his bitterness towards foreigners was increased, and he took with him into Shansi Boxer experts, who were to train the people of that province in the Boxer arts.

Up to that time the inhabitants of Shansi had been noted for their docility, no serious disturbance of any kind having occurred during the more than twenty years of Protestant missionary work among them; and it needs some explanation to account for the people taking up the Boxer cause with the alacrity they did.

In the first place, it must be remembered that since the great famine of 1877-79 there had been an influx into Shansi of thousands of strangers from the province of Shantung, who had been driven from their own homes by floods, Being very poor, they were the first to feel etc. the pinch of hunger through the prolonged drought in their adopted province, and the consequent rise in the price of grain. Yü Hsien's Boxer leaders were Shantung men, and went first of all to their fellow-provincials, among whom they found many willing recruits. But the infection soon spread to the people of the province, for it was part of the Boxer propaganda to accuse the missionaries and Christians of being

the cause of the long-continued drought. Many of the people remembered the horrors of the terrible famine which had devastated their province twenty years before, and were willing to do anything to avert such another catastrophe.

Some of the more intelligent of the native Christians were of the opinion that the animus against them was increased because they would not contribute towards the local theatrical entertainments, which are always connected with idolatrous festivals, and frequently obscene. It can scarcely be conceived by foreigners (to whom these theatrical displays are senseless and absurd) what a hold they have upon the people, and what immense sums are spent upon them every year. In times of drought they are more frequently held, in the hopes that the extra attentions paid the gods will induce them to send the much needed rain.

The officials evidently thought that the refusal of the Christians to pay the theatrical dues was one of the reasons why they were disliked by their heathen neighbours; for, when the missionaries returned to the province in 1901, among the proposals submitted by the officials for the settlement of affairs was the following: "The crime of Shansi in killing so many Christians is certainly great, but was due to the fact that the people regard the theatricals as very important, and the Christians do not help to pay for them. It would be good to have no theatricals for a short time. The Christians should not be asked to contribute towards idolatrous rites, but if they wish to go to the theatre they should help to pay expenses." The officials further asked the missionaries to urge the Christians to pay such dues in order to prevent future troubles. To this request there was, of course, but one answer; and it was further explained to the officials that attendance at theatres was not only discountenanced by the Protestant Church in China, but that if any member was found to frequent them habitually he was disciplined.

The people implicitly believed the absurd stories assiduously spread among them by the Boxers, and not a few of them were in abject terror and carried away with a frenzy. The old fable of foreigners and Christians cutting out and scattering the figure of a man in paper, which in a few days came to life and then had the power of doing much harm, was revived, and gained credence. was further said that men (more especially beggars) were hired by the Christians to poison the village wells, and make a mark with some red substance on the doors of the houses-the inhabitants of the houses so marked being sure to get ill, and perhaps die. A scurrilous, anti - foreign pamphlet, which was widely circulated through the province, stated that foreign vessels seized at the coast had been found to contain large quantities of human blood, eyes, and the nipples of women's breasts!! If anyone into whose hands the pamphlet fell made one copy and gave it to a friend, he was promised immunity from all evil for himself; if he gave away ten copies, all his family would be

safe; but if he distributed one hundred, his whole village would be similarly benefited.

So great was the terror spread by these reports that numberless persons were killed who had no connection with Christianity whatever, for, in consequence of the long-existing drought, many people were wandering about picking up a precarious living; and not a few of them were accused of being in the pay of foreigners, and killed at sight. It was extremely dangerous even for respectable foot-travellers to go about singly, especially if they happened to stop at a village well to drink. Immediately they might be seized and their belongings searched, to see if they had anything in the shape of medicine with which they could poison the water. For months many of the village wells were guarded day and night; and even in T'ai Yüan Fu the well-to-do people for three months would not drink any water drawn from the city wells, or employ the usual water carriers, but made their own servants fetch a supply from special wells outside.

From this it will be clear that no more fertile soil could have been found for the transplanting of Boxerism than that chosen by Yü Hsien. Thus it was that the movement spread like wildfire in Shansi, and the quiet law-abiding people of the province were suddenly turned against everything foreign; for it must be remembered that the movement in its inception was first anti-foreign, and then anti-Christian because anti-foreign.

Yü Hsien arrived as Governor of Shansi on

19th April, and a week later Boxer placards were posted up and sold in different cities. Soon after, the Boxer leaders brought by the Governor from Shantung appeared in several towns in central Shansi and commenced gathering recruits and instructing them in the Boxer arts and drill. Bv the middle of May they were ready for work, and began operations by attacking the house of a Chinese Christian-Elder Szu-at the village of Fan, in the district of Hung Tung Hsien. Thev seriously wounded the elder, plundered his house, and carried away the silver and other valuables. offering to the bystanding crowd the things they did not want, and breaking the remainder in pieces. They then made their way to a neighbouring district, and for some days lived in a temple not 7 miles from the prefectural city of Ping Yang Fu, where several missionaries were residing.

Very soon after, other outrages were committed; and, as the local officials appeared to be in league with the Boxers, the missionaries at Ping Yang Fu determined to send a statement of the facts to the Rev. G. B. Farthing of the English Baptist Mission at T'ai Yüan Fu, and leave it to his discretion as to whether he should report it or not to the Taot'ai—the official then entrusted with the care of foreign affairs. An accurate and detailed statement was therefore written out and sent. Mr. Farthing, knowing the Governor's anti-foreign propensities, and not being sure of the Taot'ai's position, thought it best to lay the plain statement of facts before the latter without comment or

appeal; and this he did. The Taot'ai's reply was considered very satisfactory, as in it he—in conjunction with the Fant'ai (provincial Treasurer) and Nieht'ai (provincial Judge)—ordered that the offenders should be brought to justice at once and the Christians protected. The magistrate of Hung Tung Hsien had himself reported to the Governor the outbreaks which had occurred within his jurisdiction; and subsequently Mr. Farthing secured a copy of the Governor's reply, but this was not so unequivocal.

Postal communication between Shansi and the coast ceased at the end of May; most of the last letters received from the missionaries (other than those subsequently left with servants) being dated about 13th May. A Mission courier who took later letters was arrested by Boxers at Ting Chou, 50 miles south-west of Pao Ting Fu, who cut open his mail-bags, destroyed their contents, and would have killed him but for the intervention of some bystanders, who begged for his life on the plea that he was merely employed by foreigners.

Meantime matters were developing very rapidly in the neighbourhood of Peking and Tientsin which seriously affected Shansi. On 29th May the railway between Peking and Tientsin was torn up; and two days later Mr. Robinson of the S.P.G. was murdered, and, the day after, Mr. Norman of the same Mission. On 8th June at Tung Chou—some 13 miles east of Peking there was a massacre of Christians; and on the 11th the Chancellor of the Japanese Legation was murdered at one of the gates of Peking. On the 13th the Boxers entered that city, and two days later took possession of the native city of Tientsin. The Taku forts were taken by the fleets of the Allied Powers on the 17th; and on the 20th the German Minister at Peking was murdered, and the siege of the Legations commenced.

When tidings of these earlier events reached England great anxiety was felt for the safety of the missionaries in Shansi, and on the 12th of June a telegram was despatched to T'ai Yüan Fu saying, "We are anxious for your safety." A reply was received on the 22nd, dated the 20th, with just the two words, "Safe, hopeful." These hopes were soon to be rudely dispelled, for (as was ascertained just a year afterwards, when the city was visited by Protestant missionaries for the first time after the massacres) on the 25th of that month a proclamation --- evidently the substance of the Imperial decree of 21st June-was posted up at the telegraph office, the gist of which was that war had begun at Taku, the Boxers having destroyed two foreign warships. It stated that as a result the Emperor was extremely pleased, and further, "now even children were able to use the sword and protect the empire, and did not ask the Government for money or rations." It concluded by saying: "Foreign religions are reckless and oppressive; disrespectful to the gods and oppressive to the people. The righteous people will burn and kill. Your judgments from heaven are about to come. Turn from the heterodox

and revert to the true. Is it not benevolence to exhort you people of the Church? Therefore early reform. If you do your duty you are good people. If you do not repent there will be no opportunity for after-regret. For this purpose is this proclamation put forth. Let all comply with it."

The next day (26th June) an Imperial decree was posted up at the same place, which said: "At present the Boxers are collecting at Tientsin and all adjacent places, but, as they have no leaders, Tuan Wang and K'ang Ih have received orders to take that place; the Boxers are to be given two hundred piculs of rice, and on the 1st day of the sixth moon (27th June) are to receive one hundred thousand taels as a reward." This decree was evidently published throughout the whole province at the same time, for from evidence subsequently gathered it is known that trouble broke out simultaneously at nearly every Mission station, though in some cases the crisis was reached more rapidly than in others.

### THE MASSACRE OF T'AI YÜAN FU.

T'ai Yüan Fu being the seat of the Governorthe notorious Yü Hsien-the fury of the storm naturally broke over that city; and, though it was not actually the first place to suffer, it will be well to begin by describing the sad events which occurred there, and then follow the spread of the storm first to the south and then to the north of that city.

As the missionaries resident there on that date were all subsequently massacred, it will be as well to mention their names at once. In connection with the English Baptist Mission were Rev. G. B. Farthing, Mrs. Farthing, and three children; and Rev. F. S. and Mrs. Whitehouse. Miss Ellen M. Stewart was there as governess to Mrs. Farthing's children. Two visitors were staying with Mrs. Farthing at the time-Miss Ianet Stevens and Miss Mildred Clarke, both of the China Inland Rev. W. T. Beynon, the agent of the Mission. British and Foreign Bible Society, with his wife and three children, occupied a house not far from Mr. Farthing's; and Mr. Alexander Hoddle, an independent missionary, lived in the same compound but in a different courtyard. The premises of the Schofield Memorial Hospital were occupied by Dr. and Mrs. Lovitt, with their little son John; Mr. and Mrs. George Stokes; Mr. and Mrs. James Simpson: and Miss Edith A. Coombs, who had charge of the girls' school, occupied with her scholars one corner of the compound. Dr. and Mrs. William Millar Wilson of the China Inland Mission. with their little son Alexander, were there as visitors, Mrs. Wilson and her child having arrived about 9th June, while Dr. Wilson had only arrived on the 26th.

These were all located not far from the southeast corner of the city; while close to the north gate were the Roman Catholic premises—a very large compound, containing a cathedral capable of accommodating about one thousand people; a



Entrance to Hospital Compound, T'ai Yüan Fu, showing gateway (x) through which missionaries escaped, and scene of Miss COOMES' martyrdom.



Chapel on Hospital Compound, T'ai Yüan Fu, now in ruins.



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seminary for training native priests; a girls' orphanage, etc. The foreigners living there at the time were two bishops, seven Sisters of Mercy, with several priests and lay brothers.

27th June, according to the Chinese calendar, was the first day of the sixth moon, and the girls' school had that day been dismissed for the summer holidays, those scholars living in the city having returned to their homes, and only eleven remaining no home to go to. On the morning of that day things appeared as quiet as usual, and some thirty out-patients attended the dispensary, who were seen by Dr. Lovitt himself. A few in-patients, both male and female, were still in the hospital. In the afternoon Dr. Lovitt and another missionary, hearing of the decree which had been posted at the telegraph office the day before, went to see it for themselves; but as it had no official seal they determined to take no notice of it. About five o'clock Mrs. Wilson went with her little son Alexander in the mission cart to Mrs. Farthing's house, where she was to spend the evening; but Dr. Wilson did not accompany her on account of a temporary indisposition.

According to a previous arrangement, the carter on his return was to call at Mr. Beynon's house to bring Mrs. Beynon and her three children to the hospital compound to be company for Miss Coombs, who was the only foreigner living in the girls' schools. This he had done; and they had actually come within sight of the hospital when they saw the crowd collecting at the main entrance, and wisely turned back. This was about six o'clock. The first to create a disturbance were a few lads and boys, mostly Manchus; and the missionaries went to the main entrance to speak with them, hoping they would disperse, but were met by a shower of stones, and had to retire and report the condition of affairs to those who were anxiously awaiting their return. The crowd at the front gate rapidly grew, and with the increase of numbers their courage rose.

Stimulated by the cries of "Burn," "Kill," they first set fire to the waiting-room adjoining the street; and the missionaries, seeing that mischief was really intended, at once took steps to acquaint their friends with the danger of their position, and protect themselves as far as possible. A messenger was despatched to Mr. Farthing, who immediately went to seek an interview with the Taot'ai to ask his help, but failed to see that official.

Most of the Chinese helpers and servants with their families managed to escape under cover of the darkness by a back door; and then those remaining—including eleven scholars from the girls' school, with their Chinese pupil-teacher; one woman, servant to Mrs. Lovitt; a dispensary assistant, Liu P'ai Yüan, and two men servants, Liu Hao and Lao Chen—all assembled with the missionaries in Dr. Lovitt's courtyard, as being the one most easily defended. Meanwhile the rioters forced their way into the compound, and, while some pillaged the vacated buildings, others set fire to them; and it was said that not a few, in their eagerness for loot, perished in the flames.

At last the courtyard in which the missionaries had taken refuge was attacked, and they had to retreat into a few side-rooms used as kitchen, store-room, etc. Naturally the Chinese children were greatly frightened, and began to cry. The Chinese woman who bravely remained with them (and eventually escaped) related that Miss Coombs endeavoured to comfort her little scholars by telling them that the rioters would not harm them, as they only wished to kill the foreigners.

At length-it must have been nearly midnight -the missionaries found they must vacate their last hiding-place, as the neighbours, fearing for the safety of their own houses, began to pull down the small rooms in which they had taken refuge. After a consultation, they determined to try and force a passage through the crowd and make their way to Mr. Farthing's house, though they had had no reply from him, and did not know what might be happening to their friends. Arranging themselves in some order, they started on their perilous journey; the men, who were armed, protecting the women and children as best they could. Mrs. Simpson carried little Jacky Lovitt, as his mother was not in a condition to do so, and the old man Lao Chen bravely attempted to carry one of the bigger schoolgirls, who was very ill.

The first real difficulty they encountered was at

the front gate, where a large fire had been made by the mob, evidently with the intent of impeding the escape of the missionaries; while all along the street was a howling mob. Having run the gauntlet of the fire, they had to face the yelling crowd, who pelted them with brickbats, and tried to beat them with sticks; and they had to use their arms to protect the women and children. The din and confusion was very great, and the Chinese accompanying the missionaries evidently lost their heads, for when they arrived at Mr. Farthing's they found they had only the two young men, Liu P'ai Yüan and Liu Hao, and three schoolgirls with them; while all the others and Miss Coombs were missing.

Messengers were immediately despatched to ascertain the whereabouts of the missing ones, but it was not until the next day that the sad tidings were brought to them that Miss Coombs had lost her life in her attempt (which proved successful) to save the lives of two of her scholars. That same night the two girls were carried off by men in the crowd, and were not recovered until nearly a year later, when they gave a very clear account of their experiences on that terrible night. These two girls-Fu Jung and Ai T'ao-had not been in the school long, and were undergoing the painful process of having their bound feet loosened. In consequence they could not walk very well, and in the confusion were left behind. Miss Coombs had safely passed the gauntlet of the fire at the front gate, when she noticed that two of her protégées were missing, and, anxious for their safety, bravely went back for them. Finding Fu Jung, she carried her on to the street and then went back for Ai T'ao, who was a bigger, heavier child; and, while helping her along as best she could, they both stumbled and fell. This was a signal for the crowd to begin to pelt them with brickbats: and Miss Coombs covered little Ai T'ao with her body, whispering in her ear, "Don't be afraid; we shall soon be where there is no more pain or sorrow." But almost at the same time the child was snatched away, while Miss Coombs was drawn back and thrust into the burning débris. Not a few testify to the fact that twice she managed to extricate herself from the fire, but each time was thrust back. Once she knelt as if in prayer, and the crowd shouted, "See, she is pleading for her life. It is no good." Finally she was thrust back again, and more débris heaped upon her; and thus she was the first of that noble band to obtain the martyr's crown. The next day two friendly Chinese ventured to the spot and found her charred remains, which they buried in the Mission garden.

As regards the eleven schoolgirls, they all suffered more or less, but were eventually recovered; and an account of their experiences will be found on page 199.

The following letter, written by Dr. Lovitt the day after the burning of the hospital and death of Miss Coombs, is of peculiar interest, as it is one of the last communications received from any of
the T'ai Yüan Fu martyrs. It was handed over to the care of a servant, and did not reach me till June 1901, when I was in Peking. It was known that other letters were written by the missionaries, and entrusted to the care of one of Mr. Farthing's helpers for safe keeping. Fearing for his own life, he handed them over to a money shop which had done business for the Missions, and eventually they fell into the hands of the officials, who, evidently fearing they would contain incriminating evidence against themselves, unfortunately burned them. Their destruction is an irreparable loss, and one which we shall never cease to mourn :—

> "BAPTIST MISSION PREMISES (MR. FARTHING'S HOUSE), TAI YUAN FU, 28th June 1900, Thursday morning.

"DEAR FRIEND,—We don't know whom you may be, but we here thought it well to leave this letter in the hands of a trusty native to give to the first foreigner who might come along.

"Last night the Mission premises belonging to the Shou Yang Mission (until recently so called), but the property of Dr. Edwards, were completely burnt down by a lawless rabble, armed only with sticks and stones. They commenced their work about seven o'clock, and we held our ground in one of the courts until eleven o'clock, when we found it necessary to escape. We did so by rushing through the crowd and burning débris, defended by three revolvers and one rifle. "The following were on the fired premises :----

Dr. Wilson, C.I.M.

Mr. and Mrs. Stokes.

Mr. and Mrs. Simpson.

Miss Coombs.

Dr. and Mrs. Lovitt and child.

"We grieve to say Miss Coombs met with her death during her flight, being, as we afterwards heard, beaten down into the burning fragments when trying to rise up, after having stumbled first. She is now at rest.

"We the following—B.M.S., Mr. and Mrs. Whitehouse, newly arrived; Rev. G. B. and Mrs. Farthing and three children; Miss Stewart, governess to the Farthing children; Mrs. Wilson and child, C.I.M.; Misses Stevens and Clarke, together with the above-mentioned, who escaped last night—are now here.

"Notifications were sent to the officials (it is impossible to accurately state to whom, as we have missed the messengers).

"It is reported that the Chih Fu was not far off in his chair, and a few soldiers, who did nothing, except possibly to throw a few bricks at one and another in the mob. There was no real attempt at our protection.

"This morning we are all safe and well; friendly natives followed us along the main street last evening, but as we turned the corner from the main street to reach the back of Mr. Farthing's premises we requested that they should not follow us, and they stayed, leaving us alone. The mob did neither follow us nor come on later, and we have been unmolested until now.

"Mr. Farthing and Mr. Whitehouse left here about eight o'clock with a native helper (Mr. Liu), to attempt an interview with the officials. Meantime we are awaiting their return, and will wire the result later if there is an opportunity.

"Mr. and Mrs. Beynon and three children (B. and F. B. Society) are at a house not far distant from this. Mr. Hoddle is with them. Mr. and Mrs. Underwood, B.M.S., are still at Hsin Chou, and were proposing to return to this city this week, to arrive at their house on Saturday afternoon.

"We would like our dear home ones to know we are being marvellously sustained by the Lord. He is precious to each one of us. The children seem to have no fear. We cannot but hope for deliverance (hope dies hard), and our God is well able to do all things—even to save us from the most impossible surroundings when hope is gone. Our trust is in Him entirely and alone. We at the same time are seeking to do all that is in our power to do, and asking guidance at every step.

"Messrs. Farthing and Whitehouse have returned, with good report of promises to protect. We fear it is not to be trusted.

"There is not much time.' WE ARE READY. "ARNOLD E. LOVITT, M.R.C.S."

From 28th June to 7th July the missionaries who escaped from the hospital compound remained

at Mr. Farthing's house; while Mr. and Mrs. Whitehouse were in another, close to them. Mr. and Mrs. Beynon with their children and Mr. Hoddle were still in their own compound. All were carefully guarded by soldiers; and that these houses were not burnt was evidently due to the fact that their destruction would involve other buildings, whereas the hospital premises were in a vacant district of the city. During those days a few faithful Chinese servants remained with them, and other native Christians were allowed to visit them. The city gates and walls were all carefully guarded, so that there was no possibility of escape, even had they wished to make the attempt.

On 5th July they were visited by an official, who took the names of all the foreigners on Mr. Farthing's compound, and brought a message from the Governor saying that he could only promise them protection if they would go to another house where they would be more immediately under his eye. The missionaries suspected mischief, but said that if the Governor ordered them to go they must of course obey, though they had no wish to leave the house' in which they were then residing. Arrangements were quickly made, and it was decided they should make the move on Friday the 6th; but that day it rained so incessantly that the official who had the matter in hand asked the Governor that a delay might be made till the following day. The rain continued on the Saturday; but when the Governor

was appealed to for a further respite, he sent word that "even if it rained swords they must at once move to the new house." Mr. and Mrs. Beynon with their three children and Mr. Hoddle joined the party at Mr. Farthing's house in the afternoon : but though it was raining heavily, and there would be but few people on the streets, they determined to wait till night-time before going to the quarters prepared for them by the Governor. Meanwhile carts were procured and an escort of soldiers provided. It must have been nearly midnight when the sorrowful procession started in a deluge of rain, taking with them only a few absolutely necessary things, and accompanied by five faithful Chinese-Liu P'ai Yüan, Liu Hao, Wang Hsi Ho, Chang Ch'eng Sheng, and a lad of fifteen. Ch'ang Ang, who had fled from Shou Yang.

Arrived at the house chosen for them, they made themselves as comfortable as possible for and the next morning (Sunday the night: 8th July) were able to examine their surround-They found that for their whole number ings. (twenty-six, including children) there were only two comparatively small courts, the two inner courts being already occupied by the Roman Catholics-viz. two bishops, both of whom had been in China over thirty years; two priests; one lay brother; seven Sisters of Mercy, who only arrived in the spring of 1899; and five Chinese How the Roman Catholics spent attendants. that Sunday no one survived to relate; but from two of their attendants who miraculously escaped

we know that the Protestant missionaries spent the day as quietly as possible; several of them taking their turn to assist in the kitchen, Mrs. Simpson being particularly active.

When the fateful day (Monday 9th July) dawned, the foreigners evidently had no inkling as to what was to happen. After breakfast some of the men began to clean up the rooms and courtyards, while several of the ladies helped in the kitchen. Just before noon the Sub-Prefect (Hsien) called and took a list of all who were in the house, both foreigners and Chinese, saying it was by order of the Governor. Immediately after, the dispensary assistant, Liu P'ai Yüan, was sent out by Mr. Stokes with a few cash to be given to the woman who had taken charge of three of the schoolgirls; while Liu Hao, the bootmaker, was sent by Mr. Farthing for a bricklayer and whitewasher to make some repairs.

As was ascertained just a year later, when other Protestant missionaries returned to the province, the Governor had determined that on that day he would kill all the foreigners in T'ai He evidently only took a few of the Yüan Fu. officials into his confidence; and one at leastthe Taot'ai-strenuously opposed the course he was about to pursue, but unfortunately without It must have been about two o'clock in result the afternoon when he ordered a number of officers with their soldiers to accompany him, and, mounting his own horse, led the way. He made as though he would go out of the city by the north gate, but before reaching that point he suddenly wheeled round and went to the house where the missionaries were confined. He there ordered their immediate arrest; and they appear to have made no resistance—as indeed it would have been useless.

All who were found within the compound (Protestants and Roman Catholics) were seized; and it so happened that there were several Chinese there on business, including the mason whom Mr. Farthing had summoned only an hour or two before. But no excuse was listened to. and all were marched off to the Governor's yamen between files of soldiers, where they were taken into the courtyard adjoining the street and surrounded by soldiers --- not Boxers. As to what really occurred, the whole truth will probably never be known, but, from inquiries made on the spot, it seems certain that the Governor did not assault any with his own hand; but, having asked the missionaries where they came from, and being answered "From England," and "From France," just gave the order "Sha" (kill) to the soldiers, who answered with a shout, and immediately fell upon their defenceless victims, killing them indiscriminately.

So eager was the Governor to begin his bloody work, that he had not waited for the arrival of a party of missionaries who had only reached T'ai Yüan Fu the day before and been confined in the Sub-Prefect's yâmen. These were Mr. and Mrs. Pigott and their son William Wellesley;



THE VIA DOLOROSA, T'AI YÜAN FU, 9TH JULY 1900.

House in which the Missionaries were arrested.



Entrance to the Governor's Yâmen, the Scene of the Massacre.

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Miss Duval; Mr. John Robinson; and Ernestine and Mary Atwater—two little girls from the station of Fen Chou Fu who had gone to Shou Yang to have the advantage of the school which Mr. and Mrs. Pigott hoped to establish for foreign children. To give the history of their sufferings, we must go back a few days.

During the summer Mr. Pigott had been busy superintending the erection of a new and more commodious dwelling, and this was finished and occupied on 8th June.

On 11th June he wrote to Mr. Farthing at T'ai Yüan Fu, saying—

"Thanks for reassuring news as to rumours afloat just now. This place is full of them, the people being assured that we shall all very shortly be killed; that between the new Fut'ai and the Boxers we have no chance. It appears that on Thursday last a troop-about three hundred, they say-of Kansu soldiers passed through here from the east and spread the news. I am told that all the shopkeepers have received notice in the form of a 'circular' or tract, and that this states that wherever idols have been put away, there all will be killed. This has made things lively for the time, and I was twice threatened yesterday on my way from our outstation at An Chih. All this has begun since the new Fut'ai's appointment. My carter was stopped and beaten on the road near Shih Tieh because he was recognised as belonging to foreigners. This was shortly before the Fut'ai's arrival, but after his appointment; and the very day he passed we had stones thrown into one of the rooms. His dislike to foreigners may not have anything to do with this, but it is a curious coincidence that the Boxer propaganda should become so active immediately after he gets settled into office."

On the 23rd he wrote again—

"It seems to me that it is time some steps were taken by us in this province to communicate with the coast and the Consul along some route other than the ordinary one, and I write to suggest that you should consult with friends and send off such a courier. We here are very short of funds, as I believe several others are also, and I should be glad to share the expenses of such an effort. From what I can gather, there would be no difficulty in any man getting through if he had nothing about him to identify him with foreigners; and I should judge that if he had nothing but letters directed in native style he could both go and come and bring up bank drafts, which at present seem to be the chief need.

"Here we meet with no trouble, and have been quite quiet during the passage of the T'ai Yüan troops. They have all gone to Peking by forced marches, and one of our Christians who is employed in the yamen says that troops from four other provinces are shortly to pass here also. Now the people on the street have been trying to induce them as they pass to attack us. So I am told; and, as this might be serious in the case of other troops, I should be very much obliged if you would send in another 'Pingtieh' (petition) notifying the Taot'ai of the matter.

"The Fut'ai is on his way to the capital, and orders have come for his reception here on the 3rd. I hope it may prove that he is to be removed from here. Report goes that he desires to petition for leave to fight the foreigners. I hope things may be better for his absence, and that matters may be righted at Peking before he I hear he brought up Boxers in his returns. staff of followers, and have no doubt that the whole thing is part of a plan carried on by some of those in high places. If our European Governments see this and act promptly, I expect that the trick will be given up shortly; but if the plea of 'We can't help it-beyond our control' is allowed, things may drag on for some time to come. I trust you are all well, and being kept free of anxiety.

"The ocean has receded 9 li from the shore —no foreign troops can land. A great iron trident has erected itself in the sea. Boxers' food multiplies itself in their hands, so that they may never suffer from want. The foreign Legations in Peking are all destroyed. Such are some of the evil reports (yao yen).

"We are all well and in peace, thank God; but the terrible drought continues, and there is great distress, I fear.

"P.S.—I have just received word of a good proclamation against 'yao yen' posted by the

o yen' posted b

Pu Chen Szu—Fant'ai, I suppose. It reproves the Mandarins for not taking action. This is a good sign, I believe. It may be the answer to our petition."

And on the 27th he wrote to Mr. Stokes-

"We have just come out of our prayermeeting to find rain coming down nicely. The passage which Li Pai took was, 'I am poor and needy—make no tarrying, O my God.' The 'make no tarrying' was turned into prayer, and we rose to our feet to find rain nicely falling.

"A proclamation from the Fant'ai is also up, reproving the magistrates for not taking steps to check the evil reports. Last night also Lao An brought from T'ai Ku sufficient silver to pay my debts and leave something to go on upon. So our mercies have not come singly. Praise the Lord."

From these letters (which of course never reached those to whom they were addressed, and were recovered just a year after they were written) it will be seen that, while there was much to cause grave anxiety, nothing more serious was anticipated than that their communication with the coast might be cut off for some time, and that they would be short of funds. It was not until the morning of Friday 29th June that Mr. Pigott received a letter from Mr. Stokes telling him of the burning of the hospital and the death of Miss Coombs. Almost at the same time the local magistrate sent him word to say that, in consequence of instructions received from the

Governor, he could no longer protect him. Α consultation was immediately held with the trusted Chinese on the premises as to what was best to be done: and some Christians who were at that time staying on the Mission compound as patients, invited the missionaries to go to their village (Peh Liang Shan), which was situated in a sparsely populated hilly district, some 15 miles to the south. The invitation was at once, and thankfully, accepted. Preparations were made there and then; and taking three saddleponies for the ladies and children to ride, and two pack-donkeys to carry a few necessaries, they set off in the afternoon, and reached the village that same evening. They were accompanied by four Chinese-Li Pai, the shepherd; Miao, an innkeeper; and his son, Heh Kou, a lad of sixteen, all of whom were Christians; and their cook, Yao Chien Hsiang. The village to which they fled was one of the small cave villages so common among the loess hills of Shansi, and they were warmly welcomed by the Christian family into their small quarters. To avoid publicity as much as possible, the foreigners occupied two small cave rooms, which were only lighted by a little paper-covered window which was over the one door.

Saturday (30th June) was spent quietly, and on Sunday (1st July) the much and long-desired rain fell in torrents—the people of Shou Yang, whence the missionaries had fled, no doubt attributing it to the absence of the "foreign devils." But on the Monday (2nd July) the terrible news was brought to them that the Boxers had risen and were killing the Christians in the neighbouring villages. One after another the messengers came in bringing accounts of the atrocities of the Boxers, and it was decided that the best course would be for the missionaries to return to Shou Yang and place themselves in the hands of the magistrate, as if they remained where they were they would assuredly be killed.

Towards evening they set off on their sorrowful return journey across the hilly loess roads, now made slippery by the recent rains, accompanied by Miao the innkeeper, and his The difficult jourson, and Yao the cook. ney was accomplished uneventfully, until they reached the river flowing just south of the city, and which had become swollen. It was now quite dark. After some trouble the river was safely crossed, but not till all the travellers were more or less wet. Here the Chinese who had so bravely remained with the missionaries fled for their own lives, as they heard the voices of men apparently on the lookout for the From other sources, however, we foreigners. learned that Mr. and Mrs. Pigott and party managed to elude them in the dark, and went first to their own house in the east suburb, which they found sealed by the official. They then decided to go into the city to the magistrate's vamen. This they were able to do without being observed, and were at once taken in and accommodated in two very dirty rooms usually occupied by yamen "runners." The magistrate did not go to Mr. Pigott, but gave instructions that a church member named Li Lan Su, employed in the yamen, should be told off to wait upon the party.

They remained under the care of the official for three days, when he sent word to say that, in consequence of instructions received from the Governor, he could protect them no longer, but would send them under escort to the border of his jurisdiction in whatever direction they wished to go—north, south, east, or west. It was eventually decided that they should be sent to T'ai Yüan Fu; but whether this was Mr. Pigott's decision or not will probably never be known, as all the evidence subsequently gathered on the spot goes to prove that letters were written during the three days the party was in the yamen, but that they were afterwards destroyed by the official lest they should contain incriminating evidence.

When it was decided that the missionaries should go to T'ai Yüan Fu, the magistrate suggested through an intermediary that it would be well if Mr. Pigott and Mr. Robinson wore loose handcuffs on the journey, as the road they would have to pass was infested by bands of Boxers, who might try to kill them. If they wore the handcuffs, it could be represented to the Boxers by the escort that the foreigners were being sent as prisoners to the Governor, and therefore should not be molested. The magistrate did not appear to see that he was thus giving evidence of his incapability and weakness. At first Mr. Pigott objected to the plan, but, it is said, at last consented. Two large country carts were provided for their accommodation, and the little company left Shou Yang on Friday 6th July. Though only a two days' journey, they did not reach T'ai Yüan Fu till the afternoon of Sunday the 8th. Several times on the road they were stopped by Boxers, who wished to kill them at once; but the escort spoke "good words," showed the official passport, and were allowed to proceed.

Arrived at the capital, they were taken at once to the yamen of the Sub-Prefect (Hsien), and while waiting at the entrance were seen by the two young men, Liu P'ai Yüan and Liu Hao, who were serving Mr. Farthing and his party. Both these men testify that all the party were travelstained and looked very weary; and that Mr. Pigott and Mr. Robinson were wearing tight handcuffs, which could not be removed without being unlocked. Their testimony was subsequently confirmed by some of the soldiers who acted as the escort on the journey, and who were interviewed at Shou Yang. They first adhered to the old story that the handcuffs worn were loose. but afterwards modified their statement by saying that when they started the handcuffs given to Mr. Pigott and Mr. Robinson were loose; but when they arrived at the town of Yu Tzū the Boxers saw that they were loose, and insisted that they should be changed for smaller ones!

The two young men were at once recognised by Mr. and Mrs. Pigott, who, in response to a question as to whether anything could be done for them, said they only wished to have some melons These the young men procured for them, to eat. and then went off to inform Mr. Farthing, and take a message to him from Mr. Pigott asking if he could accommodate the Shou Yang party in his Mr. Farthing immediately sent word quarters. back to come, by all means; but when the messengers reached the vâmen Mr. and Mrs. Pigott and those with them had been summoned inside to see the Sub-Prefect. the two men with chains round their necks, as well as wearing the handcuffs, and they were not allowed to go in to see them. Mr. Pigott, addressing the magistrate, asked that they might be allowed to join their friends, but was told it could not be permitted. He then asked that all his party might be allowed to be together,-evidently fearing some mischief,-but this request was also refused; and Mr. Pigott and his son with Mr. Robinson were put in the men's prison; while Mrs. Pigott, Miss Duval, and the two little girls were put in the quarters provided for female prisoners.

They did not see each other again until the afternoon of the next day,—Monday 9th July, when they were summoned from their prison only to be escorted to the Governor's yâmen, where their friends had already been killed. In the outer courtyard they must have passed the bodies of the massacred missionaries as they were taken to

the inner hall where Yü Hsien was sitting at his judgment-seat. All were made to kneel before him; and in reply to a question as to what country they belonged, Mr. Pigott answered "England." The Governor replied with a derisive laugh, and uttered the one word "Beat." The two little girls fell on the neck of one of the ladies and began to cry bitterly; but the soldiers (not Boxers) immediately fell upon them, wounding all, and causing two of their number to fall unconscious to the ground. The final order to "Kill" was quickly given, and all seven were taken to the central courtyard, where they were at once massacred. The remains of all the martyrs-both foreigners and Chinese-were first stripped of their clothing and then dragged by beggars to a vacant plot of ground just inside the big south gate of the city. There they remained till the following day, when they were thrown outside the city on to the execution ground, where they were exposed to the ravages of wolves and dogs, and were soon undistinguishable from the remains of the many criminals who had been executed there.

Thus ended the most sorrowful chapter in the Mission history of T'ai Yüan Fu.

What would the next be?

## RIOTS AND MASSACRES SOUTH OF T'AI YÜAN FU

Travelling southward from T'ai Yüan Fu by the main road, the first Mission station we come to



Entrance to the Cave House in the Village of Peh Liang Shan where Mr and Mrs PIGOTT and Party took refuge.

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Courtyard of above House, showing the Entrance to the "two small Cave Rooms" (x) occupied by Mr and Mrs PIGOTT.

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is Ping Yao Hsien,—some 70 miles distant, which was in charge of Mr. Saunders of the China Inland Mission.

The Mission premises were attacked on the night of 26th June, and the missionaries escaped to the vâmen. The Mandarin said he could do nothing to protect them, and they then asked that they might be escorted to T'ai Yüan Fu. This he promised to do, and they started the next day. By noon of the 28th they were within 10 miles of that city, when they were met by a native Christian, who told them what had happened there the day previous; and Mr. Saunders at once decided to turn back and try to reach some place of safety in the south. After almost indescribable hardships he and his party reached Hankow, but two of the children and two single ladies who accompanied the party died on the wav.1

The day following the Ping Yao riot (27th June) there was an outbreak at the Mission station of Chieh Hsiu Hsien,—30 miles southwards,—where five ladies had gone in hopes of being out of danger. These were the Misses E. French, E. Johnson, E. Higgs, E. Gauntlett, and K. Rassmussen. When the crowds collected in the Mission compound about noon on that day, the ladies in hurried consultation decided to go to the yâmen. The magistrate received them very kindly, but assured them he had Imperial

<sup>1</sup> For a full account of this journey see Martyred Missionaries of the China Inland Mission, by Marshall Broomhall, B.A. orders not to protect foreigners any longer. He strongly advised that they should lose no time in fleeing southwards and getting to Hankow or some other place of safety. Two of the ladies were escorted back to the Mission premises to get together a few things necessary for the journey, and all remained in the yamen that night. The next morning, 28th June, they left under official escort—the son of the magistrate himself going with them part of the way—and arrived safely at P'ing Yang F:1, in the south of the province, after some exciting experiences, on Monday morning, 2nd July.

As has been already mentioned, P'ing Yang Fu -six days' journey south of T'ai Yüan Fu-was near the scene of the first Boxer outbreak in Shansi. The missionaries there resident were Mr. and Mrs. F. C. H. Drever, Miss Hoskyn, Miss A. A. Hoskyn, and Miss R. Palmer. Early in July they were joined by Mr. and Mrs. A. Lutley and two children; and now by the Misses E. Higgs, E. Gauntlett, K. Rassmussen, E. French, and E. Johnson from Chieh Hsiu-all of the China Though surrounded by Boxers, Inland Mission. the local officials managed to guard them for a time; but, when the news of the massacres farther north reached them, the Prefect insisted that they must leave for the coast, as he could protect them no longer. After many negotiations, a passport was promised them; but when it appeared, it turned out to be a convict's transport - order adapted to their case; and, knowing that protest was useless,

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they had to accept it. On 14th July four heavy, springless, country carts were provided for them; but they were not allowed to leave till after midnight, as it was said a mob was awaiting them outside the gate of the city. This was quite true, for the very next morning they were set upon by a band of a dozen or more armed men, who dragged them from their carts and threatened to kill them if they did not give up their silver. The missionaries could only stand aside and allow their boxes to be rifled—the escort (!) meanwhile looking on quite contentedly.

The port of Hankow was not reached until 28th August, after a terrible journey which occupied forty-five days. Cooped up in tightly covered carts under the scorching July and August sun. they were often scarcely able to breathe. IIIness attacked every member of the party at one time or another; and several times when they took their temperature they found that all but one ranged from 100° to 104°. Death, too, visited the little band, for, on 3rd August, Mary the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Lutley succumbed to an illness brought on by the hardships of the journey. On 20th August they were once more called upon to pass through deep waters, when the only remaining child, Edith, passed quietly away in Miss French's arms while travelling along in a wheelbarrow. Curious, noisy, unsympathetic crowds, which blocked the doors and windows of the small stuffy rooms in which they were placed, were some of the minor trials they had to endure. Frequently "in perils of robbers," they also had to endure the "squeezing" of the underlings of the various yâmens; and yet not one word of murmuring or regret, but all re-echoing Mrs. Atwater's letter: "I am not sorry for having come to China; I am only sorry I have done so little."

Kü Wu Hsien is some 30 miles to the southwest of P'ing Yang Fu, and on 4th July Mr. M'Kie and two ladies fled from this station to a village about 27 miles distant, having determined to attempt to weather the storm by hiding, rather than endeavour to escape to the coast. After months of anxious wanderings, constant danger, and untold privations, they were at last, on 25th October, escorted by an official and soldiers back to P'ing Yang Fu, whence they were subsequently sent to the coast.

A few days after Mr. M'Kie and party left, Mr. and Mrs. Duncan Kay with their little girl fled from the same station to another village. Their sufferings and privations were even greater than those of Mr. M'Kie and party. Several efforts to save them were made by the native Christians, but, alas! all in vain; and they were foully murdered by a band of Boxers on 15th September.

In the extreme south of the province is the city of Yüin Ch'eng, the centre of a district occupied by the members of the Swedish Mission. The magistrate (Taot'ai) in charge there was fortunately somewhat favourably disposed towards

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foreigners, and on the night of 27th June he called two of the missionaries to his yâmen and urged them and their friends, in the strongest terms, to leave the district within two days. They at once took his advice, and all of them—twentysix in number—eventually reached the coast in safety.

Starting again from T'ai Yüan Fu we go south-west, and after three days' journey come to the little town of Hsiao Ih Hsien, which for some years had been occupied as a Mission station by the China Inland Mission. Miss Whitchurch and Miss Searell were living there alone, and by their life and good works had won the approbation and esteem of not a few. An opium-refuge which they conducted had been the means of rescuing many of the victims of that habit, a number of whom had been converted. But their noble life had no influence with the "low fellows of the baser sort," who took up the Boxer craze in the hope of loot, if nothing else. They were suddenly attacked on 28th June; and, though the Mandarin went to the house and drove off the rioters for the time being, the rabble saw by his attitude and understood by what he said that he would not protect the ladies, and early the next morning the house was again attacked, and the two defenceless women slowly beaten to death.

Thirty miles north-west of Hsiao Ih is the city of Fen Chou Fu, and at the time of the outbreak was occupied by missionaries of the American Board Mission. In 1900 there were there resident, Rev. E. R. and Mrs. Atwater and two children, and Rev. C. W. and Mrs. Price and one child. Mr. and Mrs. A. P. Lundgren and Miss A. Eldred, all of the C.I.M., were there on a visit. The first indication of any serious trouble was on 27th June; but the then Prefect, being friendly to missionaries, soon quelled the disturbance, and continued to protect the foreigners. His sudden death, and the appointment of a new Prefect, changed the aspect of affairs altogether, and they were told they must leave for the coast. They begged to be allowed to delay their departure, as Mrs. Atwater was expecting shortly to be confined; but no compassion was shown them, and the demand was repeated that they must hasten their departure. Being utterly powerless they were obliged to consent, and arrangements were made for them to leave on 15th August. Four country carts were prepared for them, on which their goods were packed, and they started with some faint hope of reaching a place of safety; but had only gone some 7 miles when they were met by a band of soldiers who had been in hiding, and everyone was cut down and slain.<sup>1</sup>

Two days' journey west of Fen Chou Fu is the city of Yung Ning Chou, occupied for the first time by missionaries in the early summer of 1899, when Mr. and Mrs. Ogren went to live there, and who were there at the time of the Boxer outbreak. It was not till the middle of June that Boxer

<sup>1</sup> For further details see Mr. Price's Diary, pp. 267-291.

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leaders appeared, and began to stir up the people. On 5th July the missionaries heard of the death of the ladies at the neighbouring station of Hsiao Ih: and, warned by the official of impending danger, they made their escape on the 13th. Reaching the Yellow River, they with difficulty hired a boat to take them some 340 miles, when they hoped to be able to escape through the province of Shensi. They had only gone about half the distance, when they were obliged to land on account of a dangerous rapid, and at once fell into unfriendly hands. From that time commenced a series of wanderings and privations which would have tried the strongest of men. Separated one from another, Mrs. Ogren fully believing her husband was dead, they were again united in a marvellous way, but Mr. Ogren seriously wounded. Eventually they were taken to Ping Yang Fu, which place they reached on 12th October; but two days later Mr. Ogren succumbed to his wounds. His wife was then alone for ten days, but on the 24th was joined by Mr. M'Kie and party, and with them eventually reached the coast.

South of Yung Ning Chou, and among the hills, lies the city of Hsi Chou. Here Mr. and Mrs. Peat and two children, also Miss G. Hurn and Miss Edith Dobson, were stationed. On 21st July they were obliged to flee and hide in the caves among the mountains. Driven at last by hunger, they were compelled to come forth, when they were found by the Boxers and dragged before the magistrate. Regarded as the offscourings of the earth, they were refused protection, and were sent from city to city. The officials in some cases endeavoured to befriend them and send them to Hankow, but after weeks of weary wandering and imprisonment they were attacked by two Boxers 15 miles south of the city of Kü Wu. The supposed guard fled before these two men, and all the party were put to death on 30th August.

"Nestling among the hills near the western borders of Shansi, about 30 miles south of Hsi Chou, is the little city of Ta Ning. The majority of the people are simple-hearted folk; and, although other parts of the province were ablaze with the Boxer craze, peace continued here. Writing long before trouble had broken out elsewhere, Miss Edith Nathan said—

"' I believe we shall be quite safe here as regards the Ta Ning people, but if outsiders come the case may be altered.' The outsiders did come, and letters which subsequently came to hand showed how the Boxer fury wrought upon an otherwise peaceful neighbourhood. On 12th July the three ladies—Miss Edith Nathan, Miss Mary Nathan, and Miss Mary Heapman—had to flee. After long and anxious hiding they were at last caught, and on 13th August were put to death."<sup>1</sup>

Thirty miles south of Ta Ning is the city of

<sup>1</sup> Martyred Missionaries of the China Inland Mission, by Marshall Broomhall, B.A. Chi Chou, where Mr. and Mrs. Young were stationed. The last letter from them was dated 7th July, in which Mr. Young said, "Here things are tolerably quiet. The opposition consists of rumours, but we cannot tell how soon things may present a sterner aspect. . . The farmers have been very busy the last few days, and I should think the rain will have a wholesome effect upon the people generally."

The next station south is Ho Tsin, and was occupied by Mr. and Mrs. M'Connell and their little boy Kenneth, Miss Burton, and Miss King, On 5th July Mr. M'Connell wrote from a village in the hills where he and his party had gone for the summer: "We came here a week ago. When we left Ho Tsin all was well, and the people were as friendly as ever. We have not heard from there since we left; but I am sending a man tomorrow. Here we have nice cool weather, and the people are friendly. We hear no rumours at all, and were so quiet until your letters came." Events must have developed very rapidly, for it is now known that on 12th July Mr. and Mrs. Young had joined Mr. M'Connell and party, and together they made for the Yellow River, hoping to make their way into Shensi. They were met by a band of mounted soldiers, who professed they had been sent as escort, and advised them to take a bye-road. No sooner were they in a quiet place than the would-be escort turned on the helpless party and murdered them all.

Tracing the course of the disturbances from T'ai Yüan Fu in a south-easterly direction, we come first to the station of T'ai Ku Hsien, distant about 40 miles, which had been occupied by missionaries of the American Board for nearly twenty years, and not a few converts gathered Disturbances took place in the neighbourhood in. about the middle of June, and on the 30th it was found necessary for the missionaries in the outstations to retreat to the main station at T'ai Ku. After this the Boxers became very aggressive. and killed not a few of the native Christians in the neighbouring villages; but the magistrate managed to restrain them from attacking the foreigners.

From letters and diaries subsequently recovered it is known that during the month of July the missionaries were closely confined to their own house: yet the sad tidings reached them of the massacre of friends in other places, and they had little or no hope of escaping themselves. The disquieting rumours in the city increased, and one by one the native Christians, hoping to find safety in their own homes, left them, until only eight remained. On the afternoon of 31st July, while they were going about their household duties, and without any warning, they suddenly heard the terrible cry of "Kill, Kill"; and, before anything could be done, the Boxers, led by soldiers, broke into the house and killed all found there, both foreigners and Chinese, except three or four of the latter who managed to escape. It was

afterwards ascertained that the magistrate who befriended the missionaries was removed by the Governor for a few days, and it was during his absence that the massacre occurred. The names of those who fell there were—Mr. and Mrs. D. H. Clapp, Miss L. Partridge, Miss R. Bird, Mr. Williams, and Mr. Davis.

Five days' journey south-east of T'ai Ku is the large prefectural city of Lu An Fu. The missionaries there were Mr. and Mrs. Glover with two children, and Miss Gates. As early as 6th June there was a riot caused by an idolatrous procession, and Mr. Glover determined to take his wife and children away, as Mrs. Glover was expecting her confinement. He left on 9th June, purposing to go to Tientsin, but had only reached Shuen Teh Fu, some four days' journey, when he was stopped by the disturbances; and, after remaining in that place eleven days, returned to Lu An Fu, which he reached on 3rd July.

Matters had rapidly developed during his absence, so that he decided to try the southern route through Honan. Miss Gates now accompanied them, and they made a start on 6th July. Their troubles began before they got out of the city, as they had to pay 10,000 cash before being allowed to pass the gates. The very next day they were robbed of everything they had. During their journey of more than two months they were several times face to face with death. Time and again they were miraculously delivered, and reached Hankow on 13th August. Five days afterwards Mrs. Glover was confined, but the child only lived a short time. Mrs. Glover never fully recovered, and "entered into rest" on 25th October.

Thirteen miles from Lu An Fu was the small city of Lu Ch'eng Hsien, where Mr. and Mrs. E. J. Cooper and two children, Miss Rice, and Miss Huston were located. Though anti-foreign placards had been posted up in the city, things were comparatively quiet, and the missionaries did not know how serious affairs were in the province until 5th July, when Mr. Saunders and party arrived in their flight from the north. The arrival of so many foreigners created quite a stir in the city, and on the 7th the Mission premises were rioted and the whole party was obliged to leave. Though robbed and molested on the way. all but one managed to escape from the province; but Miss Rice was beaten to death by the roadside. Miss Huston received such serious wounds that she died two days before reaching Hankow. Two of Mr. Saunders' children succumbed to the hardships, as also Mrs. E. J. Cooper. The survivors reached Hankow on 14th August, fortynine days after leaving P'ing Yao.

Yü Wu, which was occupied by Dr. Hewett, lies 30 miles to the north of Lu Ch'eng Hsien, and early in July Mr. Barratt of Yo Yang paid him a visit. On 6th July Dr. Hewett left the station to go to Lu Ch'eng to consult the friends there as to the condition of affairs. That same night he received a letter from Mr. Barratt saying he was fleeing for safety to a place in the hills, and asking him to follow him. Dr. Hewett returned to his station the next day, but was obliged to seek refuge in the homes of the neighbouring native Christians, and for one month was wandering about from village to village. By that time he was so exhausted that he determined to give himself up to the local official, resident at the neighbouring city of Tuen Liu Hsien. There he was taken in on 5th August and hidden for two months, when he was eventually sent under escort to Hankow, which place he reached on 6th November.

Little is known as to how Mr. Barratt met his death. In the letter of 6th July sent to Dr. Hewett he says: "An hour ago Deacon Si, who knew you in T'ai Yüan Fu, came to tell you of the awful things there. The news nearly made me faint, but His peace filled, and still does fill, my soul. . . Let us be true to death." Among the hills to which he had fled for safety he passed away, in consequence of his suffering and privation.

Yo Yang Hsien is a small city in the hills, situated between Yü Wu Hsien and P'ing Yang Fu. Mr. Woodroffe and Mr. Barratt were the resident missionaries; but about the beginning of July the latter had gone to Yü Wu, Mr. Woodroffe being left alone. He had to flee on 4th July, and for some time wandered about among the hills with feet all torn and bruised. The last letter from him told of his great hardships, but finished with the words, "We count them happy that endure." He was eventually killed by the Boxers under circumstances of great barbarity.

## RIOTS AND MASSACRES NORTH OF T'AI YÜAN FU

Tracing the ravages of the Boxers in a northerly direction from T'ai Yüan Fu, we come first to Hsin Chou, a station some 45 miles distant, occupied by the English Baptists.

The first reliable news of the events of this district were brought to the coast by the faithful evangelist Chao, who barely escaped with his life. A Shantung man, he first went to Shansi in 1882 with Dr. Richard, and, after he left, spent most of his time at Hsin Chou. He was with Mr. Dixon and party when they fled from that station on 29th June, and it was with difficulty he was persuaded to leave them to report their perilous His home was not reached till 10th position. July; and as, after some six weeks or so, no further news had been received from Shansi, he willingly offered to return to ascertain all he could. well knowing the risk he ran. The perilous journey to and fro occupied nearly two months, and he brought back with him much valuable information. On my return to China in 1900 he was my constant companion for eight months, and accompanied us on our visit to Shansi, where

SCENES ON THE ROAD BETWEEN SHOU YANG AND T'AI YÜAN FU.



Passing over the Loess Mountains.



A Temple overlooking the T'ai Yüan Plain.
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he is at present, having taken up his old post at Hsin Chou.

The missionaries there resident were Mr. and Dixon, Mr. and Mrs. M'Currach. Mrs. Miss Renaut, and Mr. Ennals. When the troubles broke out, Mr. and Mrs. Underwood of T'ai Yüan Fu were there on a visit. They heard of the burning of the hospital at T'ai Yüan Fu and death of Miss Coombs on the morning of 20th June, and decided to flee for their lives. For some weeks they hid in a cave in the hillside, near a village where every family except one was Christian; and the people did all they possibly could for their pastors, but were at last obliged to flee for their own lives, as the Boxers found out they were befriending the foreigners. The missionaries endured terrible privations, as evidenced by touching letters written at the time and afterwards recovered.

Their hiding-place having been found out, on 25th July a military official with soldiers arrived and promised them a safe escort to the coast. By that time they had been four or five days with little or no food, and so accepted the offer, though suspecting mischief. Immediately they reached Hsin Chou they were put in the common jail. On 8th August a special deputy and ten soldiers arrived from T'ai Yüan Fu with secret instructions from the Governor, and the missionaries were told that they were to be escorted to the coast. Four carts were provided for them, and long before daylight on the 9th they started on

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their short, last journey. They were taken to the east gate of the city, where some soldiers were in hiding, and there dragged from their carts and brutally murdered. Their remains were thrown outside the city; but one of the leading scholars (not a Christian), who had been on friendly terms with Mr. Dixon, paid some beggars to wrap the bodies in mats and bury them close to the city wall, he himself conducting a short memorial service in his own way by burning incense and reading a funeral address.

Six days' journey north of Hsin Chou is the large prefectural city of Ta T'ung Fu, occupied by missionaries of the China Inland Mission. So far as has been ascertained at present, "it was on 24th June that the storm first broke; and the hunted missionaries found shelter for a time in the yâmen of a friendly Prefect, but not before Mr. and Mrs. M'Kie had been badly wounded by stones. . . . A few days later, on 27th June, the helpless little band was escorted back to the Mission premises, and a guard placed to protect them. Under these painful circumstances a little son was born to Mrs. M'Kie—born to receive a rude and cruel welcome from the land of his parents' adoption.

"By 12th July the guard had almost disappeared, only two men remaining; and at seven o'clock that evening a small official arrived to take the names of the foreign inmates. This was not for purposes of protection, for only an hour later the house was surrounded by three hundred horse and foot soldiers, and sword and fire soon did their deadly work." The names of the martyred on that day were—

Mr. Stewart M'Kie. Mrs. M'Kie. Alice M'Kie. Baby M'Kie. Mr. Charles I'Anson. Mrs. I'Anson. Dora I'Anson. Arthur K. I'Anson. Eva K. I'Anson. Miss Margaret E. Smith. Miss Maria Aspden.

West of Ta T'ung Fu is another large prefectural city, So Ping Fu. As early as the middle of May, disturbances had begun in the neighbouring stations occupied by members of the Swedish Holiness Union, and by the 24th of June ten members of that Mission, together with three belonging to the Christian and Missionary Alliance, had gone to So P'ing Fu for conference and mutual protection. By about the end of June the Boxers had attacked several Mission stations in the neighbourhood, and the officials suggested it would be better for all the foreigners to leave. As already the mob was demanding that the missionaries should be handed over to them to be killed, it was proposed that the men should wear handcuffs as they left the city, to give the people the impression they were being sent as prisoners to Peking. This was agreed to, and everything was ready by the morning of 29th June. Carts were

provided, and the whole party set off; but had no sooner left the city than they were attacked by a number of Manchus, who literally stoned them to death.

Their names were as follows :----

Of the Swedish Holiness Union (Associates of the China Inland Mission): Mr. and Mrs. S. A. Persson. Miss J. Lundell. Mr. E. Pettersson. Mr. N. Carleson. Mr. O. A. Larsson. Miss J. Engvall. Mr. G. E. Karlberg. Miss M. Hedlund. Miss A. Johansson.

Of the Christian and Missionary Alliance: Mr. and Mrs. C. Blomberg and child.

### NORTH SHANSI, AND OVER THE MONGOLIAN BORDER

In the extreme north of Shansi and over the Mongolian border, quite a number of stations were occupied by members of the Christian and Missionary Alliance.

Though it is known that thirty-six of their number (including fifteen children) suffered martyrdom, few details are as yet to hand. The two following letters—hitherto unpublished —will be of melancholy interest, and throw

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some light upon the terrible sufferings which the martyrs of that district had to suffer :----

TRANSLATION of a LETTER from CHIA JEN, of the American Alliance Mission at Kwei Hwa, to HIS EXCELLENCY THE MINISTER OF THE UNITED STATES at Peking.

"SIR. I beg to submit details of the murder of the foreign missionaries at Kwei Hwa. Between the 28th of the fifth moon and the 4th day of the sixth moon, in the twenty-sixth year of Kwang Hsü, the rising of the Boxers began, and the foreign missionaries decided to flee for safety. On this account they mortgaged their two compounds for Tls. 800 (one for Tls. 500 and one for Tls. 300), together with the printing - office, where printing was done in three languages,-Chinese, English, and Mongolian,-having three large presses, fifty odd rolls of white paper, and all other apparatus, worth over Tls. 3000, as well as the belongings of twelve people, including brass, iron, and wooden articles; books, clothes, furniture, trunks, etc., worth altogether some thousand taels or more. All of this was mortgaged to the Erh Fu of Kwei Hwa, named Hsü (given name below), it being clearly stated for the amount of Tls. 800, white silver, less Tls. 200 discount; the nett sum received being Tls. 600. A period of two years was fixed upon for the redemption of the property. If after the expiration of this period he should not be willing to wait longer, Hsü Erh Fu was to be

allowed to take the boxes, clothes, etc.; and as to the printing-office, machinery, etc., he should be allowed to dispose of it as he might choose.

"Of the twelve missionaries, the chief was an American named Ai Li Shun, having a wife and two sons and one daughter-five in all: the remainder consisted of two men, three women, and two children, who were all Swedes. On the 5th day of the sixth moon in the night they left the city and went to a place called Ko I Keng, 00 li from Kwei Hwa. On the 17th of the same moon they left this place and went into Mongolia, and on the night of the 10th they were attacked by robbers, who took more than Tls. 1000 of silver, seventeen trunks, one organ, three carts, over five hundred catties of rice-flour, and the clothes and belongings of thirteen people. (There was one Chinese in the company.) They were robbed seven times. Those who stole the silver were the soldiers of Wang Ta Ren, under an officer named Li, a Shantung man. He was There were five other soldiers-six in the leader. all. Those who stole the rice-flour were coolies. On the 28th of the seventh month the Taot'ai of the place, Cheng Wen Ching, ordered Kwo Er Fu with the Boxers, and Cheng Ta Ren, the military commander, to take soldiers and kill the Tieh Ko Tan Kou people-a Roman Catholic Mission. On the 1st of the eighth moon these missionaries were killed.

"One hundred and sixty li south-west of that city there is a place called To Ko To under

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its jurisdiction. The church was burned, and in it three Swedish missionaries, together with their clothes, boxes, goods, etc. They also killed one Chinese evangelist. This was done by the 'Boxers,' the officials winking at it.

"West of this city the missionaries of three places, ten adults and five or six children, all in flight, were robbed and killed at a place called Ta Sheh T'ai, under the jurisdiction of Tsa La A military officer did the killing, the Cheng Ch'i. T'ai of Ta T'ung. I do not know his name. At Yang Kao district city, under the jurisdiction of Ta T'ung, a man and wife and two children were killed, and their money, clothes, etc., were either stolen or destroyed. Under the jurisdiction of Yang Mao, at a place called Tung Ching Ts'i, a female missionary was killed, and her goods disposed of as mentioned above. The guilt of the murders of these two places rests upon the magistrate of Yang Kao.

"At So Ping Fu thirteen Swedes were killed, three belonging to the Alliance Mission, and ten to the China Inland Mission. The chapel was burned and goods destroyed. In this case the Prefect and magistrate treacherously employed the 'Boxers' to do the killing. The magistrate's name is Kuo, a relative of the Kuo Er Fu of Kwei Hwa. In all these cases the Chinese Christians were either murdered or imprisoned. Some were robbed, and their houses burned; and up to the present they still wander homeless in misery inexpressible."

### [Translation.1]

"SI WAN TZU, 24th Nov. 1900.

## "ACCOUNT OF PIERRE OLE BACK, PÈRE PROVINCIAL

"About the 15th June all the Mandarins in the district of Kwei Hwa practised the rites of the Notices were placed in all public places, Boxers. and were sent to the smaller villages by runners. The substance of the notices was, that all railways, telegraphs, churches, and European houses were to be destroyed-that all Europeans and native Christians were to be killed. On the 2nd of July an edict of the Governor, Yü Hsien, ordered all Chinese merchants, labourers, mechanics, etc., to practise as Boxers. The Taot'ai of Kwei Hwa Ch'eng passed on these orders to all the Mandarins in his jurisdiction, and Europeans were threatened in all the districts. Thereupon we five missionaries -two Belgians, one Hollander, and two Chinese -left at 10 p.m. on 4th July to take refuge in the mountains of Hou Ma, 60 li north of Kwei Hwa Ch'eng, and arrived at noon of the 5th at the foot of the hills. All the villages en route were full of Boxers, who threatened us, crying. 'Let us eat the brains of the Europeans; let us drink their blood.' Happily we were armed, and the Boxers had not commenced their exploits.

<sup>1</sup> N.B.—Several of the places mentioned cannot be localised, as the names are given in Roman letters and not in the Chinese characters.

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"On our arrival at Hou Ma. runners went out in all directions, and, after eight days of comparative quiet, native Christian refugees began to arrive. Out of three hundred and forty-seven villages in which we had converts none escaped the Boxers, who were helped by the soldiers, and, I may say, by all the Chinese from the highest official to the lowest Men, women, and children wished to dip beggar. their hands in foreign blood; and even the heathen Chinese who had worked for us, or who had eaten our food, were pitilessly massacred. The Mandarins of Kou Lin Korh promised a reward for the killing of a European or of a native missionary. More than fifteen hundred of our Christians were killed with unexampled cruelty. Our houses and the houses of the native Christians were pillaged and burnt. Even now about three thousand of our Christians of Tou Met are fugitives, without shelter, food, or clothing-exposed to the rigours of a Mongolian winter. The massacre commenced on 6th July. and lasted for several weeks.

"Next we learnt that the Protestant missionaries of To Ch'eng and Kwei Hwa Ch'eng, whom the Er Fu of Kwei Hwa had sheltered for some time in his yAmen, had been sent in June with seven camels and 700 or 800 taels of silver towards Ourga, and robbed by their escort of their camels, 600 taels of silver, and the greater part of their baggage, and after wandering about for some weeks they were destitute about 100 li from us. We sent to fetch them, and on the 7th August ten of them arrived. On the 9th another arrived with his wife and a newborn child. On the 10th another missionary's wife gave birth to a daughter. The party then was three men of thirty and forty years of age, with their wives, one unmarried lady, and seven children—all Swedes. They told us that after having been robbed by their escort they had been robbed by other soldiers, who took their remaining silver and baggage; and then by the beggars, who took their remaining provisions and clothes (*habits nécessaires*). After more than a month of great misery, our messengers had found them and brought them in to us at Tieh Ko Tan Kou.

"From the west we heard that the soldiers of the Taot'ai with those from Pao T'ou, Tsa La Ch'i, etc., had destroyed several of Mgr. Hamer's stations; and that he had finally assembled his people in the episcopal residence of Erh Shih Tsing Ti. They resisted two attacks, and Mgr. Hamer then sent the missionaries to San To Ho. ten days west. The place was again attacked on 20th July and taken. Between eight hundred and one thousand Christians were killed; more than a hundred women and children were carried off; the church, houses, etc., were burnt, and the Mgr. Hamer remaining Christians driven off. was taken by the soldiers to To To Ch'eng, where the Mandarin Li delivered him over to the tender mercies of his soldiers. The latter took him for three days through the streets of To To, everybody being at liberty to torture him. All his hair was pulled out, and his fingers, nose, and ears cut off. After this they wrapped him in stuff soaked in oil, and, hanging him head downwards, set fire to his feet. His heart was eaten by two beggars.

"On the 24th July we learnt from our church caretaker at Kwei Hwa Ch'eng, who had taken to flight when our buildings there were burnt, that a European, who had come with an escort from Pao T'ou viá Tsa La Ch'i to Kwei Hwa Ch'eng, had just been killed by the Taot'ai's soldiers close to the yâmen. Some of our people said that he was one of Mgr. Hamer's missionaries, but others said that he was an Englishman or American who had come from Ning Hsia, and who made maps.<sup>1</sup>

"One of our Christians, who is now at Si Wan Tzu, named Ma Wei, was present when this European was killed (on the 20th or 21st July), but kept at a distance, not daring to approach. He saw six or seven of the Taot'ai's soldiers conduct him, with his hands tied behind him, to a place a little distance from the yamen. Then they drew their swords and cut great gashes all over his body, particularly on his arms and legs. After about half an hour his head was cut off, and the body buried close to the yamen. According to Ma Wei, this European had come from Pao T'ou with an escort on horseback. The Taot'ai received him civilly, but ordered him to return to (name illegible), as war had broken out. While signing a paper he was seized from behind and his

<sup>1</sup> This evidently refers to the late Captain Watts Jones, R.E., who was murdered at Kwei Hwa Ch'eng.

arms tied. Another account was that he was murdered by his escort just outside the yamen, and not seized inside, and that the Taot'ai himself was not there.

"The Taot'ai also sent soldiers to attack Tai Hai, where two of our priests-Père Heirman and Mallet — and about a thousand Christians lived. The latter had already repulsed three Boxer attacks. and the soldiers did not dare to attack. Treachery was resorted to, and a number of carts and an escort sent with assurances that they should be conducted safely to Peking - the Mandarin stating that the Taot'ai himself awaited the missionaries at Ning Yuan. They had hardly gone a mile when they saw their churches burning behind them, while the Mandarins, seated on the roof of a house, looked on laughing. The native Christians were then forced to recant, or were put to death. The missionaries were taken to the Taot'ai at Kwei Hwa Ch'eng. The Taot'ai pretended to arrange about their return to Europe, but on leaving the yamen they were seized by soldiers and Boxers, who put them to death.

"The Taot'ai then called in his troops and sent them against us at Tieh Ko Tan Kou in the Hou Ma district. We numbered four priests, fourteen Swedes, and sixteen hundred Christians. I went away to gather in our people from a station to the north, thinking that we should not be attacked. I was deceived, as during my absence on the 22nd August the place was attacked by thirteen hundred troops in three columns. The attack

# The Spread of Boxerism in Shansi 109

commenced at noon, and by four o'clock the village was destroyed. The soldiers were armed with Mausers, while our people had only thirty guns, three being of European make. Thirty-six soldiers were killed-two of them leaders. Pères Dobbe, Abbelos, and Tylman, and the Swedish women and children, were killed or burned in the church. Two of the Swedish missionaries were killed with swords, and the third was beheaded next day in a neighbouring village. The remainder of the Christians took to flight. I heard the news from the fugitives, and then left with a hundred refugees for Tsi I Sou, now a large Christian village, still menaced by the Taot'ai. This place had not been attacked by the soldiers, but had beaten off an attack made by fifteen hundred Boxers. The Taot'ai who has massacred so many Europeans is called Cheng, and arrived at Kwei Hwa Ch'eng about the middle of June. He is still persecuting Christians in some districts, though he has distributed grain to them in another."

From the foregoing it will be seen that the outbreaks in Shansi were almost simultaneous, and undoubtedly directly due to the initiative of one man—Yü Hsien, the Governor of the province. That any missionaries escaped at all was owing to the friendliness and foresight of other officials, who saw what injury was likely to come to their country by the slaughter of innocent and helpless foreigners. These men were more enlightened than their fellows; and if the events of 1900 are

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not to be repeated, it behoves the Christian Church to at once take steps to seek to dispel the darkness and ignorance still remaining, by sparing neither men nor means, in order that the "Light of the Glorious Gospel" may illuminate the sadly misnamed "Celestial Empire."

# DESCRIPTION OF CERTIFICATE OF PROTECTION

- The small figures at the right-hand top corner denote the amount paid for the certificate. In this case the sum paid was 1750 cash, the equivalent of about 45. 3d.
- The lettering in the top panel is a notification from the Yamen of the district of Yang Chil Hsien.
- The right-hand column gives the date—(The reign of) Kwang Hs#, the 20th year, 6th moon, 29th day (25th July 1900).
- The large characters in the centre column indicate that the holder has "renounced the religion in obedience to the official," and the small characters at the side of the centre column give the number in the family—" all told, male and female, seven 'mouths'" (persons).
- The left-hand column contains the name of the holder: "the above is given to Kuo Ju (or, the scholar Kuo) of the village of I as a license."
- The characters in red at the left-hand side of the certificate state that "the least extortion is not permitted."
- The red squares are the official seals, and the red dashes denote that the details have been checked and registered.

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# CHAPTER III

#### AFTER THE MASSACRES

THE taking of Peking, leading to the flight of the Court, appears to have opened the eyes of the Dowager Empress to the fact that she had made a mistake, for on reaching T'ai Yüan Fu in September she issued an edict forbidding the Boxers to drill; and affairs began to improve a little.

Already, on 15th August (*the day after the relief of Peking*), the acting Governor, in the absence of the terrible Yü Hsien, issued a proclamation saying that all Christians who would leave the Church should be given a certificate which would protect them from the extortion of the yamen underlings (who had been fleecing them) and the persecutions of the Boxers. Being surrounded on all sides by those who were ready to take advantage of their distress, many were led to apply for these certificates, and all who did so were regarded as having recanted.

The Court remained in T'ai Yüan Fu till 1st October, and then moved on to Hsi An Fu; but orders to recover the remains of those massacred at the former place were not given till December.

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Having been exposed to the ravages of wolves and dogs for nearly six months, it is little wonder that nothing could be recognised; but the surviving Christians gave the names in Chinese of those who had been killed, the requisite number of coffins were provided, and something (mostly cotton-wool) put in to represent the remains! These were then placed in a temporary mat-shed, outside the south gate of the city.

The next step in the way of reparation was to grant a little relief to some of the Christians who, having lost their all, were likely to perish from starvation and cold. The distribution of this relief, being left in the hands of the local officials and their underlings, was not carried out very satisfactorily, and many of the most needy were neglected, as is shown by the following letter written by the Christian photographer Chu of T'ai Yüan Fu in February 1901, and which I received when in Pao Ting Fu in March.

# [Translation.]

"Respectful greetings to Pastor Yeh Sheo Chen. This year Shansi has encountered great suffering. We should thank the Lord's mercy that we are still alive. We also thank the Lord that you and your family did not meet death in Shansi. The whole number of Western people who died in T'ai Yüan Fu was forty-six, *i.e.* twelve French, and of English, old and young, men and women, thirtyfour. Miss Coombs was burned to death. Of the rest, at Hsin Chou eight lost their lives; at T'ai Ku, six; at Fen Chou Fu, ten; at Hsiao Ih Hsien, two; at P'ing Yang Fu and surrounding districts, eighteen. As to other places, I do not know. In the eleventh moon a deputy of the Governor named Wu coffined and buried the remains of the missionaries in all the districts. The Protestants (Chinese) suffered most severely in T'ai Ku and Shou Yang, the number of those who perished amounting to one hundred and seventy or one hundred and eighty. After these places come Hsin Chou, Kwo Hsien, Ting Hsiang, Fan Szu, Tai Chou, and adjoining districts, in which more than a hundred persons were killed.

"In these districts the homes were looted, the houses burned, the land sold by order of their respective villagers; and they were fined and compelled to provide theatricals and offerings to idols. Although the other districts of Wen Shui, Chao Cheng, Ping Yao, Fen Chou Fu, and neighbourhood suffered less severely, they were fined, fleeced, and oppressed by their fellow-villagers until compelled to flee in all directions, and are now reduced to extreme poverty.

"From the sixth moon, when trouble began, to the end of the seventh moon, when Yü Hsien left, we suffered persecution; and from the eighth moon, when Governor Hsi took office, to the present time (one half-year) only two edicts for the protection of the Christians have appeared; and these were false, as the officials acted as if they had not been issued, and the people did not dread the threatened punishments. They continue to

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speak of the killing of Christians and foreigners as a pleasure. The looted property of Christians is publicly sold on the streets, no one prohibiting. The officials regard the Christians (Chinese) as a 'nail in the eye' (great nuisance). Up to the present there has been no official examination into the looting and killing of Christians, the idea of the officials being that this is what Christians ought to suffer. At the capital and the outside districts Christians and inquirers have certainly starved to death: and even at present those who were burned out of the hospital premises in T'ai Yüan Fu have nothing to eat. I myself had thirty hundredweight of millet, and of this I distributed twenty hundredweight among the Christians, and sold the remainder.

"On the 13th of the sixth moon the missionaries were murdered, and on the 14th my house was completely looted and my whole family scattered. On the same day the houses of Wang Chang Ping (of the boot shop) and Tien Shu Wang (of the medicine shop) were both looted, the windows and doors of their houses burned, and then occupied by the soldiers of Sung Ching, who daily tore down other parts of the house for firing; and then used the houses as stables, thus ruining them completely. During the ninth, tenth and eleventh moons I frequently met the Christians, and know that many had neither food nor clothes. I obtained from non-Christian friends one hundred odd strings of cash, and am now reduced to extremities myself. In the twelfth moon the districts of Yang Chü

and T'ai Ku were relieved by the officials with food sufficient for one month's use. In other districts no date has been fixed for such relief. When I hear the Christians recounting their sufferings, there is nothing to do but weep together. I now beg the pastor to send by telegram or letter instructions to the official of Yang Chü district directing him to pay out from the 1000 taels in his hands (belonging to the English Baptist Mission) certain sums for the relief of the extreme needs of the Christians in each district. Also please ask the benevolent people of the Church to quickly subscribe and send funds for the relief of our present distress.

"I can at present obtain no reliable news. Everyone says peace is declared. Will the soldiers of your nation really come to Shansi or not? If not, the ignorant people here can by no means be controlled. If the soldiers come, the officials of Shansi should be instructed to issue proclamations in every place informing the people that they only come on account of Church affairs, and that the foreign soldiers will not offend (the people) in the very least; that they will pay for all they take, and certainly will not disturb the country; and the people must attend (quietly) to their usual affairs and not fear. If proclamations are to be issued before the foreign troops come to settle the affairs of the Church, or if there is any other method of managing the matter, please let me know, so that I may not be always thinking about these things.

"At present there are four girl pupils who

were at Tung Chia Hsiang (Miss Coombs' girls' school) still alive—Pao Chü, Chia Loh, Ch'eo Nu, and Fu Jung. Three of these are at the home of the woman called Shih, who keeps them by restraint, and will not hand them over (to their friends). Pao Chü has already been defiled by men in an unendurable manner, Chia Loh has been sold to a man, Ch'eo Nu is still at the house of the woman Shih, Fu Jung has been stolen and sold. If a telegram can be sent to the Governor of Shansi, these four girls can be recovered. The sooner these children are saved the less will they be defiled.

"At present the Christians are still suffering. With houses burned, their friends killed, their property looted, their grain stolen, and made again to pay the temple taxes, no one inquires into their case. They will soon be either frozen or starved to death. The officials still expect them to pay the taxes. Pray, guickly have a telegram sent to the Governor to say that the Christians need not this year pay the taxes, as they have passed through such heavy troubles. The Christians of Fen Chou Fu, T'ai Yüan Fu, Hsin Chou, and Tai Chou,-altogether fifteen districts, -amounting to more than four thousand people, have had eight-tenths or nine-tenths of their property destroyed. We have also had a very bad year (famine), and if we do not obtain relief by next spring all the Christians will starve. We trust that at an early date our pastors may be able to return to Shansi, by the grace of God. to help His Church."

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That his description of the attitude of the people towards the Christians is not exaggerated, is evidenced by the fact that, when the notorious Yü Hsien left T'ai Yüan Fu on 12th October 1900. he was escorted by the people, gentry and scholars, with every expression of respect and regret. On the streets along which he passed were set tables on which were tea and cakes; and at the city gate he was asked for his old boots to place in a cage at the gateway-a custom the Chinese have when they are losing a magistrate whom they greatly For months after, he was eulogised by admire. the people for what he had done; and a tablet to his honour was erected outside the south gate, the expense of which was borne by six of the merchant guilds.

Meanwhile the passes on the Chihli-Shansi border were most carefully guarded, to prevent, if possible, the foreign troops following the Court. An agreement was entered into by the Allies and Li Hung Chang as representing the Chinese Government, that the former should not go west of the passes, and that Chinese troops should not move to the east of that line. While the Germans watched the northern part, the French had taken up their position at Hwai Luh Hsien, where they controlled the road into Shansi by the Ku Kwan Pass, the most important route of all. The Germans had several encounters with Chinese troops whose leaders would not keep to the terms of the agreement; and at last drove the Chinese back, so that eventually the Germans held a post close to the famous mountain of Wu T'ai, within 90 miles of T'ai Yüan Fu. Notwithstanding this, the people of Shansi had made up their minds that foreign troops would never be able to enter their province. Had they not got the redoubtable General Sung Ching, eighty years of age? Then they had their high mountain ranges, and above all they had their brave local militia!

So carefully were the main passes guarded that all cart traffic to and from the province was completely suspended, and only a few travellers on foot managed to pass the barriers. The few who ventured to travel were most carefully searched to see if they had anything to show they were connected with foreigners, and for a time only those who could produce their card or give a satisfactory account of themselves were allowed to proceed. Even some native scouts sent by the Germans, disguised as beggars, were not allowed to pass the patrols.

Thus things continued until about the middle of April 1901, when the German General (von Kettler) at Pao Ting Fu received orders from Count von Waldersee at Peking to prepare for an advance to the borders of Shansi. It appeared that the Chinese General in charge of the troops about the Ku Kwan Pass would not only not obey the orders of his own superiors and retire beyond the border as previously agreed upon, but was constantly strengthening his position; and Count von Waldersee had decided that he must be driven back. Having received his orders, General von Kettler at once began to make preparations, and the advance commenced on 17th April.

Not wishing to go by the main road, which was practically occupied by the French, a small mountain pass by way of Ping Shan had to be followed, which made transport by waggon most Notwithstanding this, the passes were difficult. reached and taken on 25th April. At the last moment the French General (Bailloud) had received permission from his superior in Peking to advance, but was just a day too late; as when he finally advanced to the Ku Kwan Pass he met -not the Chinese, but-the returning Germans, who had forced that barrier and were on their way back. Though the Germans came in sight of Chinese troops at five different passes, at only one was any real opposition offered; and there they lost one officer and eight men killed, and two officers and forty-three men wounded. The defeated Chinese troops, fearing that they would be followed by the foreign soldiers, hastily retreated, looting and pillaging their own people as they went; carrying off not only money and goods, but even young women and girls, together with a large number of horses, mules, donkeys, etc.

The news of the defeat soon reached T'ai Yüan Fu, and so great was the consternation there that about five hundred acting and expecting officials at once fled with their families to what they considered places of greater safety. The Governor, not knowing that both the Germans and French

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were on their way back to Pao Ting Fu, immediately called for Shên Taot'ai and asked him what plan could be adopted to prevent the foreign troops advancing on T'ai Yüan Fu. "You must at once follow my advice," said Shên. "Yes, yes, what is it?" replied the Governor. "You must immediately invite the Protestant missionaries back to the province to settle their affairs, while I will go to meet the foreign troops, and try to persuade them to go back." The Governor agreed to this, and the following telegram was despatched to Rev. Dr. Richard through the Shanghai Taot'ai:—

### Telegram to Shanghai Taot'ai.

"In Shansi there are no Protestant missionaries at present, and therefore we have no means of settling the missionary troubles. We have decided to ask Rev. Timothy Richard, who was long a missionary here, to come to Shansi. Please translate our telegram, and send him, and greatly oblige,—Shansi Governor, Ts'en Ch'un Hsu'an."

"TO THE REV. TIMOTHY RICHARD.

"DEAR SIR, — Last year the Boxers arose everywhere in Shansi, and the Christians suffered widely at their hands. This was the fault of the local officials and their underlings, and the Chinese Government is extremely grieved about it. I have been ordered to be the Governor, and, in obedience to instructions, am to settle all the missionary troubles. Being quite ignorant of



TAOT'AI SHEN TUN HO, Head of the Foreign Bureau, T'ai Yuan Fu, 1901-1902. Digitized by Google

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these affairs, and fearing that I shall not be able to settle matters properly, but perhaps increase them, I memorialised the Throne to appoint Lao Nai Shuen of Board of Rites, the Taot'ais Shen Tun Ho, Wei Han, and Prefect Lu Tsung Siang, to come to Shansi to manage these missionary affairs. Shen Tun Ho has already arrived. As there is not a single Protestant missionary in Shansi, we have no means of consulting them as to what to do, and therefore we are in extreme difficulty.

"We have heard that you are eminent for being fair in all your dealings with China, and, having been in Shansi before, all the people believe in you as altogether upright. Both officials and people are unanimous in this report. Last winter you made inquiries about the Christians, and thus we know that you are still interested in this province, for which we are very glad. Moreover, when these troubles are settled, then trade will revive again; therefore, according to Western custom, I beg that you should come as a commissioner to settle the missionary and commercial troubles of Shansi. We have long known of your great kindness of heart, and therefore I beg of you not to decline; then indeed it will be a happy day for us. Whenever you leave, please wire, and we will send civil and military officials to meet you. But if you cannot possibly come, please recommend some other good man to come to Shansi to help us. Still, I greatly hope you will be able to come. I have also asked

Shên Taot'ai to write a letter to invite you.—With great respect, I am, yours very truly,

(Signed) "TS'EN CH'UN HSÜAN."

It is significant to note that this telegram was received by Dr. Richard within four days of the taking of the passes by the Germans. At the same time the Governor sent a telegram to Li Hung Chang and Prince Ch'ing at Peking, asking them to use their influence with the British Minister and get him to wire to Dr. Richard asking him to proceed at once to Shansi.

In response to this invitation Dr. Richard arrived in Peking on 14th May, and at once had interviews with the Chinese and some of the foreign Plenipotentiaries. He also saw the leading Protestant and Roman Catholic missionaries, in order to find out what was being done for the settlement of missionary troubles in the province of Chihli. On 29th May Dr. Richard, Dr. Atwood (American Board), and myself had an interview with Li Hung Chang, and presented the following plan of regulations for the settlement of Mission troubles in Shansi:—

# [Translation.]

"I. In every district there are many who should according to law be executed for having killed and injured the Christians; but as they were encouraged to do so by the officials and deceived by the Boxers, we would not wish that all should be so punished, but only the leader in each district, as a warning to others; and even in his case we would suggest he be leniently dealt with, if the Governor approves and recommends.

"2. But since the gentry and people joined together to injure the Christians, though they escape the extreme penalty of the law they cannot say they are without fault, and those who pillaged the Christians should be fined for the support of those made orphans and widows last year.

"3. The whole province should be fined the sum of Tls. 500,000 (about £66,000), to be paid in ten yearly instalments. But this money should not be for the foreigners or for the Christians, but for the opening of schools throughout the province, where the sons of the officials and gentry could obtain useful knowledge, and so would not be deceived again (as last year). These schools should be under the charge of one Chinese and one foreigner.

"4. In every place where Christians were murdered a monument should be erected, stating clearly how the Boxers originated, and that the Christians were killed without cause.

"5. In some cases the missionaries of the five Protestant societies (in Shansi) have either all been killed or returned to their own country, so that these societies cannot all send missionaries back at once; but when they do return they should be suitably received by the officials, gentry, and people, who should also apologise (for the deeds of last year). "6. If the difficulty of the Church is to be settled permanently, the Chinese officials should be instructed to treat both Christians and non-Christians alike. If Christians disobey the law, they should be treated according to law; but if (on the other hand) they are worthy, they should be promoted to office. Wherever this plan has been adopted from ancient times to the present, it has not failed to pacify (the country). If this plan is not adopted, I fear there will be continued trouble.

"7. When the present troubles are settled, a list of both leaders and followers of the Boxers should be kept in the yamens; and if they again trouble the Christians, they should be severely punished and not forgiven."

[With regard to clause three, when it is remembered how much is annually spent on theatricals, etc., the sum mentioned will be seen to be very small indeed. For each year the sum would only be £7000, and this distributed over the whole province. In the district of Hsin Chou alone (comprising three hundred and sixty villages), more than this is annually spent on theatricals; and, what with the entertaining of friends and other incidentals, the sum is about doubled. In rich districts, such as T'ai Ku and Ping Yao, far more than the  $\pounds$ 7000 is annually spent on such entertainments. When the schools suggested are in operation and the people realise the benefits they confer on them, it is probable they will come forward and voluntarily subscribe far more than

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is now suggested, for the establishment of other schools. (See page 165.)

In the foregoing propositions nothing was said as to indemnity for the destroyed Mission buildings or personal property of missionaries, as these matters were in the hands of the Ministers representing the different Powers.]

Li Hung Chang received us in foreign fashion by shaking hands; and the room in which we found him was furnished partly in European and partly in Chinese style. Physically he was very weak. and had two servants to support him while standing: but his mind was clear and active. Dr. Richard had often met him before. He asked. Dr. Atwood and myself how long we had been in China, and in what province. By leading questions he then gave me the opportunity of telling him how the Shansi people had been noted for their quietness up till last year, and how the Boxer outbreak began soon after the arrival of Yü Hsien as Governor. He was guite anxious, too, to hear all I could tell him of the burning of our hospital and the massacre of the missionaries at T'ai Yijan "And were they killed in front of the Fu. vamen?" he asked. "Such is the statement of men who say they were eye-witnesses," I replied. "And was Yü Hsien himself present?" Of course there was but one answer to that-"Yes": and he exclaimed, "Abominable!" Throughout he listened most attentively and sympathetically, getting me to continue by further questions when I stopped, lest I should be wearving him.

"Well then," he said, after he had questioned us, "what have you come about to-day?" Dr. Richard then handed to him the suggestions for the settlement of Mission troubles in Shansi. He read them through most carefully, called for a pen, and only marked one sentence of which he disapproved. Having finished reading he said, "Yes, the proposals are very good, but I fear the people of Shansi are too poor to carry some of them out." Dr. Richard and he then had a long and most interesting talk on the settlement of affairs concerning the Christians in China generally. "Well now, what would you propose?" he asked. Dr. Richard wisely replied that it was too wide a subject to answer off-hand, but he would put his proposals in writing. Throughout the whole interview (which lasted an hour and a half) he evinced great interest in the subjects we brought before him : and Dr. Richard said he had seldom seen him so much in earnest.

Dr. Richard himself was unable to go to Shansi, but the representatives of four societies working in that province met him in Peking, and after consultation decided to go in response to the invitation of the Governor. The party consisted of Messrs. D. E. Hoste, A. Orr Ewing, C. H. Tjäder, and Ernest Taylor of the China Inland Mission; Mr. Moir Duncan and Dr. Creasy Smith of the Baptist Mission; Dr. Atwood of the American Board; and myself.<sup>1</sup> The Governor had

<sup>1</sup> Major Pereira, Grenadier Guards, accompanied us in an unofficial capacity.



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sent a special envoy or Wei Yüan to Peking to act as escort; and our journey began auspiciously on 22nd June, when we travelled by train to Pao Ting Fu, and were there most hospitably entertained by the local officials, who had fitted up an inn for us very comfortably. Four of our party were kindly accommodated by Mr. Lowrie of the American Presbyterian Mission, who did all he could to make our stay agreeable.

Here we had to remain till Wednesday 26th. as mule-litters had been sent on ahead of us to Ting Chou, and would take nearly two days to reach there, while by train we should arrive in a few hours. We left Pao Ting Fu on the morning of the 26th, and the Nieh T'ai (provincial judge) travelled by the same train, as he was going round part of the province (Chihli) on a tour of inspection. At Ting Chou we found two places prepared for us, one of them being the same house in which General von Kettler had staved. Soon after arriving the local official paid us a visit. which we afterwards returned. Having come to the terminus of the railway, the next day (Thursday 27th June) we took to our mule-litters and travelled to Hsin Loh Hsien under Chinese Some distance outside the town we were escort. received by the local official and representatives of the gentry, who also called upon us at the inn which they had prepared for our accommodation.

Here we reached the limits of the French lines, and were asked by the officer in command to sign a paper, which said that he had warned us of
gentry in full dress; and they also escorted us some little distance when we left. Suitable accommodation was everywhere provided for us, and at each place we were supplied with food.

The reception at T'ai Yüan Fu was everything that could be desired: the Taot'ai and Shên Taot'ai (head of the Foreign Board there), with representatives of the gentry and merchants, and several military officials, meeting us about half a mile from the city at the Reception Hall, where high officials coming to the city are generally There we sipped tea and chatted for received. a time, and then proceeded to the city, accompanied by our old escort and others, so that we had about thirty outriders. By this time a great crowd had collected, and we passed along streets thronged with people. At the house prepared for us we were met by the Fant'ai; also the Taot'ai and Shên Taot'ai-the two latter having passed us in their chairs, in order to be there to receive us. After chatting and sipping tea in the guest-room for some time, Shên Taot'ai said: "And now I will show you your chambers," Following him to the next court he pointed to one room and said: "This is your bath-room." Then we went to the dining-room, and found the table tastefully arranged in foreign fashion with flowers and fruits. Here we sat and again sipped tea; and it was quite late in the evening before our hosts took their departure, leaving us to partake of a foreign-prepared dinner. The courts were lit with lamps, and the street in front of the

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house was quite illuminated. Two of our teachers slipped out among the people to hear what they might say. One man was heard to remark: "Why, these foreigners have been received better than a prince would be." Another said: "They have certainly done the thing in very good style." They heard nothing but approval of the reception. While we were so comfortably settled, our thoughts constantly reverted to the events of the year before. We accepted the attentions not only as an expression of regret for what had happened, but also as a mark of honour to those who fell.

By a remarkable coincidence, and without any prearrangement on our part, we arrived at T'ai Yüan Fu on the first anniversary of the massacre in that city—9th July.

The next day we paid return calls on the officials; and on the Friday (the 11th) we were invited to a feast with the Fant'ai (Treasurer) and other high Mandarins. It was in semiforeign style, the tables being most tastefully decorated with fruits, sweetmeats, etc. Afterwards we were all photographed together; and the Taot'ai was in quite a jocular mood, for he said: "The Boxers will certainly say we are Er Mao tzus (secondary foreigners) now; and they will have the evidence, for here we are being taken with the Yang Kwei tzus (foreign devils)!" It was all said in such a friendly way that one could not take offence.

On Saturday the 12th we had our first business interview with the officials, when they laid before

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us their proposals for the settlement of affairs; and—thanks to the pressure which had been brought to bear on them from Peking after our interview with Li Hung Chang—these were considered quite adequate. They agreed that there should be a public funeral with full Chinese ceremonial, to be attended by the officials and gentry. The coffins containing the remains of the martyrs had already been buried; two hundred workmen having been engaged night and day for ten days, so as to get everything done before our arrival.

It was agreed, too, that the house where the missionaries were kept previous to the massacres should be demolished, a pavilion with tablet and inscription erected on the site, and the ground around made into a garden. Memorial tablets were to be placed in a wall close to the scene of massacre, and a large stone erected outside the south gate of the city on the exact spot where the tablet to the infamous Yü Hsien had been put up.

It was not till the 11th June 1902 that the first of these commemorative tablets—that near the Governor's yAmen—was erected. The stone, though of large dimensions, was, alas! so crowded with names that there was but room for the briefest inscription to the effect that the memorial stone was erected "In memory of the Christian missionaries who laid down their lives in T'ai Yuan Fu in July 1900"; while in Chinese it was stated that they had sacrificed their lives



First Party of Protestant Missionaries to enter Shansi after the Massacre. Start from Pao Ting Fu.



Our Escort in Shansi.



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for religion. The names of the thirty-four martyrs were engraved both in English and Chinese.

On the day of the ceremony a small pavilion had been erected opposite the stone, and there H. E. Shên Taot'ai, the Chihfu (Prefect), and the Chihhsien (Sub-Prefect), with other officials, received the missionaries and the professors of the new university, including Dr. Richard. The streets were lined with a company of the military police, and the ceremony consisted of a brief oration by H. E. Shên Taot'ai to the effect that the Governor greatly regretted the massacre, and that by order from the Throne the stone had been erected; that although dead these missionaries would be held in continual honour; and that officials and people greatly appreciated the generous forbearance of the Christian Church. To this the Rev. Arthur Sowerby made a suitable reply, stating that, although the dead could not be restored to life, it was gratifying to have their innocence thus publicly proclaimed, and it was the earnest hope of the missionaries that the truths for which these men and women had died might prove acceptable to the officials and people of China, and that thus China and the West might be united in the worship of the Almighty Creator, in the faith of Jesus Christ, and in brotherliness and harmony, and then these martyrs would not have died in vain. With the presentation of arms by the troops, and some military music, the brief but impressive

ceremony came to an end. The China Inland Mission was represented by the Rev. Dugald and Mrs. Lawson, and the English Baptist Mission by the Revs. J. J. Turner and Arthur Sowerby.<sup>1</sup>

It was further arranged at our interview with the officials in July 1901 that the funeral ceremonies at T'ai Yüan Fu were to be repeated at every place in Shansi where foreigners had been massacred; cemeteries made and kept in order at public expense, and suitable commemorative tablets erected.

With regard to the Indemnity question, before leaving Peking we had been informed by the British Minister that, where claims for the property of missions or missionaries had been put in, these would be settled by an official appointed by the British Legation. The indemnities for the Chinese Christians were to be settled locally, and at our meeting with the officials at T'ai Yüan Fu they agreed that this should be done. The settlement arrived at will be referred to subsequently.

Another point discussed and settled was the punishment of the Boxers. As so many people were involved, and as to severely punish all concerned would undoubtedly help to increase the ill-feeling felt towards Christians, it was decided that the demands of justice would be met if the ringleader or leaders in each district were executed or imprisoned; and the names of the remainder enrolled in the different yamens, as a warning that if they caused trouble in the future

<sup>1</sup> North China Herald, Shanghai,

they would be severely dealt with. As a matter of fact, for the massacre of some four thousand five hundred native Christians (Protestant and Roman Catholic), only some one hundred and seven Boxer leaders were executed.

On 18th July 1901 a memorial service for the martyrs at T'ai Yüan Fu was held, and the following account, written at the time, is inserted in its entirety:—

"It is now known that in July 1900 forty-six foreigners were killed in T'ai Yüan Fu, including several Protestant missionaries, their wives and children, two Roman Catholic bishops, three priests, and seven Sisters of Charity. We must not omit to mention that many Chinese Christians perished at the same time. The massacre occurred on oth July. Exactly a year later, to the very day, eight Protestant missionaries entered the city as the guests and at the invitation of the new Governor. After complimentary visits had been paid and returned, arrangements were at once made for the memorial services, and by the evening of 17th July everything was ready. Outside the west gate of the entrance to the Governor's yamen, and near the place of the massacre, a large pavilion stretching across the street had been erected. About fifty yards farther south-west is the yamen of the Prefect. The centre of the inner court of this yamen had been covered with an awning, under which were arranged twenty-six banners, about 12 feet high, on which were inscribed in gilt letters the names of the Protestant martyrs.

both foreign and Chinese. At the suggestion of Shên Taot'ai, who had lived in England for a time, the officials had also prepared a number of wreaths, which were placed on wooden frames covered with cloth. These were arranged in the same place as the banners.

"About nine o'clock on the morning of Thursday 18th July nine four-bearer chairs were brought to the door of the house where the missionaries were located. In these they were carried to the yamen of the Prefect. Accompanying them in a private capacity was Major Pereira. At the yamen they were carried through the court, where the banners and wreaths were arranged in a hall at the upper end, and there they were ceremoniously received by all the officials of the city except the Governor, who was supposed to be too ill to come out. The courtyard was crowded with people, many of whom pushed right up to the place where the officials and foreigners were sitting. The final arrangements having been made, the procession started, being headed by one hundred foot-soldiers, who marched in fairly good order to the sound of bugle and drum, having been drilled by instructors trained by Germans. Then followed the officials in their chairs, who were succeeded by the memorial banners and wreaths. The foreigners as chief mourners came last, and the procession was closed by about thirty cavalry.

"The first stop was made at the pavilion near the Governor's yamen, as it had been arranged to hold a short service as near as possible to the spot where the massacre had occurred. The leader of the service stood on a small raised platform, in front of which stood the officials and foreigners. The street was closely packed with people, and fairly good order was preserved, though there were only a few vamen servants to control the people, the soldiers having gone on ahead a little way. The service concluded, the procession re-formed in somewhat different order, and then passed slowly through the streets, which in many places were thronged with onlookers. The new cemetery is more than two miles from the city: and after leaving the east gate, crossing the moat and passing through a small village, the road leads through a narrow gully in the 'loess,' then along a stony, dry river-bed, and finally winds up rather a steep hillside to the hills east of the city. It took the procession nearly an hour and a half to reach this spot. Arrived there, the chief mourners were first of all met by the hundred foot-soldiers, presenting arms, and the sound of music,

"In front of the gate of the cemetery a large awning had been erected, on one side of which were two tents and on the other three, awning and tents being all constructed on the chessboard patterns, with poles and variegated cloths about a foot wide. There the mourners were met by the officials, who ushered them into the principal tent, where more time had to be spent in partaking of light refreshments and chatting. Meanwhile the wreaths had been deposited on the graves, and the memorial banners arranged outside the tents.

"A little time was spent in inspecting the graves and wreaths, and after awhile --- with the officials, mourners, Chinese Christians, and many onlookers grouped around-two specially selected Mandarins entered the pavilion; and one of them read an address which had been prepared by the Governor himself, and which was supposed to be an apology. The other officials then bowed three times towards the graves, after which one of the missionaries, in the name of the others, thanked the officials for coming. Finally, the address itself was handed over by Shên Taot'ai, to be kept as a permanent record. This finished the ceremonies so far as officialdom was concerned, and the Mandarins withdrew. Representatives of the gentry came forward and paid their respects to the mourners by making a low bow, after which the Chinese Christians gathered around the pavilion. and a short service was held, which was conducted by Mr. Hoste of the C.I.M.

"It was a beautiful day, and as from the pavilion one looked over the thirty-four new graves to the city and plain beyond and the high mountains to the west, all so peaceful, it was hard, nay almost impossible, to realise what actually happened only a year and ten days before. Outwardly a great difference between now and then, and yet one instinctively felt the difference to be only superficial. It is true that representatives of the gentry were at the cemetery, but neither they nor any of the merchants' guilds gave any tangible token even of respect, such as was done in Pao Ting Fu (where many memorial tablets and scrolls were given); although six of these guilds combined to erect a memorial tablet extolling the monster Yü Hsien. The people appeared to be sullen rather than repentant.

"After returning to the city the missionaries and Major Pereira had an interview with the Governor. who had been reported to be too ill to receive them earlier. As they entered the vamen soldiers were drawn up at each gate, and at the entrance to the outer hall they were received by two junior officers in full dress. By them they were conducted to an inner court, at the door of which they were met by the Governor, by whom they were ushered into a room down the centre of which was a long table, daintily arranged in foreign fashion, with white tablecloth, flowers, cakes, sweetmeats, etc. Shên Taot'ai was also present, and introduced the guests one by one, and then arranged them at the table. The conversation turned upon general subjects; but twice the Governor referred to the events of last year. for which he apologised and expressed great regret.

"After partaking of aërated waters and light refreshments and chatting awhile, the guests withdrew, excusing themselves because of their host's supposed convalescent condition. The Governor escorted them to the door of the courtyard, and the other two officials with Shen Taot'ai went with them to the front of the great hall, where their carts were waiting for them.

"While all these demonstrations of regret for the past are so far satisfactory, it must be remembered that little or nothing was done until after the Germans took the passes leading to Shansi. It is true that in December last orders were given to collect the remains of those who were massacred : but, remembering that they had been exposed to the ravages of wolves and dogs for five months, it is little to be wondered at that but few were found. All that was done subsequently was practically due to the initiative of the expectant Taot'ai, Shên Tun Ho, who has on several previous occasions shown his friendliness to foreigners, and for which he was a few years ago banished to Kalgan. But for his presence and influence, Protestant missionaries would probably not be there at present. As an indication of the influence on the other side, it may be mentioned that the official Peh-who was the Hsien (Sub-Prefect) in T'ai Yüan Fu last year at the time of the massacres, and who almost 'outheroded' Herod-was promoted to be the official at Ping Ting Chou, and was there on 24th April 1901, the day the Germans arrived at the Ku Kwan Pass. It was no wonder that his guilty conscience made him flee, no one knows where; for when Mr. Pigott and party were brought before him on 8th July (Mr. Pigott and Mr. Robinson being handcuffed), he first made them wait at the front gate of his yamen for a long time surrounded by a great crowd

"Again, the magistrate of Shou Yang Hsien, whose name was on the black list published in the decree of 21st February, was still in office on 5th July, and received the missionaries as they passed through. It is most difficult to reconcile this action with the protestations of regret; and it is to be hoped that as time goes on further evidence will be forthcoming to show that their expressions of regret are sincere, and not merely the result of fear or expediency."

The following is a translation of the Governor's address which was read at the funeral :----

(The whole composition is constructed according to the canons laid down for funeral panegyrics. It is replete with recondite allusions, and of course was absolutely unintelligible to those who heard it read. The sacrificial offerings so frequently mentioned were not actually presented, as such a course would be repugnant to Christian ideas. But the writer of the elegy did not know how to make any but a heathen ode, and so they went in as on other occasions. Most of the characteristic Chinese notions about the dead are well illustrated. As the first thing of the kind at a Christian burial, it is well worth studying.)

"H. E. Ts'en Ch'un Hsüan, Governor of Shansi, on the third day of the sixth moon of this year respectfully deputed Pan Li Yen, an expectant district magistrate of the Bureau of Foreign Affairs, to go and make libations and offerings of food to the souls of Protestant missionaries, upon which occasion he read the following composition:

"The cord which bound their souls was extraordinarily auspicious ; they were born flourishing from stars in the centre of the universe. Their favour was scattered over the north of Their earthly birthplace was famous to China. the eastward of the Isles of the Blest, and on the north. They came over the peaceful sea; they were truly well versed in literature, the élite of three Kingdoms. They came to save Shansi, and their aid was more than the traditional story of the Dragon Pond (Peking) and the Deer Park (a famous resort of Buddha). Though from remote countries, whose speech requires repeated interpretations, they come, yea, from beyond the western night, and the land without any thunder they hastened to save. Their religion was first received into China by the Emperor Cheng Kuan of the Tang dynasty (627 A.D.), who built and

adorned churches for the Great Pure Sect of Christians, and opened nine ports for commerce. He spread abroad the praises of the seven days (Sabbath), and on account of their merits he bestowed Imperial commendations upon them, as may be seen in the archives of the Hung Lu Ssu, Peking (a department in the Tang dynasty charged with the ceremonial of receiving ambassadors from foreign countries). The ancient prohibitions are removed. It was as if the native of Shantung (Confucius) went to Szechuan along with his disciples, or as if the native of Ching Kuo roamed to Chin Kuo, taking his wife and children. Thev resided perseveringly in the dark coasts of Shansi. and straightway opened refined homes, which surpassed those of Tang and Wei, and also large hospitals. When crops failed and floods swept all before them, they collected money from afar and freely distributed it to the distressed. The rude people of the north pleaded for life, and the missionaries bounteously renovated them. Just as China in all ages reverences Ho Yüan, and the Kingdoms of Chao and Wei submitted to the learning of Ko Yen, almost like Lan Ling who resided at Ching Kiang, fishing and sauntering about, or Feng She who moved to Li Yang (Shensi) and felt as much at ease as if he were in his own home, the missionaries travelled over the four seas and formed social connections with our people, so that China and foreign lands were as one family.

"But suddenly occurred the unlucky affair at

Peking, which involved all of Chihli in a common ruin, and the Boxers arose, brandishing swords and pikes, as uncanny as Shih Ping with his enchanted water and written charms; or like Chang Chiao, who began the White Lily Society; or Tao Fu with his water fairy plan; or Len Yen, who believed in the Rice Thief God, seeking glory with lawless pride, slaving the Khitans (foreigners) and yet calling themselves 'Righteous'; like Kuang Sheng, who slew Tung Fu that he might possess his wealth; or worse than Chin Shih Huang, who buried the scholars alive and destroyed all the pagodas and temples in Wei. They careered through Shansi, delighting in slaughter, not sparing the women. In defiance of Heaven and Earth, even the children were all exterminated. On the banks of the rivers we condole for them. Alas! their bones are borne upon the rushing waves. When we try to call back their spirits, woe is me, for they are flying like Will-o'-the-wisps in the vast deserts of sand. The rustics of the villages wonder at the strange cry of the (bewitching) fox. Chui Mai took on himself the cap of the majestic tiger, and for months did not dispel the distress of the yellow aspen. From the north on the Yellow River's bank to the Fen River, meandering in the south, all were drawn into the calamity of the Red Turbans (the Boxers); the heavenly crane comes back; the city falls under the baleful influence of the star Yuan Hsiao (in Aquarius). Insects as numerous as the sands

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distress the dying. Their numbers are greater than in Sin Ma Chien's history, the brave have beat upon their bosoms for grief, the courageous split their eyes for weeping. This Boxer craze was indeed the deadliest poison of the human race, which brought ten thousand woes upon us.

"The people of the villages were able in some cases to gather together and oppose the Red Turban rebels (Boxers). Those who dwell in mountain temples by their bravery escaped the edge of the sword.

"The souls of the departed missionaries preserved their bodies in righteousness, they regarded death as but a return. Sharp weapons and pure gold they alike put far from them. Although swords were as thick as the trees of the forest. yet they thought death to be as sweet as delicious viands. This was because their knowledge transcended that of the multitude, for their hearts were illuminated by a candle as bright as the sun, their pure breasts were early fixed in purpose, flowing down like a boat set loose upon a stream, which finally reached the other shore. They lived not in vain. Truly, their sincerity was as reliable as the sun in the heavens, and their loyalty as sure as the everlasting hills and rivers.

"Now the clouds and mists have cleared away, and the baleful influences are happily dissipated. The Emperor who dwells in Heaven (Peking) had issued a decree ordering an erection of a memorial stone to clear their memories from

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blame. The people are most penitent, and come together to hear this elegy upon the deceased missionaries with one consent.

"Those who secretly laid in wait for them with axes and mallets are truly sinners. But the unceasing filial piety of the missionaries, how excellent! purifying the evil morals of our people. We have come with rich delicacies and spread them out in order as a sumptuous banquet. Our grain is good, our rice shining, set out on red cloths. The officials have come in their official trappings which tinkle as they move, in caps and robes befitting the solemn occasion. With united voice they join in the ceremony. The drums and bells resound upon the dais, decorated profusely with red hangings. Although the missionaries met the spear's point, it was only a moment and all was over; but their souls (and fame) will last a thousand autumns. Many scrolls in their praise are hung up, and many funeral banners. We are all assembled at their graves, and the tear-drops fall fast. Our common carts and white horses which we use in sign of mourning have come together like the wind which accompanies the rain. We read this eulogy upon the deceased to celebrate their illustrious virtue. With the utmost sincerity we make our offering of sacrificial grain, so that their souls may understand we honour them, and hence protect the living from ruin. Deign to accept this my offering !"1

<sup>1</sup> Celestial Empire, Shanghai.

MEMORIAL SERVICE, T'AI YÜAN FU.



Procession Leaving the Prefect's Yamen.



Procession passing through the Streets.



On 29th July a memorial service was held at Hsin Chou, Mr. Moir Duncan, Dr. Creasy Smith, and myself being present. The following account was written immediately after :---

"The Mission house formerly occupied by Mr. Dixon, and subsequently by Mr. and Mrs. M'Currach, had been prepared for our accommodation. This house had not been looted except by the landlord, who had evidently carried off all the little knick-knacks, and the sitting-room was probably in much the same condition as it was left by the missionaries when they fled for their lives on 29th June of last year. It can be imagined how vividly the whole scene came before us as we explored the different rooms and thought of the account of the flight as given in the last letters of the martyrs; and it was with heavy hearts that we took up our temporary abode in their vacated dwelling.

"Though all the officials and representatives of the gentry had met us on arrival outside the city, the head magistrate and another called on us later in the afternoon, and with them we went to see the newly-made cemetery, containing the graves of the victims. We found a good site had been selected for it on very high ground at the south-west corner of the city, close to what is called the Altar of Heaven. Standing by the graves, one had a splendid view to the south of part of the plain, while in a cleft of the rugged mountains to the east could be clearly seen the white houses of the temple, where the

missionaries occasionally went during the hot months of the summer. To the north-east lay the city, the walls of which followed the hillside as it sloped down, from the high ground on which we stood, towards the river. The graves had been arranged in one line, and as we stood and looked at them a lump would come into our throats. How strange and inscrutable it all appeared! Two of those lying there, Mr. and Mrs. Dixon, were cut off in the prime of life; while the others, Mr. and Mrs. M'Currach, Mr. and Mrs. Underwood, Miss Renaut, and Mr. Ennals, were only just beginning their life's work, and had every prospect of a useful future before them. 'His wavs are not our ways, neither are His thoughts our thoughts.'

"A little after 9 a.m. on 29th July we left the house where we were staying, in sedan chairs, and went first to the magistrate's official residence (yamen), where memorial banners and wreaths, such as those which were described in connection with the T'ai Yüan services, had been prepared. Of the banners there were five—one each for Mr. and Mrs. Dixon, Mr. and Mrs. M'Currach, Mr. and Mrs. Underwood, Miss Renaut, and Mr. Ennals; but of the wreaths there were eight—one for each grave. Having been received by the magistrate and other officials, and final arrangements having been made as to the order of procession, we left for the east gate, the scene of the massacre.

"The enclosure between the inner and outer gates is very small, so that the actual spot where the cowardly and brutal deed was committed is Here a pavilion was erected, in which known. were a platform and table. Arrived there we waited till the officials and representatives of the gentry had come, and then a short service, consisting of the reading of Scripture, an address, and prayer, all of which had been prepared by Mr. Duncan. After this the procession was re-formed, but being at the rear we could not see the exact order. The officials in their chairs probably went first, preceded by the usual rag-tag and bob-tail which always accompanies a Mandarin. Then came forty or fifty horse - soldiers, followed by about one hundred infantry, marching to the sound of bugle and drum. Just in front of our chairs the Christians walked two-deep, all in mourning costume, and behind us came the memorial banners and wreaths. Of course such an unusual procession created great interest and curiosity, and the streets were thronged.

"Though the town is not large, it took a long time for the procession to reach the south gate, but, that point passed, the cemetery was soon reached. There we found a great crowd assembled; but no one was allowed inside the enclosure except the mourners, and the servants accompanying the officials. The banners and wreaths were first arranged by the side of the tent covering the graves. Then when we had all assembled in this tent, with the officials ranged

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on one side and we and the Chinese Christians on the other, a specially appointed Mandarin read an address which had been prepared by the chief magistrate. After this we had a short Christian service, to which all the officials courteously remained. This finished, we adjourned with these officials to a side tent to drink tea and rest awhile. Thus the sad memorial service was over. The cemetery is yet to be finished, and crosses are to be erected over the graves. But we pray that there may be more lasting monuments to their memory in the Christian lives of not a few of the people of Hsin Chou."

For the martyrs of the American Board Mission a memorial service was held at T'ai Ku Hsien on 9th August, attended by Dr. Atwood, Mr. Moir Duncan, Dr. Creasy Smith, Mr. Hoste, Mr. Ernest Taylor, Major Pereira, and myself. The details were much the same as those already described in connection with the T'ai Yüan Fu and Hsin Chou services.

On the afternoon of the same day Messrs. Duncan, Smith, and Pereira left for Hsi An Fu in Shensi, to distribute famine relief and succour the surviving Christians; and on Saturday the 10th Mr. Hoste and the other members of the China Inland Mission left for the south of the province, to visit the stations of that Mission and hold memorial services for the martyrs.

The second party of missionaries to reach the province after the massacres arrived at the capital

### After the Massacres

on 18th September, and with myself were invited to dine with the officials on the following Saturday; but, when it was discovered that that was a day of mourning for some ancient Emperor, the dinner had to be postponed to Sunday-the only available day, as the party had already arranged to leave again on Monday. Directly after the morning Chinese service we repaired to the clubhouse where the feast was to be held, and there found the Fant'ai (Treasurer), the old and new Nieht'ai (Provincial Judge), the Taot'ai (Intendant of Circuit), the Chihhsien (Sub-Prefect), and also Shên Taot'ai and another official from the Bureau of Foreign Affairs, awaiting us. The Fut'ai (Governor) was not there, as the new Nieht'ai was supposed to take his place. Very little time was spent over the preliminary formalities and teadrinking, and we soon sat down to the serious business of the occasion—the feast! When at the conclusion we left, we were most ceremoniously escorted by all the officials to the main entrance (though asked again and again to "liu pu"-not to trouble themselves to come out), where they remained standing till we had mounted our carts and driven off. Such expressions of friendliness on the part of the "powers that be" were at that time of great importance, as the news rapidly spread through the city.

The following day the new arrivals left, Messrs. Belcher and Middleton going northwards to hold memorial services at stations north of the Great Wall, while Messrs. Judd, Ambler, and Soeder-

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strom went southwards to reoccupy vacant stations.

Mr. Soederstrom after a short time pushed onwards through Shensi to Kansuh, in the far north-west; and while alone, so far as European companionship was concerned, was struck down by typhus fever, and died before any help could reach him.

While memorial services were held for the martyred missionaries, the following account of a memorial service held at Shou Yang will show that the native Christians who suffered so nobly were not forgotten:—

"Shou Yang, 29th November.—The funeral services for the Chinese Christians were carried out to-day, and I think on the whole satisfactorily. Memorial banners and scrolls had been prepared by the heads of the different villages where the massacres had taken place, and these had all been arranged in the court of the yamen, where a pavilion had been erected. When everything was ready a messenger came to invite us, and we three missionaries proceeded to the yamen in the sedan chairs provided for us, preceded by some of the local 'braves' and four of the Shansi ' police.'

"Arrived at the yamen, we were received by the officials in the special pavilion. The procession was then formed, and proceeded on its round. First came the thirty-seven memorial scrolls, representing the seventy-two Christians who had been massacred. After each scroll, which was of

MARTYRS' CEMETERY, T'AI YÜAN FU.



View of Cemetery from adjacent hill.



Pavilion and Graves.





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silk and 12 feet high, came a silk banner on which was a Christian motto in gold letters, followed by the band (1) of the village from which the memorials came. Soldiers with banners and the police came next, and these were followed by the missionaries in chairs, the Chinese Christians —women and girls in carts and men on foot closing the line.

"Leaving the city by the south gate, the procession made a circuit of the city and suburbs, and then went to the spot at the south-west corner, where twenty-one Christians—men, women, and children—laid down their lives for Christ. Their remains had been carelessly buried where they fell, and were exposed to the ravages of wolves and dogs for sixteen months. Not until the Governor sent special word to have them interred was anything done in the way of burying them properly.

"A tent for the reception of the missionaries, and a pavilion with a raised platform for the service, were erected near the site of the massacre. The city wall and a sloping bank behind it were thronged with people, as it was a market day; and here, in the presence of the local officials and a crowd numbering quite two thousand to three thousand people, a Christian memorial service was held for the martyrs of last year.

"After the service, the magistrates accompanied us to the Mission premises and formally handed over the repaired buildings, with the few possessions of the missionaries which had been recovered. "It was a sad and trying duty, but at the same time a great privilege, to be able to bear public testimony to the cause of Christ, and pay a tribute to the memory of those who had so nobly suffered for Him."

#### THE INDEMNITY

When the first party of Protestant missionaries entered the province of Shansi after the massacres, the troops of the Allies still occupied the adjoining province of Chihli; and there is no doubt but that both officials and people were in fear and trepidation as to what the demands would be for reparation for the one hundred and fifty-nine foreigners massacred; for it was well known that in the province of Shantung, for the murder of two Roman Catholic German missionaries a few years previously, the Germans had occupied the important port of Kiao Chou, and demanded mining, railway, and other rights.

As soon as it became known that two of the Protestant societies waived all claims for Mission property destroyed, and that the demands of the others were not only just but very moderate, there was a distinct feeling of relief—it cannot be said, gratitude—on the part both of officials and people. The Governor officially acknowledged, by proclamation issued through the Foreign Bureau, that the Missions thus waiving their claims were not actuated by unworthy motives. That issued for the China Inland Mission has been already published; and the following is a translation of the one posted in T'ai Yüan Fu on behalf of what was known as the Shou Yang Mission:—

" I. Dr. Edwards, sympathising with the words of the Saviour of the world, 'Love your neighbour as yourself,' remembers that Shansi has often been striken by famine. Upon this occasion the settlement of missionary cases again threatens to press heavily on the merchants and people. Therefore, to secure the friendship of the people, to thank Governor Ts'en Ch'un Hsüan for his great courtesy in meeting and protecting the missionaries, and Taot'ai Shên Tun Ho for his intelligent management of matters, it is agreed to settle the cases (of this Mission) upon an unusually friendly basis, hoping at the same time that the missionaries of other Boards will follow so excellent an example, and thus secure everlasting peace between people and converts.

"2. Last year ten buildings belonging to this Mission in T'ai Yüan Fu were burned and all their contents looted, viz. men's and women's hospitals, church, dispensary, girls' school, and residence. The total value reaches over one hundred thousand taels. No compensation is asked for this loss.

"3. Among the things looted was an iron safe containing deeds, bank drafts, and account books: these will be regarded as waste paper, and the Governor will be invited to send a deputy to measure the land according to the old boundaries, and new deeds bearing the official seal will be given Dr. Edwards.

"4. Dr. Edwards thanks the Governor for having sent men to remove the coal, lime, etc., which had been heaped upon the sites of the Mission buildings, and invites him to issue a proclamation forever forbidding the people from again trespassing on the ground.

"5. The converts of this Mission, in addition to the loss of property, were scattered abroad at the time of the burnings and killings. The expense they were then put to, as well as the loss incurred because they were not able to reap their harvest. will not be included in their demand for com-Hence there will be many poor pensation. people without compensation. But before Dr. Edwards came to Shansi his deacons borrowed eleven hundred taels from the Governor. This sum, through the extraordinary grace of the Governor, will not be required at their hands, in proof that he loves the people as his own children. Dr. Edwards is entirely satisfied with this arrangement. In consideration of no compensation being asked for the buildings, etc., the Governor is invited by the officials of the Foreign Bureau to issue a proclamation stating that Dr. Edwards' action is not due to a desire to stand well with the people, but to his belief that he should obey the words of the Saviour of the world, viz. 'Love your neighbour as yourself'; and, moreover, he cannot bear to see the people taxed (to pay missionary indemnities). This proclama-

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tion shall, in addition, state the friendly desire of the Chinese Government to protect the Churches. This proclamation shall be cut on a stone, to be erected in front of the church."

Three copies of this agreement were signed, one of which was deposited with the Governor, another in the local Bureau of Foreign Affairs, while the third is in my possession.

As regards the compensation given to the native Christians, the following statement will show at a glance the amount granted by the Governor. Besides the families of those who were killed, there were, of course, many others who had lost houses and property, so that the amount received by each was not large :---

		Number of Adherents killed.	Compensation granted.
China Inland Mission Beptist Mission American Board Shou Yang Mission.	• • •	156 112 79 27	Taels 73,156 <sup>1</sup> ,, 35,776 ,, 25,000 ,, 5,600

In addition to the above, the *Christian Herald* of New York started a "Famine Relief Fund" for China, through which the sum of Tls. 26,000 was sent to Shansi to be distributed by the missionaries. This increased the favourable impression previously produced, and the Governor again issued a proclamation, which was

<sup>1</sup> The tael at that time was equal in value to about 2s. 6d.

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published all over the province, and in which he said---

"Be it known that last year and the year before there was great drought in this province, causing much suffering; and hunger-stricken people were everywhere. Last year the country was devastated by the Boxer rebellion, and the misery was beyond words. By the Imperial favour, relief was again distributed to arrest the distress and revive the land, like water pouring into a barren waste. But the suffering was widespread, and those to be relieved many, and the anxiety was great lest one should not obtain relief. Therefore the two American Protestant missionaries, Wen Ah Teh and Yeh Shou Chen, brought for the two provinces of Shansi and Shensi money contributed in their country. Everywhere where there had been mischief done by the Boxers they relieved all according to one rule-not distinguishing between Christians and non-Christians.

"Let all understand that these missionaries are willing and pleased thus to distribute relief without any idea of gaining merit. All my people who are in distress should with one voice return thanks for this. Previously, in the third and fourth years of the present reign there was also great calamity in this province, and those wandering about homeless were beyond counting. At that time the Protestant missionary, Li Ti Mo T'ai (Rev. Timothy Richard), preached in this province, and brought much money generously contributed, and thus saved alive innumerable people who were in distress. The people of this province should at this time think of that, for now the missionaries Wen and Yeh have come to again save all who are loudly wailing, without distinction of boundaries, and the dawning of the sunshine is the same now as it was then! This is certainly good news! I, the Governor, am anxious that on account of this the people of this province shall think well of the Church, and not in the least speak evil of it. Thus not only will both non-Christians and Christians of the province be benefited, but also there will be the blessing of friendliness created between China and foreign countries.

"This proclamation is for the information of officials and people, both civil and military. All should be perfectly acquainted with it.

"Fully acquaint yourselves and notify others."

In connection with the question of indemnity, it should be mentioned that before the Protestant missionaries had returned to the province, and of course without being asked to do so, the Governor, at the suggestion of Shên Taot'ai, allocated the sum of Tls. 5000 for the repair of the Mission premises at Shou Yang belonging to the late Mr. and Mrs. Pigott.

Before I left T'ai Yüan Fu a movement was set on foot by the gentry to make some acknowledgment of the fact that I had asked for no compensation for the destruction of the hospital and adjoining property. I declined both an honorary umbrella (Wan Min San), such as is occasionally
given to an official as a compliment, or a laudatory stone tablet; but suggested that if the destruction of the hospital was really regretted, the people of the city should do something voluntarily to help rebuild it. The idea was taken up, but the scheme had first of all to be submitted to the Governor for his approval. As it received his sanction, subscription books were prepared, and the first contributors were the Governor himself and other high officials, who between them subscribed the sum of Tls. 2000. By the time I left, a few merchant guilds had contributed the sum of Tls. 300. It is hoped that the hospital may eventually be rebuilt entirely by voluntary gifts from the Chinese.

With regard to Dr. Richard's proposal that the province should pay the sum of Tls. 500,000, in ten yearly instalments, towards the establishment of a school of Western learning for the Chinese, when this was submitted to the Governor he very strongly demurred on the ground of the poverty of the people. It was pointed out to him that the amount was not large, and that more money than that was spent every year on theatricals alone, from which the people derived no benefit Dr. Richard wisely pressed his point, whatever. and eventually the Governor consented conditionally, and deputed an official to go to Shanghai to consult with him on the subject. The conditions laid down by the Governor were the following :----(I) The money contributed for the purpose should on no account be regarded as a fine for the affairs of 1900. (2) The foreign teachers should not

### MEMORIAL SERVICE, T'AI YÜAN FU.



Arrival of Procession at Cemetery. Memorial Banners on the left.



Service at the Cemetery, conducted by Mr D. E. Hoste, C. I. M.

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be allowed to "promulgate the doctrine" in the colleges. (3) No chapel should be connected with the schools. (4) The foreign teachers should have nothing whatever to do with the internal arrangements of the colleges or schools. Dr. Richard could, of course, have nothing to do with the scheme on these conditions; but, after further communications had passed between him and the Governor, the latter consented to grant the sum required, and hand over the management of the college to Dr. Richard unconditionally for ten years, after which it was to revert to the Chinese authorities.

The final arrangements made are best given in Dr. Richard's own words, in a communication sent to the Shanghai North China Herald.

### "THE SHANSI UNIVERSITY FROM WITHIN

"In the autumn of last year an agreement was entered into with the Governor of Shansi whereby I should have the sole control of the sum of Tls. 50,000 annually for ten years. Then it was that I invited six professors from Europe and America to teach in it and translate for it, with the Rev. Moir Duncan, M.A., as Principal. On 3rd April we started for Shansi with some of these and six native professors of Western Meanwhile the Governor of Shansi learning. had been told by ignorant and prejudiced men that our institution was only to be a proselytising one, to destroy Confucianism and to force the students of Shansi to become Christians, give up the most sacred customs of China, and learn the evil ways of the West. He therefore was perplexed; some advised him to open up a rival one on Confucian bases.

"It took forty days of conference to remove this suspicion. At the very first interview with the Governor we strongly deprecated having two rival institutions, as it would be a great waste of money, and it would also perpetuate the strife which our new institution was intended to end. Why not rather amalgamate the two under one general name of Shansi University, and let one devote itself entirely to the study of Chinese learning (for Chinese education is rather backward in Shansi), and the other devote itself entirely to Western learning? This the enlightened Taot'ai, Shên Tun Ho, at once supported, suggesting a name for each, which was subsequently adopted. The Governor seemed inclined to the same view, provided he would have a share in the control. This was arranged afterwards to the entire satisfaction of both parties,

"The next point of interest is a radical departure in the course of study. It has been the rule almost universally in China to have half the day devoted to Chinese studies and the other half to Western studies. But I pointed out to the Governor that the times were serious, and China might have trouble with foreigners soon again. If they did not prepare men quickly, they were exposing themselves to great perils. I therefore

## After the Massacres

proposed that none should be admitted to the Western Department who had not the Siutsai (Chinese B.A.) degree, and finished their course in Chinese learning. In this way at the end of six years they would have better men turned out than those who had spent twelve years according to the old system. This he was a little afraid of at first, but finally acquiesced in most heartily.

"The question of religious liberty, which is now occupying much of the attention of all engaged in Christian Missions, also came up. We arrived at the conclusion, after a very long day's conference, that the framers of Regulations for the conduct of any university had no power to abrogate solemn treaties made with foreign Powers forty years ago. It was a matter for Peking, and not for the provincial authorities, to decide on. Consequently this matter was left; we rely on the toleration which the treaties secured. I find intelligent Chinamen most reasonable on this point. The Grand Vicerov Tso told me, 'If you do not force our people to become Christians, we will not force them not to become Christians if they wish to.'

"As the new buildings for the university are not yet up, the Governor kindly lent for our present use the Hwang Hwa Kuan, the residence of the Imperial Examiner for the Chinese M.A. degree, which was put up by H. E. Chang Chih Tung when Governor there, over twenty years ago. It is the best building for our purpose in the city. This was handed over to us on the 9th of June, when the Governor invited Principal Duncan, Professor Nystrom, and myself to meet the leading officials and gentry of the city to dinner in our new quarters. This was the happy conclusion of our negotiations. On the following day I left.

"On the 26th of June, when the necessary alterations had been made in the buildings, the Foreign Department was formally opened, with the Governor, leading officials, and gentry in attendance, when ninety-eight students enrolled themselves. Two more foreign professors, Messrs. Peck and Swallow, have gone to Shansi since, thus making the Shansi University stronger in its foreign staff than any other as yet.

"The next important question, as to how to provide the best text-books for the university, is too wide a subject to enter on here, though intimately connected with the well-being of the university. Meanwhile we have a translation department in Shanghai, where Professor Lyman and Mr. Darrock, with a staff of Chinese assistants, are hard at work preparing text-books.

"So much in regard to the new agreement by which the two institutions in Shansi work harmoniously instead of as rivals. May they both prove fruitful of much good to that sorely afflicted province. The ability, energy, and devotion of the Principal, and the high qualifications of the professors, together with the goodwill of the officials and gentry, give us every reason to hope that it will be so. Mrs. Duncan, who is an L.L.A., and who at present is the only foreign lady in T'ai Yüan Fu, hopes by and by to open a school for higher-class ladies."

[With regard to the funds for the support of the university, Principal Moir Duncan, writing on 23rd September 1902, said—

" I. The money is not, as represented, blood money, in any sense.

"2. It is not being extorted from an unwilling and famine-stricken populace, but comes direct from the Board of Revenue."]

#### THE ROMAN CATHOLICS AND THE INDEMNITY

While the question of compensating the Protestant Missions was satisfactorily settled in a comparatively short time, far different was it with the claims of the Roman Catholics.

It must be remembered that they lost both in persons and property much more heavily than the Protestants; but, however great their losses, these hardly justified the demands made. At one of the first interviews with the acting Governor they formulated the following claims:—

I. In the city of T'ai Yüan Fu itself they demanded that either the Governor's yamen or a large college called the Ling Teh T'ang should be handed over to them as a place of residence, in lieu of the cathedral and adjoining buildings which had been destroyed. Further, they demanded either the buildings of the Military Academy or the Arsenal.

2. Outside the city they demanded that two

market towns should be practically handed over to them-the original inhabitants being made to vacate their homes, as they had been deeply implicated in the Boxer movement. The first of these places is Shih T'ieh, a most important market town some 90 "li" east of T'ai Yüan Fu, on the high road from the provinces of Shansi, Shensi, and Kansuh to Peking. There, all carts travelling east or west have to change axle-trees, as the gauge alters from broad to narrow. It can easily be seen, therefore, what a strategic point that is, and how any person or party possessing it would practically control all the traffic through Hwai Luh and the Ku Kwan Pass westward.

The second place—Chin Tzu—50 "li" southwest of T'ai Yüan Fu, is celebrated for its spring of abundant and pure water. There are many legends concerning the origin of the spring; and a splendid temple has been erected in its vicinity, which is the resort of not a few wealthy people during the summer months. The water from the spring is public property, and is most carefully utilised for the irrigation of many acres of adjoining land, on which is grown rice; and the Chin Tzu rice is celebrated all over the province. Both these places the Governor was, of course, most unwilling to hand over to them.

3. A money indemnity of Tls. 10,000,000.

It is little wonder that when these demands were formulated the Governor was aghast; and after much discussion he said to the priest, "I really cannot grant your demands, and you had better accuse me to the authorities at Peking, saying that I am unfit for my office; for I would rather lose rank and office than give away public property." (This was related to me by one who was present at the interview.)

Then it was that the Vicar-General, Father Barnabas, wrote the following letter, sending one copy to Count von Waldersee, another to General von Kettler, and a third to the German officer commanding at the Ch'ang Ch'eng K'ou Pass:—

#### "T'AI YÜAN FU, 101k June 1901.

"SIR, --- We have received three times the report that the General Tung Fu Hsiang, in West Mongolia, has killed all Belgian missionaries, and on the 10th of June crossed the Yellow River and has come to Shansi in order to take the city of T'ai Yüan Fu and kill every Catholic. The Viceroy says he has sent troops to oppose General Tung, but I do not believe he is able to do so. even if it is true that he has sent any troops. Also in Yung Ning Chou rebellion has broken out. People say that the well-known haters of Europeans, Ma Yü K'uen and Hu Ch'eng Szu, will come here very soon. His nephew Ma Ch'in Yü is still here. The officials are not willing to receive us in audience, and will not punish the most guilty of the Boxers. All is showing imminent danger. I know that the glorious German army has helped the Missions very much, and so I ask you to send a strong force for the protection of T'ai Yüan Fu. Here in our

city a thousand and more men can live. I beg you not to listen to the stories of Chinese, even though they are priests. They are afraid of the Mandarins, and say always there is no danger.—I am, Sir, with due respect, your humble servant,

"BARNABAS, Vic. Generalis.

"P.S.—We have telegraphed three times to Peking and written three times, but I believe they have not arrived, and we have received no reply."

Had the priests induced either German or French troops to go to their rescue (!), they would have been able to press their demands with a force at their back.

Failing this, they were not, however, to be outdone; so on one point at least they presented an ultimatum, saying that at four o'clock on a certain day they would go and occupy the college (Ling Teh T'ang); and, if opposed and there was trouble, they would hold the local officials responsible. Not wishing for a scene or further complication, the authorities induced the resident staff and students to leave before the arrival of the priests, who at the time appointed appeared with many of their converts and took up their abode.

Eventually the matter was referred to Peking, and Father Barnabas went to plead his own cause. He there disagreed with the French Minister, and withdrew the Mission from French protection, but failed to place it under Italian protection. His true motive came out, and as a result he was not allowed to return to Shansi.

Meanwhile the priests who remained kept themselves well before the people. In August an image of the Virgin Mary was brought from one of their out-stations to be placed in a building of the newly occupied college, which they used as a chapel. It was escorted with much pomp, bands playing and banners flying; and four specially appointed officials (Wei Yüan) went out some distance to meet and escort it to its destination. Much attention was attracted by the unusual procession, and many people lined the street as spectators. Here and there one would be found who had his queue round his head or a cloth on his forehead, to protect him from the sun. If such were within reach of the sticks with which the converts were provided, they promptly got a knock on the head, followed by the injunction to put down the queue or remove the cloth! Inside the college elaborate services were held for several days, attended by about a thousand people.

In the villages too they were also much to the fore. Wherever any of their converts had been killed, they demanded from the village one thousand "strings" of cash (each "string" consisting of 1000 cash) to pay for a suitable funeral, which was to be accompanied by all the usual paraphernalia of bands, memorial banners, flags, etc. As these same villagers would have to pay their share of the general indemnity money, the officials considered they could not ask them to pay such a large amount in addition, specially in view of the bad harvests of the last two years. They accordingly asked the priests to let them know what they really wanted, and they would estimate the cost. On receiving the programme of the ceremonies demanded, they calculated that it could be carried out for the sum of forty-six "strings" of cash! and offered to procure that amount from each of the villages implicated. Eventually this was agreed to; but the priest said he must, in addition, have one hundred "strings" from each village, to pay for the "masses for the dead" that would have to be said.

After several months of negotiation, it was settled that the monetary indemnity should be only Tls. 2,250,000; that the demand for the two market towns should be given up; and that two months after the signing of the agreement the college (Ling Teh T'ang) should be handed back to the Chinese authorities.

The Rev. Arthur Sowerby, writing in February 1902 from T'ai Yüan Fu to the North China Herald, said—

"The affairs of the Roman Catholic Missions in T'ai Yüan Fu are not yet finally settled. Lately Monsignor Hofmann, Bishop of Lu An Fu, has been here to act as intermediary. The priests belonging to the Italian Mission are young men, with but a few years' experience, and have not proved capable of managing such delicate negotiations. The chief difficulty arises from the forcible possession and retention of the large college known as the Ling Teh T'ang. H. E. Shên Taot'ai recently obtained an expression of opinion from a large number of literary graduates on the missionary question. They wholly acquit the Protestant missionaries of any blameworthiness. but they unanimously express great indignation with the Catholics for their possession of the Ling Teh T'ang. H. E. Shen reported this to Bishop Hofmann, who declared that it must be relinquished. If relinquished, however, Bishop Hofmann demands a public funeral for the murdered bishops, and pressed for the attendance of the Governor at the funeral. Shen Taot'ai will grant them exactly a similar ceremony to that given to the Protestant missionaries, but no more. He will attend in person, but not the Fut'ai. The bishop pleads the exalted rank of the murdered bishops ; but Shên Taot'ai replied that the Chinese officials know no difference between a Roman Catholic bishop or priest or Protestant missionary, -all must be treated as friends. The Catholics reply that they cannot give up the Ling Teh T'ang unless the Fut'ai will attend the funeral; and to this the indignant answer is: 'Well then, keep it.'

"During the conversation H. E. Shen Taot'ai had one trump-card up his sleeve, which he played to advantage. Suddenly he told the priests that if he wished he could have them all arrested by his soldiers and put out of Shansi, as *they had no passports*. Astonished, they replied that they had passports obtained from the French Government; and then they were informed that, owing to the action of Father Barnabas, who had disagreed with the French Minister, so long ago as

last June all their passports had been cancelled. Father Barnabas had withdrawn the Mission from French protection, and they had failed to place themselves under Italian protection. Thus for eight months these priests have, in entire ignorance, been at the mercy of the Chinese; and some credit must be given to H. E. Shên for his forbearance in allowing them to remain in T'ai Yüan Fu. After this H. E. Shên declined to recognise that they had any right to discuss the question further with him, and would only consent to do so as on the ground of friendship, There can be no doubt that the worthy bishop has done his best as a peacemaker, and has gained respect in consequence; but only time will show whether the policy adopted by the Catholics of attempting to gain all they could, rather than being willing to relinquish all they could, which has characterised the action of the Protestant Missions, has been the wiser method.

"Bishop Hofmann further demanded that, if the Ling Teh T'ang be relinquished, no Protestant missionary, or anyone who had ever held that position, be allowed to enter it. This was going beyond his province, and was a distinct blow at Dr. Richard's proposed Shansi University. Here again, and very rightly, H. E. Shên adopted a very firm position, and refused to yield to this audacious proposal."

The latest news is that the college has been given up, but the other points are still under discussion.

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# CHAPTER IV

### PERSECUTIONS OF THE NATIVE CHURCH

#### [The numbers within brackets denote the age of the martyrs.]

THE following particulars of the sufferings of the Chinese Christians in Shansi are given, as far as possible, in the words of the narrators themselves.

The tortures to which some were subjected cannot be mentioned; but in several instances details are given, that the Christian Church may know how nobly some of their brethren and sisters have suffered.

### T'AI YÜAN FU

When the foreigners were inveigled out of the Mission house by a promise of protection and confined in one nearer the Hsien (Sub-Prefect's) yamen, treachery was suspected, yet several Chinese voluntarily offered to go with them to act as servants—Wang Hsi Ho as cook to Mr. Hoddle, and Chang Ch'eng Sheng in the same capacity for Mr. Beynon. Both came from the province of Chihli, so that it is probable, had they wished to escape, they could have done so. Besides these there were Liu Pai Yüan, who had been an assistant in the hospital for several years, and Liu Hao, who was acting temporarily as a servant. Of these four, three were baptized and the fourth had given in his name as an "inquirer." There was also Ch'ang Ang, a boy of only fifteen, who had been a pupil in Mr. Pigott's school at Shou Yang, and who, when the trouble broke out there, fled to T'ai Yüan Fu and took refuge with the missionaries.

About noon on 9th July Mr. Farthing sent the two young men Liu Pai Yüan and Liu Hao out on different messages - the latter being directed to call both a mason and a whitewasher to do some repairs. Before they had time to return, the Governor-Yü Hsien-went with his soldiers to the house, arrested all whom he found there, and took them to his yamen, where they were immediately killed by his orders and in his presence. Not only were the two servants and the scholar from Shou Yang massacred with the foreigners, but also the mason who had just arrived: and several others whose names are not known, who had gone to visit the missionaries on various business matters. Accompanying the Roman Catholic bishops, priests, and nuns were also five Chinese, who met the same fate. The next day their cathedral was attacked, and forty-nine converts massacred, most of the women and girls being spared, and subsequently sold to the Boxers and their friends; but many of these were afterwards recovered and returned to their relatives. After 9th July only four Protestant converts were killed in T'ai Yüan Fu

itself, but the houses of those who had any valuables were all looted and then utilised as stables for the soldiers! In the immediate vicinity the Roman Catholics suffered severely, two hundred being killed in one village alone; and it is estimated that in the whole province they lost about eight thousand; while the total loss of the Protestants (so far as is known) is about three hundred and eighty. Of these, one hundred and fifty-six were connected with the China Inland Mission, one hundred and twenty with the English Baptist Society, seventy-nine with the American Board, and twenty-seven with the Shou Yang Mission. Others were killed in that part of Shansi outside the Great Wall, but full particulars of these are not yet to hand.

That there were not more killed is probably due to the fact that soon after 9th July a proclamation was issued notifying the Christians that if they left the Church they should be protected. A great number availed themselves of this offer, and, having obtained the certificates of protection, returned to their homes to find them pillaged and burnt. But the Boxers having tasted blood, it was difficult to restrain them; so on 25th August another proclamation was issued saying that the authority to kill was not with the people or even the high officials, and if after that date any Christians were killed without cause (1) the murderers would be summarily executed.

Of the districts worked by Protestant Missions, that of T'ai Ku, occupied by the American Board, suffered most severely, and details will probably be published by Dr. Atwood, the sole survivor of that Mission in Shansi; but the noble example of evangelist Liu must be mentioned. Of commanding presence, he was all his life a well-known figure in T'ai Ku, having been for some years employed in the local yamen. Being a confirmed opium smoker, he applied to Mr. Clapp to assist him break off the habit, and while under his care was converted. Very soon he became conspicuous as a Christian, and for several years was Mr. Clapp's right-hand helper. When the troubles broke out, many of his friends promised to hide and protect him if he would but leave the missionaries; but this he stoutly refused to do. When the Boxers broke into the Mission premises, to their surprise they found him quietly sitting at the door of the chapel where he had so often preached, and he met them with the words. "Come on friends, kill me first!" Without any mercy he was immediately cut down.

#### SHOU YANG HSIEN

Shou Yang Hsien comes next with a martyr roll of seventy, nineteen of whom were killed outside the west gate of the city, after a mock trial held before the magistrate himself and the Boxer leaders, while the rest were massacred wherever they were caught. Some of them were offered their lives if they would recant, but refused to deny their Lord; while others were not given the option.

Not a few families were almost exterminated,-

MEMORIAL SERVICE AT SHOU YANG.



Reception of Mourners by the Resident Magistrate in his Yâmen.



Mourners gathered round the site of martyrdom and burial (X) of nineteen Chinese Christians.

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# Persecutions of the Native Church 177

no mercy being shown to even infants in arms,--but perhaps the one who suffered most was that of Yen Lai Pao, the Christian who nobly offered Mr. and Mrs. Pigott a refuge in his home when they had to flee on 29th June. They were only there three days, and then had to forsake that refuge, as the Boxers had risen in the neighbouring villages, where they were killing the Christians and burning their houses. On the evening of Monday 2nd July Mr. Pigott and family returned to Shou Yang, while Yen and his relatives (numbering twenty people) fled into the mountain ravines close at hand. The next day the Boxers appeared and burnt all the houses of this family, after having first stolen everything that was of any value. Then began the search for the members of the family, and the first to be arrested was Yen Lai Pao himself, who was immediately killed. One of his younger sons was then found; and because he would not say where the rest of the family were hiding, he was taken to his village and there tortured to make him confess. His hands and feet were tied together behind, and a pole passed between, by which he was suspended. Still refusing to reveal the hiding-place of his relatives, burning incense was then placed upon his back and a heavy stone put upon that! All this failed to elicit any information from him; yet that same day six other members of the family were arrested. sent to the city (Shou Yang), and there killed. Within the next few days seven others were arrested and killed, and only six men were left to

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represent the family, all the women and younger members having fallen victims to the hatred of their enemies. That they suffered so severely was undoubtedly due to the fact that they dared to offer a refuge to the foreigners; and, while no compensation will make up for the serious loss of life, their noble efforts to protect the missionaries will not be forgotten.

Of the nineteen who suffered outside the gate of Shou Yang city, some were put to death in a most barbarous manner; but Mi Sien Seng was the one who was treated with the greatest cruelty. He was a member of the Baptist Mission, and for some years had been one of Mr. Pigott's helpers. When taken before the mock tribunal, composed of the magistrate and Boxer leaders, he was very fearless, and refused to recant. He was then handed over for execution, taken outside the city with several others, and there mutilated in a manner which forbids description, before being finally beheaded.

Among those killed at the same time as Mi Sien Seng was Wang Ten Jen, who had been practically brought up in Mr. Pigott's household, and proved one of his most faithful servants and helpers. When the missionaries fled he was anxious to accompany them, but had to remain to look after his wife and children. Being a most consistent Christian, he was soon sought out by the Boxers, who took him before their tribunal. He stoutly refused to defile a figure of the cross made on the ground, though offered his life if he would do so, and was immediately sentenced to death.

Tsai Ching Yung was an object of special hatred by the Boxers, and suffered severely in consequence. He was a house painter by trade, and also at times painted idols. While a patient in the hospital at T'ai Yüan Fu he was converted, and then gave up that part of his trade. On returning to his home he used a room in his house as a village chapel. and was quite fearless in preaching, venturing even into the temples or wherever he could get an audience. When caught by the Boxers he was first beaten and wounded, then bound and taken before the tribunal at Shou Yang. While lying there bound and bruised, he was ridiculed by the bystanders. Some asked, "Does it hurt, teacher?" while others rejoined, "Ah, it won't last long." Another said. "Preach to us now. teacher!" After a so-called trial he too was condemned to death, and beheaded outside the city, his head being hung on a neighbouring tree.

Li Kai, an old man of over sixty, was arrested by the people of his own village and handed over to the Boxers, who took him to the city. When brought before the official he was too dazed to answer any questions, so was beaten till nearly insensible and then placed in a tall wooden cage, with only his head protruding through an aperture in the top—one of the most cruel forms of Chinese torture. After a few hours, as he was not dead, he was taken out and executed outside the city with others.

One of the saddest cases was that of faithful Hu of Shih T'ieh, who for many years had been an evangelist in connection with the Baptist Mission. He was well known, and his wholehearted witness early marked him out for death. He was finally hunted down, beheaded, disembowelled, his heart cut out, and then his dismembered body was cast into the fire.

Of the seventy-one killed in this district fortytwo were men, eighteen women, and eleven children; and the above are but a few samples of the manner in which many of them heroically met their death. Not a few fled into the mountains, and were chased for days by their pursuers. Husbands were killed in the presence of their wives, while children were massacred in their mothers' arms. One woman was actually buried alive. All their sufferings could not be delineated, and will probably never be fully known.

That so many suffered in Shou Yang Hsien was undoubtedly partly due to the apathy of the official then in office. He made no effort whatever to protect the Christians; but, when two Boxers threatened him for some reason, he immediately sent to T'ai Yüan Fu for help, and on the arrival of two hundred soldiers had the men arrested and beheaded, the only two who were punished in that district!

### HSIN CHOU DISTRICT

In the district of Hsin Chou (the scene of the massacre of Mr. and Mrs. Herbert Dixon, Mr. and Mrs. Wm. M'Currach, Mr. and Mrs, T. J.

Underwood. Miss Bessie Renaut, and Mr. Sydney W. Ennals) the persecution began soon after the flight of the missionaries for their lives on 29th June. Several of the Christians accompanied them. among whom was Ho Tsuen Kwei. He was an old man of sixty, and at one time had been partproprietor of a dyeing business. On his conversion he had relinquished his share in this, and accepted a comparatively small salary to act as helper to Rev. J. J. Turner. He fled with the missionaries, and remained with them in their hiding-place until about 13th July, when he was sent to ascertain how matters were east of Hsin Chou, and to see if it were possible to get to the coast that way.

On nearing Hsin Chou he called at the village where his sister lived, and was there arrested by the local Boxers-iust a few lads in their teens. By them he was taken to the town and handed over to the local official, Li Tsuen Kwang, who at once put him in handcuffs. The next day this official examined Ho, and tried to find out from him where the missionaries were hiding; but he refused to tell. This made the magistrate very angry, and he ordered him to be beaten with the He still refused to say where the hamboo. foreigners had gone; and, while being beaten, the underlings of the vamen and bystanders ridiculed him, saying, "Doesn't it hurt? You'll soon be in heaven." He was beaten with over a thousand strokes, and then when nearly insensible was thrown into prison, still wearing his handcuffs,

and in addition his feet were put in wooden stocks. Another Christian happened to be in prison at the time, and attended to his few wants; but he was only able to take a little water, and on the fourth day death happily put an end to his sufferings. He was the first martyr—as he had been one of the first converts—in Hsin Chou.

Ang Hsu Ken (50) and Chang Ling Wang (16) also retreated with the missionaries to their The latter was not a Church hiding - place. member, but had acted for some time as a servant to the late Miss Renaut. These two were advised to return home, as the provisions of the party were diminishing and there was little or no prospect of their being replenished. They started on their journey, but had not gone far before being arrested and examined by Boxers. It was soon found out who they were, and both were condemned to death. The elder man pleaded for the life of his young companion, and begged that he might be allowed to return. But the lad stoutly refused to leave his friend, and they were both hacked to death and their remains burned.

Si Er Mao (32) lived only 10 li from Hsin Chou, and was well known in the neighbourhood as a Christian, as he was always preaching to his heathen neighbours. He was therefore one of the marked men, and on 13th July was arrested and bound by the Boxers of his own and the neighbouring villages and taken to a temple, where he was ordered to kneel and "kowtow" to the

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leader. This he refused to do, saying he was a child of God, and would not kneel to devils. This made the Boxer chief very angry, and he ordered his followers to beat him with sticks. At once he was knocked down and beaten while on the ground, but still he refused to kneel. His hands and feet were then tied together behind him, a pole was passed through, and, slung in this way, he was carried to the boundary of two villages and there hacked to death with swords. Having heard Si often speak of the doctrine of the resurrection, and fearing lest there might be some truth in it, they cut across the soles of his feet before burying him in a ditch that was near at hand !

On the same day, Chang Tao (47) and Si Hwa Yu (68) were arrested, taken to the village temple, tried, and condemned to death unless they would recant. This they refused to do, and were then taken to the spot where Si Er Mao had been murdered, and were again urged to leave the Church. They still declined to do this, and were immediately cut down and killed. As a favour, their relatives were allowed to take away their remains for burial; but they were not interred in the family graveyard.

A few days after, Chang Tao's mother (70) and daughter (11) found it necessary, in consequence of the threats of the Boxers, to leave their home and seek refuge with friends in a village near by; but no one would take them in, as they were connected with Christians. At a loss to know what to do, they were returning to

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their own village, when they were met by a band of Boxers, who arrested and took them to their chief in Hsin Chou to ask for instructions as to their fate. The answer soon came: "Kill them where arrested," and they were accordingly taken back and murdered near their own village.

Cheo Chi Cheng (30) was employed in a boot shop in Hsin Chou. The same day that the missionaries fled he took his wife and child to his mother-in-law's village for safety. Not long after, he was arrested there by the local Boxers and beaten till he was insensible. They then searched his clothes, and, finding that he had on his person a copy of the New Testament, decided to burn him. For this purpose they made every family in the village contribute a bundle of millet sticks, with which the fire was made, and he was thrown on and burnt to death.

Wang Cheng Pang (50) was well known as a Christian, so when the trouble broke out he had to flee with his wife and family. He took them to a waste place in the open country; and then, thinking they would be safer if he were not there, left them with the intention of going to a distance. But before he had gone very far he was recognised by some men of a neighbouring village who were watching their crops, and they immediately set upon him with stones and beat him till he was insensible. Finding that he was not dead, they knocked out his brains with their reaping-hooks. No other member of his family was injured, as they all managed in one way or another to escape.

When the missionaries fled on 29th June they rested at noon at the house of a Christian named Chang Chih Kweh (53), who welcomed them warmly, and did all he could for them. A few days after, when they were settled in their cave, he went to visit them, but was arrested on his way by the villagers of Fu Chia Chwang, who, long before the Boxer outbreak, had been the bitter opponents of their Christian neighbours because they would not subscribe towards the local theatricals or the upkeep of the temples. That same day the Boxers from Hsin Chou arrived at the village on their way to seek the hiding-place of the foreigners, and demanded that Chang should be their guide. But he stoutly refused to show them the way, even though he was threatened with death. His persistent refusal so angered them that they set upon him with swords and sticks, and he was slowly done to death.

One of the saddest, and yet perhaps brightest, cases is that of Chao Hsi Mao (30), his mother (57), sister (36), and wife, only nineteen years old. Being a prominent and well-known Christian, he was advised by his friends to leave his own village and flee. This he refused to do, and in July all four members were arrested by the Boxers, and their house and all their belongings burnt. They were then bound and taken on a cart to the Boxer chief at Hsin Chou to ask for instructions. He said: "I don't want to see them; take them back and kill them where arrested." While on their way back they joined in singing the hymn, "He leadeth me." Arrived at a vacant spot outside their own village, they were taken down from the cart, and the man was first beheaded with the huge knife generally used for cutting straw. Still the women would not recant, and the old mother said: "You have killed my son, you can now kill me," and she too was beheaded. The other two were still steadfast, and the sister said: "My brother and mother are dead, kill me too." After her death there was only the young wife left, and she said : "You have killed my husband, mother and sisterin-law-what have I to live for? Take my life as well." Thus all four sealed their testimony with their blood. In addition to the foregoing fifteen, one was killed by falling over a precipice while fleeing from the Boxers, so that Hsin Chou has now the honour of possessing a martyr roll of sixteen "valiant saints."

The next station north of Hsin Chou is Kwo Hsien; but here only one man, Chang Kwei (29), lost his life, so far as is known. Though only an "inquirer," he was evidently well known as a Christian, and was sought for by the Boxers. He managed to escape from his own village, but was caught in a neighbouring one and at once killed.

Forty li north of Kwo Hsien is Tai Chou, and the number of Christians killed there would have \_ been much greater had it not been for the energetic action of the Men Shang (attendant) of the local official. Among those who suffered was

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the mother of Chen Chih Tao (50). When the Boxers arose, the whole family had to scatter; but the mother, not being able to go far, was the first one to be found, and she was discovered in a neighbouring temple where she was hiding. At once the Boxers set upon her with swords and hacked her to death. Soon after, Chen Chih Tao himself, his father, and brother were found, and taken to the same temple. To prevent their running away, the soles of their feet were burnt with hot irons, and then they were taken in a cart to Tai Chou, where they were to be tried by the Boxer chief. The Men Shang above mentioned having heard of what was taking place, waited till they were passing the yamen, and then rushed out with yamen-runners, rescued the three men, and kept them under his own care till the trouble had blown over. In this way this man saved the lives of more than ten Christians, himself undertaking the responsibility, as his chief appears to have been a man without any stamina. In all the accounts received, nothing is more evident than that the local officials could protect the Christians when they wished; and that, when they presented a bold front to the Boxers, these braggarts and cowards were easily overawed.

In the case of Wang Shih (50), who was only an "inquirer," the Men Shang was unable to interfere, as the father of his accuser was a wellto-do man with some local influence. As early as 3rd June Wang Shih was attacked in his own house, and one of his hands severely injured. He

was taken to the official, and accused of injuring his neighbours. The official asked what evidence they had to produce; and one man at once spoke up and said: "My illness has been caused by him, and unless he is killed I cannot get better." The magistrate then asked Wang Shih by what methods he injured people and made them sick; but he made no reply. He was then ordered to be beaten several hundred blows with the bamboo; and after being beaten they were leading him away to prison to await further evidence, when the Boxers suddenly rushed upon him, and, dragging him away from the yamen-runners, took him without the city to kill him, Arrived outside the east gate, he was first set upon by the would-be sick man, who thrust him through the abdomen with a sword. The whole crowd of Boxers then attacked him, and he was literally cut to pieces.

The terror in which even the people connected with Christians lived during the time the Boxer power was at its height is illustrated by the case of Chou Feng Hsi (47). He was part-proprietor of a shop in the city of Tai Chou itself; and, fearing lest he should be arrested, he attempted to escape by climbing over a wall. Unfortunately, he fell and broke his leg, and was carried back by his assistants to the shop. His partners, fearing lest it should be known that they had a Christian there, urged him to poison himself by taking opium. This at first he firmly refused to do, saying, "If you don't want me here, hand me over to the magistrate; or even to the Boxers



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Hsin Chou from the south-east.I. Tower over the gateway where the massacre occurred.2. Site of the Martyrs' Cemetery.



Hsin Chou. Memorial Service on the site of the Massacre.

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themselves." But they were much too afraid to adopt either of these plans, and finally either poisoned him or else compelled him to commit suicide.

In a village not far from the city lived Tso Hung and his family. On the outbreak of the persecution they had all to flee, and scattered in various directions. His wife, mother (90), and daughter (10) hid in an old graveyard; but were found by the Boxers, who were going to kill them, when some friends rushed to the city and informed the Men Shang. Without waiting for his horse, he immediately went out on foot with his attendants, rescued the three women, and arrested the Boxer leader. Unfortunately, the little girl had been so injured by the harsh treatment she received at the hands of the Boxers that she died soon after, thus raising the martyr roll of Tai Chou to four.

Fan Szu Hsien is a small town 130 li to the north-west of Tai Chou, and the events which happened there afford further evidence of the influence of local officials, and their power either to protect the Christians or leave them to the mercy of the Boxers. Missionary work had only been carried on in this town some four or five years—a missionary visiting it, at most, once a year. There were already quite a number of "inquirers," who, though not baptized, were recognised by their neighbours as Christians. A small house had been rented as a chapel, and an evangelist placed in charge.
In consequence of the many wild rumours, the evangelist Chou Yung Yao had been advised to leave and go to his home; but he said he had been appointed to that station, and would not desert his post. As things became more threatening, he even sent in a petition to the magistrate, saying that if the Christians were in fault he was to blame, as he had taught them the doctrine. He asked, therefore, that he might be punished in some way to appease the anger of the people, and allow the others to go unmolested. To this petition the official gave no heed; and the Boxers evidently knew that they had a free hand, for the storm burst suddenly on the little band on Sunday 1st July, after their service. The mob first attacked the chapel, breaking both the doors and windows, and then set the place on fire. They then sought and caught the evangelist, dragged him to the main street. and there beat him until he was unconscious. Regaining consciousness he attempted to rise, and was partially kneeling, when one cried out, "See, he is praving even now. Drag him to the fire." Immediately some of the bystanders caught hold of him and pulled him towards the burning chapel; but he said: "You need not drag me, I will go myself." He quietly walked to the chapel and entered the burning building, and almost immediately the roof fell in : death must have been instantaneous. But the mob was not satisfied, and sought everywhere for the Christians. Kao Chung Tang (44) was caught in the street, beaten till nearly dead, and then thrown on the smouldering ruins of the chapel. He was still conscious, and after a time begged the bystanders to give him some water. "Do you want it hot or cold?" asked one man. "See, I will give you some lukewarm," and then offered him some filth to drink. "Others," said he, " would not even give you that." Among all the crowd there was not one that took pity on him, and the poor fellow lingered on till the next day.

Hsu Yen (36) and Li Chung (32) were both at the service on that fateful Sunday, and when the riot began fled outside the city; but were caught, bound and beaten, brought back to the city, and thrown on the burning ruins, where they perished.

Not content with what had been done in the city, the Boxers then turned their attention to the villages. The home of Liu Tzu Hen was one of the first to be attacked, and the house was destroyed. All the members of the family escaped for the time being, the wife going to her mother's home in a village near at hand. The Boxers of that village hearing of her arrival, immediately sought her, and she had to flee a second time and hide in a field of wheat. There she was found and caught; and it is said she was stripped of all her clothing and bound and taken to the city, her captors beating her as they went along. Arrived at the city, she was thrown on to the smouldering ruins of the chapel, where she was left by her tormentors, who soon

afterwards scattered. Finding herself free, she managed to creep out of the ruins, and had passed the city gate and was making her way home, when she was caught again by the Boxers, brought back, and a second time thrown on the ruins. This time they did not leave her; and as by night-time she was not dead, they took a cord and strangled her. Notwithstanding all her suffering, it is said she remained steadfast to the end.

In another village the house of Kao Lien Teng (50) was attacked and burned. He himself was at once arrested and taken to the city, where he was tried (!) by the Boxers. He was asked: "Why did you enter the Church?" " Because it was good." "Why then do you injure people?" "I do harm to no one," he replied. "Well, if you will leave this foreign sect and worship Buddha, we will not harm you." To this he made no reply, and they cried out: "This man is not willing to repent, throw him into the fire." He was then dragged to the chapel and thrown on the smouldering ruins, and perished. His wife fled, and managed to reach her sister's home; but was there arrested and brought to the city. She was taken to the yamen; but the official would have nothing to do with the case, and she too was burnt to death in the same place as her The eldest son (22) was arrested husband. while fleeing, and taken to his village and burnt in the ruins of his own house. His wife (19) fled and hid in a cave, but was found and immediately stabbed through the abdomen, and

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then buried before she was really dead. The second son (14) fled from village to village pursued by the Boxers, and was eventually taken in and protected by an uncle. He was so much frightened, however, that he was never himself again, and gradually wasted away, and died in a few months. Thus, of this family of seven, five have laid down their lives for the truth, and the two remaining are a girl of seven and a boy of four.

But this does not complete the tale of those who lost their lives on that dreadful day, 1st July. Two brothers, Yao Ch'i Hou (50) and Yao Ch'i Wang (11), were at the service in the city, but managed to escape to their own village. They were immediately arrested by the local Boxers, their house set on fire, and the elder of the two was burnt in his own home. The younger was taken to the temple of the god of war in the city. to be tried before a Boxer tribunal. It was at first decided that if he would provide fifty swords for the "cause" he would be allowed to go free; but thereupon two Boxers kneeled before the chief and begged that he might be at once killed. "because he had done much mischief." Their request was granted, and he was handed over to their tender mercies. As he was being led along he said, "This is the happiest day of my life." This angered his persecutors all the more, and as soon as they reached the outside of the west gate they set upon him with their swords and killed him.

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On that same day Kao Chung Tang's elder brother, Kao Ye Chung (52), their mother (80), and a boy of fifteen escaped, and reached the outside of the city before they were arrested. They were taken to a Boxer chief at the village of Li Chia Chwang, and he was asked what was to be done to them. "Set fire to the house of the Christian Kao Lien Teng, and burn them in it"; and these orders were instantly carried out to the letter.

Perhaps the most sadly interesting case was that of Wang Hsin (33). He was a native of Fan Szu, and was well known in the city as having formerly been a gambler, opium-smoker, and, in fact, a regular "blackleg." The genuineness of his conversion was manifested by a complete change of life; and, though not baptized, he was entrusted by the missionaries with a few books to sell, and thus became equally well known in all the surrounding districts as a Christian. Early in July he was arrested in the village where he happened to be, searched to see if he had any poison on him, and all his books burnt. Not content with this, his persecutors set upon him with swords, wounding him seriously. They then bound him, took him to the city, and held a kind of trial in front of the military vamen. Many of the people said to him: "We know you were formerly a bad character, but have now reformed; only leave the foreign sect, and you will not be killed." He replied: "I have

already left the foreign sect" (apparently referring to Buddhism), "and now follow the heavenly doctrine, reverence the Supreme Ruler (Shang Ti), believe in Jesus, and worship the true God. How can you say I belong to a foreign sect?" It is said that he spoke quite a long time to his persecutors; but the Boxer leader said: "This man has evidently been poisoned by the foreigners; what is this he is talking about? If we do not kill him he will certainly do mischief." He was immediately taken outside the west gate of the city, and there killed in a most barbarous manner.

The most pathetic cases were those of two sisters-in-law, wives of two brothers (Sun Cheng and Sun Hsiu), who with two children were both burned to death in their own house. Their homes were attacked on the 2nd July. and all had to flee; but the two women, being near the time of their confinement, were not able to go far. The wife of the elder brother was caught in a neighbouring village, taken to the temple, bound to a tree, and then beaten. The next day she was taken back to the temple of her own village-her own home being all in ruins-and there gave birth to a child, which was immediately killed by the inhuman monsters. A mock trial was held, and she was asked: "What poison have you about you with which to do mischief?" She bravely replied: "We have left the false and turned to the true, the evil for the good. How have we done any

mischief?" The leader of the Boxers velled out: "She is not telling the truth, and will not leave the foreign sect. She ought to be burnt!" At once the part of her own home which was not quite burnt was rekindled, and she and a little boy of six, who had accompanied her all this time, were driven into the flames at the point of the sword. The wife of the younger brother was also caught, taken back to her own village, and tried (1) by the same tribunal. "Have you scattered abroad paper men to injure the people of your village?" she was asked. She replied: "It is you who kill, burn houses, and do mischief, not we." This made the Boxer leader very angry, and he said: "This woman ought to be burnt to death"; and she and her little boy of six were both driven into the flames. like her sister-in-law.

One other woman, who died from injuries received while fleeing from her persecutors, raises the martyr roll of the infant Church at Fan Szu to twenty-two.

The magistrate of this place, having so grossly neglected to protect the Christians within his jurisdiction, was greatly perplexed and agitated when the Germans took the passes in April 1901, and immediately had the rubbish removed from the site of the burnt chapel and a blank wall built along the street front, to hide all traces of what had taken place. Subsequently he disappeared, and, it is said, quietly returned to his own home.

### P'ING YANG FU DISTRICT

Near Ping Yang Fu, in the south of the province, where many Christians were killed and others robbed of all their possessions, eighteen had a cross cut on their foreheads with a knife, and were then kept under a scorching sun to make the scar permanent. Later, these same people were taken to the local official, who, to save their lives (!), had the men beaten on the thigh 400 to 500 strokes with a bamboo rod, and then put them in prison for several weeks. The women were beaten on the hands an equal number of strokes, so that in some cases their hands were ruined.

So high did the anti-foreign feeling run in this district, that the mob, doubtless desiring to make an example of those who had assisted foreigners in any way, fell upon and murdered an old man named P'eng, who had rented and afterwards sold a house to the foreigners. This is all the more significant, as this man was a thorough heathen, and had shown no interest whatever in the teachings of the missionaries. A man named Yen and his wife were natives of Chi Chou-the station occupied by Mr. and Mrs. Young. Being well known as Christians, they were taken by the Boxers and first hung up to a beam in a temple by their hands, which had been bound behind their backs. While in this exceedingly painful position they were beaten with rods, and then a slow fire was lit under them, just sufficient to scorch but not

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to burn them. After undergoing this torture for a time, the wife was set free; but the husband was bound and put into a circle of fire, which was large enough to prevent a speedy death. The poor man endured the agony as long as he could, and then, wishing speedily to terminate his life, managed to throw himself over into the flames. The Boxers thereupon heaped cinders over him, until a soldier standing by, indignant at the sight of such revolting cruelty, cursed the inhuman Boxers to their face, who at once set upon him and cut him to pieces. This enraged other soldiers, who rushed upon the Boxers and drove them off. They then removed the poor man from the fire, and, finding him still alive, took him to the yamen, where he was put in a dark prison without the least comfort. For a time his poor wife begged her food where she could; but when the Boxers were suppressed they were eventually reunited, and are both living to testify that the grace of God is "sufficient."

When such atrocities were being committed, it is little wonder that some recanted; but, on the other hand, the history of those who suffered death rather than deny their Lord will be an invaluable legacy, not only to the Church in China but throughout the world.

One other case may be cited. A Christian was offered his life if he would but burn incense to the idols in the village temple. Life was dear to him, and it appeared a very simple thing to do. He took the incense in his hand, entered the



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temple, but, when he saw the hideous idols he had renounced, threw the incense on the ground, saying, "I can't!" Immediately he was taken out and suffered the death penalty.

### THE STORY OF THE T'AI YÜAN FU SCHOOLGIRLS

It has already been mentioned that, when the hospital was burnt on 27th June, eleven schoolgirls were with the missionaries. Though scattered at the time and sold, some of them to slavery and worse, they were all subsequently recovered at our request and by the order of the late Plenipotentiary, Li Hung Chang. Those who had friends living were returned to their homes, while those who had no relatives were placed in the care of the Christian photographer and his family. Some we met on our return to T'ai Yüan Fu, and from their own lips obtained the stories of their sufferings. When we left Shansi in November 1901, as no Protestant lady had returned to the province to reopen a school, seven of the girls were taken to Peking and placed in the school of the American Board Mission.

### PU T'AO

### By Miss M. E. Shekleton

"I well remember my first visit to the lovely hill village of Chen Chih Po, the donkey ride up the picturesque mountain paths, and the warm welcome and loving hospitality at the end of the journey. Chang, the head of the household, who had been for some years a Christian, was a rugged, bearded man, staunch and faithful, and a most devoted father. He had taught his pretty, gentle wife to read her Bible in the difficult hieroglyphics of the country, and they longed above all things that their two dearly loved and petted daughters should become Christians also. On Sunday, when the weather permitted, he would walk IO miles to the nearest place of Christian worship, often leading his donkey with wife and baby or his daughters enthroned on its back.

"It was there we first met Chang, and there I learned to know and love his wife-that sweet gentle woman, as refined in her way as any English lady. What a pleasure it was to hear her tell the gospel to her heathen country-women, so clearly and pointedly, so graphically and earnestly; but it was best of all to hear her pray with the children gathered round her-Tao Nu and Pu T'ao, and the baby boy who lisped after her the sacred words. We spent a day and night in the little home: such a happy home it waspoor enough, for Chang was only a small farmer, but so clean and bright and peaceful. But how lonely! Not a neighbour would cross the Christian threshold. Certainly, the little family needed all the love and brightness they could muster among themselves, for they were shunned as though plague - stricken: not more isolated from human sympathy and help could they have been had they lived in the Sahara.

"Pu T'ao, the younger daughter, was the pet of the family; outwardly a tomboy and a romp, but at heart the most sensitive and loving of children. Utterly devoted to her father and mother, she was proud, as elder sisters will be, of the delicate baby boy who ruled king of the little household, just as English babies are wont to do; indeed, one object of my visit was to see the wonderful baby, and a proud girl was Pu T'ao as she brought the treasure to be duly admired and petted.

"Mr. Chang was anxious that Pu T'ao should come to the Mission school in T'ai Yüan Fu, one day's journey from their home, for he was too enlightened a man to think that girls should be neglected, as the custom of the country is; and for years Pu T'ao made one of our happy band of schoolgirls. Enjoying the school life thoroughly, the child was always eager for the home-going to the beloved father and mother. When the last holidays came, and the last home-going before the trouble, Pu T'ao gave her father the joy he had so longed for, and confessed herself a disciple of Christ. How little we all knew what the future had in store!"

We will now allow Pu T'ao to complete her own story.

"Last year, on 27th June, when the mob began to attack the Mission buildings, we schoolgirls were all taken over to Dr. Lovitt's court, where we found all the missionaries assembled. There were only eleven scholars, as that very morning those girls who had friends in the city had been sent to their homes-not because there was any fear of a riot, but because the school was breaking up for the summer holidays. The crowd gradually set fire to all the houses, and we then had to retreat to Dr. Lovitt's kitchen. We could not stay there long, as the neighbours, fearing their own house would be set on fire, began to pull the building down. There was nothing to be done but to attempt to escape, and we children followed the missionaries as they left the compound. Soon after passing the outer gate I lost sight of the foreigners, as it was quite dark, and there was much commotion, and the people were pelting us with brickbats. I managed to get past the crowd, and soon found four other of the schoolgirls who had missed the foreigners. These were Hai Chüen, Hai Kw'ei, San San, and Nai Nü.

"We walked on, not knowing where to go or what to do, when we saw a black dog just in front of us which seemed to be leading us somewhere. If we stopped to talk together and consult as to which way we should go the dog would also stop, and when we went on he continued to lead us. At last we found ourselves at what we knew was the big south gate, and then we suddenly lost sight of our dog. We then scrambled up on to the city wall and hid ourselves in the big tower which is over the gate. Soon we heard some men coming along, and knew by their talk they were soldiers who were watching the wall. One of them peered into our hiding-place and said, ' There are some people here; bring a sword.' They then asked us, 'Are there any foreigners here?' 'Have you any guns?' We answered, 'No, we are only a few children-scholars.' 'Come out then and let us see who you are.' We went out, and, after answering all their questions, they said they would let us down by a big rope over the wall, and take us to a Christian woman who lived in the south suburb. Not knowing what their meaning might be, we said we would not go, and after some more talking they took us to their officer, who lived near the gate. By this time it was getting light, and soon after this officer took us to the vamen of the Sub-Prefect (Hsien). This official asked us each where we came from, whether we had father and mother, and many other questions about our family. Then we were sent to the Governor's vamen, where we were questioned again by one of the secretaries. He sent us back to the Sub-Prefect's vamen, where we were made to sit all day in the open courtyard. A great many people came to stare at us and ask questions. In the evening we were allowed to go into the court occupied by the female servants of the Mandarin's family, and there we remained till 6th August.

"During that time the Mandarin's wife and daughters took little notice of us, and only the slave girls spoke to us. They had many questions to ask about the foreigners, and wanted to know if it was really true that they took out the eyes, hearts, and tongues of people. Of course we said it was not, but I don't think they believed us. While in the vamen we were not treated harshly; only, we were not allowed to stay in the rooms during the day, but had to sit out in the open courtyard. One day San San's father came, and, after seeing the magistrate, was allowed to take her home. As the rest of us all came from Shou Yang Hsien we were sent back with the magistrate of that place on 6th August, and stayed in his vamen till our friends came for us. Nai Nü was the first to go to her home, but I and Hai Chüen and Hai Kw'ei did not go till 4th September, when my uncle came to fetch me. On reaching what used to be my home I found it all desolate, as my father and mother had both been killed, as also my elder sister and her husband, and my little baby brother. I was glad to find two of my brothers, aged seven and nine, still living. They too had been caught by the Boxers and taken to Shou Yang Hsien, but were not killed, as they were only children. An opium-smoking uncle had taken charge of them; and as my own home was utterly desolate, having been both pillaged and burnt, I too went to live at his house.

"Some months after, without consulting me at all, I found he had betrothed me to a man thirtyseven years old whom I had never seen, for which of course he had received a sum of money. I was in great distress when I heard of this, and made many plans to get out of my trouble; but none of them seemed feasible. At last I wrote a letter to

the Christian photographer in T'ai Yüan Fu, and got a lad to take it for me for a few hundred cash. He kindly took up my case, and, by refunding the money that had been paid, was able to break off the engagement. Then came the telegram from Li Hung Chang saying that former schoolgirls were to be handed over to the photographer, and I returned to this city on 16th March, since which I have lived with his sister, who is a widow. I am looking forward with great pleasure to going to school in Peking."

We are glad to be able to supplement Pu T'ao's story by saying that her two brothers were also recovered, and are now in a Christian school in T'ai Yüan Fu.

### CHIA LOH

"My own home is far away among the mountains in the north-west of this province, at a place called Ning Wu Fu. When quite young I was brought to Shou Yang Hsien to be betrothed to the son of a friend of my father named Ts'ai. When he became a Christian he sent me to the school at T'ai Yüan Fu, and I was there four years. During the trouble of last year he was hunted by the Boxers and killed, and his wife was buried alive. They were going to kill their son—my intended husband—when a military official who was standing by pleaded for his life, and said he would adopt him as his son.

"I was in the school until 27th June of last year, and when on the night of that day the missionaries had to flee I followed them out and kept close to Mr. Stokes. Only two other girls (Ch'eo Niu and Pao Chu) besides myself were with the foreigners when we arrived at Mr. Farthing's house; and where the other eight and Miss Coombs had gone we did not then know. The next day (28th) Mrs. Stokes asked a woman named Shih to take charge of us three, as she thought that would be the safest plan for us. This woman Shih did not take us to her own home, but to the house of a man named Wu. He was afraid to keep us, so after breakfast we went and hid in a ditch not far away, where we remained all day, returning at night to his house.

"As everyone was afraid to have anything to do with those who had been connected with foreigners, the next day we went to a deserted theatre stage in a lonely part of the city, where we remained about a fortnight. During this time the husband of the woman Shih occasionally brought us some food; and when no one was about we would creep out and eat the herbs and grass. Our hiding - place was then discovered by some soldiers, and they took us to the home of one of them in the city. After a few days Ch'eo Niu and Pao Chu were taken by some of the soldiers somewhere outside the city, but how long they remained there I do not know. Sometime after they were taken back to the house of the woman Shih, where they were when



Mission House, Hospital Compound, T'ai Yüan Fu. Mr and Mrs LUNDGREN (martyred 15th August 1900) in doorway.



Ruins of above. As the Mission House is now.

the telegram came from Peking for our release. Pao Chu is now married, and Ch'eo Niu has gone to her uncle's home. I myself remained in the soldier's home for three months, and was then sold for 40,000 cash to a family living about 20 miles from the city to be the wife of the son, who was twenty years old. I was only there three months when the telegram came from Peking, and I was sent to the home of the Christian photographer."

Chia Loh's betrothed having given up all claim to her, she is now married into a Christian family.

### AI T'AO

"I am seventeen years old, and belong to Shou Yang Hsien. When I was quite young I was betrothed to the son of Wang Keh Ih, who when he became a Christian sent me to the school at T'ai Yüan Fu, where I was for two years.

"When the missionaries fled from the burning buildings last year, I and another schoolgirl named Fu Jung could not go as quickly as the others, and Miss Coombs came back to help us. Before we had gone far, the people began to pelt us with stones and beat us with sticks. We both stumbled and fell, and then Miss Coombs covered me with her body as well as she could, and said, 'Don't fear; we shall soon be in heaven, where we shall meet again.' She was dragged away from me, and at the time I did not know what became of her, but heard afterwards she was pushed into the fire and burnt to death. I think I should have been stoned to death had not a man dragged me through the crowd and taken me to his home.

"I was there till 17th September, when he sold me to be a slave girl in the family of a well-to-do man named Hwang. There the lady of the house treated me very badly. When I entered the school at T'ai Yüan Fu my feet were unbound. but she made me bind them again. She would beat me for nothing at all with anything within her reach: and when she could not beat me hard enough would call for her son, about 12 years old. to come and help her. Sometimes when beating me they would stuff cotton-wool into my mouth to prevent my crying. I was only there about two months when they sold me to a lady named Sheng, who was a great opium smoker. She too treated me very harshly, making me stand by her bedside all night to wait on her while she smoked her opium. She kept a horsewhip near her with which to beat me if I fell asleep. When it was nearly daylight she would say, 'Now you can go and sleep.' But, very soon after, I would have to get up to sweep the rooms. When the telegram came from Peking for my release she was most unwilling to let me go, saying she would rather beat me to death. It was only when the yamen-runners who were sent for me promised that she should be refunded what she had paid for me that she allowed me to go."

Ai T'ao's prospective father-in-law was converted while in hospital at T'ai Yüan Fu, and on his return home gave ample evidence of true change of heart. When the Boxers broke out he was one of the marked men; and, hearing they were approaching his house to arrest him, he and his wife fled and jumped into the village pond to escape torture. The wife was pulled out by some friends and saved, but the husband was drowned. The son managed to escape, and is now apprenticed to a carpenter, and probably married to Ai T'ao.

### FUH JUNG

"I am now twelve years old, and my father's home is in Tai Yüan Hsien. Last winter I was betrothed to a man who was an assistant to the Christian photographer. He was anxious I should attend the Mission school, but it was not until last April that I was able to go. I was only there about three months when the trouble broke out and we all had to flee. When the missionaries left the compound I was afraid to pass the fire that was burning at the gate, and Miss Coombs came back for me and carried me out, leaving me while she went back for Ai T'ao, who could not walk very well. Ai T'ao was much heavier than I was, so Miss Coombs could not carry her very far, and as they were walking to where I was waiting I saw them both stumble and fall. Upon this, a man who was standing near struck Miss

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## Fire and Sword in Shansi

Coombs with a stick, while others pelted her with brickbats. She tried to shield Ai T'ao with her own body, but some men pulled her away, and to my horror I saw them push Miss Coombs into a pile of burning ruins. Several times she managed to escape, and appeared to be asking the men not to kill her. But she was pushed back again and again, and at last they threw pieces of broken doors and other things on her to prevent her escape.

"Soon afterwards a man found me where I was crouching, and took me to his home. He first meant to sell me as a slave girl, and several women who act as dealers, or go-betweens, to obtain slaves for well-to-do people, came to see me. Fortunately for me, in the outer court of the house where I was living was an old man of sixty and his wife of forty-eight, who had no children, and they took a fancy to me. Eventually they offered to adopt me, and promised the man who had taken possession of me 15,000 cash. To this he agreed, and I then went to live with them. They were always kind to me, except that they made me re-bind my feet, which I had unbound when I went to the Mission school.

"When the telegram came from Peking for all schoolgirls that could be found to be handed over to the Christian photographer, I was given up by my foster father and mother. I then met my betrothed, and, on telling him how well I had been treated, he was quite willing I should return to them until some other arrangement could be

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made or it was time for me to be married. If school is opened again in T'ai Yüan Fu I should very much like to attend it."

As Fuh Jung and her betrothed were both anxious that she should continue her education, she formed one of the party of seven girls who were placed in a Mission school at Peking.



The first (of the Eleven) to see the Master on the other side was St. James; and if we questioned him he would doubtless declare he was not able to distinguish between the flash of the soldier's sword from the light of Jesus' garments.—DR. JOHN WATSON (*The Upper Room*).

I do not regret coming to China, but I am sorry I have done so little.--MRS. ATWATER.

If you never see me again, remember I am not sorry I have come to China. Whether I have saved anyone or not, He knows; but it has been for Him, and we go to Him. Darling ones—good-bye.— ROWENA BIRD.

After all, it is not death which to us is sad, for it is God's present way for us into life; and we dare not say suffering is wholly sad either—not those of us who know some of the blessed things that have been taught us by suffering, which we prize too much to wish that we had never been taught.—EDITH ANNA COOMBS (in one of her last letters).

If the Lord bids us, we will cheerfully lay down our lives for His sake. . . If we are all killed and not one escape, there are many more that will be certain to take our place.—HERBERT DIXON.

I do not know whether this (the report that all foreigners were to be killed) is true or not; but, Dixon, if it is true, I am ready, and do not fear; if such be God's will, I can even rejoice to die.— GEORGE B. FARTHING.

WE ARE READY .- ARNOLD E. LOVITT.

We leave it as a testimony to all who are wavering, who doubt, who deny—the grace of God IS sufficient.—MRS. C. W. PRICE.

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# CHAPTER V

### MEMORIALS AND LAST LETTERS

### MISS EDITH ANNA COOMBS

E DITH ANNA COOMBS (born in Edinburgh, 1862) had a remarkably happy childhood. Her parents had full faith in the power of gentleness combined with firmness, and no angry words were ever spoken to her or in her hearing. Punishment was unneeded, for her conduct was uniformly all her parents could desire. She seemed "sanctified from her birth"; and as intelligence dawned, and the knowledge of the love of Jesus was acquired, responsive love was kindled, and that love was ever growing to the very end.

At the age of ten she entered the primary school of Neuchâtel; and, though her knowledge of French was then but slight, she gained a prize in her first year. She entered Somerville Hall, Oxford, when about nineteen, and remained there four years, graduating in literature. Her first application for a post as teacher was to the Edgbaston High School; and, although of those applicants who were regarded as specially eligible she alone was without experience in class

## Fire and Sword in Shansi

teaching, her testimonials were so excellent that she became the unanimous choice of the committee. Her colleagues in the school testified to her aptitude for acquiring and skill in imparting knowledge, and very specially to the great influence for good which she ever exerted upon all with whom she came in contact. One of them said: "She knows more about the girls than all the rest of the staff put together, for they tell her everything, sure of ready sympathy. I worked with her nearly six years, and never saw her otherwise than sweet, bright, and helpful." Those who worked with her in China could all bear the same testimony.

Dr. Dale's stimulating teaching and influence did much to fan the flame of her Christian zeal, and to deepen her desire to "spend and be spent for Jesus Christ." His successor, Mr. Jowett, wrote: "She was ever pre-eminently helpful in all the more distinctively spiritual work at Carr's Lane. I do not know any interest which has not sought and found her support, and her influence upon the susceptible minds of the thoughtful members of our young people's societies had been very deep."

Strong and varied though the ties were that bound her to home, the desire to make known the light of the gospel to those who were sitting in darkness and the shadow of death was stronger still, and in 1898 she joined the Shou Yang Mission, and began work in T'ai Yüan Fu. Her letters home were always full of joy and hope.

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Difficulties and trials were only hinted at. In the last letter received by her father she wrote of her pupils: "Some of them are learning to be guided by a *look*. It teaches me a great deal to see this." But she had had to go through a great amount of patient, uninteresting toil before that.

To one whose life at home had been so full of interest and variety, given up to happy active service for Christ, it was a great and trying change to settle down to the monotony of an inland mission station, with many hours' daily drudgerv at a difficult language. She was, however, so bright and merry and full of life. that few could have guessed the loneliness she sometimes felt. She longed intensely for the time when her lips would be unsealed to tell in Chinese the unsearchable riches of Christ, but in the waiting time her loving, unselfish service to others cannot have been without its result. Wherever there was a little child to tend, or someone lonely or in sorrow, she was there to help and comfort. That winter she took over the full charge of the Mission girls' school. As soon as she was able, she organised a branch of the Christian Endeavour Society amongst the girls and women, and her great delight was to gather the elder Christian girls in her little room for an hour of prayer and quiet chat about the work.1

Edith Coombs' last act was a bright example

<sup>1</sup> All Nations.

## Fire and Sword in Shansi

of Christian endeavour. When the Mission premises of which the school formed a part were attacked, her first care was for her little scholars. House after house on the compound was burnt. and at last the missionaries determined to make an effort to escape. On reaching the street Miss Coombs found that two of her little scholars had been left behind, and in the dark and excitement (for the street was filled with an angry mob) her companions did not miss her, as she went back alone to try and save the little girls. One was found and put in a place of safety. She went back for the other, found and brought her out on to the street, when a false step, causing her to stumble, was the signal for the angry crowd to begin to pelt them with stones. Vainly she attempted to protect her little charge with her own body; then they were rudely separated, and Miss Coombs was thrust once, twice, thrice into the flames as she endeavoured to escape. Thus she became the first Christian martyr of Shansi, and 27th June will ever be a memorable day - a real Saint's Day - in the annals of missionary work in that province. She knew how " to suffer and be strong," and could say-

> "Christ leads me through no darker room Than He went through before."

The following notice of her appeared in *Lawrel Leaves* (the Journal of the Edgbaston High School for Girls), and is inserted by the courtesy of the editor :---

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"The recent events in China have awakened in the hearts of very many of the scholars, mistresses, and friends of this school a much deeper feeling than that of passive interest or faint sympathy, which is so apt to be the only effect of news of great trouble in far-off and unfamiliar lands, for they have cost us the life of one whom we have known and loved.

"Only three short years have passed since Miss Coombs left us, and those who were privileged to know her during her eight years of work in our school feel that they have never met with a brighter and braver spirit than hers. To think of her is to think of sunshine; and though this impression may have been partly the effect of her sunny hair and bright eyes, it is far more due to the sunny brightness of her nature. She was always cheerful, always abounding in ready helpfulness and love. Her constant sympathy made her the natural friend and comforter of all who were in trouble, and all who had cause for joy found their gladness reflected in her responsive smiles. It was thus that to her especially, as she sat in her form in the morning before school, or in the hall collecting the dinner money, all sorts of home and personal news, joys, sorrows and cares, hopes and ambitions, were confided.

"Yet, though she gave herself so fully to this school and all its interests, her great quickness of intelligence and physical health enabled her to spare time and thought for many who were not her pupils and colleagues here. There were her

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old pupils of the Aston Grammar School, where she taught for six years, Sunday-school pupils and teachers, factory and working girls, to whom she extended the same helpful and thoughtful love; for, though she was always busy, she always found time to think of her many friends.

"She had 'a heart at leisure from itself'; and so little did she speak of her own burdens, that when she confided to us that it had been for years her longing wish to go out to China as a missionary, the news came as something of a shock.

"It was the neglected condition of the women and children of China that especially appealed to her loving heart. 'You,' she said, when saving farewell to the girls in this school, 'have many to love you, but the poor little girls in China hardly know what love means.' She felt deeply the parting from all her friends here among girls and mistresses, but she faced it cheerfully, and begged us to let no unhappiness, no sadness, be in our thoughts for her. She knew well that the parting might be for ever, and that in going out to China she must be ready to suffer death, if need be, in the cause she loved; but she was prepared to make that sacrifice gladly for the sake of the Master who had done as much for her. She knew the supreme happiness of those who had given up all to follow their ideal, and who have no misgivings.

"So for the last three years she worked in the school for the children of native Christians at T'ai Yüan Fu, busied, at first especially, with the



Mr JOHN ROBINSON, B.A. (Lond.).



Miss DUVAL.



Miss COOMBS.



Miss Stewart.


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weary intricacies of the Chinese language, which her devotion and her mental gifts enabled her to master in a surprisingly short time; then grappling with the still more weary struggle against the obstinate prejudices, the want of straightforwardness, the want of trust and comprehension of the native women and children. Her letters show how deeply she felt their sad condition-how she regretted, for instance, that prejudice forbade the games she would have liked to introduce among the girls : but they also speak continually of her supreme happiness, and the last letter was one of the brightest of all. 'I am so happy with the bairns; in spite of all my want of understanding I get on so well with them that day after day is glad and bright, as the old day in the school life at E.H.S. used to be. Although I don't teach now in the sense in which I used. I am many hours a day in the schoolroom, and enjoy its doings, and watch its humanity with interest.'

"The cutting short of a life so fruitful and so full of promise, while as yet so little seemed accomplished as we count accomplishment, must needs be a mystery to us; and yet we know it was the supreme sacrifice of Christ which touched the heart of the world; and if the heart of that great and, as it seems to us, hopelessly enchained and bewildered Chinese nation is to be stirred to a sense of love and compassion, it must surely be by lives 'faithful unto death,' like hers.

"It is by individuals and by the use of each

minute separate effort towards good that the work of God is carried on in the world. His kingdom 'cometh not with observation,' but

"'No earnest work Of any honest creature . . . fails so much; It is not gathered as a grain of sand To enlarge the sum of human actions used For carrying out God's ends.'"

In the Birmingham Daily Post of 7th September 1900 appeared the following appreciation of Miss Coombs by her pastor, and is reproduced here with Mr. Jowett's approval:—

"Preaching at Carr's Lane Chapel last night, the Rev. J. H. Jowett referred to the news from China concerning Miss Coombs. He said news had come to the city to-day which touched their Church very closely. He did not know that it was unexpected, and, now that it had come, it almost staggered and benumbed them, About two years ago one of the finest of their girls left Carr's Lane and the city to take up missionary work in North China, Miss Coombs was beloved by everybody who knew her; her culture was only exceeded by her piety, and she spent herself abundantly and lavishly in the welfare of her fellow-men. The news had come that on 27th June she was murdered; the hospital was destroyed, and he was afraid that the information was of so circumstantial a kind and of such a character that they must regard it as ultimate. He did not know of anybody who could meet a death like that better than their friend Miss Coombs. He knew she would be a perfect heroine. She was a heroine here, and he thought, if she could have been told before she went out to China that she would become a martyr, she would have gloried in her call. He could not but think that a death like hers must ultimately be for the propagation of the truth. He asked them to join with him in prayer, and said that their prayer should not be filled with lamentings, but rather with thanksgiving that such a woman had been amongst them, and laboured amongst them, and given herself for Christ."

#### MISS MARY DUVAL

The desire of Mary Duval's heart had always been to work for the Master in the foreign field; but first the care of her widowed mother, and subsequently her school, and keeping the home together for her younger sisters, prevented her offering herself in her earlier days. However, as time went on, the way cleared. Her wish had been to go to India as a C.M.S. missionary, but as at the time of offering she was forty-two years of age the door was closed to her. It was a grievous disappointment, but she would not be discouraged, and God honoured her desire by sending her to labour and die for Him in China.

It was before the call really came to her, that, after reading the book about the massacre of Mr. and Mrs. Stewart at Ku Cheng, she remarked that now all dread of going to China was taken away. It was while awaiting a vacancy in the South American Mission, by which she had been accepted, that she received Mrs. Pigott's offer to go to China and help in the work at Shou Yang, especially in the education of the English-speaking children. She accepted it as God's call; and from that time, all through her preparations for the long journey and life in that distant land, she was intensely happy. After leaving England, in January 1899, she never had a regret for the step she had taken. Writing on shipboard, she quoted

> "God holds the key of all unknown, And I am glad,"

and on arriving at her destination in May she wrote: "I did feel joyful when my litter was carried in through the gates of the Shou Yang Mission house. I knew that my journey was over for some time." A very toilsome journey it had been from Pao Ting Fu—four days across the sandy plains of Chihli, and four more over the rugged mountains of Shansi, resting at midday and every night in dirty, comfortless inns. Her fortnightly letters were full of brightness. Over and again she has said, "Tell everyone how happy I am."

"So," as her sister writes, "in the midst of our grief, not only for the terrible loss we have sustained, but also for the awful suffering she was called upon to go through, we can but be glad that God gave her the desire of her heart. We can rejoice in her present joy, and that she was 'counted worthy to suffer for Him.'"<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> All Nations, April 1901.

The following letter was one of the last written by her. It never reached its destination, as when the messenger who carried it was half-way to T'ai Yüan Fu he heard of the riot there and turned back, only to find that the Shou Yang missionaries had had to flee. He kept this and several other letters until an opportunity presented itself of sending them to us at Peking.

### "SHOU YANG, Wednesday, 27th June.

"My DEAREST MRS. STOKES.—It is decided that I am to go to you with Mr. Atwater. I felt it would be too much for you to have another in the house, and made up my mind I would not go. However, Mr. and Mrs. Pigott have talked it over, and they thought it would be wiser for me to go, because things might happen which would necessitate our leaving here; there are only three horses, and I cannot ride, and it would be a difficulty how to do. Looking at it in this light, I felt perhaps it is right, and then Mrs. Pigott says I can perhaps help you in your duties, which will be heavier than usual. So, dear, it is with this hope in my mind that I am coming to you, and thank you very, very much for wishing me to come. I do hope you have not had any more headaches; also I hope Nieh is a help.

"These are not nice times we are living in; it is a trial, but we remember 'the trial of your faith being much more precious,' etc. The meetings are still going on, and our dear Chinese brothers and sisters are bright and trusting. It is like passing through 'the refiner's fire.' This day last week you left us; it seems ages ago. We had a happy time at the baptism. I wish you could have stayed for it. We hear the Fut'ai is coming through in a day or two on his way to Peking; rumour says he is going to ask permission to kill the foreigners. This amuses us, for that being the case he would hardly let it be It seems to us more likely that he is known. summoned to give an account of his own doings; I hope he will never come back. Another rumour says that a great something has risen up in the sea, so that no foreign warships can come near and no foreign troops land. It is just as well for them to know that foreign troops have already landed. Now I must stop. Please give my kind remembrances to Mr. Stokes, and, with much love for yourself,-I remain, yours affectionately.

## " MARY DUVAL.

"P.S.—If my skirt is not begun, please wait till I see you. A text that has cheered me so much is, 'Thou wilt keep him in PERFECT peace whose mind is stayed on Thee.'

"Oh that the rain would come! We had a beautiful thunderstorm last week, but it did not last long."

In another letter of the same date she says: "There are horrid rumours, but God is keeping us trusting; and looking up to Him, away from all else, gives peace."

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#### MR. ALEXANDER HODDLE

Alexander Hoddle was the fourth son of the late Mr. William Hoddle of the Bank of England, in which he was also for a short time. Leaving it he went out to Canada, where he remained ten vears. While there he made the acquaintance of some Ouakers, and through them was led to think more seriously of doing what he could for the spiritual welfare of others. On returning to England he settled in Newcastle, and became Secretary of the Y.M.C.A., taking up Mission work amongst the sailors, and being specially interested in the Chinese sailors. After hearing Mr. Pigott plead the cause of China, he joined the China Inland Mission in 1887, and worked in Huai Luh and Pao Ting Fu and the villages of Chihli.

Afterwards, as an independent missionary, he threw himself with energy into the work in T'ai Yüan, taking charge of the bookshop, teaching, preaching, and doing much evangelistic work in private conversation. At one time he partly supported himself by teaching English to Chinese students. He was a truly self-denying man, giving himself heart and soul to Christ for the salvation of the Chinese, many of whom were much attached to him. Mr. Hoddle had an invitation, in the last year of his life, from a well-known missionary in Tientsin to teach English there in connection with their Mission; "but," he said, "I cannot see my way to accept it.

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God has hitherto so graciously provided for my needs, that, so far as I can see, He wants me to remain here in T'ai Yüan Fu, for the present at least."  $^1$ 

In the spring of 1900 he accompanied Mr. Alexander Grant to the coast, and when at Tientsin was urged by his friends to leave for England on furlough, as he was not well, and had been in China for more than ten years without a break. But he felt constrained to return to Shansi, saying he would go for his furlough "in the autumn." He started on his inland journey, reaching T'ai Yüan Fu about the end of May, and was among the thirty-three Protestants who obtained the martyr's crown on 9th July.

## ARNOLD E. LOVITT, M.R.C.S. ENG., L.R.C.P. LOND., AND MRS. LOVITT

Dr. Lovitt received his medical education at the medical college connected with the London Hospital, and, after obtaining his diplomas, acted for a year or so as resident physician to the Mildmay Hospital, London. It was while there that he became acquainted with Mr. Pigott, who was on furlough, and who was looking out for a young doctor who would be willing to go to Shansi and take up the work of the Schofield Memorial Hospital. Dr. Lovitt joined us in T'ai Yüan Fu in the autumn of 1897. His wife was the <sup>1</sup>All Nations, March 1901.







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daughter of Mr. Alexander Grant, who for many years was a missionary at Singapore, and who spent the winter of 1899–1900 with his daughter and her husband, leaving Shansi just before the great trouble began.

Dr. and Mrs. Lovitt applied themselves to the language directly on arrival, and he was always ready to help in all the more serious operations. While very keen on good "cases," he never lost sight of the great object of the work of a medical missionary, and took great interest in the evangelistic part of the work.

In the spring of 1899 he assumed entire charge of the hospital, having been in China only eighteen months. The general work of the station was in the hands of Mr. George W. Stokes, who, with his wife, was among those whom we so deeply lament. Mrs. Lovitt, having been fully trained as a nurse at the London Hospital, was well able to second her husband's efforts, and took charge of the routine work among the From the letters received from them women. after we left, it was easy to see that they at once threw themselves heartily into the work, and were alive to the responsibility resting upon them. It was a great joy to know that everything was carried on so efficiently.

One of his last letters contained an order for medical and surgical stores which were to carry him over the next winter, and he was looking forward to further useful and happy service, when the storm burst upon them suddenly and unex-

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pectedly. Our hearts are still sore, and we mourn the loss of dearly loved friends and fellow - workers; yet we are assured that He doeth all things well, and what we know not now we shall know hereafter.

His last letter, written after the burning of the hospital, was entrusted to a faithful Chinese servant, who forwarded it to me when he heard I was in Peking, and has already been referred to.

## By Mr. A. Grant

Arnold E. Lovitt was born in or near London on 4th February 1869, and so was in his thirtysecond year at the time of his unexpected death at the hands of the Governor of Shansi, on 9th July. His father is a partner in the firm of Warren, Hall, & Lovitt of Camden Town; and Arnold was not unnaturally drawn to a studious life, and finally the career of a medical missionary.

Having finished his course at London Hospital and taken his qualification, he was for a time in charge of the Mildmay Hospital in Bethnal Green, under the superintendence of Dr. Gauld, formerly of China. His desire was toward foreign missionary service, to which eventually he gave himself in connection with the lamented Thos. W. Pigott of the Shou Yang Mission.

On the essential question of his conversion to God, so far as the time and circumstances are concerned, the writer cannot speak definitely, further than to state with joyfulness his con-

## Memorials and Last Letters

viction that Arnold had passed from death to life, and during the short period of our acquaintance lived a godly life in Christ Jesus.

Latterly he enjoyed the clear gospel ministry of Mr. Archibald J. Brown of the East London Tabernacle, with which he united himself, and from which he may be said to have gone forth to China. The commendatory prayer-meeting previous to his departure was held in that building, where fervent effectual prayer had long been made.

In the autumn of 1897 he with his wife, the beloved daughter of the writer, left Southampton by the North German steamer *Preussen*, arriving in due course at Shanghai; thence to Tientsin by local steamer, and from that to T'ai Yüan Fu by boat as far as Pao Ting Fu, now noted for blood of saints shed there, and then by road to their destination, a journey of six or eight days.

He commenced hospital work earlier than would have been in other circumstances desirable, as Dr. Edwards, who was conducting the work of the Schofield Memorial Hospital, was on the eve of returning to England in the spring of 1899. For a young worker to give the first six or twelve months of his time in China to the language, and especially to the study of the word of God in view of work in a heathen land, so as to adjust himself to his new position, and learn all he can of the mind of God in reference to such service among idolaters, would be advisable in ordinary circumstances. As events have turned

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out, it was doubtless well that work was commenced at once.

Of his self-denying and painstaking labour in the trying and often repulsive work of the hospital, and also outside it, the writer had the privilege of being witness during over ten weeks in the dwelling of Dr. and Mrs. Lovitt last winter.

To his readiness to meet the frequent and sometimes unseasonable calls of patients, as well as to the assiduity and conscientious service of his beloved partner, also trained as a nurse at London Hospital, and to the faithful service in the gospel, whether his in the gatherings of the T'ai Yüan Fu English community, or hers among native women, thankful testimony is due.

The favourable impression produced by the long-continued medical work in the city and region cannot be doubted, nor can it be questioned but the massacre of the workers is regarded by the best of the inhabitants with sorrow and abhorrence.

The advent of a Governor willing to carry out the exterminating edicts of the Empress-Dowager, issued, it is believed, on the taking of the Taku forts, led to the extinction of the band of workers in T'ai Yüan and elsewhere in Shansi.

What is done cannot be undone; but if the true gospel of the grace of God is more than ever declared in China in connection with these events, it will be well. Resurrection glory will finally crown all.

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## THOMAS WELLESLEY PIGOTT, B.A. DUB.; EMILY JESSIE PIGOTT; AND THEIR SON, WILLIAM WELLESLEY PIGOTT

## By Mr. George F. Trench

The subjects of this brief sketch were victims of the massacre in China of last July. In the manner detailed below these beloved servants of Christ passed in to their coronation as martyrs of the Lord Jesus from T'ai Yüan Fu, smitten by assassin hands.

Born on 6th August 1847, Mr. Pigott was the eldest of the six children of William Wellesley Pole Pigott by his marriage with Lucy Trench, niece of the first Lord Ashtown. The whole family was in the Lord's service. But two now survive—his youngest brother, the physician of the Dublin Medical Mission, and his sister Mary, sometime engaged in Mission work at Bloemfontein.

The atmosphere of Mr. Pigott's home at Leixlip, on the richly wooded bank of the beautiful Liffey, was deeply and actively Christian. While little more than a boy he helped his father in his daily labour of presenting Christ to the poorest of the people gathered at his door to receive his charity and hear the message of salvation.

When the great awakening of 1862 moved mightily Ireland's midland and southern provinces, Rye Vale, the Pigotts' home, was thrown open to the preachers, and numbers too large for its space pressed in to hear the truth proclaimed. Tom, who not long before had been led to Christ by a remarkable answer to his boyish prayer, soon became anxious to join in the work of saving souls.

Little did I imagine when encouraging the young man to speak at a cottage meeting near Dublin in 1868, to what life and death issues the first halting effort would lead. The manly form, the radiant expression, the merry laugh, the deep and overflowing enthusiasm for Christ, marked him for a successful missionary.

If ever a man lived who was utterly in earnest, it was Thomas Wellesley Pigott, Whenever he returned to this country from his chosen field of labour, his flowing speech, in private and public, was always and only of China and her people, whom he loved so much. It was impossible to remain indifferent or unsympathetic in the presence of such zeal. It wounded his spirit, it grieved him as something unaccountable, inexplicable, that others should not feel the interest, the sorrow, and the joy with which he was filled. And this was no mere sentiment; it was such a reality that to spend his time, his strength, his mental and physical abilities, and his money freely and wholly in the cause of China was to him the most natural, and for him the only reasonable and possible, way to live,

# Mr. Sowerby's Narrative

Mr. Arthur Sowerby, an intimate friend and worker in China, writes-

"Twenty years ago Mr. Pigott, B.A. of Dublin University, with his fine physical development, and possessed of private means, stood on the threshold of his work in China, where he had come at Christ's bidding to consecrate all he was and had to the Master's cause, and the salvation of the Chinese people.

"I recall the first time I met him. I had then only been a few days in China, and I remember his hearty and genial greeting, the warm brotherly handshake, and the pleasant chat that followed in the sitting-room of the C.I.M. at Chefoo.

"A few weeks later I was travelling with others across the plain of Chihli. It was in December 1881, and we were pressed by circumstances to travel quickly. Mr. Pigott might have joined our party and have enjoyed some pleasant companionship; but it was characteristic of him to prefer loneliness, and to lengthen his journey, although the weather was bitterly cold, that he might do some evangelistic work along the road. An intense zeal for the conversion of men was always a marked feature in our brother's character.

"Arrived at T'ai Yüan Fu, Mr. Pigott gave himself up to a more thorough study of the Chinese language. He had been in China about two years, but had been travelling with Mr. Cameron in Manchuria, where on one occasion he nearly perished with cold, and his study of Chinese had been much interrupted.

"In the spring of 1883 the community of

missionaries in T'ai Yüan Fu were alarmed and upset by an attack on Mr. Pigott by a Chinese burglar. The thief had made several robberies from other missionaries, and had secured some dinner-knives, including a carving-knife from Dr. Schofield. One of the smaller knives he had converted into a saw, and by means of this had effected an entry into the room where Mr. Pigott was sleeping. Mr. Pigott was awakened by the incessant coughing of an elderly man, a Christian evangelist, and rose while it was yet dark to procure some medicine for the sufferer. He discovered the thief under a table, and attempted A terrible struggle ensued, in to secure him. which, although badly wounded, Mr. Pigott obtained the mastery, and the thief was captured. Mr. Pigott then, holding a wet sponge to his bleeding head, ran as hard as his strength would allow, in the early grey of the morning, to Dr. Schofield's house, when his strength gave way. For some weeks he needed the careful nursing and skilful medical attention that was lovingly given him.

"About the same time Miss Jessie and Miss Florence Kemp, of Rochdale, arrived in T'ai Yüan Fu. They had left all the attractions of their English home and of English society to join in the hard and strenuous work of evangelising the Chinese. In those days life in the interior of China involved many hardships, and there were but the fewest comforts.

"Miss Jessie Kemp had previously been

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engaged in Mission work in India, but had been compelled to leave that field, as her constitution was unfitted to endure the fierce, sultry climate.

"Most of the missionaries then resident in T'ai Yüan Fu were fitting themselves for future labours, and Dr. Schofield gave lectures on ophthalmic surgery, with special reference to the treatment of cataract. Miss Jessie Kemp proved herself a most apt pupil, and subsequently many times operated for cataract with marked success.

"In 1883 an engagement was entered into between Miss Jessie Kemp and Mr. Pigott, and they were married at Peking in August of the same year.

"In the summer of 1883 Dr. Schofield, to the unspeakable grief of all, was fatally stricken by typhus fever, and Mr. and Mrs. Pigott returned to T'ai Yüan Fu to take up the work from which the beloved physician had been removed. Throughout the winter our friends kept both medical and evangelistic work going, and it was remarkable how much Mr. Pigott was able to accomplish alone, until the arrival of Dr. E. H. Edwards relieved him of the care of the hospital.

"During the next few years Mr. Pigott was largely occupied in the construction of the Schofield Memorial Hospital. By the devotion of time and labour, and by their pecuniary gifts, Mr. and Mrs. Pigott did much to secure the erection of handsome and suitable premises, and thus greatly aided in the valuable work done for so many years in connection with that institution. Only those who were in T'ai Yüan Fu could form any just appreciation of the burdensome and vexatious character of such work; but, while struggling with Chinese workmen, evangelistic efforts were never neglected, and every endeavour was made to convert the Chinese of all classes.

"Mr. and Mrs. Pigott visited England in 1885 and again in 1890, and on their return to China in 1891 were accompanied by other friends, with whom they hoped to form a band of independent labourers. It was thought possible to evangelise the district of Lu An Fu in S.E. Shansi; but unforeseen difficulties arose, and our friends settled at Shou Yang, 80 miles east of T'ai Yüan Fu. Shou Yang is a market town of some importance on the main road to Peking and the coast. Amidst much opposition, and with many difficulties to encounter, our friends and their colleagues built up a steady work, and brought the light of Christ's gospel into many homes, and the joy of Christ's peace into many darkened hearts.

"In 1896 Mr. and Mrs. Pigott were again able to visit their friends, as it proved, for the last time. Mr. Pigott was anxious to secure a committee in England to assist him in his work at Shou Yang, but ill-health prevented him carrying this project into effect. In the autumn of this year our friends suffered a severe blow in the tragic death of Miss Ellen K. Brown, who lost her life by the upsetting of the cart, in which she was travelling, into the river. A very dear relative and friend, and most



Mr T. W. PIGOTT.



Mrs PIGOTT.



WELLESLEY W. PIGOTT.



Mr ALEXANDER HODDLE.



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valued colleague, was thus lost to them and to the work of the Lord.

"Last year Mr. and Mrs. Pigott once more returned to China, and, after having been for some years crowded in small and unsuitable quarters, they were gratified at being able to obtain larger and more commodious yards, and were erecting some suitable premises that were greatly needed. Among other projects, our friends were arranging for a school for the children of missionaries in Shansi, and had already had nine other children for a time under their charge. This was a most generous and kind purpose, and promised to be exceedingly useful.

"The terrible events of last summer have bereft the Christian Church of two noble and devoted missionaries, and the Chinese have, alas ! killed those who were entirely their friends. What exactly they suffered, with their governess, Miss Duval, and tutor, Mr. Robinson, both wholly in sympathy with missionary work, and their own dear boy, Wellesley, is perhaps mercifully hidden from our eyes.

"It would not do to close these few lines without testifying how kind and good our friends were to the Chinese, and how much loved they were in return. One of our leading evangelists, in no way connected with Mr. Pigott, said: 'I do like to hear him preach, he is so full of love.' At one of our Chinese conferences Mr. Pigott gave a most valuable address on the Lord's Second Coming, which was much appreciated by all; while, at our conference held last February in T'ai Yüan Fu, Mr. Pigott preached the sermon on Sunday morning with much power and unction, and Mrs. Pigott took the lead in addressing the women.

"Stunned by their loss, we can but humbly bow our heads before God, thankful for lives of such noble devotedness, thankful for their triumphant death, and meekly beseeching that He will comfort their loved ones who remain, and mercifully rebuild the work that has been so cruelly overthrown, so that 'the Son of God may yet be manifested' in Shou Yang, to destroy the works of the devil, and deliver them who have been for ages subject to his bondage."

Both Mr. and Mrs. Pigott had been, during the earlier portion of their life in China, in connection with the China Inland Mission; and although subsequently, as Mr. Sowerby has stated, they were led to found a Mission on independent lines, continued to the end of their lives in hearty sympathy with that noble association. In 1896 Mr. Pigott wrote of the C.I.M. as "a Mission which we love," and said: "We and they (Dr. and Mrs. Edwards) shall always desire to help in every way the old work, and only regret the causes which have led to severance of the bonds of organisation — not of Christian fellowship and co-operation, if we can help it."

Both of these devoted workers were deeply absorbed in their work of soul-winning, and never lost an opportunity of speaking for Christ, often in much weariness and weakness of body. They

had laid themselves and their means on the altar of consecration to God; and their son Wellesley was following in their steps. He began last December teaching a class of Chinese boys in Sunday school. A little while before going back to China he said: "We can't be martyrs in England, but my mother and father and I might be in China." It was a remarkable forecast, and was shared by his mother, who after the Ku Cheng massacre wrote: "It makes one feel how short our time for work in this land may be, and long to be filled with God's Holy Spirit that we may be faithful to the end." And again: " If God's infinite grace is to conform us to the image of His Son, may it not be, in our work for Him, we may need to know something of what He suffered ?"

Mr. Stanley Smith writes-

"Though my acquaintance with Mr. and Mrs. Pigott was not of long duration, their force of character has left very distinct impressions on my mind. Mr. Pigott was as generous and largehearted as Mrs. Pigott was capable and courageous. Their love to the Chinese was a characteristic which showed itself as soon as you knew them."

Nothing would, I am convinced, have been more distasteful to these loved friends than the idea that anything should be written for their exaltation. The foregoing record is not to be taken in that way. I know of no one to whom more than to them the words of St. Paul applied : "According to my earnest expectation and hope, that in nothing I shall be put to shame, but that

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with all boldness, as always, so now also Christ shall be magnified in my body, whether by life or by death. For to me to live is Christ, and to die is gain." "I hold not my life dear unto myself, so that I may accomplish my course and the ministry which I received from the Lord Jesus, to testify the gospel of the grace of God."

Where lives of such entire consecration to God and love to souls are given, the crown of martyrdom may be said to be their fitting climax and glory.<sup>1</sup>

In March 1902 a memorial tablet, erected in West Street Baptist Chapel, Rochdale, to commemorate the martyrdom of Mr. and Mrs. Pigott and their son, was unveiled by Rev. Dr. Maclaren of Manchester. Before unveiling the tablet he gave the following address :---

"As I came to Rochdale this afternoon I passed the old house in which, more than a generation ago, I first saw the little girl whose martyrdom we gratefully commemorate this evening. As I entered your railway station, prosaic enough place for such a memory, I recalled the last time when I looked into the loving eyes, in which there was a sweet light of devotion, of the gracious, gentle, godly woman whom we mourn, and yet rejoice over, to-night. Few of you, I suppose, can share with me these memories; but I trust that all of us feel the solemnity and the inspiration, and perhaps, for some of us, the rebuke of this moment. My friend Dr. Edwards can speak far better than I

<sup>1</sup> The Christian, November 1900.

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can of the circumstances of the last scene. I have but imperfect knowledge of that picture of the family going slowly, day by day, nearer to what they knew was likely to be the bloody end -the father taking every opportunity of preaching the gospel, the mother and child, ah! we leave that; only, the unblemished cause of the Master was with them, and they went to their deaths among the last recruits to the noble army of martyrs. And may I, as we are gathered here to-night as friends, gathered by sympathy and not merely by curiosity,-may I, as a very old friend, speak of the martyrdom of those who in Rochdale have borne a heavy load of sorrow. There are martyrs who live as well as martyrs who die, and God be thanked for the patience of the one and the heroism of the others. Both come from one source-the indwelling life of that Christ who knew how to live and how to die.

"What does this memorial tablet say to us? We have been treated in past years to a great many supercilious and depreciatory estimates of Christian missionaries by people who know very little about them, and care less about the word which they carry. I would like to plant some of these cheap scoffers in front of this tablet and tell them the story it commemorates. I think, for very shame, their lips would be silenced for awhile.

"The tablet speaks to us of what we sometimes sorely need to have freshened to our consciences -the continual presence of our Lord with His 16

disciples, and the continual power, to-day as of old, of that in-breathed and all-conquering life. It sets before us dear friends who gave themselves to Jesus Christ, gave their sympathy, their work, without stint, to those people to whom they were so eager to take the gospel. They did not know that the mightiest proclamation of their Lord would be that which would go forth by their death. Like the hero of the Old Book, they shook the pillars of the idol temple when they died, far more than they ever did whilst they lived. Yes: the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church. Dr. Edwards will, no doubt, tell you how the prospects of the harvest upon these furrows, watered by this dear blood, are brighter than they have ever been before; and sure I am that if Jessie Pigott and her husband-ah! and their little boy-had been told when they went into T'ai Yüan Fu for the last time that they were to die in order that the stones of Christ's temple in China, cemented by their blood, might stand the firmer, they would have been thankful, and would have said, 'I am ready to be offered a sacrifice for God.' There never yet has been any great cause which has been advanced in the world unless its advocates have been ready to die; and the last thing I would venture to suggest, as speaking to you from this white marble, is the close and searching question for us all: 'Am I so knit by faith, by love, by inspiration, by enthusiasm in its good sense, to my Lord that my daily life is a death to self?' Thank God,



WANG TEN REN (martyred July 1900) and his Bride on their wedding day. The late Mr and Mrs PIGOTT in the doorway.



Courtyard of a Buddhist Temple near Shou Yang.



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very ordinary Christian people, when they are brought face to face with the fiery trial of martyrdom, do seem to start up into a new greatness. We are not Christians unless we can to some extent live the daily life of self-crucifixion, self-abandonment, self-immolation. It now devolves upon me, and I count it a great honour, to unveil this memorial, which I hope will long keep the members of this congregation in mind of one whose memory those who knew her will ever cherish."

#### MR. JOHN ROBINSON, B.A. LOND.

John Robinson was born at Doncaster on Ist September 1875, his father and both his grandfathers (who were then living) being clergymen of the Established Church. From an early age he cherished the desire to be a missionary to the heathen.

As he was of a studious turn of mind, it was thought best that he should have a classical education, which would help, rather than hinder, in the purpose to which he steadily adhered. His natural disposition was retiring and reticent, but in his conduct he manifested something of the depth and reality of his religious feelings. Trained in Scripture knowledge from childhood, he was a diligent Bible student for himself, and while at the Blackheath Proprietary School joined a Bible Class which had been formed by some of the elder boys for mutual study of the word on Sunday afternoons. During his school life he was a conscientious worker, and finally took his degree at the London University in 1896.

His spiritual experience was deepened by a brief holiday visit to Cliff College, Dr. Grattan Guinness's Missionary Training Home in Derbyshire. On his return he desired to associate himself with some definite Christian work, and became a member of the Blackheath Y.M.C.A., where he was soon engaged in helping in the meetings, open-air services, tract distribution in public-houses, and latterly as secretary. This happy connection lasted until he left England.

He had decided views on the subject of believers' baptism, and in the autumn of 1896 was baptized by the Rev. F. G. French, the pastor of Lee Chapel, and remained a member there.

In the summer of 1898 an offer was made him by Mr. Pigott, of the Shou Yang Mission, to go to China for three years as tutor to his son, and the sons of any other missionaries stationed near who might desire to avail themselves of the opportunity for their children. This seemed to be an opening for the life he so much desired, as he would have facilities for learning Chinese, gaining an insight into missionary methods and difficulties, and some knowledge of the customs and character of the people. All hindrances to his accepting the offer were eventually removed, and he sailed on 2nd January 1899. On the voyage out his letters were full of interest, the descriptions of scenery and first impressions of China, and her curious interesting people, being especially vivid.

The long journey over, he began the work of teaching, and the personal study of Chinese with a native teacher; attended the services, and was soon able to follow part of the addresses in the strange language.

The routine of his work was pleasantly and profitably varied by intercourse with missionaries, and he wrote warmly of the kindness and hospitality extended to him in T'ai Yüan Fu during his holidays. These helpful visits were a useful stimulus to mind and body. His letters contained interesting references to the missionary work going on around him.

His first allusion to the Boxer movement was in a letter dated Shou Yang, Shansi, 2nd February 1900: "The rising of men called Boxers in Shantung and Chihli is serious there, but I do not think there is any danger of their coming here. They have done it in the east before, but Shansi men are more apathetic. An S.P.G. man has fallen a martyr, but you will probably have details soon enough."

In the last letter received from him he writes, under date I 3th May: "The rain is wanting still. Famine seems almost in sight. . . Prayer has been made earnestly and continually for rain. Is it to be, or is a visitation of calamity decreed? Well, may we and the people be helped to trust . . . whatever"—

The end of the sentence has been death and

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glory for the writer and many of the sorely tried people among whom he wrought. His life was cut short at the early age of twenty-four; yet "he liveth long who liveth well," and his influence remains in the minds and hearts of many.<sup>1</sup>

#### MR. AND MRS. JAMES SIMPSON

Mr. and Mrs. Simpson, after some eight years' connection with the China Inland Mission, returned to China towards the end of 1896 as members of the Shou Yang Mission.

Along with other young men, Mr. Simpson was first led to serious thoughts of the foreign field at a missionary meeting held in the Aberdeen Y.M.C.A., and addressed by Dr. Laws of the Livingstone Mission, Central Africa. The impressions then made were confirmed by the visit of Mr. Hudson Taylor; and a subsequent visit of the late Mr. Pigott, followed by a personal interview, resulted in both he and his wife deciding to offer themselves for work in China.

Mr. and Mrs. Simpson had been zealous workers in connection with Melville Free Church and also the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A., winning a good report by their untiring and unselfish service. While at home on furlough they commended themselves, in a very marked and unusual way, to a large and increasing circle of friends, by their singular devotedness to the vast needs of China and the claims of our Lord and Saviour.

<sup>1</sup> All Nations.

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At a largely attended and enthusiastic farewell meeting held in the Y.M.C.A., Aberdeen, on 3rd September 1896, they were commended to God by cheering word and fervent prayer; and the following text, which had eight years before been given as a parting word, was once again quoted and commented on as expressing both mind and heart of all present: "God is able to make all grace abound toward you; that ye, always having all sufficiency in all things, may abound to every good work"; but little did those who gave that text think in what direction the "grace abounding" would be most needed by the devoted missionaries who were called to lay down their lives for the Master they loved.

On reaching T'ai Yüan Fu, Mr. and Mrs. Simpson at once threw themselves heartily into the work, and were soon at home among the people. Being specially attracted towards village work, part of their time was spent out in the country, and, when in the city, the opportunities offered by the hospital, school, etc., were eagerly taken advantage of by them.

One of Mrs. Simpson's last acts was to carry little Jacky Lovitt on the flight from the burning hospital to Mr. Farthing's house, defending him from the blows of brickbats and cudgels with her own body. The Chinese who accompanied the missionaries to the last house in which they lived prior to the massacre, mention her as being' specially active in seeking the comfort and welfare of all the party. When the end came, we may
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be sure that the wish expressed for them by their friends at their last leave-taking was fulfilled, and that "all grace" abounded toward them in the hour of trial. Their place in the Mission field is still unoccupied. Who will go for them?

#### MISS ELLEN MARY STEWART

Another name of fragrant memory among the martyr band is that of Ellen Mary Stewart, whose unselfish life of daily loving labour won the esteem of the Chinese as well as the warm affection of those among whom she more especially worked.

She was born 11th May 1871. Her conversion to God was brought about while at school, through the recollection of a fault, and a dream in which she thought the end of the world had come and she saw heaven opened. This, without human intervention, led her to her Saviour. Writing at the time to her father about it, she said: "I think I am almost glad in one way that I did it (although, perhaps, it is wrong of me to say so), because I think it will be the turning point in my life; for I am really trying now to serve God. I do find it rather hard sometimes. but I have asked God to help me, and I am sure He will." And truly He did, in a way and to an extent Nellie little dreamed of when she penned these lines.

After awhile the desire to be a missionary sprang up in her heart; but, home duty forbidding

its realisation, she applied all her energy to the work of Kindergarten teaching, for which she was fully qualified.

In 1894, when she was inquiring for a post as governess, the secretary replied: "There is but one name on our books, and, as Simla was too far from home for you, this opening is quite out of the question, for it is to teach English children in the interior of China-T'ai Yüan Fu." Nellie Stewart went away, pondering and praving over what seemed to be God's answer to her longings. Her father's consent was given, and soon she was on her way to the Far East to spend four and a half years in the family of Dr. and Mrs. Edwards. to whom her helpfulness and affection made her almost like a daughter. Her young pupils, whom she taught very assiduously, all loved her dearly. She gave singing lessons to the Chinese schoolgirls, and for some time devoted her leisure to learning Chinese: this, however, she subsequently gave up, fearing she had not the strength for it as well as her other duties.

After an all too short furlough of eight months in 1899, she returned to China with Mrs. Farthing (B.M.S.) and her three children, reaching T'ai Yüan Fu in May 1900, just after the arrival of Yü Hsien, the new Viceroy.

Like several others of her fellow-sufferers, Nellie Stewart was naturally timid and beset with fears; but, like them too, a strong sense of duty and a firm faith in her Saviour nerved her for, and sustained her in, the God-appointed path which,

## 250 Fire and Sword in Shansi

rough and dark though it was, led them into the presence of Him they loved to serve.<sup>1</sup>

#### MR. AND MRS. GEORGE W. STOKES

George W. Stokes was born in Dover in 1863. From the age of four, when he first attended Sunday school, the Salem Baptist Church was his spiritual home. There he found Christ in 1881, becoming a member of the Church in the same year. From the time of his conversion until his death he was actively engaged in Christian work. His secular calling was that of a printer, and in it he was very successful, turning out beautiful specimens of art - printing. He made time, nevertheless, to labour as a Sunday-school teacher and village preacher, and during two fairly long periods had the oversight of the village Mission schools in connection with the Salem Church. Taking advantage of his weekly half-holidays, he frequently visited St. Margaret's and Ewell Minnis to further the work of the Sunday-schools and arouse interest in special services, besides taking an active part in establishing and conducting a ragged school in one of the roughest parts of Dover.

The troubles and anxieties through which Mr. Stokes passed, in the death of his first wife and little son, tended to make him very gentle and sympathetic, and the remembrance of his kindness and consideration is still cherished—in the villages

<sup>1</sup> All Nations, April 1901.



Mr GEO. W. STOKES.



Mrs STOKES.



Mr JAMES SIMPSON.



Mrs SIMPSON.

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especially. His strong desire to enter the foreign Mission field was at length gratified when, his parents having taken charge of his little daughter, he was able to take up a course of study and training under the Rev. H. Grattan Guinness and his family, and in January 1892 arrived in China as a member of the China Inland Mission. By constant application he obtained a good knowledge of the Chinese tongue, and the ability to express himself well enough to teach and preach acceptably among the villages in the province of Chihli, where he laboured for some time, especially around Shun Teh Fu, and subsequently in the work of the important city station of T'ai Yüan Fu, where he died.

After several years' work in the China Inland Mission, Mr. Stokes had occasion to visit the Medical Mission at T'ai Yüan Fu to consult Dr. E. H. Edwards as to the treatment of opium cases. This led to his marriage with Miss Margaret T. Whitaker, who had come out from England several years before to assist in the medical work there.

Of Mrs. Stokes her sister writes: "She always took great interest in Missions; the world and its pleasures never had any attractions for her. I well remember, when she was about six years of age, my dear mother taking us all to see a pantomime—our usual Christmas holiday treat. During the performance, in a scene where thunder and lightning were represented, Maggie said, 'Please, mother, take me out of this place; these people are mocking God.' Her wish was complied with; we were all taken home, and it was our last pantomime. About the age of fourteen she began teaching in the Sunday school. When Mr. Moody came to London she was always in the inquiry-room, and much used of God; but before that time her mind was greatly exercised about China, and her one desire was to go out and help Dr. Edwards in the work. The way was closed, however, till the doctor returned ten years ago, and then Maggie felt that God had called, and, despite all opposition, she must obey."

Her most efficient labours among the sick and suffering commenced as soon as she reached China, and never ceased during the eight years of her missionary life. This made the acquisition of Chinese a harder task to her than to many, but by the diligent use of every spare hour she gained a good knowledge of the language, and lost no opportunity of making known the gospel of the blessed God both in the city of T'ai Yüan Fu and the surrounding villages. Seeing how many doors for the truth were opening in this district, and how few were the labourers to take advantage of them, Mr. and Mrs. Stokes, on their marriage in 1897, decided to ask for their dismissal from the China Inland Mission, and to join the Shou Yang Mission, which had its two stations in Shou Yang and T'ai Yüan; and here they laboured faithfully for three years.

In her last letter, on 9th May last, speaking

of the arrival of the Governor, Yü Hsien, Mrs. Stokes wrote: "It looks rather ominous, does it not? Well, it is comforting to know that we are safe in God's keeping." In reference to the African War, Mr. Stokes, in one of his last letters, says: "Victory all along the line, I am afraid, would have done us harm, but it is most sad to think of some of the noble men who have fallen that the nation might be humbled. Still, I believe they have accomplished more through defeat and death than was possible through the most brilliant victory." How pathetic these words in the light of what followed, since both these faithful workers were called to lay down their lives for the cause and Master they loved!<sup>1</sup>

#### REV. GEO. B. FARTHING, BAPTIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY

#### Martyred with Wife and Three Children at Tai Yüan Fu, 9th July 1900

On 21st June Mr. Farthing wrote a letter to his friend Mr. Dixon, in which he said the telegraph clerk at T'ai Yüan Fu had told him that there was a secret edict from the Empress-Dowager, which had come by telegraph, saying that all foreigners were to be killed. "I do not know" (the letter continued) "whether this is true or not; but, Dixon, if it is true, I am ready, and do not fear; if such be God's will, I can even rejoice to die."

<sup>1</sup> All Nations, March 1901.

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A year or so before, he had delivered the following striking address at a meeting of the foreign community of T'ai Yüan Fu, and it is here inserted as one of his "last messages"; and, from all that was ascertained on the spot, we are sure he went calmly to the place of martyrdom, upheld by the thought that "God in His unerring wisdom, He who 'according to His purpose' created us, has so fixed 'the bounds of our habitation,' so prepared us for the attainment of His will, that the lifetime of every man is fully proportioned to his work."

In his own words, "the work was done, the shadow on the dial showed the hour, and the workman was called away to his rest."

"Jesus answered, Are there not twelve hours in the day? If any man walk in the day, he stumbleth not, because he seeth the light of this world. But if a man walk in the night, he stumbleth, because there is no light in him."—JOHN xi. 9, 10.

"There is one characteristic of Christ's life which is plainly manifest to everyone who contemplates that wondrous personage. It is the calmness of mind, the composure of spirit, which He ever displayed. In the presence of the mighty effects of His power He ever remained tranquil and dignified. He showed neither surprise nor alarm. He was the same, too, in His relations with the people. The surging, excited multitude might applaud or condemn: tumultuous praise and vehement protestations of loyalty, or indignant wrath and venomous expressions of hate, were alike powerless to disturb His serenity.

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"During the last few days at His life's close, troublous, full of suffering though they were, He was unchanged. Throughout the conflict of Gethsemane, the base betrayal, the clamour of the judgment-hall, and the anguish of Calvary, the same self-possession is apparent; it never deserted Him.

"This, however, cannot be interpreted as the coolness of unconcern, mere nonchalance. His was not the cold dispassionateness of the Stoic or ascetic. None was ever so human, so sympathetic, as He. He was keenly interested in all the affairs of men, and was glowingly earnest in all His doings. He was graciously bountiful to all need, and tenderly compassionate to all distress. Tranquillity was consistently blended with lofty enthusiasm. The serenity which seemed to encompass Him as an atmosphere, and which His own spirit created, was that of majesty, of conscious power, of supreme knowledge.

"Life for Him was no fragmentary, broken thing; He viewed it as a whole, recognised the purpose in it, comprehended its conditions, and gave Himself up unreservedly to its fulfilment.

"This recognition enabled Him, in the light of the purpose, to advance, not the less swiftly because calmly, to His goal. Hence there was nothing abrupt, nothing that marred the sequence of His career. Everything had its due weight and exercised its proper influence.

"Those about Him might at times hesitate and

reason concerning the dictates of prudence : Christ was prudent without going through the ordinary reasoning processes.

"Did the Pharisees come and ostentatiously threaten Him, saying, 'Get Thee out, and depart hence: for Herod desireth to kill Thee!' His ready and unfaltering reply was, 'Go ye and tell that fox, Behold, I cast out demons, and I do cures to-day and to-morrow, and the third day I am perfected.' There was a time when He could sublimely say, 'Mine hour is not yet come'; whilst at another time He calmly ministered to His disciples in a grandly typical act, because He knew 'that the hour was come that He should depart out of this world unto the Father.'

"Or, take the circumstances that surround our text.

"The same unruffled spirit characterises His speech with His disciples. When the tidings first reached Him of the deadly sickness of His friend Lazarus, the disciples would not have wondered had He set out hurriedly to Bethany, spite of all hazards, to graciously heal the afflicted one. They would then have accompanied Him without comment: that would have resembled the impatient haste of men. Not so did our Lord act: 'He remained two days still in the place where He was. Then after that saith He to His disciples, Let us go into Judea again.' What? They had thought that caution had outweighed friendship; but *now*—now that the risks of the journey have become definite and are fully realised through their consideration of them during the delay—now, when possibly the need for His presence has passed away — now that the difficulties have increased a thousandfold why should He return?

"Surely He forgets, and-full of wild fearsthey say to Him, 'Master, the Jews of late were seeking to stone Thee, and goest Thou thither again?' To which He replies with another question: 'Are there not twelve hours in the day?' Not with any assurance of His power to quell revolt against Himself and to overcome whatever forces might array themselves against Him does He quieten their alarm, but with words that indicate the powerlessness of all opposition to harm the man who is walking in the path of duty until his day has fully closed, and that hour has struck which has been foreordained by God for the end of his toil and conflict. How sublime a view of life does He present to them! There is a purpose in the life; there is a light which illumines the path of the man who truly lives his life, and there is a sufficient lifetime assured for the full accomplishment of that purpose.

"It is only when self-willed man loses sight of that purpose and quenches the light that there is any ground for fear. It is only then that threats annoy and perils dismay; it is only then that the spirit falters and the man falls.

"It is this recognition of the meaning of life which makes so marked a contrast between Christ's life and our own. He came into the

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world to do a work, and He did it. Whilst doing it He was freed from all anxiety concerning it. He did not distinguish between success and failure. All was alike successful. It was God commanded, and it could not but accomplish the thing that was purposed. Not now, it may be, but *then*—in God's time and in God's way—for 'there is no hurry in eternal things.'

"This was Christ's way of looking upon life. Ought it not to be ours also? Does not His question, 'Are there not twelve hours in the day?' indicate this very thing? Surely this is what His teaching implied. Let us consider the significance of His words concerning our own lives.

" 1. They teach us that God has a purpose in our lives.

"This is acknowledged by every one of us in some indefinite way. It is, however, more of an instinctive feeling than a thought; more of a pious assent than a determinate wish to apprehend what that purpose is and to fulfil it. What we need to grasp is, that though as individual men we are distinct and separate, yet we each are members one of another, we each have some distinct and peculiar work to do, which only we can do, and which has a definite relation to God's creative plan. Human beings have a reality in the mind of God. Existence was not designed to be meaningless. We are not Fatherless orphans, left to shift for ourselves,

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# Memorials and Last Letters 2

cast adrift upon the restless world-ocean, perchance to be engulphed, or, more or less happily, to be flung upon some shore alive though sorely tossed.

"No; we have a Father, by whose will we were begotten, by whose hand we were to be guided, and whose purpose we were intended to fulfil.

"Each one of us came forth from the heart of God bearing some special impress, charged with some special mission, and fraught with some special significance in the designs of our Great Creator.

"We were made by Him just what we are, so far as we have not marred His work, and are what He made us, for some special end. He created us in His infinite wisdom, to serve His purpose in some way for which we alone are fitted.

"He might have called into being, by His creative word, creatures fairer, diviner, whose loving homage, whose worship and devotion, would have been more perfect, more pure, than that which we can render; but He chose, and His choice fell upon us; He spake and we came into being, and came that we might fill some place and do some work in accordance with His will.

"What we may each one humbly say is, 'God made *me*, all that which is essentially *me*, and by which I am known from all others. Those idiosyncrasies, those characteristics, which make up my individual self, which give me a distinct personality, the gifts which are peculiarly my endowment,—these did God give to me, not through caprice, not without intention, but because they

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were the very qualifications which fitted me to do His will.'

"Others may be more richly endowed, furnished with vastly different gifts, seem to be created for tasks which are larger and more brilliant : but none can be more honourable for any one of us than that received from the Lord of our life. There is infinite variety, but no sameness. It is doubtful whether there are two men whose work exactly corresponds, and thus that we contentedly and zealously perform the high behest is urgent. All offices are alike honourable, and our dignity the same; we are His special creations, to whom is committed some special task. Let us illustrate. It has been told of Arthur, how the sword with its bejewelled hilt which he wielded, and which he alone could wield, had been held out to him at the first by an arm 'clothed in white samite, mystic, wonderful,' and how, when the knight was about to breathe his last, the sword was again thrown back into the stream from out of which it had been given, and was received back by the same hand. It was a special sword for a special warrior, and useless in the hand of any other.

"So it is with ourselves. Our peculiar endowments are as the sword of Arthur, which no other can possess and which we alone can use. They were received by us from God, and of them shall we have to give account to Him; they were embodied in us and allied with our personality, to accord with and make His possible in our lives.

"Oh! if we want to make life real, let us grasp

this truth. This will give fulness and solemnity to life, bring content, and awaken ardour. Every man will then become sacred, an altar upon which God descends, a temple in which God dwells.

"2. Our text teaches us that the measure of our lifetime accords with that purpose. What else could our Saviour mean when He answered, 'Are there not twelve hours in the day?' than that every life is complete, a full day with twelve hours?

"It is God who assigns the day; the divine arithmetic we may not understand. In His unerring wisdom, He who, 'according to His purpose,' created us has so fixed 'the bounds of our habitation,' so prepared us for the attainment of His will, that the lifetime of every man is fully proportioned to his work.

"The babe that hardly enters upon the earthly life before it again resigns it and goes back into the invisible from which it had so lately issued, has lived its day could we but count the hours as God counts them. Nothing falls to the ground resultless. Every breath we draw exerts an influence throughout the universe.

"Did we but know how mighty have been the effects of the things we deemed failures, could we but tell the worth of the things we have done whose outcome is hidden, how they are not dead but are living and have gone forth into the earth, then should we marvel, and not be found so frequently bemoaning the seeming worthlessness of life. 'Are there not twelve hours in the day?' "We often think not, because we cannot reckon as God reckons. We say of a life that was snapped off, that just as it was beginning to put forth its strength, to show its beauty, to manifest its worth, it ended—ended abruptly, ended prematurely.

"Indeed there are wonderful contrasts. Look at the sons of Zebedee: both were ardent followers of our Lord, but James fell ignominiously upon the very opening of the Christian campaign; the sword of Herod ended the life so full of promise, so rich in preparedness before the work was well begun.

"His brother John lived on and attained a fulness of years greater than that of any other of the apostles, became a man of visions, an eagleeyed Evangelist, who with piercing gaze looked upon the infinite fount of light, and left the world for ever enriched by his clear discernment of the truth. How unequal! we cry. The life of John, so rich, so long—and the death of James, so untimely. Untimely! Banish the thought. This we believe, that in each case in God's sight there was fulness, each life was complete, for both alike twelve hours.

"The work was done, the shadow on the dial showed the hour, and the workman was called away to his rest. 'Man is immortal till his work is done.'

"As our bond for the statement, we take the example of Christ, we point to the whole Gospel narrative, and our text surely brings it before us when our Lord reminds us by His sublime ques-

## Memorials and Last Letters

tion that there are twelve hours accorded to every man wherein to live and labour. Our Lord asked the question of them as though it could not but win their assent, that it could not be gainsaid that the hand of God is in the destinies of His people, that the Lord's power overrules and subdues all foes; that He is the supreme Arbiter in the affairs of man, the giver and sustainer and disposer of men's lives, that He accords to all twelve hours-a full and sufficient lifetime.

"3. Our text further teaches us that suitable opportunity is granted us for the working out of God's purpose in our lives. 'If a man walk in the day he stumbleth not, because he seeth the light of this world.' It may have been that it was early morn when our Saviour was speaking. and that, standing at the door of their last night's resting-place, He pointed to the great orb of day, which had begun to mount up into the heavens, a taskmaster, a watchman warding off danger, causing, as it did, the wild beasts to seek their lairs, and showing the inequalities and pitfalls of the way. 'And so,' Christ seems to say, 'God hath manifested to me His purpose as by an outer light illuminating my path, and making things otherwise dangerous without power, so that without the least hesitancy, by the light shed upon the purpose as in the light of day, I can walk in safety.'

"And what is the force of all this for us? Is it not that God so communicates to us His will that we may walk unhesitatingly, without fear of the world, without anxiety within, to perform the

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very thing that He would have us do? The purpose of God in our creation is like the eye of the body; God making known His will is like the sunlight, which alone, as it communes with the eye, enables us to see. The purpose is as the inherent fructifying power of the earth, whilst God's communication is as the sun and rain and air, which quicken the earth's forces into activity. The purpose may be likened to the mariner's knowledge and skill to guide a ship to a distant port, and God's communication to the skies and stars and compass by which he must take his bearings and find his course; else would he be at the mercy of the ocean, spite of his knowledge.

"For the working out of God's will we need God's light upon our pathway. He hides within us His purpose; He fits us for the doing of the task He has chosen for us, but He keeps us dependent upon Him for the interpretation of our duty, for the opening of our way, for the creating of opportunity. Without His aid we cannot spell out the mystery of His calling for us. The light is not in a man himself.

"How is it with you, my friends? Are you sighing and mourning because the divine purpose is indefinite and hard to understand?

"Do you sadly say, 'I am sure I cannot tell what I have received of the manner of a special gift from the Lord. I know not what He would have me do. Of one thing only am I certain, that I have not ten talents, nor five, and have long been doubtful whether I have even one'?

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"Is such your plaint? Perhaps you have been mistaking the duty of the hour, have sought light and meaning within, instead of turning your eyes towards heaven. Look out from self—look up to God.

"It may be that you have closed your eyes, and, like a blind man who does not realise that the darkness is of himself, are bemoaning that the sun hath not yet risen. Open thine eyes and see. Light is streaming out and flooding thy pathway. The Lord it is who makes luminous our duty if we are ready to see, attentive to hear, and willing to obey. 'If any man will do His will, he shall know.' 'We shall know if we follow on to know the Lord.' 'In God's light we shall see light.' God hath done and is doing His part. All our experiences, in so far as they have been true and have brought forth holiness,—all these have been preparing us for the possession of our birthright.

"Every single thing has had some effect in awakening us to knowledge, in quickening us to activity, if we would but be quickened.

"Up then! Let us be doing. Answer God's call—His call by our sorrows—His call by our joys, by our birth, and by our attainments—His call by the view He has vouchsafed us of the needs of others—His call in whatever way He has called us,—for all these things are the light of day, in which we must walk whilst yet it shines.

"4. Our text sadly reminds us that there is such a thing possible as the frustrating of God's

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will, and the making void of His purpose. 'If a man walk in the night he stumbleth, because the light is not in him.' What is the picture that our It is that of a man whose self-Saviour draws? centred thoughts have made him apprehensive: he has become cautious; he fears the perils of the way: he thinks of the Jews who will stone him, and, turning aside from the path which God's finger points out for him, fails to embrace the opportunity presented. It does not appear to him, perhaps, that he is evading duty; the task he will ultimately perform, but not just now; the risks are too great, he will delay awhile until the signs are more favourable,-that is all. Alas! it is not all, for the sky which was so full of light for him but a short time before now becomes overcast.

"It is no longer day, but night, for him—a night of thick gloom and darkness; for in himself there is no light whereby he can discover his path and discern duty. 'The twelve hours' are lived out, but in black night instead of glorious day. This seems to be the picture which our Saviour sketches of what befalls the man who neglects God's appointed task. He that would save his life loses it. By failure to embrace the opportune moment and to yield up himself to the divinely appointed task, his whole life is thrown out of joint and deprived of meaning.

"But thanks be unto God for His grace whereby He gave us repentance and brought us, who had even thus wandered, out of the night, and re-established us in His ways and shone upon us

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In the Hospital Compound, T'ai Vitan Fu. A "send off" in February 1899. Twelve of the Foreigners then present were massacred in 1900.



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with His light, and still shines upon our pathway, and of whom we are persuaded that He will continue to shine upon us. Oh! may He so vouchsafe His help, so brace up our powers that we may follow the Christ, who walked unfalteringly, undismayed, because He lived ever in the broad light of day and was ever subject to the manifest guidance of God; and so, like Him, may we serenely and composedly live through our twelve hours and fulfil the work which God has given us to do."

## DIARIES AND LAST LETTERS OF MISSIONARIES OF THE AMERICAN BOARD MISSION, SHANSI

The following is one of the latest diaries written by any of the missionaries who were massacred in the province., The writer was the Rev. C. W. Price of America, and with him at the isolated station of Fen Chou Fu were his wife and little daughter (Florence); Rev. E. Atwater (American) and his wife (who was an Irish lady) and two children (Bertha and Celia); Rev. P. Lundgren and his wife (Danes); and Miss Eldred (English). The three latter were only there on a visit.

This diary is of particular interest, because from it we learn how suddenly the storm gathered and burst in this province. Glimpses of the life of the missionaries during the last anxious fortnight are also given us. How complete was their isolation may be gathered from the fact that, though their two nearest colleagues (whose station was distant but some 10 miles) were massacred on 30th June, they only heard of it on 3rd July; while on 25th July they were still uncertain as to the fate of the forty-six foreigners who were murdered at T'ai Yüan Fu (only three days' journey away) on the 9th of the same month.

We can easily imagine, as they watched day by day the clouds which would not bring the much desired rain, how anxiously they deliberated as to what was the best thing to do. Then there was the suspense at night as they kept their lonely watch and listened attentively for every sound; for a Chinese city at night (at least in the north) is as quiet as a city of the dead, except for the occasional dinging of a watchman's gong. It is difficult-nay impossible-to realise what were the feelings of the husband and wife with their two children when they knew their house was surrounded by an angry mob-and that at night too! Knowing that a bold front was their only chance of safety, they open the gate of their courtyard and bravely walk through the crowd to the official residence of the Mandarin, where they are refused admittance!! No sooner are they out of their house than the pillaging commences, so that they are obliged to take refuge with their fellowmissionaries—minus everything but what they wore. Harassed with conflicting reports, hope and fear alternate. Now a proclamation is issued for their protection, and anon a day is fixed for their extermination.

The few Christians who have remained by the

missionaries are compelled to leave them, until only one remains. With all the tremendous strain and anxiety we see the ladies bravely bearing up for the sake of husband and children, but we also see the husbands distressed on account of wife and little ones.

Towards the close there was one ray of hope the offer of an escort to the coast. Treachery was suspected but (as we learnt from other sources) they were compelled to accept the offer, and killed on the roadside soon after starting.

#### "FEN CHOU FU, SHANSI.

"It was about 1st June that we began to hear vague rumours of unusual unrest and talk against the foreigners and Church. This was caused by the continued drought, which was already being felt in the scarcity of food, and also by the lack of any useful employment for the people, so that they could congregate in the streets and talk over grievances, seeking to find a reason why this suffering should come upon them.

"Various stories were set afloat as to the power of the missionaries to prevent rain, ascribing almost superhuman strength in the way of controlling the elements. Clouds were constantly being driven away by fierce winds, which led to the story—thoroughly believed by all the people that we went into our upper rooms and drove the clouds back by fanning with all our might. The story was changed as regards the T'ai Yüan Fu missionaries, that they were naked when doing the fanning.

"About 15th June the first Boxers made their appearance in our city, not in great numbers, but only two, who it was said had come to organise the young men of our city, and prepare for the great onslaught against the foreigners and their religion. They were not successful in getting the people to take it up at first, so they began with boys ten to twelve years of age. The so-called mysteries connected with the organisation appeals very strongly to a people so full of superstition as these, and after a few days it grew very rapidly. The drill, if it may be called so, consists in the boy repeating four short lines of some mystic words, and bowing to the south and falling backwards, when he goes into a trance, remaining lying on his back for an indefinite time, when he rises and is endowed with wonderful strength-boys of twelve being strong as men. They brandish swords and spears, not seeming to try to be skilful in handling them, but merely to show strength and place themselves under the power of their symbols. They claim to be invulnerable, though, as many of them have been killed, it would seem that delusion would soon be dispelled.

"Large crowds gather to witness their performance, and all attribute supernatural power to them. Soon threatening placards against all connected with the Church as well as foreigners were posted up in different parts of the city, and created some excitement. The magistrate at first seemed to

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desire to protect us and the Church, issuing a proclamation against them (the Boxers), but afterwards revoking it, no doubt at the instigation of the anti-foreign Governor at T'ai Yüan Fu, and giving people permission to organise bands. This made them very bold. Christians were insulted on the streets, and told their time was about at hand. Missionaries were plainly told they were to be killed. Times were very critical.

" 24th June.-Mr. Atwater and I sent our cards to the magistrate, asking for an interview. A time was appointed — the same day in the afternoon-to receive us. We were promised proclamations warning the people against persecuting Christians or harming foreigners, and were assured there was no danger from the people -'it was only talk with them.' The proclamation was not issued, and the next day our man went to the vamen on business, where he was shown a letter from the T'ai Yüan Governor containing an account of the success of the Boxers in Chihli and Shantung, and saying they had been received as soldiers by the Government of Peking, where they with the regulars had defeated the foreign troops and had everything their own way. This is no doubt untrue, but the people believe it, and the effect is the same for the time as though true -as no doubt the authorities thought it would be.

"Rumours of the condition of missionaries in adjacent cities and counties are vague, but such as we have show the critical condition we are in. T'ai Ku friends have had more trouble than

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we thus far, but not so many Boxers. Miss Partridge is living alone at Li Man, not being willing to leave her schoolgirls to the mercy of a Such bravery and devotion to her work mob. cannot be too highly spoken of. [N.B.-A few days after this was written Miss Partridge was compelled to dismiss her school and take refuge with the other missionaries at T'ai Ku. They were all massacred on 31st July.-E. H. E.] Mr. Davis is alone at Jen Tsuen, being determined to fight it out on that line. Writes that his revolver is in good condition, and thinks he can make a mob sick. [N.B.-He, too, had to take refuge at T'ai Ku, and fell with the others on 31st July.-E. H. E.] At Ping Yao-China Inland Mission—rumoured that the friends were robbed on the 25th, and were gone to the yamen. At Chieh Hsiu-China Inland Mission-five young ladies are staying in the city and bravely facing the danger. Letters from them on the 27th show a brave spirit, and speak of their not being fearful. [N.B.—The missionaries from both these stations subsequently escaped to the coast, but suffered terribly on their journey.-E. H. E.] At Hsiao Ih -China Inland Mission-two single women are staying, and seem to have no hesitancy in staying by the stuff. [N.B.-These two ladies-Miss Whitchurch and Miss Searell-were massacred a few days later (30th June) with great barbarity. -E. H. E.] Mr. Ogren of Yung Ning Chou is expected in Fen Chou Fu with his wife in a few days. Do not know whether he is

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driven out or not. [N.B.—The story of Mrs. Ogren's marvellous escape after untold hardships has already been published. Her husband died from injuries received at the hands of Boxers.— E. H. E.] No late reliable news from T'ai Yüan Fu or the south. Trust we may hear soon. News from the coast vague and unreliable. We are in trying times.

"25th June.—Letter received at yamen from Governor.

"26th June.—Last night Mr. Lundgren, who is staying with us, came to the door of our room and said they were destroying the chapel. I hastily arose, buckled on my armour, and went down, where I found him with his shot-gun ready to do battle for the cause. We went over to the chapel, marching 'quick step,' trail arms,' where we found everyone in profound slumber. The noises Mr. Lundgren heard were made by men in a court back of us, where they were drawing water and irrigating their fields.

"27th June.—Last night the drums were beaten and bugles blown at the barracks outside the city about midnight, an unusual time for such performances. Several Christians staying on Dr. Atwood's place thought the attack had begun, and ran—some on to the city wall, some over to Mr. Atwater's, and some tried to get outside the city. They were in a nervous condition all the next day.

"28th June.—Last night word came from the magistrates that we must be careful and not go outside our compound more than can be avoided.

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We think it best to heed his counsel, though we have little reason to believe him kindly disposed towards us. If we do anything counter to his wishes, it will give him a good excuse for not giving us any protection. He claims he cannot control the people. A magistrate's duty seems to be to rule the people when they want to be ruled. Otherwise he must keep still.

"To-day we have packed two trunks with the things we most desire to save, and, wrapping them in oilcloth, have buried them where we think the people cannot find them. We expect our places will be looted, and in our extremity do not consider it important whether they are or not. We shall not resist if they only take our goods. If they attempt violence we shall fight if God gives us strength, unless they are better organised than now appears. We have a good repeating rifle, a shot-gun, and revolver. Mr. Lundgren is with us. If Mr. Atwater should come to this place we should be three men against thousands. But our trust is in One to whom numbers are of no importance whatever. We are resigned and feel very peaceful, waiting till the Lord sees fit to When that time comes, the counsel of move. the wicked shall come to nought.

"Christians have in the main shown an excellent spirit. Though much excited and fearful, they are still true. Perhaps God is giving us this trial to let us see that He has some true loyal people in Fen Chou Fu. We have not heard of any recanting, though there has been no actual persecution as yet — only threats. But they all know that, if they were to say they would worship their false gods and renounce their Christianity, all danger would be over for them. May our heavenly Father abundantly reward their devotion!

" 29th June.-Last night was a time of sore trial. Just before dark one of the servants came and told us that Mr. Atwater's house had been surrounded by a mob. Mr. Han (Chinese) at once went to the magistrate, who acted very promptly, himself going out and arresting men. The house was entered and much of the furniture destroyed. Strange to say, not many things were stolen. Mr. and Mrs. Atwater with their two children were not harmed, though in great danger. Before the mob entered their court they opened the gate and passed out through a large crowd of people, who, strange to say, offered them no violence. They went to the yamen (official's residence), where they were refused admission, though the magistrate quickly restored order at their home, to which they returned. They thought it best to come over to our place soon after, arriving about twelve o'clock (midnight). The Lord did indeed in mercy help them. Too much praise cannot be given to our Christians for the courage and devotion shown. They did not hesitate to face the mob, and were ready to carry word back and forth without hesitating. The Lord be praised! Our work has not been in vain. Such witnessing for the truth is itself evidence of the power of the gospel.

"Word has just come-nine o'clock a.m.-that a foreigner has been killed at a village 10 'li' from the city. We hope it is but a rumour, but, if true, we cannot imagine who it would be that would be coming this way when the foreigners are going to T'ai Yüan Fu, the opposite direction. Mr. Davis in his last letter spoke of coming to Fen Chou Fu, not as indicating a purpose, but as something that might happen. Can it be it is he? We can only wait and see.

"Four o'clock.-Still no certain word from the village 10 'li' out. Only reported that it is not certain whether it is a foreigner or Chinaman. It seems to be certain it is a Christian. What will be the outcome? We are now more cheerful than we were this morning. We are, Mr. and Mrs. Atwater and the two children (Bertha and Celia), Mr. and Mrs. Lundgren, and Miss Eldred of the China Inland Mission. [N.B.-The writer takes it for granted that it is known that he and his wife and little daughter, Florence, are among the number.]

"Five o'clock.-The helper, Mr. Han, has just come in. He went to the village with the magistrate to investigate about the murder. The man proved to be an opium sot-killed in all probability for the sake of creating excitement and feeling against the foreigners. The report that the murdered man was a foreigner was circulated, no doubt, to impress the people, and show them that foreigners may be killed with impunity. The magistrate has arrested and punished five

#### Memorials and Last Letters 277

men and three women of the village. The men were given 1000 strokes each. One was beaten with a spade till he was all a pulp. [N.B.-It]has since been ascertained that this was the murdered opium sot, a stranger in the village. He was attacked by villagers under the excitement of the Boxers.—E. H. E.] The women were each beaten 300 strokes and driven through the streets. as they claimed to be possessed with devils and stirred up the people. This murder is directly attributable to the I Ho Chuan (Boxers), and we hope will make the more sensible of the people see where their infatuation is leading them.

" 30th June.-Last night was quiet. In the evening we assembled the Christians on the two places and held a prayer-meeting. The true spirit of self-sacrifice and devotion to Christ was shown. Surely God will use this trouble to strengthen His Church. Thank God for this manifestation of His love!

" The magistrate has shown a readiness to punish offenders of the law, which may have a wholesome effect. He seems to see the danger of his own position, and I expect sees rebellion in the near future. Some soldiers who were guarding our place last night said the magistrate said to them. 'We and the foreigners stand or fall together.' They realise that it is not to continue for a long time as merely a fight against foreigners, but the time will soon come when the whole country will be in a state of anarchy. A good rain would bring peace. But we know our Father knows

when things have come to where He in His wisdom wishes to bring them. His arm will be stretched out to save.

"The ladies of our party are very brave, and bearing up wonderfully. But the strain is tremendous. The suspense over the rumour that a foreigner had been murdered outside the city was almost more than we could bear, coming as it did just after the mob of the evening before.

" 1st July.—Last night was another of quiet, though about one o'clock there was a feeling among the servants — no one knows how it originated—that Mr. Atwater's place was being burned; but it was a false alarm. Their cook came over this morning saying all was quiet. This morning it is raining. Oh for copious showers! We now only live from hour to hour; but the Lord has wonderfully kept us in peace, so that we can rest at night with a feeling of security in Him.

" 2nd July.—Last evening word came that a company of Boxers had come from Hsiao Ih and were soon to attack us. Our Christians remained with us as long as there was anything they could do, but late in the evening left except one or two. We considered all over and prepared for the worst. At the request of the ladies it was decided that we do not use any means of defence, and the guns were put away. After consideration, I felt convinced we were not doing right to let our wives and children perish without an effort to save them. So we again prepared to sell our

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lives as dearly as possible. Unexpectedly they did not come, but it was a night of intense suspense. To-day was very trying also. Reported they would surely come immediately after dinner. About four o'clock word was brought that the bad talk in the city had greatly decreased—that the report of Boxers coming from Hsiao Ih to destroy us was untrue. The Lord reigns. He will work His will.

"3rd July.—Last night was very quiet. We keep watch every night, and shall for some time; but this is the quietest day we have had for some time. The two ladies at Hsiao Ih were killed. There seems to be no doubt of it now. They were ripe for heaven. But how cruel of the people for whom they had laboured so faithfully! Poor China! She is laying up a store of future suffering for herself. We pray that whatever is done may be for the advancement of God's kingdom.

"Six o'clock.—A glorious shower of rain. It will do immense good, and many of the people will have work to do, so that their minds will be taken up with something else besides destroying foreigners. While it was raining we sang 'Praise God, from whom all blessings flow.'

"3rd and 4th July.—All peaceful. It seems the Lord has filled the people with a fear of us. Rumoured in the city that there were seventy foreigners armed with all kinds of guns on our place, and were ready to take the city and destroy the 'I Ho Chuan' (Boxers). The magistrates

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sent out word that English and American missionaries were to be protected, which had a good effect. He is doing all he can for us. A good shower of rain to-day. May the Lord send copious showers !

"4th (? 5th) July.—Another quiet day. We keep watch by night by relief. How long is it to continue? Ladies bearing up bravely, but the strain is very great. To-day another small shower of rain. Early in the day reported that a day has been set when we are to be attacked—14th inst.; but, as that has been so often decided on and given up, it does not cause the anxiety it once did.

"Later.—Rumoured that the talk on the streets was changing in our favour, but nothing is certain. I think we owe our safety thus far under God to the bold stand we have taken. They know we are ready to fight for our lives. We believe we are justified in taking this stand, though no doubt we shall be condemned by some of our fellowmissionaries. 'Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind.'

"6th July.—Another quiet night. Yesterday a proclamation was issued by our magistrate asking Christians to recant, saying it would bring peace if they would but yield at the time till the excitement dies out. He—the magistrate—does not understand how great a matter it is to turn from the gospel to serve idols. The proclamation also stated that foreigners were to be protected; but what comfort can it be to us if our Christians are to pay the price for us? There is

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### Memorials and Last Letters

one thing in their favour: they can hide for a few months till the storm blows over, and no one would know they are Christians, but we would be known wherever we go. It is said Hung Tung -three days south-is quiet, and Mr. Lutley has returned to his house. Word on the street that Chieh Hsiu is also quiet. Trust it may be true. We hear the Boxers have been driven out of Hsiao Ih-10 miles east-by the vigorous work of the magistrate. Letters to-day from T'ai Ku. Friends there are, all in the city, but in the same straits as ourselves. It is good to hear from them again. Heh Kou brought the letters, and seemed glad to get back to us. It is good to have him here, as he will be an encouragement to the Christians. T'ai Yüan Fu friends on Mr. Farthing's place. Miss Coombs killed.

"7th July. — Last night quiet. Reported the Boxers are to gather here from surrounding districts and attack us in force. We are strengthening our defences.

"8th to 14th July.—Nothing of importance for these few days except the vigorous work of magistrate in punishing Boxers. Also a proclamation ordering all Christians to go to the temples and worship their false gods. It is good to see how they disregard the proclamation. There are now seventeen Christians on this place ready to fight for their lives, but say they will die rather than give up their belief in Christ. Some are yet in their villages, standing firm for their faith. May the Lord help them 1

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"Yesterday was the day set apart for a general assault on the foreigners and Christians, but it passed off without unusual excitement. Quite a crowd of men gathered in front of our place in the evening, but proved to be only neighbours and merchants of the city who had heard we were to be attacked, and had come to see the ruin of our place! The three yamen men went out and ordered them to disperse, which they did without trouble.

"Story circulated that we had hired our cook to get men to go to different houses in the city and write the character 'ten' (+) on the door, indicating that within ten days some calamity would come to that house. His wife and fatherin-law and family have been taken to the yamen, where the case is to be tried. It has created a great deal of excitement, and was no doubt started for that very purpose. Trust the magistrate will get at the truth and punish the offenders. How silly the people are in their superstitions !...

" 15th July (Sunday).—Over thirty at service this morning. It is good to see so many who, notwithstanding the danger, are ready to come to worship, and in fact stay on the place, when they might be in greater safety by going away where they are not known.

"Story told us of the fears of the people. Horsemen had been heard at dead of night riding furiously up and down the streets of the city. Perhaps this had led to the belief that sixty more foreigners have come into our compound. May the Lord cause a great fear to come upon them !



The old Mission House, Shou Yang Hsien.

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Starting for a Picnic-Shou Yang Hsien. WELLESLEY W. PIGOTT (X), martyred 9th July 1900.

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" 16th July .--- To-day letter from Mr. Ogren tells us the magistrate of his city has found it impossible to protect him, and has asked him to leave. He started on the 13th for the Yellow River. It is a dangerous plan, but we hope he may be able to accomplish it. Rumoured that the Governor has sent word that the foreigners are to be protected. The word is said to have been sent from Peking. Rumoured that the Catholics of Wen Shui Hsien have been fighting the Boxers.

"Here things are remarkably quiet. A light rain has been falling most of the day.

"17th July.-Still all quiet. No bad talk on the streets that we can hear of. It is almost too quiet to continue. None of our Christians have as yet been molested to any extent. May the Lord keep them from this suffering!

"Ten o'clock p.m.-Word just in from T'ai Ku that T'ai Yüan Fu and Shou Yang friends, who had gone to that city, were all killed while on their way to the Fut'ai's yamen. Later reports say but one man and one woman killed. Hard to say which report is correct. Still we are in the hands of God, and must not despair. He is above all. T'ai Ku friends are still safe, but feel they are in much danger-are thinking of trying to escape to the hills. Hope they will not try it. It seems to me the safest place is in our own home.

" 18th July.-Still very quiet. Last night, men from the yamen told us it was the Catholic place at T'ai Yüan Fu that had been destroyed. But

this evening's word on the street is that it was the foreigners residing in the city that had been killed. What are we to believe? Word also came today that the Governor of the province had been shot in the trouble there on the 14th or 15th. We must still feel we are in the hands of a loving heavenly Father.

"19th July.-Still very quiet. Heh Kou started to-day for T'ai Ku to see if he can get some silver for us. He was very willing to go, but we shall feel very anxious about him until his return. It is very dangerous travelling, not only for Christians, but for anyone who may be carrying money. Reported to-day that Hei Fu T'ang is writing out an explanation of his position, and asking to be recognised as a Confucianist in the future without any connection with the Christian We have thought him one of our best Church I Trust his example will not influence members. Wang Hsi Mien has come in to-day, others. which has cheered us up. Says he will stay here through it all now.

"Several Catholics have been killed at Wen Shui, 20 miles north. Another man from Tientsin says the Boxers have degenerated into robbers there, and cannot be controlled. Foreign soldiers masters of the situation.

" 20th July.—Quiet night. We with the Chinese Christians keep watch every night. Men from the yamen here all the time. Christians who are not members of the Fen Chou Fu Church ordered to go to their own districts. "To-day a proclamation was posted in the court asking the Church members to recant, and threatening, if they did not, to send the missionaries out of the district. It is hard to understand the magistrate's meaning. This p.m. an order came for all the Christians from Shih Ta—a village 5 'li' from the city—to go to the yâmen and tell the reason why they have not obeyed the former proclamation. It was good to see how calmly and resignedly they went. May our heavenly Father give them courage and wisdom before the magistrate! We have just had a prayer-meeting for them.

"4.30 p.m.—Mr. Han has just returned from the yamen. Four of the Christians from Shih Ta were beaten 100 to 300 stripes, and led off to the temple and made to bow to the idols. We must not judge them too harshly. It was a great temptation, and was put to them in the form of law. I think the magistrate did it to prevent their being harmed by a mob. . . After hearing Mr. Han's report, we kneeled down while he led in prayer asking for strength for all of us to bear our burdens.

"21st July.—Servants and Christians going away to-day, except Fei, Han, and Jen, with perhaps one or two of the servants. It is said the Christians who were punished yesterday did not recant, but received their punishment in silence, and were ordered not to return to us. We do not know what we are to look forward to. God reigns.

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# 286 Fire and Sword in Shansi

" 22nd and 23rd July.—Yesterday a very quiet day. We did not hold our usual Sabbath Chinese worship because of the Mandarin's proclamation. There are various rumours afloat—'Governor gone to Shou Yang to destroy the Catholics.' 'Governor gone to Peking, and his going to Shou Yang was only a pretence to get away from T'ai Yüan Fu.' 'He is going to destroy the Catholics in Shou Yang and Yu Tzu, and then take up the work of exterminating the Protestants at T'ai Ku and Fen Chou Fu.' It seems almost incredible that a high officer should lend himself personally to such work.

"Yesterday came rumour of an agreement of peace with foreign nations. Trust God will give the nations wisdom to deal with the question so as to form a permanent settlement. Rumour that Li Hung Chang has been called to the Viceroy's place in Chihli.

"24th July.—Still rumours of articles of peace being signed. Things very quiet at present, though we realise the danger is by no means over. A Hsiu Tsai (graduate of the first degree), in yesterday, told us that Heaven had sent myriads of angels to fight for China. He thoroughly believes it. Mr. Atwater got his (stolen) things out of pawn by paying 30,480 cash. We can ill spare that sum now, but it was all we could do.

"Two 'chai-ren' (yâmen-runners) went to Chang Pei Tang's village to catch him, but he had hired the villagers to help him get away, going across the border into Hsiao Ih Hsien. They went there after him, but were arrested as bad men and taken to the yamen. We do not know how the matter will terminate.

"Word of a secret letter from Governor of province saying that the foreigners are to be protected if they do not rebel against the Government. Hard to understand the meaning of such orders.

"25th July.—Quiet night. Things have not been so apparently peaceful since long before the first outbreak. We are beginning to have more hope that the T'ai Yüan Fu friends have not been made away with. Everything goes by rumours. No word that can be depended on.

"26th July.—Still quiet. Heh Kou is afraid he will get into trouble by his activity in helping us, though he does not hesitate to give us all the help he can. [N.B.—When the crisis came this man suffered very severely, being beaten unmercifully and then put in prison because he would not reveal the names of other Christians. He was subsequently released.—E. H. E.] Air filled with rumours. We do not know what to expect. May God help us to be brave!

"The Fu magistrate (Prefect) heard a rumour that there were eight hundred foreigners on our place. Sent to the Hsien magistrate (Sub-Prefect) to know if it was true. As we have yamen-runners on the place all the time, it was not hard for the magistrate to reply that there was no truth in the matter. These stories are set going by bad men to create excitement against us. Rumoured that the Governor is at Hsu Kou with three hundred soldiers and two hundred Boxers on his tour of extermination. From Hsu Kou he is to go to T'ai Ku; T'ai Ku to Ping Yao, and on to Fen Chou Fu!

" 27th July.—New magistrate has arrived to take the place of the regular one, in order that he may go to T'ai Yüan Fu to take part in the examination. Reported yesterday that, in view of the disturbed condition of the country, no examinations would be held. So the old magistrate remains here, but the new has the office till further orders from T'ai Yüan Fu. Trust he will rule with a firm hand, as nothing else will keep the people under. To-day magistrate went out to a village about 30 'li' from the village, taking some 'ya-ih' (underlings) with him, to arrest some Catholics, who are numerous there. It is said one man—Catholic—was badly hurt with a sword. The men are to be examined to-morrow.

"The Fu magistrate (Prefect) died to-day. We are anxious to see who will take his place.

"28th July.—Still all quiet. Several more of the Christians, becoming frightened at the arrest of Catholics, have arranged to leave the Church. It now seems that our work is to be altogether destroyed.

"Last night a proclamation from the Governor was posted, proposing more stringent measures against Christians, and saying that the missionaries if found doing anything wrong would be killed. It may be an interesting question as to what he would consider wrong. Or are the people to decide for themselves and act accordingly?

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"29th July.—Yesterday evening word was brought us that we are to be escorted to the coast, by order of the Emperor. We have very little faith in it. It may be but a blind to put us off our guard. The proclamation issued the day before yesterday says, 'Mieh-yang sha-kwei' (destroy the foreigners and kill the devils). Nothing can be plainer, and shows the Governor's wishes. It will be well with us to be careful how we fall in with a plan to escort us to the coast, which may only be a plan to get us to the capital to kill us.

" 30th July.—This morning the proclamation was given us, in which it is declared that Christians must leave the Church to save their lives. The foreigners are to return to their own country; but, as no promise is made for escorting us, it is about the same as to say we are to be killed. What we are to do does not appear. Heh Kou has gone to the magistrate, by his request; but although he has been gone for over three hours he has not returned. We much fear something has happened to him. May God help us to put our trust in Him.

"4 p.m. — Heh Kou just returned. The magistrate treated him very well, and offers us a small escort. Offers also to help us to hire litters. The worst matter is our travelling expenses. Trust we may be able to manage for it.

" 31st July.—Plan to go by Yellow River given up. Too much danger. It is now proposed 19

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we go into the mountains for a month. Seems the only thing to do. Reported Peking in the hands of foreigners. Hard fighting around Tientsin."

Here the diary suddenly and abruptly ends; but the rest of the story is soon told. The new Prefect was evidently sent by the Governor Yü Hsien with distinct orders to kill the foreigners. and he rapidly developed his plan. All the Christians of the locality were forced to quit the missionaries, leaving only one to help them-a young teacher from the neighbourhood of Peking. Then the magistrate demanded that the missionaries should give up their arms, and finally repeated his promise to send them under escort to the coast. Carts were provided, and every arrangement made for them to leave on oth August. They started that morning in fairly good spirits, yet not without some misgivings, which were well-grounded, for they had only gone some 6 miles, when at a signal given by the leader of their escort, a number of soldiers disguised as Boxers, who had been in ambush, appeared and speedily despatched the helpless band of foreigners, consisting of three men, four ladies, and three children. The one Christian who was with them, being warned by one of the soldier escort, escaped before they reached the fatal spot, but not before he had been despoiled of everything he had worth taking-even to his shoes-by the escort | Before leaving the district

he ascertained the particulars concerning the massacre of the missionaries, and then made his way to Tientsin, which he reached after many vicissitudes and dangers.

#### EXTRACTS FROM MRS. CHARLES PRICE'S DIARY

"FBN CHOU FU.

" 30th June.-In the meantime here we are. So far all safe and well, but living in a suspense that cannot be imagined unless by others in like suspense. We are shut in this province, with no communication with the coast for weeks. We have no way of knowing what the situation there is. We do not know whether there is war, what nations are implicated if there be war; but we can only live moment by moment, longing for something definite. It gives one the feeling of being caught in a trap, with wicked people all about us desiring our extermination; and the feeling will come, in spite of trying to be brave and hopeful, that the Shansi missionaries may need to give their lives for the growth of the kingdom of God in China. There has been much these days to make us rejoice. The leading men in the Church have stood firm, and apparently are not 'time-servers.'

"If we are to be murdered, one can but pray that it may come quickly and end our terrible suspense. Our friends at home will have suspense, but not such as ours, when the heart refuses to act properly, and knees and legs shake in spite of all efforts to be brave and quiet, trusting alone in God. We do trust in Him. That is our witness. No matter what comes, we are trusting Him, believing firmly that all this tumult and alarm and real danger, rumours of wars and terrible evil, are only working out His infinite purpose for good to come to China. Each day we live we feel it a deeper truth that man proposes and God disposes. He has made the wrath of even these evil people around us to praise Him. The verse on the Woman's Board calendar for yesterday-which was a day of the greatest suspense of our lives, concerned as to the murdered man, as to what the 'kwan' would do for us, and whether the punishment for all these criminals would be at all adequate-was this\_\_\_

"'Thank God, the darkness and earthquake and fire and storm do pass by, and with wrapt face and eager soul we listen for the still, small voice. Fear not, it is all right. God is watching and waiting. The Lord executeth righteousness and judgment for all that are oppressed.'

"If we die, we die in peace.—Ever yours lovingly, CHAS: EVA: FLORENCE.

" Ist July—More dreadful news. Miss Whitchurch and Miss Searell in Hsiao Ih are said to be certainly killed. Dr. Edwards' place in T'ai Yuan Fu destroyed, and two foreigners—we know not whom—killed.

"It all comes from the wicked Governor, who

came in here with the exaggerated hatred for the foreigners *because they* were the cause of his being driven out from his former place.

"May God keep us in His 'Safe Shelter' at the last, even as He is now—when we know not what an hour may bring forth!

"We leave it as a testimony to all who are wavering, who doubt, who deny—the grace of God is sufficient.

"Ever yours, in dependence and trust in the Saviour who saves and the Keeper who keeps. —Lovingly to all. EVA."

#### **• EXTRACT FROM DIARY OF MISS BIRD**

Martyred at T'ai Ku, 31st July 1900.

"T'AI KU HSIEN.

"Thursday 12th July. — Dreadful news came to us last eve. It was so dreadful we could not believe it, and hoped to hear it disputed to-day; but it is not. The report is that all the T'ai Yüan Fu foreigners — thirty - two, including the Shou Yang people, who were sent there by the Shou Yang 'yamen'—and some thirty Chinese have been massacred, and that by order of the Governor. Can it be that God will let that one man kill all the missionaries and all the Christians in this province, without let or hindrance? Such news is hard for our people to hear. They have stood by us bravely, but I don't know how much more they can stand. They were willing to stand and fight with us when they had Boxers to contend with; but when it comes to Government soldiers there is no hope, and it takes all the courage out of them.

" 13th July.---I cannot write much more now. There is so much I would like to say, but cannot, though it may be the last word from me you will ever get. Hsiang Hsi offers to send to his home any letters we may wish; and when the country is restored to peace, if it ever is, they will be sent to Tientsin. I must say good-bye to you all, dear mother and all of you. Our people are scattering. We cannot wonder. I think some of them would die for us if they could thus save us: but to feel that staying simply means being killed with us, as the T'ai Yüan Fu Chinese were, without being able to help, is more than they can do. Poor people, these are dreadful times for them ! A11 will be protected who deny their religion. Hsiang Hsi has been such a comfort to us. He has clung to us through great opposition, but his father insists on taking him away now. Last night we were almost ready to start for the hills, thinking it one chance for life, but the dangers from Boxers and robbers and perils of all kinds are so great, what could we do? If you never see me again, remember I am not sorry I came to China. Whether I have saved anyone or not, He knows; but it has been for Him, and we go to Him,---Darling ones-good-bye.

### "ROWENA BIRD."

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### Memorials and Last Letters

### LETTER FROM MISS LOUISA PARTRIDGE

#### Martyred at T'ai Ku, 31st July 1900.

#### "T'AI KU, SHANSI, 14th July 1900.

"DEAR MRS. EDWARDS,—There seems a little lull in our affairs; we have nothing to do now but to wait for death, or deliverance which seems impossible except by a miracle. So I will try and write you, as fully as I can, all we know about T'ai Yüan and Shou Yang.

"It all comes thro' Chinese. We sent Heh Kou (Dr. Atwood's helper) up, but they dared not give him a foreign letter, lest he be searched and lose his life. That was some days ago, and all we know since, or of Shou Yang anyway, is through rumours on the street. I learned a little through a Liman boy who worked at Shou Yang, but don't know how straight it is.

"I will give this if finished to some Chinese, in hopes, after all is quiet, they may get it to the coast. I've sent letters to my friends so. Excuse all mistakes—we are all more or less stunned and stupid. It is a trying two weeks we've passed.

" I don't know how much you have heard. Our last courier didn't get through, and we don't know as to the letters sent by one or two before. This Governor, Yü, you probably know, was ousted from his position in Shantung by the English on account of his treatment of foreigners. The Boxer movement there started under him. This affair was supposed to be settled. Then the foreign Powers let him be sent up here. How culpably careless it was in them! I wonder if they'll care, or only say, 'It's just missionaries'?

"No one feared the Boxers here, and all were confident no riots would occur. They were uneasy about the Governor. He started Boxers out, but they were expelled from all the villages, the elders saying they were bad men, and they wanted nothing of them.

"Then it was so dry, and men were starving everywhere, and his efforts and hate were unceasing. Finally, the movement spread like wildfire, the boys from twelve to fourteen being most active. Thursday 28th June was set to kill all the foreigners and Christians in the province. But so many days have been set and nothing come of it that no one believed it. We were all on the watch, though, and praying.

"In T'ai Ku there was a riot about the house all the Sunday before. I came in to Communion and passed through a crowd of two hundred perhaps, quite unconscious of their purpose till they shouted after me, 'Kill the foreigners.' No Communion. I went back to Liman with an anxious heart; but we are still alive, and our foreign house still stands, and my place has not been touched. The Jen Tsuen house was looted.

"P'ing Yao was attacked on Monday 25th June, T'ai Yüan and Fen Chou Fu on Wednesday. No demonstrations were made here on those nor on the appointed day. No one was hurt at Fen Chou Fu, and the 'kwan' has protected them

### Memorials and Last Letters 297

with much spirit; but it is now many days since we heard. The Ping Yao friends asked for an escort to T'ai Yüan, but at Hsiao Tien Tzu heard of T'ai Yüan's riot, and were all but attacked themselves, so turned about and started for Lu Ch'eng. They sent to us for silver; did not come here for fear of increasing our danger. What they have suffered no one knows. They have been robbed, betrayed by guards, left by servants, and whether still alive seems very doubtful. Mr. and Mrs. Saunders, four children, Mr. Jennings, and Miss Guthrie formed the party. Miss Whitchurch and Miss Searell were killed at Hsiao Ih, we don't know what day. The 'kwan' had the bodies put in a new baptistery Miss Searell had just finished, to await identification, laid out in coffins.

"Miss French and Miss Johnson were at Chieh Hsiu, and no one has heard from them.

"The Lundgrens and Miss Eldred are at Fen Chou Fu, or were when we heard.

"The Ogrens have not been heard from.

"At T'ai Yüan Fu the crowd gathered and went first to Mr. Farthing's. He went out and talked to them, reminded them of famine times, and how foreigners saved so many lives.

"' That's so,' they said, and scattered.

"He got into a cart and went to the Taot'ai's yamen. The Taot'ai said he would protect them, but had an affair just then. Mr. Farthing pressed him, and he sent soldiers. Meantime a crowd of boys from the Manchu city (Boxers) had entered the book-room at Tung Chia Hsiang and fired it. The people rushed in and about the court. Our friends gathered in Dr. Lovitt's court, and, when safety was no longer possible there, formed in ranks; the gentlemen used their revolvers (four), shot several, and forced a passage through the crowd. They escaped to Mr. Farthing's.

"Two schoolgirls were trampled to death, and dear Miss Coombs was struck on the back of the neck, and probably died instantly. We think she must have been behind caring for her girls.

"When Heh Kou went up on Tuesday 3rd July he found them still there, twenty-five souls. The servants had stuck to them, and evidently did to the last, as forty Chinese are reported killed and over thirty foreigners.

"We do not know what day the place at Shou Yang was burned. We heard of it on Tuesday. No word of the people. We waited anxiously for news, and when it came our hearts sank worse. Wan Hong Tzu came on Friday, bringing Yao Hou Chi's story. He says he stayed by They fled to a village and stayed over them. Next morning the villagers drove them night. out. Our Mary and Ernestine were still there, and we suppose two of the Beynon children. Then they went to the house of a very warmhearted Christian, whose women-folks all had unbound feet. The man and some of his family From there they attempted to get were killed. back to the yamen. As I remember, Ten Jen and his wife were with them, also Yao Hou Chi and one Christian helping. They came to the





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river; whether there was water I don't know, but some started over, leaving some behind; these, who were children, were cautioned not to speak, but did. Whether someone was really following them, or whether they got into a panic and fled, at any rate they all separated, and he lost them; and, though he and the Christian climbed the ridge and looked and called, they found nothing more of them. That's his story. Sounds as though he ran away. All this at night, of course.

"Next day our courier came in, got within 100 'li' of Pao Fu and turned back. He said they were all in the yamen at Shou Yang.

"Tuesday 10th July, it was reported on the street that they had been sent under escort to T'ai Yüan. Next day came the report of the massacre, which happened on the 10th. The glass had been broken out of the Farthings' place; and perhaps it was unsafe, or the arrival of more foreigners may have made the populace more threatening, or Mr. Pigott may have passed through so much as to feel unsafe there, and urged doing something. We have thought of all these reasons, but hear only that they all removed from there to a large empty court back of the Taot'ai yamen. The Fut'ai sent word he could not protect them there, that they should come to *his* yâmen. Two soldiers to each foreigner escorted them. Just outside the gates of the vamen Boxers set upon them. It seems as though someone must have escaped, but it is not probable a foreigner could. The shopmen call our boys in, and tell them with bated breath. There seems a horror over the people.

"There really is much kindly feeling towards us in the city; but if the Governor has decreed our destruction, it's only a question of time.

"We prepared for flight last night, but were detained, and now it is probably too late anyway. Our 'kwan' has told us to trust him : he seems to have been trustworthy so far, but the Governor is still in power, though recalled by the demand of the French. Our people stayed till they heard this report. Now we have barely enough to do the work, almost no force to fight. This 'kwan' is young, this his first post, and all his moves are very cautious and not openly for us; but he has subdued the Boxers throughout the Hsien. The Governor was afraid to go to Peking, and unless he is crazy, as some say, is preparing to revolt, as he has demanded a thousand soldiers from each Hsien. You must know through telegrams what has happened at the coast. We know nothing. Hear many rumours, some contradictory.

"We do not know surely who were at T'ai Yüan. Mrs. Beynon had returned, Misses Clark and Stevens were there. Suppose as follows:--Lovetts, 3; Stokes, 2; Simpsons, 2; Farthings, 5; Misses Stewart, Stevens, and Clark, 3; Underwoods, 2; Whitehouses, 2; Wilsons, 3; and Beynons, 3. That makes the 25 Heh Kou reported. In that case there would have been 9 from Shou Yang, but some say 7; so we can't

There are 6 of us here-Clapps, be sure. Williams, Davis, Bird, and myself; and 10 at Fen Chou Fu-Prices, 3; Atwaters, 4; Lundgrens. 2: and Miss Eldred.

"We can get no word of Hsin Chou, except that beyond there the country is much disturbed.

"It has almost broken my heart to write this letter. We talk much, but think as little as possible, and this made me think.

"Those dear people, they were so good and sweet and dear, and had done so much for China. I can't believe it vet. My heart almost murmurs. I can trust for myself and hope to be kept brave through it, though I don't know. I get awfully irritable under this close confinement. But why they must all be taken. I can't understand. Well. they are past all doubts and questionings now.

"We three ladies slept upstairs where you slept when visiting here. We're in the city, not out at the foreign house. One night we were waked from deep sleep-so tired-on a false alarm, and Mrs. Clapp fell down the stairs from top to bottom, wrenched her foot and the other knee. and tore a great gash in her arm just below the armpit, about four inches long and half an inch deep. The Sangs treated it beautifully, took five stitches. This is the tenth day, and she has been walking too, and the arm has healed without a particle of matter. It is very hot, and the air of the city is trying, though not so bad as if we'd had more rain.

"May the Lord be merciful to you and let this

news come to you gently. They sent a telegram to us by Heh Kou, and we to the coast, but have some doubt of the messenger. We've also sent two men to Hwai Luh and another to Pao Fu to wait for mail. Wrote Mr. Green the conditions at T'ai Yüan, so he could telegraph; but it is very dangerous on the road, and we fear for them.

"I do hope your brother returned safely. Love to all of you dear friends.

"LOUISA PARTRIDGE."



### CHAPTER VI

#### PRESENT NEEDS AND FUTURE PROSPECTS

HE latest news is not reassuring. Two English missionaries were killed in the province of Hunan in August last, the old accusation of poisoning the wells having been brought against them. The British Ambassador declined to hold social intercourse with the Chinese Court until justice had been done and the culpable officials punished; and four English gunboats went six hundred miles up the Yangtsze River to the important port of Hankow. We notice, too, that at last the English ladies in Peking have declined the invitations of the Dowager-Empress. It is to be deeply regretted that any show of force was necessary; and if only a little interest had been manifested and an official inquiry held when over one hundred British subjects were massacred two years ago, matters might now assume a different aspect. All the most recent intelligence from China confirms the opinion that things are drifting back into their old ruts, and the following extract from an article in the North China Herald of 1st October on 208

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"The Imperfect Sympathy of the East and West" is worthy of serious consideration :----

" It is not a gratifying reflection that more than a full year after the final 'settlement' of affairs between China and 'the Powers' there is no sign and no definite promise anywhere of those subjective reforms which alone will render the previous official programme incapable of repetition. Let it be distinctly understood that no one predicts a repetition of the Boxer attempt immediately or at any time in the future. What is affirmed is that there is at the present time in China a minority who would be willing and glad to attempt such a repetition, and a majority who would be delighted to have it accomplished, but who would never dare to try it. As an incidental confirmation of this position it is worthy of notice that for several months a carefully nursed, rapidly expanded, and deadly efficient Boxer propaganda has been in actual operation under our very eyes in the largest and most populous province of the Empire, with no genuine effort whatever to stop it on the part of the inert Manchu Governor-General, whose removal is apparently accomplished only by strong pressure. The conditions already witnessed in Szechuan (whatever may be true of the future) are such as all of us had hoped and some of us had expected never again to behold. Together with other significant indications, they seem clearly to show that as yet practically nothing has been done towards the real 'settlement' of the great, the pressing, the international

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question of the relation of the Chinese Empire and the Chinese people to the Powers of the world. What is to be done is altogether a matter still in future tenses, and we repeat, with such emphasis as we may, that it cannot be too soon begun."

In the province of Shansi the officials from whom so much was hoped have already been moved to other posts. The Governor—T'sen Ch'un Hsüan—has been sent to the province of Szechuan to quell the recent anti-foreign outbreak there, and has taken with him the reliable troops under his command. The official appointed to replace him is known to be one of the conservatives, if not actually anti-foreign.

The enlightened and progressive Taot'ai Shen Tun Ho has obtained well-merited promotion and been removed to Peking, where he has an influential position in connection with the Northern Railways of China. The post he vacated in T'ai Yüan Fu—head of the Foreign Bureau—was most important, and it will be very difficult to find a successor equally wise and efficient.

The Fant'ai (Treasurer), second only in influence to the Governor,—who in 1900 saved the lives of twenty-six foreigners, and did all he could to suppress the Boxers within his jurisdiction,—has also been removed from his post; and his successor, a Manchu from Shantung, has already shown his marked antipathy to foreign innovations.

As regards the education question, the history of the establishment of the college at T'ai Yüan

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Fu has already been given; and as to the universities opened by the Chinese on their own initiative, recent events make it very clear that the only reason the Manchu Government wishes for Western education is to find out the secret of our power. That they are determined it shall if possible be a non-Christian education is only too evident by the various edicts published in connection with the college at Chi Nan Fu, the capital of Shantung, which absolutely preclude the possibility of any conscientious convert becoming a student in that institution. "Any student found to be absent three times from the ceremony (i.e. the worship of the tablet of Confucius) will be dismissed, in order that the practice of morality be promoted and rites and laws protected." By the agreement the Rev. Dr. Richard was obliged to come to with the Governor of Shansi, Christianity cannot be taught in the college at T'ai Yüan Fu. The rules and regulations drawn up for the (as yet to be) Peking University lay the duty of conducting the Confucian worship on the President, supported by the Vice-Presidents and Directors. As these rules have received the Imperial sanction, and are the latest patterns for schools of all grades throughout the Empire, it is evident that no toleration is contemplated.

A great opportunity is now presented to Protestant Missions to open Christian schools and colleges, not in any sense to oppose, but rather supplement, those of the Government. If immediate advantage be taken of the present

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opening, the results will be incalculable, as the Chinese will then learn what is the true foundation of the strength and greatness of Western nations.

Another reason for seeking to establish Christian schools is, that the events of two years ago were only possible because the Boxer leaders were able to work upon the dense ignorance both of officials and people. To get an idea of their ignorance we need to refer, not to their Confucian books, which give us only the theory, but to their temples and shrines, which show us the practice; for ignorance and superstition go hand in hand. Their idols are worshipped by both rich and poor, high and low, learned Confucianist and ignorant peasant. When the Dowager-Empress returned to Peking, one of her first acts when entering the Imperial city-while bowing and smiling to the foreigners on one hand-was to enter the adjoining temple and worship the god of war!

The late Governor of Shansi—a comparatively enlightened man—in June last, in consequence of the prolonged drought, made a sacrifice to the "god of dragons" and the dragons of the "five lakes and four seas," and prayed them for rain. As his prayer was not granted, he ordered a paper dragon to be constructed to represent the "dragon of drought." This image was then taken in processsion outside the south gate of the city, where the Governor informed high heaven that he was going to execute it for having taken away all the rain that should be given to the people of Shansi. Immediately after the report of three guns an executioner clad in red stepped forward, and with a long and shining sword cut the dragon into seven pieces. After reading another prayer to high heaven and the other dragons, the Governor ordered the executed dragon to be burnt, and then returned to his yamen.

It has already been pointed out that when in 1900, during the drought, the many appeals to the "gods of rain" failed to produce the much longedfor showers, the foreigners and their followers were accused of being the cause, as the "gods" were said to be angry at their presence in the land.

But education without Christianity will not bring about the desired end; for we want not only to instruct and improve, but to mould character. One of India's greatest administrators, Sir Herbert Edwardes, said more than thirty years ago: "That secular education and civilisation will ever regenerate a nation. I do not believe. It does not go to the root of the matter. It is a police force It does much to suppress crime between at best. man and man, but it does nothing for sin between man and his Maker. Undoubtedly it softens what is brutal in human nature, but it leaves untouched what is Satanic. It was well said by one of the ablest missionaries in India, that 'He alone can make a new nation who can form a new man."

Further, unless immediate advantage be taken of the present opportunity by Christian Missions, others may step in, and the education given to China may be not only non-Christian but anti-

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Christian, thus greatly increasing the difficulty of Mission work.

It is quite true that the Chinese Government has lately taken further official notice of Missions and missionaries, for Article XIII. of the recent British Commercial Treaty with China runs thus: "The missionary question in China being, in the opinion of the Chinese Government, one requiring careful consideration, so that, if possible, troubles such as have occurred in the past may be averted in the future, Great Britain agrees to join in a Commission to investigate this question, and, if possible, to devise means for securing permanent peace between converts and non-converts, should such a Commission be formed by China and the Treaty Powers interested."

When Dr. Timothy Richard was in Peking in June last he was asked by the Chinese Foreign Office to aid them in drawing up new regulations to bring about a better understanding between Christians and non-Christians; and he had several long interviews with that Board. The result was that the following remarkable Imperial edict appeared on 3rd July:—

"WE have received a Memorial from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs stating that foreigners from the West are divided into two religions, namely, Roman Catholicism and Protestantism. The said Ministry speaks in the highest terms of recommendation of Dr. Timothy Richard, who is at present in Peking, and is a representative of

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the Protestant Missions. WE know Dr. Richard to be a man of great learning, high attainments, and strict sense of justice-qualities we deeply admire and commend. WE therefore hereby command the said Ministry of Foreign Affairs to take the scheme the said Ministry has lately drawn up with the object of making Christians and non-Christians to live harmoniously with each other throughout the Empire, to Dr. Richard and consult him on the matter, with the sincere hope that, with the valuable assistance of that gentleman, the object in view may be arrived at, and the masses be able to live at peace with their neighbours the Christians."

The appointment could not have fallen on a more worthy representative of Protestant missionaries, and it is to be hoped that Dr. Richard will be able to do much to remove misunderstanding, and prevent difficulties between the Chinese Government and people and the Protestant Church.

And now we may ask ourselves, "What has been the effect on the Church at large of the facts connected with the martyrdoms so far as known?" Judging from results,—or rather want of results,—may it not be justly said that the Church has either been stunned or frightened? When Mr. Herbert Dixon was fleeing for his life, part of his last verbal message given to the faithful evangelist Chao was: "There is perhaps one chance in a hundred that we may escape, but if we must die we are not afraid. If the Lord

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bids us, we will cheerfully lay down our lives for His sake. All the missionaries are in the same danger; but if we are all killed, and not one escape, there are many more who will be certain to take our place." So far from this being the case, all missionary societies are complaining of the want of suitable candidates for the field; and as to the Baptist Missionary Society, though it is now more than two years since all their workers in Shansi were swept away at one stroke, only one or two new men have volunteered to fill the vacancies! True, three old missionaries----Revs. J. J. Turner, Arthur Sowerby, and Evan Morgan, who respectively first went to China twenty-six, twenty, and fifteen years ago-volunteered to fill the gaps, and are now in that province. But these three men can do no more than hold the fort at the two main stations, and until the vacancies are filled up it will be almost impossible to visit the out-stations, much less to advance into the vast unoccupied district; and within the territory for which this one society is responsible there are no less than seventeen walled towns which have been but seldom visited, and have never had a resident Protestant missionary! If. when two years ago the news of the disasters first reached us, young men had come forward and been sent out, they would now be ready to begin work; but the time has been lost-absolutely, irretrievably lost. Immediate reinforcements should be sent out to make such reparation as is possible.

As to what kind of men are wanted, it need hardly be said that all should be inspired by love to Christ, and be ready for difficulties and, if need be, dangers. While there is room for men of diversified talents, one and all should be out-andout evangelists. It has already been pointed out what a splendid opportunity there is at present for those with the highest qualifications in Christian colleges and schools; and an appeal has recently come for fifty qualified men—men with educational and journalistic ability—to join the Christian Literature Society in China to aid in the preparation of books for the Chinese, for which there is now such an unprecedented demand.

It is impossible to speak too strongly as to the need of fully qualified medical men to take up Medical Mission work; and the opportunities in the future will probably be much greater than in the past.

At the same time, it were to be desired that the portals of some of our missionary societies were more widely opened, and not so closely guarded by the bugbears of "education" and "culture." The sending out of men tested in Christian work at home, but with little or no "college" training, is no longer an experiment; and, speaking for North China,—with which the writer has been acquainted for the last twenty 'years,—some of the best and most successful missionaries come within that category. The failures have been comparatively few; and where in other parts of China the plan has not succeeded,



Dr Lovitrt and his Hospital Assistants. Taken in March 1900. x LIU PAI YÜAN,

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it appears to have been due to the fact that the older missionaries—representatives, too, of Nonconformist bodies in England—laid so much stress on the distinction between "lay" and "clerical."

A sound business training is, no doubt, of great advantage to the missionary; and men capable of superintending the erection of suitable buildings for schools, hospitals, etc., have proved of inestimable value to several societies in saving both time and money.

While industrial Missions will probably never occupy in China the place they do in Africa, still of agriculture on the part of the missionary, and a model farm, especially in Shansi, would enable him to give much information to the people that would be invaluable. The potato (probably introduced by the Roman Catholics) has for many years been cultivated in many parts of China, but has become greatly deteriorated. A missionary in Shansi, who in his early days had had to do with agriculture, introduced, among other things, to the people of his district a new variety. At first none but the Christians would grow it : but. when it became known how valuable it was on the market, those who before would have nothing to do with it went to their neighbours' patches and stole what they wanted ! So well does this variety thrive, that it has almost wholly displaced the growth of opium in that particular district; and thus has not only added to the food supply of the people, but also given them a new source of revenue. A successful industrial Mission school has been carried on for some years at Chefoo in Shantung by Mr. James M'Mullan, where the girls are taught lace-making and the boys employed in a brush factory. Its prosperity from a financial point of view is to some extent due to the fact that it is near a foreign community, where the wares it supplies are in demand. The last report (Sept. 1902) mentions that five boys had been baptized as Christians; and some of the girls give evidence of being converted by their changed characters and dispositions. Lace-making is also being carried on in the same province by the English Baptist and China Inland Missions.

After seven years' experience Mr. M'Mullan says: "We believe that industrial work, if wisely carried on, may become a greater factor in the evangelisation and uplifting of this land."

While the majority of the women of China are not so secluded as those of India, there are vast numbers who will never be reached except through the agency of lady missionaries, and an immense field of usefulness is open to those endowed with sanctified common-sense. Much care and wisdom is undoubtedly needed, where there are single ladies at a station, not to unnecessarily run counter to the prejudices of the Chinese; but it has been already proved that the evil surmisings can be lived down, and the ladies come to be treated with respect.

The education of the girls must of course be in the hands of ladies; but, unfortunately, no one has

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at present come forward to take the place of the late Miss Coombs,—the first Christian martyr in Shansi,—and the girls' school at T'ai Yüan Fu has not yet been reopened.

The China Inland Mission, with its associated Missions, has already reoccupied ten former stations in Shansi, with some thirty missionaries in residence; while others are on the border of the province, only waiting the permission of the British authorities to enter. The present position of the English Baptist Mission has been already referred to; and the only missionary of the American Board Mission in Shansi is Dr. Atwood, to take up the work of the five men of that Mission who fell two years ago.

Meanwhile, while we delay, what is happening? The removal of friendly and progressive officials from Shansi has already been mentioned, but there are, alas | other dangers ahead. In England little or nothing is known as to the number and power of the Roman Catholics in China. Two years ago they received a severe blow by the massacre of so many of their converts, but they have endeavoured to make capital out of it by putting in enormous claims for indemnity, and are now making strenuous efforts, not only to regain lost ground, but make fresh advances. Let one example suffice. In this province of Shansi there is a station which was occupied two years ago by Protestant missionaries, where they had extensive premises and a most successful To-day these premises are still in ruins. work.

and, owing to lack of workers, no Protestant missionary in residence. What have the Roman Catholics done? They have occupied that station in force, obtained large buildings, and commenced aggressive work by opening an opium-asylum (a thing which they have never done before), which they carry on by weak Protestant Church members whom they have bribed over! What will be the result if this is done on any large scale (and they have illimitable means as regards money) may be gathered from a statement made some years ago by the veteran missionary Dr. Griffith John with regard to the work in his own district, to the effect that the difficulties with the heathen had practically ceased, but with the Roman Catholics were only just commencing.

But a third difficulty is looming in the near distance. Already a railway is projected into Shansi. Unfortunately, some of the pioneers of that branch of civilisation carry with them very loose ideas as to morals; and if they are the first to convey to the Chinese of the districts through which the line will pass an idea of what Western civilisation is, the mischief done may take years to undo. Is it not another challenge thrown down to the Christian Church as to who shall be first in those as yet unoccupied fields?

Now IS OUR OPPORTUNITY. The case is urgent, the time may be short, and it is a pressing call to earnest prayer and real sacrifice on the part of every believer.

# **APPENDIX**

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FOR the martyrs of the American Board Mission a memorial service was held at T'ai Ku Hsien on 9th August 1901, and the following account is condensed from one published at the time:—

"On 31st July 1900, only a little more than a year ago, occurred one of those outrages which, when it became known, horrified the Christian world, but which was apparently very soon forgotten except by those intimately concerned. On that day six American missionaries, Mr. and Mrs. Clapp, Mr. Williams, Mr. Davis, Miss Bird, and Miss Partridge, together with several Chinese Christians, were cruelly done to death.

"The news of this cowardly deed was soon carried to Fen Chou Fu, where seven missionaries and three children were cooped up in their own mission house. The tidings deepened the gloom already hanging over the heroic little band, and took away any fragment of hope they may have had for their own safety. On 15th August they were inveigled out of their house on pretence of being sent to the coast. Carts were provided for them, and they started off with some hopes of reaching a place of safety; but had only gone about six miles when they were set upon by some local soldiers who

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were in hiding, and foully murdered. Those who fell were Mr. and Mrs. Charles Price and one child (Florence), Mr. and Mrs. Atwater and two children (Celia and Bertha), Mr. and Mrs. Lundgren, and Miss Eldred.

"Dr. Atwood, the sole survivor of this Mission, was in 1900 in America; and when, in 1901, he returned to Shansi he decided that all the missionaries should be buried together. About a mile to the east of the city of T'ai Ku is a flower-garden, which belonged to a well-to-do man who was deeply implicated in the Boxer movement. After some negotiations it was arranged that this garden should be handed over to the Mission as a burialground; the owner, gentry, and officials all agreeing to such arrangement.

"On Wednesday 7th August 1901 a party from T'ai Yüan Fu, consisting of Mr. Duncan, Dr. Creasy Smith, Major Pereira, and Dr. Edwards, arrived to take part in the memorial service; Mr. Hoste and Mr. Ernest Taylor of the China Inland Mission having arrived a day or two earlier. The coffins containing the remains of the Fen Chou Fu martyrs arrived on the 8th; and Dr. Atwood at once arranged with the officials to have the service the next day.

"The bodies of the T'ai Ku martyrs had been carelessly buried just outside the south gate, but were subsequently disinterred and placed in coffins. On this spot three large mat tents had been erected, forming three sides of a square, and the fourth side was partially occupied by a large pavilion which had been fitted up as a guest-room. Under the centre tent were arranged the coffins containing the remains of the T'ai Ku martyrs, while those from Fen Chou Fu were on the right. On the left were fourteen coffins, containing such remains as could be found of the Chinese Christians who had Appendix

been killed in the vicinity. Round the tent were arranged banners with mottoes on them, ten of which had been presented by the local merchant guilds. In front of the main pavilion, under canopies of richly embroidered silk, were the memorial banners provided by the officials. Instead of the wreaths, such as were prepared at T'ai Yüan Fu and Hsin Chou, were a number of plants in pots.

"When the mourners (foreigners) arrived they were received by the officials and representatives of the gentry and merchants in the central pavilion. A visit was then paid to the different tents, and the scrolls presented by the officials, gentry, merchants, and others inspected. The final arrangements having been made, the procession started, headed by the official and his motley crew of runners bearing his insignia of office. Then came the memorial banners presented by the officials, and after them a few soldiers—mounted and on foot. The foreign mourners came next, followed by the Chinese mourners, the complimentary scrolls presented by the gentry and merchant guilds—and last of all the thirty coffins.

"Such a procession created a great sensation. The streets were thronged with people, and it was nearly noon before the first stop was made outside the mission house, where the massacre had occurred. Here a pavilion had been erected in the street; and when both foreign and Chinese mourners had arrived a short service was held—the officials also being present. The service ended, the procession was re-formed and slowly wended its way through the street to the east gate, through the suburb and along about a mile of country road to the garden cemetery. Here also a pavilion had been erected as a temporary guest-room, and a long wait ensued pending the arrival of the coffins.

"When these had arrived and been placed near the open graves, the officials, gentry, merchants, and mourners assembled in front of the pavilion. The chief magistrate then ascended a platform, having on his left an official specially selected to read an address, while on his right was another who acted as master of ceremonies. At the word of command from this man the address was read, after which he gave the word and the magistrate made three low bows towards the graves. Then representatives of the scholars, gentry, and merchants ascended the platform in turn and made three bows. Their part of the proceedings concluded, they, with the official, withdrew and another Christian service was held-this time with much less interruption than attended the one conducted in the city.

"Thus in Shansi another 'God's Acre' was consecrated by becoming the resting-place of the remains of those who 'loved not their lives unto the death."