

LETTERS FROM CHINA
DR. JAMES J GREGORY
Methodist Episcopal Church Foreign Mission
Board,
Wiley Memorial Hospital, Gutian, China
1895-1896

Edited by Ian Welch

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INTRODUCTION

On 1 August 1895, at about 7 a.m., eleven British subjects, including three young Australian women, were murdered by Chinese rebels at the hill village of Huashan, above the administrative town of Gutian, in Fujian Province, China.

The assault was the worst attack on British Protestant missionaries in 19th century China and took place only four years before the Boxer Rebellion that saw more than 200 Protestant missionaries, mostly British, murdered in the northern provinces.

The missionary community in Gutian included two closely allied British Anglican societies, the Church Missionary Society and the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society, a specialist mission for women staffed by single women. In addition to the British there was an American Methodist Episcopal Mission. At the time of the massacre, Dr. James J. Gregory was the only American residing in Gutian. He served as medical doctor to the British missionaries, as well as running the American missionary hospital.

Some family details about Dr Gregory have been supplied by Ms Justina Cook of Iowa, USA.

Dr. James Jay Gregory

Born: about 7 November 1862 in Iowa;

Died: 16 October 1896 in Maquoketa, Jackson, Iowa;

Buried: Elwood Cemetery, Brookfield Township., Clinton, Iowa.

Married: 6 October 1886 in Iowa

Wife: Mary Ida Sparks

Born: 11 March 1860 in Clinton Co., Iowa;

Died: 16 August 1896 in Clinton Co., Iowa;

Buried: Elwood Cemetery, Brookfield Township, Clinton, Iowa)

Children:

James J. Gregory

Born: about 1890 in Foo Chow, China.

Mary Ida Gregory

Born: 16 April 1894 in Foo Chow, China.

Died: 18 November 1911 in Cedar Falls, Black Hawk, Iowa.

Buried: Elwood Cemetery, Brookfield Township, Clinton, Iowa)

Dr. Gregory received a message from the Rev. Hugh Stowell Phillips of the CMS, who escaped the killings, about the murders, at midday on the 1st August. He informed the Chinese authorities in Gutian and immediately started the eight hour climb up the hillside to try and help any survivors. He found four bodies (Rev. Robert Stewart, C<S;

Mrs. Lousia Smyly Stewart (CMS), Miss Harriett Elinor (Nellie) Saunders (Church Missionary Association of Victoria, Australia) and Miss Helena Yellop, the Stewart children's nurse from Dublin, Ireland, burned to almost nothing in the ruins of the CMS residence. Four of the Stewart's children, Kathleen, Mildred, Herbert (xis years old that day) and Hilda Sylvia (about seven months old) escaped the murderers but Evan and Sylvia subsequently died of their injuries. Five missionaries of the CEZMS escaped the buildings but were cut down in the adjoining courtyard: Mary Anna Christian Gordon of Ipswich Queensland; Miss Elizabeth Maude (Topsy) Saunders of the Church Missionary Society of Victoria, Australia; (sister of Nellie); Miss Elsie Marshall of England; Miss Hessie Newcombe of Ireland, and Miss Flora Lucy Stewart of England. They all died more or less instantly.

Also with the CEZMS group was Miss Flora Codrington, from England. Although she suffered a serious facial wound, she fell with the other CEZMS women and was partly covered and so avoided death. She was rescued by Mr. Phillips and taken to the house being rented by Miss Emily Hartford of the American Methodist Episcopal Mission. The two women had their injuries attended to by Dr. Gordon who also did what he could for Hebert and Sylvia Stewart.

The impact of the deaths of his British friends was a major emotional setback for Dr. Gregory and led to his departure from China and may have contributed to his early death in America in 1896.

Provenance.

Methodist Episcopal Missionary Correspondence, 1846-1912, China.
Wilmington Del, Scholarly Resources Inc, (2000). 10 microfilm reels.
Reel 5.
Held by Monash University, Melbourne, Victoria.

PART A Application by Dr. Gregory.

Personal Information submitted to Methodist Episcopal Mission 805 Broadway New York. Request signed (Dr) J M Reid, Corresponding Secretary, 26 March 1888.

Born:	7 November 1862, Elwood, Iowa. Father Elias (see notes)
Church Member:	Spring 1874 (age 12).
Education:	1 st class teachers certificate, never taught. (See Letter 2 Below). 1886 Graduate of Rush Medical School, Chicago. (contacted 25/3/2005)
Height	5'7"
Weight	155 pounds
Married:	6 October 1886, Methodist Episcopal Church, Elwood, Iowa. Mrs. Gregory (nee Chaffee?), b c1862, died 16 August 1896. Teacher.

Letter 1

Harrison, Douglas County, Dakota, 2nd March 1888

Rev. McCabe,

Dear Sir,

We have had under consideration for some time the question of entering the Foreign Mission as medical and spiritual adviser. I believe the combination not incompatible.

My wife, who is acquainted with Mrs. Springer of Anamosa, Iowa and an ex-member of MFMS and MHMS of Elwood, Iowa, addressed Mrs. Springer on this subject and she referred us to you.

Mrs. Gregory, who has been a teacher for several years previous to our marriage 2 years ago, shares my interest in this matter.

In fact, give us all information needed bearing on this subject, by an uninitiated, and oblige

Yours truly

J J Gregory.

Letter 2

Harrison, Douglas County, Dakota, 3rd April 1888

DR J M Reid
805 Broadway, NY

Dear Doctor,

Your form of 26th ultimo recd: in reply:-

Joined M.E. Church at Elwood, Iowa, in 1874.

But as I have been from home much of the time have not kept up church relations and when leaving for permanent location did not apply for letter. Consequently I am literally a non-church member. As this town is entirely foreign (Hollander) there is no other church society than Reformed Church of Holland.

Mrs. Gregory also became a member of Elwood MEC in 1874. She received her letter when we were married (Oct 6/86) but has had no opportunity to use it. As regards her piety, will say there is no more pious or Christian woman on Earth, as all who know her will freely attest.

I taught two consecutive terms of school in Elwood, Iowa, while studying Medicine.

Graduated in Medicine, etc, from Rush Medical College, Chicago in class of 1886.

Since that time have been in active practice, the first year in Eastalia, Iowa, the remainder of the time here.

As to my aptness to practice my profession I will refer you to any of the following:

Dr P M Jewell, . . . (neighbouring medical practitioner when I was in Eastalia

Prof E W Appleman, Clermont, Iowa;

Mrs. Alice Clark, now in Spooner, Wis, formerly of Eastalia;

W K Riggs, PhD, Eastalia, Iowa;

Rev A Stegeman, Harrison, Dakota;

Rev. C Ode, ditto;

G E Euly, Editor, 'Globe', ditto;

John Hopkins, Editor, 'Globe', ditto;

What would be the requirements for a medical missionary: also compensation.

Would be willing to go to India, Japan or in fact wherever most needed. A few more lines and I am done. Mrs. Gregory and myself have been raised Methodists and are Methodist in belief.

She has an uncle, (N. Chaffee) M.E. minister in Iowa and another, (T. Chaffee) in Minneapolis, Minnesota who is or was presiding elder of district there. If the services of an elder is needed and as we are not accessible to an MEC can we not engage him to propose our names to Bishop?

My wife is desirous of going to a field where she can also continue her work of teaching and also assist in spreading Christian enlightenment.

We flatter ourselves that we are peculiarly adapted to this noble work and are anxious to see if go forward with vigor. We will forward our likenesses as soon as we get some taken. Have none now and no photographer within 16 miles, overland.

Hoping to hear from you in due time, I am

Yours truly

JJ Gregory.

Letter 3

Nanking, 10 February 1889

Dr C C McCabe, New York.

My Dear Brother,

We arrived here well and in safety last Friday a.m. We are now with Dr Bribe. As this is still the Chinese New Year there is no hospital work, hence cannot say how we will like it.

Have met most of the several missionaries here: they seem to enjoy the work.

I wrote Rev. Lowry, Superintendent North China work in regard to my location. Dr Bribe tells me he is much in need of a constant assisting physician as the hospital work is immense.

The M E Buildings here are comfortable and commodious.

The spiritual condition of the natives I am not able to determine, as yet.

Mrs. Gregory and I began the study of the language tomorrow morning as the dialect here is not very different from that spoken in Peking.

We would be most pleased to receive a letter from you.

Yours truly

J J Gregory.

Letter 4

Foochow, China, 7 March 1889

Chaplain McCabe

My Dear Brother

We arrived in Foochow the 4th instant upon the urgent request of missionary friends here as they are in great need of a physician. I did this entirely upon my own responsibility thinking that it would meet the approval of all concerned when the facts were known.

Dr Bribe at Nanking needs an assistant but can get along for a time, alone. Besides that, Dr Stuart of Wulin may assist Dr Fribe for a time.

I understand from authentic sources that Bishop Fowler did not expect me for work in Peking; that there was no appropriation nor provision of any sort for a new missionary there. Whereas in the London Mission our oldest and largest mission in China the ME Society hasn't a single physician. There is a large boys college here or rather schools. Some dozen young men who can speak English who are anxious to begin the study of medicine need me to teach them; a large Missionary community and no doctor, a good and essential place for a grand M.E. Hospital and Dispensary and one to take steps to establish it; missionary families soon to locate in Kucheng, a place up river and inland. Distance from Foochow 100 miles with a large surrounding country. The natives there are anxious to hear more of the blessed Redeemer and come long distances to hear and for healing of their loathsome diseases and no physician there to take care of all that work.

All these facts coupled with the one that we were originally appointed to Foochow and no change was ever made, to my knowledge. We deemed it best and just to act contrary to our instructions and come to Foochow and await developments. Next week I got up to (Kesigme) and Kucheng with Bro. M C. Wilcox to look after some important business of the Mission.

The work in Foochow is grand. Large congregations; full schools; and a crying our for 'more light' by these poor natives. It more resembles Japan in its needs and desires than any place I have seen in China.

May the Lord open the hearts and purses of those who know of the blessed benefits derived from Christianity and civilization so that there may be such a general increase of receipts as to allow us reinforcements so much needed in the near future.

Hoping I may hear from you soon and that something definite may be known as I am anxious to work. We will begin the study of the language again next Monday.

I will also write to Dr. Baldwin so that there will be no unnecessary delay if our letters should miscarry.

We are both well.

Yours faithfully

J J Gregory.

Letter 5

Foochow, 13 June 1889

Chaplain McCabe, New York

My Dear Bro.,

Your letter of April 25 received. It is pleasant and encouraging to receive these letters from you and I hope you may continue to find time to write us.

We thoroughly appreciate what you have done for us, and it is our strong desire to so live and act that you may never regret your action in this matter.

But as I indicated to you before we find things very different here than we expected. All that pertains to the natives is away above my expectations and I firmly believe we can labor among them with genuine pleasure and interest.

But there are other things surprising and sufficient to severely try the little patience my mother gave me.

This mission is lamentably in need of medical work at three different centres in Foochow City, Ku Cheng and Hing Hwa. The other missions here have been quick to see the importance of this branch of missionary work.

The American Board mission has a fine new hospital for women and children within the walls of Foochow; a large general hospital at Poua Sang a short from the city and one at Shaowu, about 150 miles up the river.

The English church mission [Church Missionary Society] has interest in the community hospital here on the island. Also a nice large hospital at Funing and a doctor on the way but to push on into the interior above Ku Cheng to build and commence work.

The Am W F M S [American Women's Foreign Missionary Society] has a fine hospital for women and children here on the island, and a dispensary at our East Street Church in Foochow City, while the great M. E. Society has absolutely nothing in this line outside a newly arrived physician and wife.

After as thorough and careful a survey as is possible in the time I have been here, I conclude the medical needs of this mission to be about as follows: Outside of a hospital there is not enough work here to satisfy the most indolent physician or to justify the Society in supporting one.

Granted we need a hospital (or 2 or 3 of them for that matter), where should it be located? As there will be, after a time, some of the Students of our Anglo-Chinese College who will be ready and desirous to make medicine their study and will need a hospital in which to gain their clinical instruction. And as we have no hospital for our students who become sick as many do every term and are obliged to put up with the slack and more or less ungodly care of community hospital and as we have no physician for missionary families, I think a hospital the most needed in Foochow City.

In view of the fact that there are already three hospitals in proximity outside the city walls, I can not favor another, nor do I think the Society justified in expending several thousand dollars in erecting such a building in this district outside the walls. It appears that we have avoided this long enough. Then comes the fact that it may require time and

perseverance to purchase land and build there but that it can be done is shown in the fact the Am Board Mission has splendid property there occupied by six missionaries.

Dr Sites, Bro. Plumb and myself were appointed a committee to secure a site in city for two residences and a hospital. We are doing our best. But if we cannot get land in a reasonable length of time it would not be wise for me to idle here when there are enough men here with plenty of time to keep pounding away until we are admitted.

This seems all the more a waste of time when we consider we have beautiful sites at Both Hing Hwa and Ku Cheng spoiling for occupancy, the natives pleading for a hospital and physician and as no foreign missionaries would go there without a doctor.

In my present frame of mind you can hardly expect me to administer a stimulant to the church at home in the form of a flattering communication for I feel the need of such a remedy myself. But I think there is no place in this entire Empire where the need of the medical part of this work is so sorely felt as here. If we intend to keep pace with the times and other missions here two more physicians at least is necessary. There never was a tide in missionary affairs here so favorable as now and if we take it at the flood we may expect to move on to the evangelization of this entire fertile province.

I sincerely hope that very soon two consecrated physicians will offer themselves for this vineyard. Please consider this a personal letter. After our estimate meeting in a few weeks I will write you an official letter. But I do pray that your interest may be enlisted for Foochow mission. We would be very happy to receive Mrs. McCabe's and your pictures.

Believe me, yours faithfully,

J J Gregory.

Letter 6

Foochow, China, 10 February 1890

Chaplain C C McCabe

Dear Brother

I am disappointed not to have heard from you since the General Committee meeting.

Also it is needless for me to say that I am very sorry the Committee did not find it possible or necessary to grant us money for medical work in at least our point in this mission: for between the failure to have my estimates allowed or to receive the slightest encouragement in anyway from the Board and the peculiarities of established business ways I am all but undone.

Upon the earnest advice of Bishop Andrews I have decided to remain in comparative idleness another twelvemonth with the hope that something can and will be done in the meantime to give me the opportunity to exercise to the fullest extent my energies in this work I spent so much time and money in preparing for and love so dearly.

We have not entirely lost hope: but keep doing all our limited means and scant accommodation will permit. During the three months last year-Oct-Nov-Dec- that I held clinics at our East St Church in the city, there were about 800 visits made to the dispensary by patients. About 100 visits made by me to the sick at their homes and \$95 received by contribution for medical work except for which we must have suspended our work as the little money (\$250) granted us for this had been spent.

After a four weeks forced vacation on account of China's New Year, we opened clinique again Saturday last with 55 patients. The pastor or assistant pastor generally preface the clinique with a terse talk on Christianity, many listening interestedly.

I have seen many clinics in different parts of China but never saw one to equal this in the character of the patients. The majority being of the better and more intelligent class of Chinese. Many titled men and Chinese ladies present themselves to us for treatment and listen with interest to the exposition of the Truth. We have been very much encouraged in our feeble efforts by these same people and I believe that properly directed evangelical work supplemented by permanent medical work right in that locality would be a powerful help in Christianizing and civilizing these million souls in Foochow City.

As to Kucheng medical work, I can only say that nothing has been or could be done until some appropriation of money is made. But there is an earnest plea from there by all classes including the highest official for a hospital and foreign doctor. We might say the same of nearly the same of many counties in this Province but I am told by those who ought to know that there is not the actual need in the others that exists at Kucheng. We all know that the missionary societies can not build or equip schools and hospitals whenever there is a strong desire manifested for such institutions on the part of the natives. But if we propose to do the greatest good with the least money let the preacher and doctor work shoulder to shoulder.

I hope you will treat this as a private letter not however that I intend to make any startling disclosures or traduce the name of others!

I very much regret that any person was so unfortunate as to understand me to say that you 'promised me a hospital' and then with such stuff, babylike, to members of the Board. It came to my notice a short time ago when I promptly wrote a plain statement to this mission setting forth what you did say, which I think you would concur in were you to see it. I think we are all straight now and I hope that this little mistake on the part of those who wrote it did not cause you one moments displeasure for as I said to the mission I do not believe the fault of our not getting an appropriation for medical work lay outside the mission.

Now Chaplain McCabe I do not know that the wish or intuition of the Board is regard to medical work in the Foochow Mission but this I am positive, that unless a hospital is provided for and funds to equip and run it there is no work here for me and can not remain. I would be happy to build up to the Lord a substantial medical work some place in this mission but that would require a few thousand dollars.

If for any reason the Society does not intend to undertake this work in the near future I must ask a transferrance or return home because there is nothing for me to do. To me idleness is fatal in every way.

The schools begin their spring term next Wednesday. I will as before teach Physiology and Chemistry 2 hours each forenoon. Mrs. Gregory keeps quite well and is doing anything that comes to h and but like myself is restless not to have regular active work.

I hope you will write me soon giving me some advice of not encouragement, I remain,

Yours faithfully

J J Gregory.

Letter 7

Kucheng 17 October 1891

To the Board of Managers of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church,
New York.

Dear Brethren

Probably before this reaches you the General Commission will have acted upon the estimates for 1892. I write now to prevent any misunderstanding and have only to repeat what I wrote you in March last, viz; that if for any reason whatever the Commission of 1891 has failed to grant the estimate for medical work in this mission, entire (as I have kept it at such a low figure that unless all is granted none can be of any use) my resignation, made then, is now in operation. And I shall begin preparations for leaving China immediately on receipt of such information. And if the Commission has again failed to give us employment, I now request that you, at once, send me a Bill of Exchange, or instruct your Treasurer here to advance the money, to cover our return expense to Chicago, Illinois, where in either case a settlement can be made. As I have written you in detail the reasons for this action and as Bishops Andrews and Goodall are in possession of the facts having visited the field since my arrival you will please consider this the finale, that there may be no more expenditure of time in useless correspondence.

Yours Sincerely

J J Gregory

Letter 8

Kucheng, 15 February 1892

The Board of Managers, Missionary Society, Methodist Episcopal Church, New York.

Dear Brethren

You can better imagine our feelings than I can describe them, when the news reached us a few weeks ago that the money was appropriated for the Kucheng Hospital. After 3 years of anxious waiting, I want to express my gratitude to the Board or whoever may be responsible for this final generosity and I hope that the Board, the Church, and the people here will never have cause to regret this action. At once the news was received I opened negotiations for the purchase of land to complete a hospital site and through the assistance of the first officer of this Civil District, who by the way has been a staunch friend of the medical work from the first and is in fact determined to see justice done those who have embraced Christianity and can therefore be said to place no hindrance in the way of its advancement, at least. I had the extreme satisfaction of witnessing within a fortnight from the initial Steps, a deed properly executed, conveying to the AME Mission a plot of land which had been stubbornly refused us a couple of years ago and which will, with the piece originally purchased, make a good location for the hospital. At the beginning of the present vacation dependent upon China's newyear festivities, Dr. and Mrs. Sites made us a visit and during their stay, Dr. Sites, Mr. Wiley and myself completed plans for and closed a contract to erect a substantial brick hospital with chapel and dispensary buildings all complete. Work has already begun upon these places in the way of dressing foundation stones, burning brick, sawing the lumber etc. But as all these things are done so very slowly here the hospital will not be in readiness for formal opening before March 1893. But delay cannot be laid at our door for I think I can safely say that with Dr. Sites mature judgment and familiarity with the work to lead us in this, here has not been a transaction of like magnitude done in the FC Mission with equal dispatch and economy.

As the good news of the actual building of the hospital reaches the people they express their happiness and appreciation in every conceivable manner. It seems to us that anyone seeing the utter faith these people generally have in foreign medicine and its superiority over their own empiricism: and the wonderful influence that the unique work of the western physician and surgeon of practicing what his clerical brethren preach, has in gaining confidence and spreading general good will and will still shake his wise or other wise heads doubting the utility of this branch of missionary work. I say, such a person appears to me, in the face of the naked facts, very like those who having eyes see not, and having ears hear not, the things that concern the welfare of mankind here and hereafter and might well be likened to the self-satisfied animal who knew not the value of pearls when cast before him. But I am presuming upon your indulgence. Aside from conveying to you some idea of the gratitude, not merely of myself, but of the hundreds of thousands of this people as well, for the means placed at our disposal to erect such a commodious asylum where people presenting every variety of disease to which human flesh is heir, clearly can be cared for and scientifically treated

and when above all a correct and lasting knowledge of the doctrines we are supposed to elucidate shall be acquired, I desired to present to you in this letter two questions that are of importance to the effectiveness of the hospital. First: the name by which this hospital shall be known? I know that some of my good friends contend that there is nothing in a name; but that depends entirely upon the subject under consideration and I unhesitatingly assert that the name of our first hospital in this mission can materially affect it both here and at home. As far as is known to me, there is no name above another; financially, which is entitled to the honor of being inscribed upon so useful a monument.

But in view of the fact that Bishop Wiley, a Doctor of Medicine, fell in this field while on duty a few years ago and all that was earthly of him was laid in our little American cemetery in Foochow. And as his name is known far and wide throughout this Province amongst the Christians and by many of the heathen, it would seem most appropriate that this hospital is dedicated to his memory. Second: — A trained nurse to take charge of the women's and children's wards of this hospital; to assist in teaching the hospital medical class; to assist in surgical operations and to do general evangelistic work. A mixed field indeed and an important one. Our hospital is planned to accommodate women patients and as every other general hospital in China that I have seen has its crowds of women and as our Chinese here have always been well-attended by the goodwill of all classes this will be one of our most hopeful classes of patients. Our class of medical students promises well. We have had a score and a half of applicants. Some from titled heads of families but must limit the number to . . . numbers admitted through a competitive exam. These will require daily clinical and didactic instruction., some branches of which can best be done by a nurse. Without some cool head and steady trained hand to administer anaesthetics and assist in innumerable vital details our most useful branch of medical work will be sadly curtailed, for we shall be forced to decline a vast number of otherwise promising surgical cases as this field is particularly rich in such cases there being no hospital nearer than Foo Chow, 100 miles away. And we are surrounded by this densely populated . . . District. It has been my opinion since carefully studying the work in its various phases and in widely separated districts, Nanking, Shanghai, Foo Chow, that the work of a trained nurse can be second to none in evangelizing the Chinese. The work that will naturally fall to my department in conjunction with the care of our foreign residents, now numbering 19, is more than can be expected of or endured by any one person be he ever so strong. And *cacteris paribus* a trained nurse would answer our needs rather better than another physician. If under the auspices of the WFM Board (Women's Foreign Missionary Board)¹ she could live with Miss Hartford of that Society here or if under any Board she could make our house hers, for a time at least. But a nurse is born, not made and this is practically true of the work here. The conditions are so different from those characterizing the work at home that unless she is wholly consecrated and knows very plainly all that can be known without

1 Tiedemann, G *Ricci Rountable*. Woman's Foreign Missionary Society (WFMS) (Methodist Episcopal Church, USA); Established 1869. Commenced work in China 1871. In 1892 was an auxiliary of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The work of the WFMS in China, while part of the work of the Methodist Episcopal Church, was under the direction of separate Women's conferences within the same conference areas as those of the Church.

actually being on the ground there is sure to be disappointment and consequent injury to person and work. For this reason it might be best for me to be put into communication with anyone eligible for the position. I take it for granted that the Board will respond to this urgent call promptly and if possible commission a suitable lady before the opening of the hospital. We solicit your prayers and encouragement for this department of mission work in this our oldest mission in China.

I am dear Brethren, Yours sincerely

J J Gregory
Foo Chow, China.

Letter 9

Kucheng, China, 9th April 1894

Dear Friends

In view of the fact that missionaries in the outstations are obliged to have someone living in Foochow attend to many important matters for them there; and that this "Someone" must spend no small amount of time in this work, I would like to proposed, in harmony with Dr Leonard's suggestion, that a member of the mission residents in Foochow be appointed "Financial Agent" of outstation residents; and that if this proposition prevails in the Mission, the Secretary of the Mission be requested to communicate to the Board our desires, as soon as possible. The appointment will probably be from the Board and if necessary confirmed by the Bishops, either the one in charge of this field or the next presiding Bishop. In either case I believe it best to have the appointment from the Board at once. The confirmation is sure to come.

I would urgently request that Mr. Lacy be appointed to this position which he has virtually filled so long and so admirably. Kindly record your votes below and return this letter to the Secretary of the mission, and oblige,

Yours sincerely

J J Gregory.

If the term Financial Agent should be objectionable that of Business Agent might be used. It is quite immaterial in my opinion which is used. JJG

In Favor of Proposition

Opposed

M Ohlinger (See remark in the other sheet)

M I Casterton

Geo B Smyth

G S (?) Miner

J H Worley

G A Brewster

R S McNabb

Sarah M Bosworth

N J Plumb

Letter 10

Kucheng, China, 25th August 1895

Dear Doctor Leonard

You have read long before this of the awful murders of nine adult missionaries and two children of the CMS at Hwa Sang a mountain resort some 10 miles from Kucheng city on the morning of August 1st and of the wounding of Miss M E Hartford of our WFM Society and four others of the CMS. Knowing that you would get all of the particulars from the numerous cables & letters and being very busy ever since I have refrained from writing.

Our friends of the CMS Mission in this Station had built two small houses on Hwa Sang which they used during July & August to escape the intense heat of Kucheng. The village of H.S. numbers some 200 inhabitants & I believe Miss Hartford had rented a small Chinese house about 100 yards from the English houses and was . . . there with her teachers family. I was in Kucheng with my work in full working order. We were the only foreigners in this District at the time all the others having gone to Kuliang or Sharp Peak. About one month before the massacre occurred the 'Vegetarians' having some difficulty with a heathen family at . . . some 30 miles for K C (Kucheng) attacked his house and killed one man and wounded nine others. The District Magistrate sent his runners of the number of 20 or so to make arrests but finding it impossible to do anything they returned and the magistrate sent a post dispatch to Viceroy at F C (Foochow) for help. On July 25th a 'Wei yuen' or Deputy of the Viceroy's named Ho Who was a former and very good District Magistrate of this place arrived in KuCheng, bringing with him 200 soldiers in the command of a Colonel. None of the Consuls or Missionaries knew that the soldiers were coming and I was greatly surprised to hear that they were here. Before the arrival of the soldiers the Vegetarians began to gather at a very high mountain in plain sight of and 16 miles from Kucheng. Here they planted flags and fortifications, collected arms and stores and were very defiant, evidently expecting an attack. I heard no threat against foreigners or Christians and was so shocked and surprised when I received the word of the awful butchery about 12.30 pm on the day of massacre that I could not force myself to believe it and it was only after receiving a letter from the Revd. H S Phillips (who had escaped injury due to the fact he was lodging in another house some distance off his presence not known to murderers. Some fifteen minutes later that I was brought to a partial understanding of the awful tragedy. Of course I had no thought of . . . or anything else but to put the wounded in a safe condition from further violence should the villains return to complete their savagery and to make them as comfortable as possible. I buckled on my revolver and with the sun beating down making the air suffocating I entered into the Yamen here and hastily demanded protection for wounded at Hwa Sang and conveyance for myself. And from that moment and until we arrived in F C.

Sunday Aug 4th I received eight on a side of Chinese characters which I had had but little former experience with and which is best described as damnable. The women helpless. All dead and dying must leave Hwa Sang and they all know it. And they began a series of delays that sometimes utterly upset my patience. By 'they' I mean ALL

the Chinese both official and lay with the exception of a few personal servants. The chair coolies refused to carry me to H S without an escort as it had been rumored that the Vegetarians were lying in wait for us at the roadside which is a mere footpath bordered with dense forms of undergrowth. The officials seemed willing enough to send an escort but it took them nearly two hours to get 13 men ready and a constant prodding from me. When I finally started to walk to H S they rushed on a Chair and Soldiers.

I shall never forget though I live a century the awful work of that night of the 1st of Aug. Of the 18 Europeans who were well and happy at daylight only 4 were able to stand or move about and of the 14 others 10 lay on the hillside dead and exposed the whole day to . . . sun, just as the assassins knife and spear had left them.

Dear Doctor, When I looked upon the helpless women and individual babies, hacked and stabbed almost beyond recognition who were still alive but groaning and crying with their pain And later when the wounded had been made as comfortable as possible we took a . . . (it was 1.30 p.m.) and slowly climbed the hill and viewed the mangled corpses of those who were as near as brothers and sisters nearby, murder filled my heart and I was scared at my own feelings.

We (Mr Phillips and I) worked all that night performed the last sad duties and we placed the charred remains of Mr. and Mrs. Stewart in coffins about 8 a.m. on Aug 2nd which finished this sorrowful duty.

We spent the remainder of the time until we started for Cui Kau, in driving (there is no other word for it) the officials and people into carrying the coffins and chairs for the wounded. We left at 3 p.m. Thursday all that . . . we reached Cui Kau at 10 a.m. Aug 3rd. here I telegraphed Consuls at Foochow and we placed two river boats at 2 p.m. I was obliged to continually keep an eye on the boatman to see to I did their work instead of sleeping. But we saw about seven on Sunday a launch bringing 3 foreigners to our relief you can imagine our feelings of joy.

I am writing a rambling sort of letter but you will pardon me when you know that I am still very busy. I am again in my home in Kucheng with the British and U.S. Consuls, Lieut. Evans of the '(U.S.S.) "Detroit" and Mr. Banister of the CMS holding an investigation and looking after our Church interests. We have been 10 says away and here a month longer.

We all sit in the Yamen daily with the District Magistrate, Prefect and Viceroy's Deputy constituting a Court of Inquiry. We have examined some 15 persons 7 of whom are convicted and some of these 7 will be decapitated here in a day or two. The others will be taken to Foochow for execution.

Tomorrow we expect to be joined by Captain Newell of the "Detroit", Mr. Star of the CMS, and the inquiry will be . . . rapidly. There are now 90 prisoners in the jail and more arrests being made daily. We have good evidence that about 100 men went to Hwa Sang and all of them ought to be executed.

The people are all anxious but glad that we are here. The Christians are undisturbed except by an attack of selfishness now and then. Church services and school work are being carried on as usual. But I closed my work the day I went to Hwa Sang. As we were in no order to carry it on while absent. The Mission has agreed that the work ought not to be opened again for some time and has consented to my going home as I can get back to Foochow.

We are now doing considerable practice but will not open dispensary or hospital. I shall put everything in good order and safe before I leave and then hand over the keys to Dr. Hart.

Miss Hartford received a severe shock and will leave for America in 10 days. Unless foreign countries unite to force China into civilization or parcel this miserable God-forsaken country out to more advanced nations this massacre will prove a great hindrance to Christianity and a menace to foreign life outside the Ports. I am abundantly certain that it will not, as is popularly supposed, redound to the advancement and glory of Christianity here. Today I am favor of evangelizing China with the Krupp and Gatling, and I should like to light the first match.

We must get out a monograph covering all the details of this most unChinese and horrible massacre and sent the . . . a copy. But I thought you might like to hear something from me before.

With kindest regards, Yours sincerely

J J Gregory.

Provenance:

*North China Herald, Supplement, August 9 1895,, p. v.***MABEL HARTFORD'S STATEMENT COLS 1 AND 2**

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

Miss Hartford, an American lady missionary, gives the following account:— The massacre took place on the 1st August. At 1.30 a.m. I heard shouts and yells on the streets at Kucheng, and my servants rushed into my room shouting for me to get up, as the Vegetarians were coming and they were burning down the house belonging to the English mission, on the hills. A few minutes later my teacher came to the door. I put on my clothes, rushed out to the door, to be met by a man with a trident spear who yelled, 'Here's a foreign woman!' The man pointed his spear at my breast but I twisted the weapon to one side and it just grazed my ear and head beside the ear. The man then threw me to the ground and beat me with the wooden end of the spear. A servant came and wrenched the spear away and told me to flee. I jumped down an embankment and ran along the road, and servant came, and pulled me along until I got u to the side of the hill, where I lay to get more breath. After resting twice I reached a secluded spot and lay there. All the time the yells went on, and the two houses were burning to the ground. After a while, the yelling stopped and we supposed the Vegetarians had gone away, so the servant went to see how matters were. He returned in half an hour telling me to come home, and that five ladies of the English mission had been killed, and some wounded were at my house. This was a rented native house and not troubled at all. I went home to find Miss Codrington much cut about the head and beaten all over. Mildred Stewart (twelve years) cut on knee, which was bleeding very hard. Herbert Stewart, aged six years, cut on the head and almost dead. Baby Stewart, one year old, one black and swollen knee; the second Stewart girl, Kathleen,, aged eleven years, and the second boy, Exan, aged three years, were beaten and pierced with spears but not seriously injured. The boy vomited all day at times, but we thought from fright. Mr. Phillips. Of the English mission, lived in a native house at some distance and escaped all injury, only arriving in time to see the bodies of the dead and to hear the Vegetarians say, 'we have killed all the foreigners.' At first we heard that some of the foreigners had escaped and were in hiding, but as Mr. Stewart did not come we feared the worst. Mr. Phillips went to the ruins and found eight bodies, five not burned and three burned so as not to be recognizable. Dr. Gregory arrived at dark and dressed the patients. Coffins were made and the bodies put in, and the bones of the burned put in boxes, another burned one was found, making nine grown people massacred.

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

The first four were burned beyond recognition. Miss Hettie Newcombe was thrown down an embankment and her nearly severed from her shoulders. Miss Gordon's head

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

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

Provenance:

North China Herald, Supplement Aug 9, 1895, p iv-v**VERBATIM STATEMENT OF DR GREGORY, AMERICAN MISSIONARY**

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

Verbatim Statement of Dr. Gregory, American Missionary

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

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

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

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

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

Kathleen Stewart, eleven, slight bruises.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Provenance:

CMS Archives G C 1 0 1894, Microfilm 1915, National Library of Australia, Reel 245.

An edited version of Gordon's report was sent from New York on 8 August 1895 by Reuters Telegrams to the *New York World*.

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

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

The bodies of Mr. and Mrs. Stewart, Miss Nellie Saunders and that of the children's nurse, named Pellow (sic), were burned in the house.

Kathleen Stewart removed the baby from under the nurses' body.

Miss Hessie Newcombe was speared and thrown over an embankment. Her body was subsequently recovered.

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

Miss Gordon had three spear wounds in the head.

Miss Topsy Saunders had her brain pierced.

The last three were found lying together in a heap.

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

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

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

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

Reuter's Telegrams

Please add the following to Hong Kong tel headed 'The Murder of Missionaries'.

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

The first resolution declared the sympathy and condolence of the meeting with the survivors of the massacre and with the relatives of the victims.

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

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

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

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

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

I just then met one of the servants who told me the children were in the house in which Miss Hartford of the American Mission was staying. I found Mr. Stewart's eldest daughter Mildred here with a serious wound on one knee, and another severe cut. When I had washed these and put what old calico we had to staunch the bleeding I turned to Herbert, Mr. Stewart's son who was fearfully hacked almost everywhere. Then Miss Codrington sent me a message that she too was in the house. I found her in a fearful condition, but with cold water rags we managed to staunch the bleeding. She begged me not to wait as she thought Miss Topsy Saunders was still alive. I then rushed up to the back of the house and found the bodies of Miss T. Saunders, Miss Stewart, Miss Gordon and Miss Marshall. The latter was awfully cut, her head almost severed, but beyond wounds given in the struggle the bodies were not mutilated; then later I found Miss H Newcombe's body at the foot of a hill in front of the house where it had evidently been thrown. As then I could see no traces of Mr. and Mrs. Stewart, Miss N Saunders, and Lena, the burse, we hoped some had escaped and I returned to the house where the children (four Stewart children) and Miss Codrington were. Presently Miss Hartford arrived; she had received a nasty cut under one ear but had been saved from death by a native Christian. I learned later from Miss Codrington that the five ladies of the Zenana Missionary Society who lived in the lower of the two houses which form the Kucheng Sanitorium, after a futile effort to escape, got out at the back and were immediately surrounded by Vegetarians. At first they said they intended to bind them and carry them away and they begged if that was the intention they might be allowed their umbrellas, but this was instantly refused. Some of the Vegetarians seemed touched

with their pleading for life, an old Whasang man alone of the natives who did not take part begged that their lives might be saved. Some of the Vegetarians were inclined to spare them but were ordered by their leader to carry out their orders. Had they been able to escape into the brushwood round, there seems little doubt they might have been saved. The great misfortune was that only two were dressed. Mr. and Mrs. Stewart, I learned from Kathleen Stewart, were not dressed. Lena, the nurse, died protecting the baby whom Kathleen managed to carry out of the house though not before the baby's eye was injured. Miss Nelly Saunders, Kathleen told me, was also knocked down at the nursery door going to help the children and as we afterwards found the remains of a burnt body there, we had little doubt it was hers. For a long time we thought that at least Mr. and Mrs. Stewart had escaped; but later I found their bodies, or rather ashes, in what had been their bed-room. The Whasang people seem to have as a whole no hand in the affair, though doubtless four or five Vegetarian families were concerned; the natives say a Vegetarian band came from the east road (of Kucheng city), and within thirty or forty li of Kucheng. The Kucheng magistrate, named Wong, came up in the evening to examine into the case.