

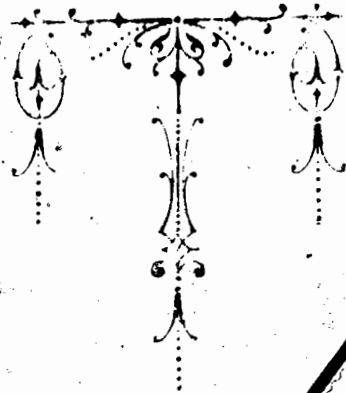
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THE ANTIFOREIGN RIOTS

IN

SZCHUAN.



REPORT

OF A MEETING OF

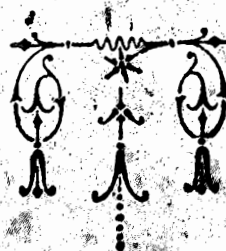
The Missionary Body

HELD AT

HANKOW, JULY 12th, 1895,

IN CONNECTION WITH

THE SZCHUAN RIOTS.



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THE ANTI-FOREIGN RIOTS IN SZCHUAN.

Much sympathy has been felt for the sufferers in the Szechuan Riots by their fellow-missionaries in Hankow and the neighbouring cities, and on Friday, July 12th, a representative meeting was held, in "The Rest," to give expression to that sympathy, first, in the form of a Resolution addressed to the sufferers themselves, and next, in a strongly worded Resolution addressed to the Ministers and Representatives of the Governments concerned.

The chair was taken by the Rev. Griffith John D. D. A hymn having been sung, and prayer offered, the Chairman introduced the business of the meeting in the following speech :—

This meeting has been called to consider what action we, as a missionary body at this centre, should take in view of the recent riots in the province of Szechuan. We would have met at an earlier date but for two reasons :— We wished to get hold of the facts of the case, and of as many facts as possible. We are not now in possession of all the facts, but we know enough to justify us in calling this meeting, and in taking a definite action with regard to these outrages. We were anxious also that Dr. V. C. Hart should be present at our meeting, believing that his presence would contribute materially to the weight and value of our deliberations ; but as he felt compelled to leave on Monday night, it was impossible to convene a meeting during his presence at Hankow.

There are two things at least which we ought to do at this meeting :— We ought to give an expression to our sympathy

with the sufferers in these riots, and with the Missions which they represent. We should also, I think, give a very clear and emphatic expression of opinion as to what ought to be done by the Governments whose subjects and citizens have suffered in these riots. Our opinion on the subject will greatly depend on the view we take of the relation of the officials to these outrages. I have no doubt in my own mind on this point. It is to my mind as clear as daylight that they have their origin in the anti-foreign temper and attitude of the Szchuan *officials*, and especially of the Szchuan Viceroy. I think these anti-foreign riots can always be traced to an influence from above. It was so in the case of the Tientsin Massacre, of 1870; it was so in the case of the Sungpu tragedy, in 1898; and it is so in the case of the Szchuan outrages of this year.

Let us look at the facts. Szchuan is one of the quietest of the provinces, and Chengtu has been regarded as one of the quietest places in Szchuan. The Szchuan people have been famous for their friendliness as compared with the Chinese of other places. During the war, the officials in Szchuan, as well as in all the other provinces, showed themselves perfectly able to protect the missionaries and their property. When the war broke out, most of us feared that there might be uprisings and persecutions in the interior. But Peking sent forth its orders, to the effect that the foreign missionary must be protected, and, as a result, the missionaries and their converts enjoyed perfect peace during the progress of the war. The peace we enjoyed simply astonished us; and it has also convinced us that the authorities can protect us whenever they are inclined to do so.

No sooner, however, does the war come to a close than this terrible riot breaks out. To what shall we ascribe it? Shall we ascribe it to the want of ability on the part of the officials to protect the missionaries and their property? We cannot do that, for we know that they had more than an adequate force to prevent any riot. Besides a strong Manchu garrison, the city of Chengtu had several camps of soldiers. One of these camps was only a few hundred yards from the spot where the Canadian Mission stood.

To suppose that the Viceroy had not the power to prevent the riots would be absurd. Granted that the storm burst upon him suddenly, and that he could do nothing the first day—which I do not grant at all—he could easily have made it impossible for the work of destruction to go on on the second and third days. The Viceroy had the power, but he lacked the will.

Let me give you four facts as illustrative of this man's hostile attitude. (1) The Roman Catholic Bishop, at the commencement of the riots, appealed to him for help, but in vain. He took no notice of the Bishop's communication; he never replied to it. Remember that the Bishop's place was within a stone's throw of the Viceroy's yamen, and that it was destroyed on the 28th, the second day of the riots. The destruction went on under the Viceroy's eye, and he did nothing to prevent it. (2) When he found that a telegram had been sent to the British Consul at Chungking, he ordered the operator to run and bring it back, and to transmit no further messages for the missionaries. That was a cruel thing to do. (3) In February of the present year, he caused to be issued a proclamation, which was posted in every city and town throughout the province, informing the people that the missionaries had no right to procure property anywhere, except they first received the consent of the officials. This was intended to excite the people against missionaries, and to check missionary operations. (4) On the 29th of May, the second day of the riot, he put out a wishy-washy proclamation, attributing the riot to the presence of foreigners on the parade ground, during the fruit-throwing connected with the feast of the fifth day of the fifth moon. It was a wretched document, calculated in no way to assuage the storm, but the very reverse. The statement, relating to foreigners going out to watch the fruit-throwing, is false; no foreigner was near the place.

Such was the attitude of the Viceroy. He did nothing to prevent the riot. He did much to bring it on. The lower officials took their cue from him as a matter of course. Having received no reply from the Viceroy, the Roman Catholic Bishop called on the Taotai; but the Taotai refused to see him, and the Bishop was

roughly handled, and actually wounded, in front of the yamen. On the afternoon of the 28th, a placard was found posted in the south part of the city. It reads thus: "Notice is hereby given that at present the foreign barbarians are hiring evil characters to steal small children that they may extract oil from them for their use. I have a servant named Li, who has personally seen this done. I, therefore, exhort you good people not to allow your children to go out. I hope you will act in accordance with this." The missionaries sent a reliable man to the magistrate of Hwa Yang with one of the placards, asking for a proclamation refuting it, and praying for protection. In reply the magistrate promised a proclamation in three days, that is, he promised that a proclamation would be issued when the work of destruction was completed! It would seem that this same magistrate afterwards treated the missionaries with much kindness while occupying his yamen as refugees. But that was, in my opinion, only part of the official plan. His subsequent kindness must be read in the light of his refusal to issue the proclamation. It was no part of the official plan to stop the riots, but it was part of the plan to try and make it appear that the riots were mob riots, and not official riots. Hence the kindness shown at the Chengtu yamen, and, as I think, at all the other yamens also. On the 29th, the second day of the riots, a proclamation was actually put out by the Chief of Police of Chengtu, a Hunan man and an expectant Taotai. But what was the character of it? It reads thus: "At present we have obtained clear proof that the foreigners deceive and take small children. You soldiers and people must not be disturbed and flurried. When the cases are brought before us we will certainly not be lenient with them." If that proclamation was not intended to add fuel to the fire, it is difficult to imagine what it was intended for.

Thus it is perfectly clear that the riots at Chengtu are to be ascribed to official influence, and mainly to the influence of the Viceroy. And the riots in all other parts of the province are, I have no doubt, to be traced to the same source. The kindness of the officials at Chengtu and elsewhere is no proof of the contrary. Nei-

ther is the fact that no lives have been lost a proof of the contrary. Indeed, I look upon the fact that no lives have been lost as a proof that the riots were of official origin, and under official control. Had they been simply mob riots, lives would have been lost. The order seems to have been: "Destroy, but do not kill; drive him out of the province, but do not take his life." That was the order, and it has been obeyed. If we could get at the whole truth, we should find, I have no doubt, that there were yamen men at every point of attack, directing, controlling, and keeping the mob within certain bounds.

Thus you have the mob in front; behind the mob you have the lower officials; and behind the lower officials you have the Viceroy. If you ask me who is behind the Viceroy, I can only say I do not know; although I feel sure he is not alone. It is not at all likely that the Viceroy would signalize his supercession by putting a halter round his own neck. Did he not believe that his doings would be pleasing to another and a greater power than himself, he would never have allowed the Chengtu riots to break out.

If you ask why this manifestation of hostility at the present time, I can only give it as my opinion that it is to be ascribed to (1) The opening of the Upper Yangtse to steam navigation. (2) The rumour that Chengtu was to be opened as a treaty port. (3) The enforcement of the Berthemy convention, which gives the missionary the right to purchase land or lease property in the interior without previously consulting the local authorities. This convention was concluded in 1865, between the Tsungli yamen and the French Minister, Berthemy. In 1871, the Tsungli yamen issued their famous circular, laying down the condition that the seller to missionaries must give the local functionaries previous notice of his intention to sell, and request their authorization. The object of the regulation was to make it difficult, if not impossible, for missionaries to purchase property in the interior. M. Gerard, the present French Minister, has unearthed the convention of 1865, and has succeeded in getting it re-enforced and published by the higher officials throughout the Empire. Nothing could be more

distasteful to the provincial authorities than the re-enforcement of this convention. To the intensely anti-foreign Liu Ping-chang, the Viceroy of Szchuan, it must have been especially so. If you will read the proclamation issued by him in February last, to which I have already referred, in the light of this fact, you will have no difficulty in accounting for his action. That proclamation was issued at the very time M. Gerard was fighting this important battle with the Tsungli yamen, and the riots broke out immediately after the victory had been won. On the 21st of May, the yamen, in its communication to M. Gerard, wrote thus: "You request us to send orders to all the provinces that these proclamations be forthwith issued. The yamen has sent a circular letter to all the provinces, ordering that, under the seal of the Viceroys and Governors, the Berthemy Convention with regard to the purchase of property by Catholic missionaries be proclaimed forthwith. Besides, we deem it our duty to inform Your Excellency thereof by the present official reply." This was written on the 21st of May; the riots broke out on the 28th of the same month.

It is high time that this *official* barbarism should come to an end, for it is nothing but barbarism pure and simple. It is high time that the Chinese Government should be made to feel that these things cannot be done with impunity. The people of China are not against us. But for the antiforeign spirit and policy of the official classes, there is no reason why we should not live in China with as much sense of safety as in any part of the world. Everything here depends on the officials. Where they are friendly, the people are quiet; where they are inimical, the people are turbulent. But the conduct of the officials in the future will very much depend on the policy adopted by the Foreign Powers in the settlement of the Szchuan outrages. We have had riot after riot, and matters have been going from bad to worse. This is to be ascribed to the fact that not a single riot has received a satisfactory settlement. I believe it is possible so to manage this Szchuan business as to make it impossible that riots of this nature should ever occur again in China. Let England, France, and the United States combine in

an enlightened and vigorous action with regard to the Szechuan outrages, and the thing will be done, and it will be done without firing a shot.

If I were asked what is wanted in order to secure the peace of the future, I would say (1) We want a searching investigation into the cause or causes of the Szechuan riots, by accredited officials, representing each Government involved. (2) The Missions and the Missionaries should be fully indemnified, and the indemnity should not be limited to the actual cost of the things destroyed. The time expended by the missionaries in superintending buildings, for instance, should be taken into account. (3) The missionaries should be reinstated with official recognition at all the places from which they have been ejected. (4) The guilty parties, whatever their rank, should be brought to justice, and adequately dealt with. (5) The right of missionaries to reside in the interior should be placed on clearly defined Treaty basis, and made known by Imperial Proclamation throughout all parts of the Empire. (6) We want one thing more if we would put matters on a thoroughly sound footing. Chengtu in Szechuan, and Siangtan in Hunan, should be opened as Treaty ports. The right, so far as Siangtan is concerned, was waived by the Japanese. Let it be revived, and let Consuls be stationed at both places. To open Chengtu, on the back of the riots, would teach the Chinese a lesson such as they would not easily forget, and to open Siangtan, which would mean practically the opening of Hunan, would do more towards the breaking down of the pride, prejudice, and exclusiveness of the Chinese in these parts than anything else could. Whatever may be said as to the desirability of opening Chengtu, there can be no doubt about the importance of taking immediate action with regard to Hunan. Hunan is a perpetual menace. It is the very fountain of the poisonous literature which has done so much mischief in so many of the provinces. The fact that the foreigner is excluded from Hunan is ever quoted as a reason why he should be excluded from all the provinces. In the midst of the Chengtu riots, a Hunan man was heard shouting at the pitch of his voice, "Drive the Foreign Devils out; we do not tolerate them in

Hunan." The Chief of Police at Chengtu, who issued the infamous proclamation to which I have already called attention, is a Hunan man. In the interest of China, as well as in our own interest, I earnestly hope and pray that our Ministers at Peking will turn their attention to Hunan. Whilst Hunan is allowed to maintain its present state of isolation and seclusion, we shall never be safe in this Valley. Shall we be safe anywhere?

This is what we want. Let the Szchuan outrage be taken in hand and put through in a perfectly satisfactory manner, and there will be an end to these terrible riots in China. We, who meet here this morning, are deeply concerned in the well-being of this great people; and our chief aim in meeting on this occasion is to do what lies in our power to promote it. In the name of our common humanity, as well as for the sake of our common interests, we call upon England, France, and the United States of America to combine their influence at this time, and bring the present disgraceful and perilous state of things to a close.

The Chairman then called upon the Rev. J. S. Adams to move the first Resolution which he did as follows:—

The Missionaries resident in Hankow and the neighbouring cities hereby express to their Szchuan Brethren their deep sympathy with them in the trials through which they have been called to pass on account of the late riots, and assure them of their frequent prayer that the things which have happened to them may fall out rather to the furtherance of the Gospel.

It will not be necessary for me to make a long speech in moving this resolution. We have all, during the last few weeks, felt deeply moved by the story of the sufferings of our dear brothers and sisters in the West. We are one with them in purpose. Our aim in life is the same. We recognize the fact that they are fighting our battles. We share their victories, and their defeats. We then can sincerely offer our deep and affectionate sympathy in these trials which have overtaken them. It must be hard, indeed, to see the work of years swept away in a night, to have the pain of finding foes instead of friends, the loss of one's little all, the danger to life, and anxiety about those near and dear, fears for valued native converts, left to face the storm alone,—all these things, and many others, make these trials very severe indeed. We rejoice,

that, so far as we know, no lives have been lost ; this is a matter for great thankfulness. These riots, however, will not be without their victims. We laid two little children in the grave last week, who, humanly speaking, would have been alive and well had they remained unmolested in their quiet home in Szechuan. Standing on the deck of the " Chang Wo " the other day, we felt very sad to see the condition of the women and little children and felt convinced that some of those present would not return to China.

To my mind it was very beautiful to see the patient spirit with which our friends bore their trials and discomforts. Not a word of complaint, not a thought of anger or revenge, but a joyful note of praise to God for His protecting-care. There was a strong faith that all these things are to work out great blessing for Szechuan. There was also present in their minds a firm conviction that the province from which they have been expelled is the best in China, and they would all gladly return tomorrow.

In closing, I would like to mention that friends, both inside and outside the missionary circle, have shown much kindness. As one upon whom some share of the pleasant duty of hospitality fell, I can confidently say that Hankow would gladly have entertained a much larger number. Our friends spoke gratefully of the kindness received from the officers of the Ichang steamers. May our dear friends, like the patriarch Joseph, be able to say, " God hath made me fruitful in the land of my affliction." In that province where they have suffered so much, may they have abundant cause for rejoicing over many souls brought to Jesus !

The Rev. S. R. Holge, M. R. C. S. etc, heartily seconded the Resolution, and was especially glad to do so as he had not been able to do anything, personally, towards helping the sufferers who had passed through Hankow. Living away at a long distance from the steamers, he and his colleagues were often denied the opportunity of showing that hospitality which they would be only too pleased to offer, and they sometimes envied others this privilege. He had been deeply stirred by the addresses of some of the refugee brethren from Szechuan at the last monthly prayer meeting. The

stories of their escape from the numberless dangers which beset them were most wonderful. Many would look upon such stories as merely a series of lucky incidents ; to himself they appeared as an evidence of the providential care of God over His children in the hour of danger, and truly the hand of God could be seen protecting them from all the perils by the way.

He was glad to second this Resolution because their own Wesleyan Mission had been called to pass through similar trials in 1891. From the experience gained in connection with their own trials, he was convinced that Mr. A lams did not state the case too strongly when he said that we have not seen the end of the Szechuan troubles, for he believed that many of those missionaries, and especially their wives, who had passed through the intense anxiety of these riots would never be in health and strength what they were before. After the riots at Wusueh, in 1891, the Viceroy wished him to give a certificate as to the injuries received by the sufferers in that riot, but this he refused to do for he knew that time a one could reveal the seriousness, or otherwise, of the shock which they had received. His caution at that time has been fully justified by the subsequent history of those who then suffered, and it would be the same in the present instance. It was not too much to affirm, that in the parties which have passed through Hankow were some whose career in China has been cut short by the effect upon their nervous system of the strain through which they have passed,—nor was it too strong a thing to say that the deaths of the two children were probably brought about, indirectly, by the same cause. He felt it right to say this much, but no one would rejoice more than himself if his fears should eventually prove to be unfounded.

This Resolution having been passed, the Chairman called upon the Rev. David Hill to move the second Resolution.

The Rev. David Hill said : The Resolution I have to propose reads as follows —

WHEREAS for many years past, numerous and extensive riots have occurred in many parts of China, directed against missionaries and other foreigners, whereby serious damage

has been done to health and property, in some cases lives even having been taken, while no effectual measures have thus far been adopted for the prevention of these outbreaks; and,—

Whereas foreign property has lately been destroyed on an unprecedented scale both in Chongtu, the provincial capital, and in other cities of the Szechuan Province, (where hitherto the people have always manifested an exceptionally quiet and friendly spirit,) thus breaking up the homes of many missionaries, and interrupting for an indefinite period important missionary work; and,—

Whereas these periodical outbreaks have been frequently caused, and illfeeling has been continuously fomented, by the wide circulation of blasphemous and calumnious literature, which has emanated chiefly from the province of Euan,—

We venture most respectfully to urge upon the Ministers and Representatives of the Governments concerned the following suggestions for their consideration:—

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

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

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

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

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

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

This Resolution is one of serious import. It brings us face to face with great questions of national righteousness, and assumes that there are occasions when bodies of Christian men, in their collective capacity, are called upon to take united action in endeavouring to rectify the wrongs of their fellow men. In that I think we shall all agree.

The question then arises: Is this such an occasion? Are we justified at the present time in so dealing with the Szechuan riots? Reference is made in the preamble to my Resolution to previous outbreaks, in some of which at least no such action was taken. Wherein then is the difference? Two reasons may be found in the paper I have read. One, that as far as the destruction of property

is concerned, things have been going on from bad to worse. The other, that in the case before us we have to deal with rioting on an unprecedented scale—rioting more widespread, more fully organized, and, as far as we can judge, more under official sanction than any previous outbreaks. Of the *widespread character* of these riots I need hardly say a word. It is known to you all, it is known to the world. Protestant and Roman Catholic alike have suffered. One city after another has been rioted until the number now runs into the teens. That this movement has been *more fully organized* seems to follow from the fact of its widespread character. Step by step the rioters have proceeded; city after city, in orderly succession, has been visited. That it is *under official sanction*, or with official connivance, I have gathered from the unvarnished statements of the three Missionaries who have related to us their experiences, as well as from the Reports I have read in the *North China Daily News*. The statement of the case as given by the Chairman of this meeting strongly confirms this view.

Such being the case, the whole movement is lifted out of merely local, individual, and personal bearings.

It partakes in a measure of a national movement, and I must confess that when I heard of its widespread character I felt considerably relieved. For we all know how in individual cases some hasty word or unwise action may bring on unexpected trouble, and then be taken hold of as causing, or even warranting, a riot, but when a dozen cities one after the other are visited, houses pillaged and property destroyed, the most natural conclusion we can draw is that there cannot in every case have been the hasty action or the unwise utterance, but that the rioting is carried out of set purpose. When we add to that the fact that in the very midst of it an official proclamation is issued affirming the truth of those vile and calumnious reports which have been spread abroad, the whole movement partakes of a general and, one might almost say, semi-national character. Here then, I say, is the difference between the present and the former riots with which we have had to do.

We are dealing today with rioting on an unprecedented scale, and the question arises whether, on the ground of a common humanity, irrespective of nationality, we are not called upon to protest against rampant rowdyism under official sanction.

Life if it is true has been spared, and in this we may draw a distinction between the Szechuan riots and the Armenian atrocities; but, though differing in degree, there are points common to both; and as in that case joint action has been taken by the Powers to prevent a recurrence of those scenes of mad disorder, today we seek by righteous dealing and just government to prevent the repetition of the Szechuan persecutions. For my own part I have classed these outbreaks with the kidnapping of slaves, and as in this matter the Powers have determined to seize a Slave Dhow wherever it is seen, so let Christian Nations combine to suppress the mad rioting such as Szechuan has witnessed.

We are proposing to bring our suggestions before the Ministers concerned. This may, or may not, be the best method to accomplish the end desired,— I had myself formed a different plan, but wiser men than I deem this the most effective; and it will I trust at any rate strengthen the hands of those who are seeking to put matters right. It is no light or easy matter to accomplish, but it does offer to Christian Governments one of the best opportunities of teaching righteousness to the Chinese Government, and we all know that until that lesson is learnt, China can never be great or free.

That China needs such a lesson, those who have had to do with the riots of the past have been taught only too plainly. One of the most painful experiences I had in connection with the Wasueh riot was the conviction forced upon me that in negotiating a settlement of the case, the representative of the Viceroy was seeking how little he could cede to the Foreigner, rather than what it was right to do. Righteousness seemed a secondary consideration. When therefore an opportunity like the present occurs, it seems to be our bounden duty, as a body of Christian men, to do what in us lies to hold up the hands of those who are contending for the right.

And I have ever found, in the little experience I have had, that British Officials have faithfully and determinately stood out for right and righteousness, and now that so serious and widespread a movement, as Szechuan records, offers to those in power an opportunity to preach this lesson to the Government of China, we do well to aid them by all proper means within our power, and therefore I move the Resolution.

The Resolution was seconded by the Rev. Arthur Bonsey, who said :— To my mind, much force is added to this Resolution by the fact that it has been moved by one so well known throughout China, and at home, for his studied moderation and humane views. We are met this morning to discuss, as calmly and dispassionately as possible, a question of vital importance to ourselves and to the work in which we are all engaged. But this question is larger and far more important than as it affects merely ourselves and the interests of our work, for it deals with the integrity of the Chinese official classes in their relation to foreigners generally. It is a question which goes to the very root of all intercourse, social, diplomatic, commercial, and missionary, between China and other nations. China regards herself, and wishes to be regarded by others, as a civilized Power. This Resolution points out that in order to be so regarded, she must not only undertake to protect from injury and insult all foreigners who, for lawful purposes, dwell within her borders, but that she must honestly and sincerely fulfil this undertaking. Those are, in reality, the best friends of China who compel her to fulfil all legitimate obligations.

Our brethren in Szechuan have not had to suffer because of their faith. It is not as martyrs to the cause of Christ that they have been hounded out of their homes, to wander from place to place amid perils and trials which have harrowed all our hearts and called forth our deepest sympathy. This series of outbreaks, carefully planned, as it seems to us, by persons of influence and authority, was occasioned simply by the fact that the persecuted folk were foreigners — barbarians.

If, indeed, this persecution had come upon our brethren

solely on account of their Christian faith, it is not likely that we should have met here to-day to pass such a Resolution as this; nor would they have wished it. The case, however, is of an entirely different nature, and I, for one, feel that we are not only justified in passing this Resolution, but that the present state of things in China urgently calls for just such a strong expression of our united opinion as it contains. Moreover, as this opinion is the result of much observation, and of a wide experience of Chinese life and manners, it should, we think, be of some service to those who are endeavouring to solve the problem of these anti-foreign riots.

We do not in any way seek revenge, but only that simple justice which no truly civilized country can withhold, and which civilized Powers cannot, for long, allow less civilized Powers to outrage, as, for instance, in these unjustifiable attacks on defenceless and law-abiding foreigners in Szechuan. We are not asking for extraordinary favours, but only for that safety of person and property which China professes that she is able and willing to guarantee to all foreigners who sojourn within her territory. My own experience corresponds with that of others who have spoken, that the masses of the people are friendly to foreigners, so long as they are left to themselves. So far as the people are concerned everything depends upon the attitude of the officials. In past riots it has frequently happened that only the subordinatedly guilty, and even innocent people, have been punished, while the principals have escaped. We desire, in the interest of China herself, that no such miscarriage of justice shall occur this time.

Too much stress cannot be laid on the clause which deals with the opening of Hunan. We are persuaded that in this lies the peaceful solution of most of our difficulties. I have no doubt that to the mind of the Hunanese, distance does, indeed, lend enchantment to their view of foreigners. But all the anti-foreign literature which emanates from that province goes to prove that the foreigner hated and abhorred in Hunan is not the real article, but a malignant, cruel, and horrid monster, a huge distortion

caused by the haze of ignorance and the activity of foul imaginations. It is at our peril, it is at the peril of the peace of the Valley of the Yangtse, that this province is allowed to remain closed, a prey to such gross and dangerous superstitions. Let Hunan be opened, and let the lives of foreigners in that province be securely guarded, and in a short time not only will Hunan become quiet, but a disturbing element will be annihilated, which, at present, is a constant menace to the peace of other parts of the Empire.

The third Resolution was moved by Mr. Archibald. It was:

That copies of the last Resolution be sent to the Ministers, and other Representatives of the Governments concerned, and also to the Secretaries of our respective Societies.

I regard it as a grave reproach to the Foreign Powers that these riots have been allowed to go on year after year, without any effectual steps being taken to bring them to an end. It is simply heart-breaking to think of the valuable lives which have been sacrificed, the immense amount of property destroyed, and the numerous friends whose health has been ruined and careers blasted, all because the Powers decline to show a little earnestness in dealing with this matter. With the Chairman I am satisfied that there is probably no necessity to fire a shot, if only some Power would put its foot down and say it would stand this thing no longer. I am glad this meeting has been held, and that we are to bring our views under the notice of the Ministers, who I believe will be pleased to get them, as they will greatly strengthen their hands. It is also well to send them to the Secretaries of the various Missionary Societies, who could do a great deal at home to secure that attention is paid to the riots this time. But, while collectively we are taking this action, I wish to remind all that there is a great deal which each can do individually. There is no need to say that it ought to be a matter of constant prayer with us all that these troubles may speedily cease. But in proportion as we pray so ought we also to work. At present what is most needed is to try to enlighten and influence public opinion. This can be done by correspondence; by writing to the Press—and I am glad to say that the Press in China is always ready to receive and emphasize com-

munications bearing on this subject—and also by the circulation of suitable literature. I am glad to know that the proceedings of the present meeting will be printed in full, and in addition to what may be done by the Committee, I hope each one present will make a point to give them a wide circulation.

The Rev. Martin Ekvall, in seconding the Resolution, said: I do so with the greater pleasure because I can from personal experience bear witness to the much more friendly character of the Szechuan people, as compared with the Chinese of other parts. Personally, I have no difficulty in appealing to Governments for aid in such a matter as this, for surely if it is right to try and get them to help in delivering China from the curse of the opium trade, still more is it right to stir them up to put an end to these riots, which are the cause of such untold harm to natives as well as to foreigners. I hope we shall persevere, and if need be make effort after effort till the end we aim at is attained.

The Rev. T. Bramfitt, Dr. Gillison, Mr. Milward and Mr. W. G. Terrell also spoke in support of the various Resolutions. Having appointed the Rev. Griffith John, D. D., the Rev. David Hill, the Rev. Joseph S. Adams, and Mr. John Archibald as a Committee, with the Rev. A. Bonsey as Secretary, to take further charge of the matter, the meeting was brought to a close.

