

James C. Hepburn: His Early Missionary Life in China

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ヘボン研究

—— 中国における宣教師生涯の開始を中心として ——

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日頃から使い慣れてきたヘボン式ローマ字のゆえに、あのヘボンですか、と日本人の間でヘボンの名前だけは親しまれてきた。横浜開港にともない早くから来日を果たし、神奈川・横浜にあって念願の医療伝道に長いあいだ従事した米国人であることも、日本人の多くは知っている。ヘボンが残した日本近代化に向けた功績は、ヘボン式ローマ字と医療伝道に留まることなく、英和・和英辞典の編纂、聖書翻訳、それに明治学院の創設など多方面にわたるけれど、このことを知っている明治学院大学の学生は、今どれほど実在するのであろうか。その上さらに、日本の伝道と近代化に駆り立てたものはなになのか、という動機や具体的な経緯となると、まったく分からないでいる学生や卒業生が多いようである。どうしてなのか。

原因の一つとして、ヘボンに関する基礎資料の収集がなされていない点を指摘しなければならない。日本基督教団に関わる所謂ミッションスクールが、全国に多く存在していて、そこに設置されているキリスト教研究所のどこか一カ所でも、忍耐強く丹念な探索を持続させ、内外に散逸して眠っている基礎資料を収集してほしいものである。本稿は、中国の大学院で中国伝道史を研究している若い院生と、同じテーマに関心のある日本人の老研究者とによるささやかな共同研究の成果である。来日して伝道畑に生きた少し自信のなさそうで内気なヘボンを支えて励ましたのは、明るく積極的な夫人のクララであることも、共同執筆者の一致した見方になった。それと、来日した動機や経緯を探るのに、5年ほどの短い滞在に終わった中国伝道に、まず焦点を合わせることが、ヘボン夫妻の内面に迫る一つの有効な方法であろうと考える。今後、日本基督教団に關係する歴史家や明治学院の研究所において、ヘボン研究の機運が高まる一契機ともなれば、共同執筆者としては幸いな捨石である。

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I. The Hepburn Family and Its Puritan Background

James Curtis Hepburn (to be abbreviated either simply as Hepburn or as JCH in our discussion below) was born in Milton, Pennsylvania, on March 13, 1815. Griffis, the author of his authorized and one single biography, follows the routine of biographical writing by starting with the Hepburn family history.¹

“Samuel Hepburn, his great-grandfather, left Belfast, Ireland, in May 1773. Having emigrated with his family to America, he settled in 1784 at Northumberland, Pennsylvania, where he died in 1795, at the age of 97.

“His son, James Hepburn, born in Belfast, March 28, 1747, married Mary Hopewell of Mount Holly, New Jersey, in 1781, and died in Northumberland, Pennsylvania, in 1817, leaving three daughters and seven sons; of whom Samuel, the father of the missionary physician, was the eldest. Samuel was born in Philadelphia in 1782, and died at Lock Haven, Pennsylvania, in 1865.

“He was graduated at Princeton College in 1803 and made his home in Milton, Pennsylvania, until a few years before his death, when he removed to Lock Haven. As a citizen and lawyer, he was well known and highly esteemed. He married Ann Clay, daughter of Rev. Slaytor Clay...”²

The above listing of those items regarding Hepburn’s family background, which are quoted above from the Griffis’ book, can be relevant for two reasons. One is that this much has been almost the only available information for one hundred years, indicating that Japanese scholars or Christians have since investigated much into the theme of the Hepburn’s backgrounds. The other reason is that even such a short listing may well afford us with an insight into the religious background in which he grew up, and thus we can say that he was born to a puritan family of New England.

According to Griffis, Hepburn admitted in one of JCH letters to him in 1881 that both Samuel and Ann were “humble Christians, bringing up their children (five daughters and

two sons) to fear God, to respect and love the Sabbath day... My mother was especially interested in foreign missions.”³

His parents expected his sons to serve as Presbyterian minister or lawyer in future, as they guided his religious education first at home, then at Sunday School, Milton Academy and Princeton college. The two sons actually came to fulfill the cherished hopes of their parents, Hepburn as missionary to China and Japan, while Slaytor as minister. In spite of such a short period of Hepburn’s stay at Princeton college between the spring of 1831 and the autumn of 1832, the future missionary linguist acquired the full knowledge of Greek, Latin and Hebrew.

One of the turning points in his life awaited Hepburn, presumably, during the period between the Princeton days, 1831-1832, and some time of his early work as assistant to a doctor in 1834. For one thing, according to Griffis, in the spring of 1832, Hepburn “awoke to a new life and was born again of the Spirit.”⁴ Also he admitted, much later in life, that “all these influences and associations” at Princeton “gave my mind a bias to the foreign missionary work.”⁵ It is difficult to visit clearly the inclination of his inner mind at this critical period between 1831 and 1834, but we may wonder why he chose to take up the study of medicine with Dr. Samuel Pollock in his native town while attending “medical lectures in the University of Pennsylvania at Philadelphia.”⁶ In this professional choice may perhaps have germinated in his soul the inclination of serving as a medical missionary in future. He received his diploma of medicine and the M. D. degree in the spring of 1836, and became a physician. In the autumn of 1838, he opened an office in Norristown, Pennsylvania. There he determined to be a missionary to “heal and help the people of Asia”, and he engaged Miss Clarissa Leete.

The crucial year during the period can be 1834. According to Griffis once again, ‘Since 1834 he had been considering the choice. “I did not at first entertain it pleasure, but more as a stern duty,” he said in later life. “My family, especially my father, strongly opposed the idea, and made every effort to turn my mind away from it. I myself tried to cast it off, but I found no rest until I had decided to go. Everything seems to favor my going--- especially finding a wife who was of the same mind and ready to go with me.”⁷

II. From U.S. to China: Singapore and Macau

Soon after marriage at Fayetteville, North Carolina, on October 27, 1840, the couple expected in vain to sail away at once, hoping to start their work in response to the call of the American Board of Foreign Missions, with which the Presbyterian churches were then cooperated. This call was for a medical missionary to go out to Siam with the purpose of working among the Chinese, who were living in numbers in that country.⁸ The departure of Hepburn and his wife was delayed till 15th of March 1841, on which day they embarked the ship *Potomac*.⁹

As early as 1837 the Presbyterian Board began to plan a mission to China. Two Presbyterian missionaries, John A. Mitchell¹⁰ and Robert W. Orr¹¹ had been sent to the Eastern Archipelago by the Board. In April, 1837, they arrived at Singapore, the first chosen stop of the missionaries. On the 6th of March, 1840, Rev. William P. Buell and his wife embarked for Siam to open a station there. Mr. Thomas L. McBryde and his wife were in the same vessel with Buell, but they were sent to Singapore to reinforce the station there.

Dr. Hepburn and his wife arrived at Singapore in July 1841, just before the end of the Opium War. "After leaving the ship, Dr. and Mrs. Hepburn were made comfortable by Mr. McBryde. Within a few hours they met Messrs. North, Dickinson, Abeel, Stronach, Davenport, and Mr. and Mrs. Savelli."¹² Owing to the return of Mr. Orr of the Siam station back to US, and the uncertain health of Mrs. McBryde¹³, besides the poor health condition in which Clara found herself after having lost her first son born and alive a few hours in Singapore, it was thought the best policy that Hepburn and Clara should remain with the Singapore mission, instead of crossing over to Siam.

Hepburn and his wife decided to stay on at Singapore for a while. He exerted himself again in the study of the Malay, and "soon he became very fond of his teacher, Abdoulla."¹⁴ In his intercourse with the inhabitants, Dr. Hepburn's medical knowledge opened a way for him to point the sick and the dying to the Savior. He took charge of a small boarding-school as well, though for a short term only.

Besides the above-cited colleagues of his, Hepburn always remembered that he was

fortunate to come to know S. R. Brown in Singapore. Brown at that time was in charge of the Morrison Education Society at Malacca, near Singapore. Hepburn later recollected that this was “commencement of an intimacy of nearly forty years. How little we thought then that we should labor twenty years together in Japan.”¹⁵

In this connection it seems to us very important to make a methodical suggestion, which may be called a triangular approach, regarding the study of early American missionaries in China and Japan. US, China and Japan form three angles. One example is the case of Hepburn and Brown, the two missionaries from US to Asia, who first having met each other in Singapore worked together in the post-Opium War China, and then rushed to the newly-opened Kanagawa almost at the same time in 1859, Hepburn serving for the Presbyterian mission and Brown for the Dutch Reformed Church mission. In our study we like to illuminate that bilateral relevance, hitherto much neglected, of their earlier Chinese experience with their later activities in Japan.

Walter M. Lowrie¹⁶ who joined the China mission in 1842 played an important role in choosing locations for the Presbyterian missions in China. He was instructed, on reaching Canton, to inquire particularly into the practicability of adding a few more stations, besides the Canton mission of Elijah Bridgeman at any likely open ports along the coast further north.¹⁷ In one of his early letters from Macao, he made the following observation of the members of Bridgeman and the missionary life, first of all.

[Lowrie to Mother: 1842/ 05/ 28; Macao]

Macao, May 28th, 1842.

My Dear Mother—

We anchored yesterday at four p. m. in Macao roads. Here I found Mr. and Mrs. McBryde, who had reached China several months ago, having taken the voyage from Singapore on account of his health. I was greatly delighted to find him here, and was much relieved by having his counsel and assistance in deciding the various questions before us. I was most cordially received by the different missionaries here, and found a temporary home with the Rev. Mr. Bridgeman. At a late hour I got to bed, under mosquito curtains, but could not sleep for a long time. It was so strange to be lying in a large or wide bed, to

be in a large room, to feel that I was oh heathen ground. I greatly missed the ship's bells, which strike every half-hour on board. The noise of the gongs, and drums, and rattles, and other strange sounds in the town, and the many, many thoughts of hundreds of things, past, present, and to come, that crowded rapidly through my mind.¹⁸

Lowrie agreed with Thomas L. McBryde, a Presbyterian missionary of the Singapore station, reported to the Board, "in regard to the station at Singapore, we are all of opinion that it must be given up, as soon as we can obtain a station in or near China."¹⁹ The Board replied "The question of removing from Singapore to China, and concentrating the whole force of the mission there had been submitted to the brethren of the Chinese mission."²⁰ The subsequent instruction of ABCFM being to send him to the new station at Amoy, Hepburn and his wife left Singapore to reach Macao first of all. Just as S. Wells Williams was met and welcomed by the son of Dr. Robert Morrison at the Macao harbor on his arrival about ten years ago, he received and welcome the Hepburns into his Mission printing house in Macao.

"When China was opened, through the so-called Opium War, the Hepburns broke their home in Singapore and took ship to Macao. They arrived June 9, 1843, and made their home with Dr. S. Wells Williams and Rev. Walter M. Lowrie. In this historic port and city, then considered Portuguese territory, they were destined to spend the summer. To the Doctor especially, Macao yielded much of interest in his hours of recreation."²¹

In one of the S. Wells Williams correspondence, as late as on October 26, 1872, he wrote from Shanghai to his daughter on recollecting his life-long friendship with the Hepburns over forty years, which started in Macao, from June to October, 1843. "D^r Hepburn is not a young man nor a hearty one. My visit to Japan was rendered doubly pleasant by their kindness, and we recounted the scenes of 1843, when we lived together in Macao."²² Also Williams admitted the same feeling of friendship toward the Hepburns in another letter, dated Macao, Nov. 20, 1843, after their departure to Amoy. "I've lost too some friends who have left our table & circle for Amoy, Dr & Mrs Hepburn; she especially made herself a friend & friends wherever she went. But she & he will be more at home & more useful at Amoy, where he will feel as if he had something to do, because he has been

studying that dialect, and longs to be engaged in the blessed labor of telling some ignorant folks of the way of salvation. There seems to be many more willing to hear the gospel at Amoy than here, and they soon become desirous too to hear more of it."²³

The way from Macao to Amoy was not smooth, on account of the rough sea. They first got on board a ship toward the end of September 1843, but to the surprise of Walter Lowrie he found them back to Hong Kong. It was 4 o'clock on October 6th, 1843, as he wrote on that day to his family. "Found the Hepburns had started about ten days before in a very fine vessel for Amoy; was very glad to hear it, though I knew that with the winds they had had they could make little progress, and would have a dreadfully rough time. Sabbath (yesterday) I preached in the chapel here in the morning, and talked to the boys in Mr. Brown's school in the evening. To-day I meant to have gone to Macao, but not being able to get the specie on board the Zenobia safely deposited, I found it necessary to remain another day. Just about four o'clock, who should come in but Dr. and Mrs. Hepburn, driven back by the bad weather. They were far more surprised to see me than I to see them. They have had dreadful weather, and a rough time. Poor Mrs. H. was very sea-sick, but looks quite as well as when I left Macao. They will probably start in a few days to make a second effort."²⁴

Apparently this second effort of the Hepburns sailing out of Hong Kong turned out to fail again. They had to come back to the harbour, according to the letter of Lowrie again, dated Macao, October 22d, 1843. "The gale in which we lost our rudder in the Lorcha, and drifted so far, was quite terrific further south. The vessel in which the Hepburns were, had to put back with the loss of spars, sails, &c. ; several other vessels had also to put back, and this last week in Hong Kong, we heard that the vessel in which Mr. Medhurst and Mr. Milne were proceeding to Chusan, had lost her top-masts, had her captain swept overboard, and drowned, and was finally obliged to put into Manila in distress. Mr. Milne, describing the gale, said that 'for ten hours they expected nothing but death.' This week I have had a regular attack of chill and fever, the first for thirteen years. It was brought on, I have no doubt, by the exposure of the last six weeks. Last Thursday was the first day I have spent in bed from sickness, for more than eight years. How much reason I have for thankfulness in having been spared so long ! But a very little sickness would soon knock me up. My constitution is naturally so weak, that it takes me a long time to recover from even a short

illness.”²⁵

The American Board believed that his medical profession would insure him a cordial reception by the inhabitants. The north-east monsoon set in very early and very strongly that year, and many other vessels were driven back or impeded in their courses. On the 24th October, the weather being favourable, they again embarked for their field of labour; and, after a tedious voyage, reached Amoy in safety.²⁶

III. Arrival at Amoy

Hepburn was not the first protestant missionary who arrived in Amoy. As early as February 24, 1842, David Abeel of the A.B.C.F.M. and the Rev. Boone of the American Protestant Episcopal Church reached Gulangyu²⁷. There Mr. Abeel commenced his missionary work among the Chinese, and acted for a time as chaplain to the English troops stationed on the island. Rev. Boone left the island on the 10th of April to return to Macao, for the purpose of bringing his family to Amoy. Eventually on June 7th 1842, Boone arrived at Gulangyu (Koo-lang-seu), near Amoy, with Mrs. Boone and their two children, accompanied by Mr. and Mrs. Thomas L. McBryde, and Dr. William Henry Cumming who was accepted as a missionary doctor, though unconnected with any denominational society.

The Hepburns reached their final destination, though not Amoy but the nearby island, Gulangyu on November 25th, 1843. The two doctors, Hepburns and Cumming decided to move the dispensary housed in the residence of David Abeel²⁸ on the island of the British military occupation to the civilian town of Amoy toward the end of January, 1844. The hospital was put into entire charge of the Medical Missionary Society, China, the process of whose foundation we had better turn our attention for a while, before proceeding on to the life story of Hepburn as missionary doctor in Amoy.

According to the William Lockhard, who himself was one of early missionary doctors from the London Missionary Society, the key person or medical doctor was Peter Parker, who studied medicine as well as theology at Yale College. He embarked at New York the ship Morrison, just like S. Wells Williams about year ago, on June 3rd, 1834, under the ABCPM

sponsorship.

“Much interest was exhibited in the labours of Dr. Parker by the foreign community, and by passing strangers, who contributed most liberally to the support of this institution. In 1836 some excellent suggestions were published for the purpose of drawing attention to the subject of ‘gratuitous medical relief to the Chinese, in order to facilitate the formation of a society for this special object, and to give more efficiency and permanence to the work of future labourer.’ These suggestions contained the following statement: ‘viewing with peculiar interest the good effects that seem likely to be produced by medical practice among the Chinese, especially tending to bring about a more social and friendly intercourse between them and foreigners, as well as to diffuse the arts and sciences of Europe and America, and in the end introduce the Gospel of our Saviour in place of pitiable superstitions by which their minds are now governed, it was resolved to attempt the foundation of a society to be called ‘The Medical Missionary Society.’”²⁹

S. Wells Williams reported the foundation of the society in his letter to father, dated Canton, March 15, 1838. “We have work enough for many years here, all of which when done could be expressed in a letter, as it is such as can alone be felt not told. The people do not know us yet, and such is the great wall of prejudice between us, that it will be some time before they will get acquainted with us so as to know our object & plans from other foreigners. Something has been done: I suppose Mr Bridgman in 8 years is known by more Chinese than Dr. Morrison was in 27, and the Hospital has made Dr. Parker acquainted in 2 years with more than all other foreigners together in ten years; but the last acquaintance, of course is owing to the treatment of their diseases gratuitously. It is in this point of view that the hospital is & has done so much, and one among other reasons why it deserves to be supported. The residents at Canton have looked upon the success of the hospital with much hope as opening a prospect of placing foreign character upon a better footing, of showing the Chinese that foreigners are not exactly the devils they take them to be. A Medical Missionary Society has been formed the last month, having for its object medical practice by missionary physicians, of which Dr. Colledge is President, & Dr. Parker 1st Vice P. About \$9000, have been subscribed by the residents in China for this branch of benevolence within 30 months last past.”³⁰

Now back to Amoy, Abeel daily conversed with the Chinese patient, and distributed religious tracts, besides having a service on the Sabbath for all who chose to come.³¹

Hepburn was content with the situation in Amoy, he wrote in his journal “No year of my missionary life have I commenced with so much satisfaction as this. We have attained to what we have long desired--- to be settled amongst the people, where we might enjoy free and intimate intercourse with them, and have greater facilities for getting the language.”³²

IV. The Hepburn's Missionary Life in Amoy

Generally speaking, when a missionary settled down in his missionary field, he had to master the local dialect before he started preaching the Gospel to the local people.

Hepburn was no exception. He conscientiously learned the Amoy dialect. On January 13, 1844, he wrote “At present my attention is chiefly occupied with the language, besides daily attending to a few sick people”.³³ He was getting on well with his Chinese, “Every week, too, adds somewhat to my knowledge of the language; my ear becomes more accustomed to its sounds, and one has need of much patience to persevere in despite of all its difficulties”, he even commenced to “talk to the people about Jesus. It is, to be sure, with a stammering tongue--- but I am grateful that I have made a beginning, however feeble it may be. May His love ever animate my heart, and His name be on my lips!”³⁴

Hepburn and his friends made every effort to communicate with the local people and spread the Gospel. The dispensary was their main place to preach, Hepburn wrote: “It is seldom that any of these persons are suffered to leave without having the Gospel preached to them, as well as supplied with tracts. The patients who attend regularly hear it daily. Thus many persons who come from a distance in the interior, hear the Gospel, and carry our books to their homes.”³⁵

Sometimes, they also visited Amoy city and its vicinity, talking with the people they met and distributing the religious tracts. But the effect was not obvious, compared with hearing the truths of Bible, the people were more interested in getting the books

distributed by the missionaries. Hepburn once recorded his discouraged experience: "I have, since my return from Macao, made it my business to go out as often as I can, to talk to the people and distribute tracts. In these tours I meet with but little to interest one. Whenever I stop, a crowd soon collects, I tell them of the various truths of the Bible; they listen, assent to what I say, very seldom contradict, start objections, or ask questions, desirous of knowing more. They are very eager to get books, so that I have to conceal them in my pockets, or they would not rest until they had all." Hepburn comforted himself: "I go out day after day, casting my bread upon the waters, hoping that it shall be found after many days, seeing no fruit yet."³⁶

As one of the newly-opened port in China, Amoy was very inviting to the missionaries. When he visited different places to spread the Gospel, Hepburn also made use of the opportunities to observe what he met and were interested in: he visited a number of temples with Abeel and saw how they worshiped the idols; he went up to the hall where the annual public examination was held, he "saw the crowd, stir and excitement, put me in mind of an election-day at home"; he observed how the Chinese people celebrate the new year; he even paid a visit to the beggars' part of the city and know their life and regulations.

The missionaries observed their environments, while at the same time, the local people were curious about them. One day, Hepburn and another two missionaries took their wives out a walking in the city. They knew it was contrary to the Chinese notions of propriety and respectability for a female to be seen in the streets, but they still did because they were anxious to break through this "unreasonable and unpleasant restrictions". But the attempt was not successful, Hepburn wrote: "Every one that heard or saw us, as we passed along, threw down their work and flocked to the front of the shops and sides of the streets, to catch a glimpse; and a crowd followed us, but were not noisy"... Hepburn thought: "it will, however, be a long time before we can do it without always drawing a crowd after us. So great curiosity will not be soon satisfied."³⁷ All these observations and contacts made Hepburn know more closely about Chinese and the local society.

Besides doing the missionary and medical work for the common Chinese people, Hepburn, Abeel and Cumming also tried to deal with the mandarins of Amoy, even Fukien

Province, and it was beneficial to their daily life and missionary work.

In Hepburn's journal, he recorded their communication with Xu jiyu (徐继畲)³⁸, a high official of Fukien in detail. In 1844 January, Xu was appointed as the Commissioner of Fukien Province, who was in charge of the external affairs, and was sent to Amoy to determine where the residences of foreigners should be. Around January 17th, he met Captain Henry Gribble, first British consul to Amoy, and Abeel, who at times interpreted for Gribble.

On January 22nd, Hepburn, in accompany with Abeel and Cumming, called Xu. Hepburn described their first meeting: "He is a fine-looking man, of 45 or 50 years of age, of dignified and pleasing manners. We had not been seated long, before a table was set out, or rather brought in already prepared, with several different kinds of fruit, cakes, and sweetmeats, and tea. This, however, seems to my pretty much a matter of form. We all sat around the table, but eating was the smallest part of our employment. The gentleman of the house eats nothing himself, and it cannot be expected his visitors should. We drank some tea out of very small cups, scarcely holding as much as a wine-glass. The Chinese never use either sugar or milk in their tea. They differ from us, too, in putting the leaves into each cup, instead of a large pot, thus making the infusion in the cup."³⁹

Hepburn found the mandarin was curious to know about other countries⁴⁰. "He had already acquired some knowledge of the position and extent of most of the large kingdoms of the world, from a very imperfect outline map of the world he had in his possession, made by a missionary."⁴¹The visitors endeavored to add to his stock of knowledge, and promised to show him a map better defined and on a larger scale.

In the following several meetings, the missionaries talked with them (Abeel being the chief spokesman) on various subjects, such as railroads, and the geography of different countries.⁴² They also tried to spread the Gospel to him. Abeel once presented him with a copy of New-Testament, and several other Christian books. Hepburn found that " he had read the New-Testament with attention-at least a part of it. He asked many questions about Jesus and his disciples: whether Jesus was a disciple of John? Whether Judas was still numbered with the disciples after he betrayed his master? He also mentioned by name, Abraham, Paul, Peter, Stephen, making several inquiries about them, and evidently

showing that he had been somewhat interested. He also spoke of the Catholics, and inquired about the difference between them and us.”⁴³

Compared with religion, Xu jiyu was much more interested in the geography, history and politics of the foreign countries. Hepburn was greatly impressed with his desire to learn the knowledge mentioned above: “(Xu) has been making many inquiries about foreign countries. Mr Abeel has visited him several times at his request, and communicated to him a good deal of information on a variety of subjects, especially geography, politics, and religion. He is very inquisitive, and has himself made drawings of several maps taken from some Mr. Abeel lent him.”⁴⁴

To Hepburn’s mind, after the Opium War, some people from the better classes of China, represented by Xu jiyu, “are just now getting their eyes open to the fact, that there are other countries besides their own, greater and more powerful; they are compelled to be more sociable, and from keeping themselves aloof, to feel that they are part of the great family of man.”⁴⁵

V. Hepburn’s Medical and Gospel Work at Amoy

The first western-style hospital in Amoy was commenced by W.H.Cumming, about the middle of June 1842, not quite a year after the taking of Amoy by British army. He opened a dispensary on Gulangyu in the house of David Abeel, where it was continued about a year and a half, until the last of January, 1844.⁴⁶ Hepburn joined him in November, 1843. The dispensary soon became pretty well known, and people from neighbouring cities and villages came to it for relief from their maladies.

Gulangyu was not considered to be a suitable place for the missionary dispensary, as well as the other missionary operations, principally because it was too much out of the way, and occasionally difficult of access.⁴⁷ Furthermore, according to the article XII of the Treaty of Nanking, British army was to evacuate the island in 1845, and the foreigners there would lose protection. For the above reasons, the missionaries planed to move into Amoy city.

In January, 1844, they rented two houses in the city, and had some alterations and repairs made in them, so as to suit as a hospital. The first house was a two-story building, the lower story of it was used for religious services on the Sabbath; it held about 150 persons. It opened on the street, in a somewhat retired part of the city, and is every way well adapted for our purpose. This room also served as a place of assembly for the dispensary patients. They had a small room behind, where they kept their medicines, and where patients were admitted to be prescribed for. The second story was used mainly as a place of reception for visitors, as also for private -as a hospital for patients requiring special attention.⁴⁸

During the summer, Hepburn was elected as a member of the Medical Missionary Society. The Board was satisfied with the result because it relieved the Board from the expense of supporting the dispensary, of providing medicine, surgical instruments, and books, and from all expense incurred in conducting medical operations.⁴⁹

The patients in the dispensary were generally persons of the lower classes of society, consisting of petty tradesman, farmers, mechanics, coolies, and boatmen. Few of the middle or upper classes of society have applied to them for medical aid.⁵⁰ In fact, the dispensary was not open to every patients. Those which they considered incurable, or which could not be relieved without better attendance than the circumstances admitted of, they invariably rejected, as well also as many of those who lived at a distance, and who could not promise a regular attendance.

The Hospital patients had been few. They were those principally who had undergone a surgical operation, and who required doctors' more particular care and attention. For the patients' accommodation, the missionaries had rented a separate building near the Dispensary. The hospital rule was that the room and the cost be supplied by the medical missionaries, while the patients found their own attendance and food. Sometimes, if the patients were in deep poverty, or had no friends to assist, the missionaries also could make an exception to them.⁵¹

The following list includes the whole cases cured by Hepburn and Cumming in the dispensary from the 1st of February 1844, to 1st of July 1845.⁵²

Diseases Names	Number	Diseases Names	Number
Conjunctivitis	147	Aphonia	5
Palpebral Conjunctivitis	86	Cough, (Generally Bronchial)	175
Corneitis	101	Asthma	60
Blepharotis	68	Hemoptysis	1
Opacity of Cornea	38	Bronchitis	3
Opacity of Cornea with Granulation of Lids	9	Gastralgia Simple	100
Iritis	19	Gastralgia with Pyrosis	147
Trichiasis	15	Pyrosis Simple	38
Cataract	5	Indigestion	68
Synechia Anterior	3	Diarrhea	17
Pterygium	26	Dysentery	2
Entropium	5	Ascites	12
Amaurosis	4	Jaundice	9
Ulcer of Cornea	7	Phymosis Congenital	1
Vascular Cornea	3	Syphilis Primary	12
Fistula Lachrymalis	1	Syphilis Secondary and Tertiary	77
Granular Conjunctivitis	7	Blenorrhagia	14
Granularitions over Cornea	1	Orchitis	5
Gonorrheal Ophthalmia	1	Varicocele	1
Internal Ophthalmia with Softening	1	Hydrocele	5
Melanosis	1	Leuchorrhœa	2
Paralysis of Upper Lid	2	Miscellaneous affections of Genital Organs,	3
Miscellaneous affections of Eye	21	Polypus of Nose	2
Otorrhea	4	Meliceris	3
Otitis	1	Lipoma of Back	1
Angina Pectoris	6	Phlegmon	6
Lichen	3	Burn	3
Erysipelas	3	Fistula in Ano	1
Prurigo	3	Bubo	3
Scabies	112	Dislocation of Lower Jaw	1
Eczema	11	Sciatica	1
Herpes Zoster	1	Hip-joint Disease	1
Hepes Phlyctenodes	1	Onychia	1
Herpes	7	Miscellaneous Medical Cases	67
Ecthyma	3	Miscellaneous Surgical Cases	39

Psoriasis	4	Affections of the Eye	571
Impetigo Granulata	2	Affections of Organs of Respiration	244
Leprosy	5	Affections of Organs of Digestion	393
Miscellaneous affections of Skin	16	Affections of Organs of Generation	120
Enlarged Mamma in a Boy of 18 years old	1	Affections of Skin	175
Paronchia	6	Miscellaneous	359
Gangrene of Finger from Contusion	1		
Gunglion	6	Surgical Operations	
Rheumatism	76	Pterygium	18
Bruises	40	Entropium	3
Intermittent Fever	16	Trichiasis	11
Gun shot Wound	1	Hydrocele radically	4
Abscess Phlegmonous	26	Cataract	8
Abscess Scrofulous	4	Polypus of Nose	1
Ulcers	48	Meliceris	1
Anasarca	1	Lipoma of Back	1
Anthrax	1	Circumcision	1
Hemorrhoids	4	Amputation of Finger	1

According to Hepburn's report, we know that from the 1st of February 1844, to 1st of July 1845, there were totally 3784 cases who were cured by the two doctors, Hepburn and Cumming. Out of the whole number of cases recorded, there were not 150 cured, though a large majority of them were more or less relieved. Hepburn also listed some usual cases and analysed the causes of the diseases. For example:⁵³

1) The affections of the eye were much the most numerous, comprising nearly one-third of the whole number of cases treated by doctors. Hepburn thought the patients were mostly from that class of persons who were most liable, from their manner of life, to attacks of ophthalmia; that when once the disease was contracted, it never had the benefit of judicious medical treatment, and was seldom entirely cured; it consequently continued in a chronic state, or if it got better was continually liable to recur from slight causes.

2) About one in seven of the cases have been affections of the organs of respiration, most of them coughed, resulting from slight bronchial irritation; these have generally been cured or much benefited by the use of Tartar emetic or Ipecacuanha.

3) Derangement of the digestive organs was the most frequent, next to those of the Eye.

That form of it, generally known by the name of dyspepsia, is much the most common. Hepburn analysed the reason why it should be so common amongst the Chinese. He thought it was perhaps owing to their living so much on salted provisions, especially pickled vegetables and fish, as well as irregularity in eating, opium smoking, and immoderate use of tea. The method of treating these affections was simple and useful. It consisted in the use of Black Pepper 10 parts, Rhubarb 11 parts, 3 ounces to be made into 400 pills, two pills to be taken about an hour before each meal, the dose to be gradually increased.

Although the medical missionaries cured so many people, Hepburn still complained his discontentment: "But our dispensary is still by no means as useful, in a medical point of view, as it might be. This arises irregularity in the attendance of the patients. Many never returned after the first visit; and few continued to come until they were entirely cured." There was so much ignorance amongst the patients, and so much irregularity in their attendance, it could be expected that any valuable therapeutical or pathological observations should be made.⁵⁴ He summarized the reason "may be that they are disappointed in finding that speedy relief that they had ignorantly hoped for--for the vast majority of our patients have laboured under their complaints for years; and they have become so deeply seated that many are incurable, and others would only yield to a long, protracted treatment, and that conducted under the most favourable circumstances. many of our patients are also sea-faring men, whose business will not permit them to remain long enough to be cured; and nearly all depend on their daily labour for their bread,--living from hand to mouth. So soon then as they are able to resume their labours, they return no more."⁵⁵

The medical missionaries, such as Hepburn and Cumming, were not only the doctors but also the missionaries, therefore, the dispensary was by no means a charity organization, it was also the place to preach the gospel. The dispensary in Amoy was just a good example of this sort of dispensaries. Hepburn, Cumming and Abeel had done an excellent teamwork. While Dr. C. and Hepburn attended to the patients' bodily infirmities, Mr. Abeel preached the Gospel to them and distributed tracts.⁵⁶ He was in the daily habit of spending two or three hours in the reception-room in talking to those assembled on religious subjects, and

in distributing books to all that could read.⁵⁷ On Sabbath Morning, the regular religious service was usually held in their hospital, the lower story of which is fitted up as a place of worship. Rev. Abeel was fluent in Amoy dialect, so he conducted the worship, and preached. Sometimes, as the supplement to Sabbath, the prayer-meetings were held at the hospital in order to give the persons who attended on Sabbath regularly an opportunity of knowing more of the Bible.⁵⁸

From 1838 to 1850, there were 11 doctors⁵⁹ sent to China and supported by Chinese Medical Missionary Society and Cumming, an independent medical missionary. They opened the dispensaries differently in Canton, Macao, Hongkong, Zhoushan, Amoy, Fuzhou, Ningbo, Shanghai. These medical missionary activities, to some degree, changed Chinese defiance and indifference to the western people. Someone once commented: "The feelings of prejudice and dislike, which this conduct on the part of their rulers has generated in the minds of the people, have been partly overcome by the labors of the medical officers of the Society, and we may confidently hope, that ere long, by the blessing of God, they will disappear before the healing truths of Christianity, and the disinterested labors of its propagators."⁶⁰ We also have to admit that the medical and health services supplied by the medical missionaries such as Hepburn really brought the actual benefit to the patients, especially those from the lower classes of the society and meanwhile, paved the way for spread of the Gospel.

VI. Return to New York

After the Hepburns reached Amoy, Rev. John Lloyd and Rev. Hugh A. Brown were sent to join them, their arrival date were December 5, 1844 and May 6, 1845.

The missionaries were usually unable to adapt to the hot weather in Amoy. Sometimes, they were even compelled to move to a colder place to spend the summer. We remember that S. Wells Williams used to invite, to his summer resort near Beijing, such old missionary friends as Henry Blodget and Miss Douw. In July 1844, a severe fever broke out at Gulangyu, from which few of the foreign residents escaped. Dr. Hepburn and his wife

were among the first to be affected, but their attack was light, and soon yielded to the proper remedies. In August and September, the fever increased, when Mrs. Hepburn, who was suffering much from debility, made a voyage to Macao, and Dr. Hepburn, with the other missionaries, took up their residence in Amoy.⁶¹

To understand how precarious and risky the life of missionaries in general, we may perhaps like to listen to the voice of Walter Lowrie, one of the American pioneers in the field of the missionary efforts in China, who himself was killed on board a ship by a pirate.

“... scarcely a single one has escaped without some personal affliction, either of sickness or accident, or some deeply painful bereavement. Mrs. Boone died at Ku-lang-su, Augus 30th, 1842, and her husband has since been obliged to return to the United States, partly on account of his own impaired health, and partly for the sake of his motherless children. Mrs. Dean died in Hong Kong, in March, 1843.

“Dr. Hepburn, Dr. Hobson, and Mr. Stronach, have each lost a son within the year. Dr. Lockhart has been called to mourn the death of an only child in the same time.

“Mr. Medhurst, Mr. Milne, and myself, have either been shipwrecked or most narrowly escaped it. Mr. Brown’s house in Hong Kong was attacked and plundered by a gang of robbers in the night.

“Mr. McBryde has been obliged to return to the United States, from failure of health. But a day or two since, Mr. Dyer, who had spent seventeen years in laboring for the Chinese, was removed by death, when absent from his family ; and almost every other missionary here has had attacks of sickness more or less severe.

“We have all met with a severe loss in the death of the Hon. John R. Morrison, who died on the 29th of last August. He was the eldest son of the late Dr. Morrison, the first Protestant missionary to China. There was bitter mourning here when he died, for probably no foreigner in China was so popular with all classes as he. His acquaintance with the language and manners of the Chinese, his mental abilities, and his business habits, rendered his services invaluable to the English government, and his death at this period, has been well called ‘a national loss.’ His kindness and urbanity of manners, and his readiness to oblige made him a favorite with all who knew him; and his ardent piety, his influence, and his sincere desires to assist the missionaries in their labors, make us all feel that we have lost our best human friend in China. I shall not soon forget the deep feeling with which he once said to me, “ I wish you would call on me whenever you think I can be of service to you. I cannot be a missionary myself, but I wish to make it my first object to assist those who are, and to further the cause of Christ in China.”⁶²

In 1845, as the warm season advanced, Mrs. Hepburn’s health began to fail, and it soon became evident that to preserve her life a change of place was necessary. Their wish was to go direct to Chusan (舟山); but no vessel sailing up the coast could be found. They

were forced therefore, on the 26th of June, to embark for Macao again. A vessel sailing down the coast to the south was found hard to obtain on account of being in the busy season. In the mean time Mrs. Hepburn's health had so much declined that the Hepburns decided to return home. They came back to New York on the 14th of March, 1846⁶³.

Notes

- 1 William Elliot Griffis, *Hepburn of Japan and His Wife and Helpmates*, Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1913.
- 2 Ibid., p. 11.
- 3 Ibid., p. 12.
- 4 Ibid., p. 14.
- 5 Ibid., p. 15.
- 6 Ibid., p. 21.
- 7 Ibid., p. 23.
- 8 Ibid., p. 25. See also the annual report of B.F.M.P.C. Rev. Robert W. Orr of B.F.M.P.C. once visited Siam and presented a report to the Board in 1830s. After receiving his report, it was decided to have one station of the mission to the Chinese at Singapore, and another in Siam.
- 9 Griffis, *ibid.* p. 26.
- 10 John A. Mitchell experienced a short missionary career. He arrived at Singapore in April 1838 and died half a year later. See Wylie, Alexander, *Memorials of Protestant Missionaries to the Chinese*, Ch'eng-Wen Publicing Company, Taipei, 1967, p. 107.
- 11 Robert W. Orr arrived at Singapore on April 5th, 1838, in company with Mr. and Mrs. Mitchell. He visited Malacca, Penang and Province Wellesly, and afterwards went to Siam, where he arrived October 25th, 1838, to find a better place for the Presbyterian China mission. In 1840 he returned to America due to poor health. See Alexander Wylie, *ibid.*, p. 107.
- 12 Griffis, *ibid.*, p. 49.
- 13 Mr. Orr left Singapore in March 1841 because of declining health; Mr McBryde and his wife reached Singapore in July 1840, and commenced their missionary work there. Early in December 1841, he went to Macao on account of his health; but left for Hongkong on June 1st 1842, and thence removed to Gulangyu, where he arrived with Mrs. McBryde and infant child on the 7th of June. See Alexander Wylie, *ibid.*, p. 128.

- 14 Griffis, *ibid.*, p. 50.
- 15 *Ibid.*, p. 52.
- 16 Walter Macon Lowrie was born in Pennsylvania in 1819, graduated from the Theological Seminary at Princeton and became a missionary to China in 1841. He arrived at Macao on May 28th, 1842, and moved to Ningpo in 1845. On his way back to Ningpo from Shanghai in 1847, he was attacked by a pirate ship to die. His father, Walter Lowrie was the first corresponding secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions of Presbyterian Church of the United States. See: Walter Lowrie ed. *Memoirs of the Rev. Walter M. Lowrie*, published by Robert Carter and Brothers, Philadelphia, 1850. See also Alexander Wylie, *ibid.*, pp. 129-32.
- 17 The Fifth Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, 1842, p. 12.
- 18 Lowrie, *ibid.*, p. 131.
- 19 Lowrie, *ibid.*, p. 134.
- 20 The Sixth Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, 1843, p. 17.
- 21 Griffis, *ibid.*, p. 55.
- 22 The Williams Family Papers, Yale University Library, Manuscripts and Archive. SWW to Daughter Sophia, Oct. 26, 1872.
- 23 Yale, *ibid.*, SWW to Brother Frederick: 1843/ 11/ 20; Macao.
- 24 Lowrie, *ibid.*, p. 242.
- 25 *Ibid.*, p. 243.
- 26 The Seventh Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, 1844, p. 29.
- 27 Gulangyu (Koo-Lang-seu 鼓浪屿) was a small island just opposite to Amoy. It was captured by English troops during the Opium War, and according to the Sino-British Treaty of Nanjing, “the Islands of Koolangsoo and that of Chusan will continue to be held by Her Majesty’s Forces until the money payments, and the arrangements for opening the Ports to British Merchants be completed.” The island was evacuated by the British troops and restored to the Chinese on March 22nd, 1845.
- 28 Alexander Wylie, *Memorials of Protestant Missionaries to the Chinese*, Shanghai, 1867, repr. in Taipei, p. 129.
- 29 William Lockhart: *The Medical Missionary in China: a Narrative of Twenty Years’ Experience*, Hurst and Blacket, London, 1861, p. 124.
- 30 Yale, *ibid.*, SWW to Father: 1838/ 03/ 15; Canton. See also “Medical Missionary Society,” Chapter 3 of Parker’s biography: *The Life, Letters and Journals of Rev. Hon. Peter Parker*,

Missionary, Physician and Diplomat, The Father of Medical Missions and Founder of Ophthalmic Hospital in Canton, written by George Stevens, published by Congregational Sunday-School and Publishing Society, Boston, 1896.

- 31 Lowrie, *ibid.*, p. 209.
- 32 *The Foreign Missionary Chronicle*, Journal of Dr. J.C.Hepburn, p. 279, 1844 May, New York: Mission House.
- 33 *Ibid*
- 34 *The Foreign Missionary Chronicle*, Journal of Dr. J.C. Hepburn, p. 281, 1844 May, New York: Mission House.
- 35 *The Foreign Missionary Chronicle*, Journal of Dr. J.C.Hepburn, p. 280, 1844 May, New York: Mission House.
- 36 *The Foreign Missionary Chronicle*, Journal of Dr. J.C.Hepburn, p. 266, 1845 August, New York: Mission House.
- 37 *The Foreign Missionary Chronicle*, Journal of Dr. J.C.Hepburn, p. 13, 1845 January, New York: Mission House.
- 38 Xu jiyu was the writer of the ten-volume book *Ying-huan chih-luch* 瀛环志略 (A short account of the maritime circuit, 1848). S. Wells Williams once introduced the content of the book and its meaning in 25 pages in *Chinese Repository*, and praised highly the work was a “step taken in the right direction”. At that time, the book was indeed the best one written by Chinese to introduce the geography, history, economy and culture of eighty countries and regions in the world, and Xu was the first Chinese scholar who acknowledged George Washington as a universal hero and proclaimed the merits of the American system. American missionaries in Ningpo read the book and were impressed that Washington’s role had been recognized and appreciated by an eminent Chinese scholar-official, so when the Washington Monument was being constructed, they and Chinese officials excerpted the most important passages on Washington and has them carved onto Fukien granite for placement in the Monument, where they are now found on the west wall at the 220 foot level. *Chinese Repository*, vol. 20, p. 169. See also Fred W. Darke, *A Mid-Nineteenth-Century Discovery of the Non-Chinese World*, *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (1972), pp. 205-24. Also; *The New York Times*, 17#5151 (March 29, 1868) 4: 10.
- 39 *The Foreign Missionary Chronicle*, Journal of Dr. J.C.Hepburn, p. 281, 1844 May, New York: Mission House.
- 40 Mr. Abeel had the same feeling with Hepburn “he is the most inquisitive Chinese of a high rank I have yet met.” See *Chinese Repository*, vol. 20, p. 169.
- 41 *Ibid.*, *ssionary Chronicle*, Journal of Dr. J.C.Hepburn, p. 281, 1844 May, New York: Mission House.
- 42 *Ibid*

- 43 *The Foreign Missionary Chronicle*, Journal of Dr. J.C.Hepburn, p. 371, 1844 November, New York: Mission House.
- 44 *Ibid.*, p. 372.
- 45 *The Foreign Missionary Chronicle*, Journal of Dr. J.C.Hepburn, p. 373, 1844 November, New York: Mission House.
- 46 J.C.Hepburn, Report of the Dispensary at Amoy, from the 1st of February 1844, to 1st of July 1845, *Chinese Repository*, Vol. 15, p. 181.
- 47 J.C.Hepburn, Report of the Dispensary at Amoy, from the 1st of February 1844, to 1st of July 1845, *Chinese Repository*, Vol. 15, p. 181. Compared with Gulangyu, Hepburn considered Amoy was a much more desirable place for dispensary, he wrote: "Since the opening of our dispensary at Amoy, our medical operations have been much more extensive and useful than they were when confined to this island-where there were so many inconveniences often to be met in getting to it, as high winds, rain, and the sentries at the landing." See *The Foreign Missionary Chronicle*, Journal of Dr. J.C.Hepburn, p. 13, 1845 January, New York: Mission House.
- 48 *The Foreign Missionary Chronicle*, Journal of Dr. J.C.Hepburn, p. 280, 1844 May, New York: Mission House.
- 49 The Seventh Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, 1844, p. 29.
- 50 J.C.Hepburn, Report of the Dispensary at Amoy, from the 1st of February 1844, to 1st of July 1845, *Chinese Repository*, Vol. 15, p. 181.
- 51 J.C.Hepburn, Report of the Dispensary at Amoy, from the 1st of February 1844, to 1st of July 1845, *Chinese Repository*, Vol. 15, p. 182.
- 52 J.C.Hepburn, Report of the Dispensary at Amoy, from the 1st of February 1844, to 1st of July 1845, *Chinese Repository*, Vol. 15, pp. 181-182
- 53 J.C.Hepburn, Report of the Dispensary at Amoy, from the 1st of February 1844, to 1st of July 1845, *Chinese Repository*, Vol. 15, p. 182.
- 54 *Ibid*
- 55 *The Foreign Missionary Chronicle*, Journal of Dr. J.C.Hepburn, p. 13, 1845 January, New York: Mission House.
- 56 *The Foreign Missionary Chronicle*, Journal of Dr. J.C.Hepburn, p. 280, 1844 May, New York: Mission House.
- 57 *The Foreign Missionary Chronicle*, Journal of Dr. J.C.Hepburn, p. 13, 1845 January, New York: Mission House.
- 58 Dr Hepburn explained the reason:"On Sabbath there are so many strangers generally present, that much time is taken up in repeating the old truths over and over again." *The Foreign*

Missionary Chronicle, Journal of Dr. J.C.Hepburn, p. 13, 1845 January, New York: Mission House.

- 59 These 11 doctors were Peter Parker, William Lockhart, William B. Diver, Benjamin Hobson, James C. Hepburn, Daniel J. MacGowan, Divie B. McCartee, T. T. Dean, Andrew P. Happer, Henry Hirschberg, W. Welton. According to Alexander Wylie, *Memorials of Protestant Missionaries to the Chinese*, Shanghai, 1867, repr. in Taipei.
- 60 *Chinese Repository*, vol. 12, p. 190.
- 61 The Eighth Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, 1845, p. 22.
- 62 Lowrie, *ibid.*, pp. 242~3.
- 63 The Ninth Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, 1846, p. 28.