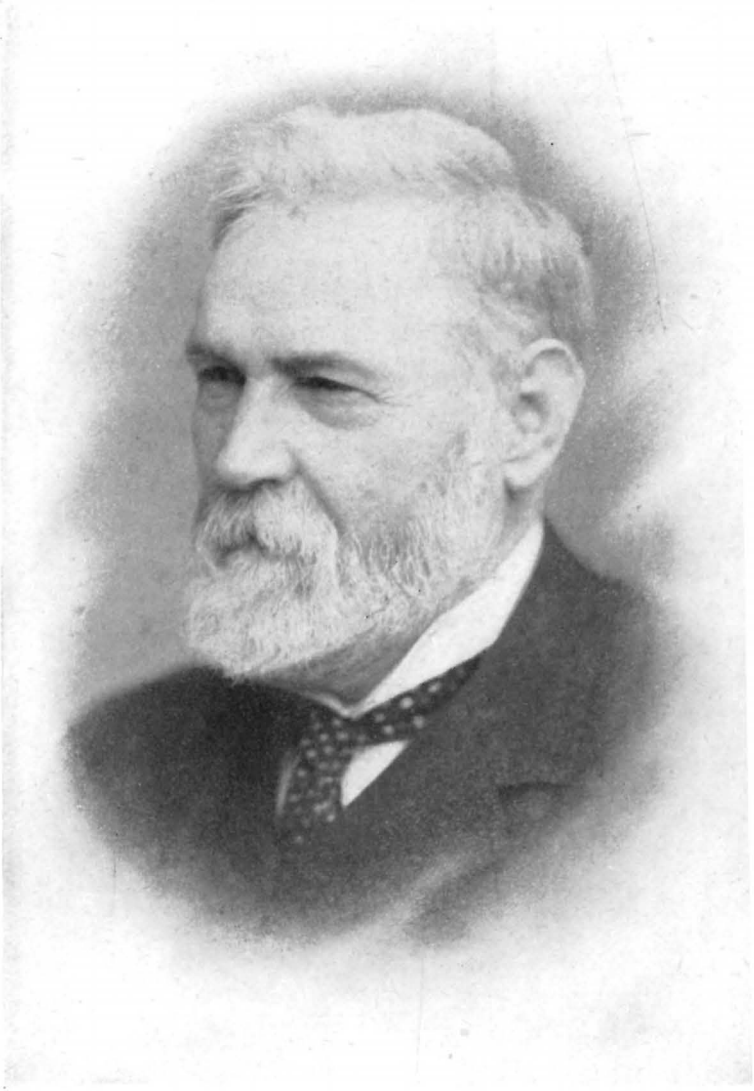
TIMOTHY RICHARD



TIMOTHY RICHARD

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A Narrative of
Christian Enterprise and Statesmanship
in China

BY
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TO

R. D. P. E.

IN GRATEFUL RECOGNITION

OF HER

SUSTAINED AND SUSTAINING

MISSIONARY ZEAL

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ILLUSTRATIONS

PREFACE

IT has been a great privilege to write this book, at the request of the Baptist Missionary Society, but I honestly wish I were more competent to deal with its great subject. I have never been to China, nor did I at any time meet Timothy Richard. I have tried, however, to equip myself by the reading of relevant literature, and I gratefully acknowledge special obligations to Richard's own *Forty-five Years in China* (T. Fisher Unwin), Professor W. E. Soothill's *Timothy Richard of China* (Seeley, Service & Co.), and Professor K. S. Latourette's *A History of Christian Missions in China* (S.P.C.K.). In addition, I have found new material in a considerable dossier of articles and cuttings put at my disposal by the Baptist Missionary Society, whose officers have been uniformly considerate and helpful.

I pray that the blessing of God may be upon this story and study, written in furtherance of our Society's thankful celebrations of the centenary of the birth of an outstanding servant of His redemptive will in Jesus Christ our Lord.

E. W. PRICE EVANS

Pontypool, March, 1945.

CHAPTER I

EARLY YEARS IN WALES

In the spring of 1869 a young Welshman, a student of Haverfordwest Baptist College, appeared before the Candidate Committee of the Baptist Missionary Society. There was something very attractive in his upstanding figure and firm yet friendly features, and the favourable impression thus created was confirmed into a conviction of his missionary vocation by the statement of his preference for North China and his determination to go thither even if he were not accepted by the Committee. On being asked why he wished to go to China, he replied that the Chinese were the most civilised of non-Christian nations and, when converted, they would therefore help to carry the Gospel to less advanced nations; and that Europeans could stand the climate of the north temperate zone, whereas the people of North China, after becoming Christians, could be left to convert their fellow-countrymen all over the Empire.

Such insight, such balance of judgment and such determination could not be denied. The Committee had no option but to accept so convincing an application and to further, in every possible way, a candidature of such self-authenticating credentials. The young man's name was Timothy Richard, and his subsequent career in China more than justified the high hopes which were prompted by that interview. Professor K. S. Latourette, in his monumental *History of Christian Missions in China*, does

not hesitate to describe him as "one of the greatest missionaries whom any branch of the Church, whether Roman Catholic, Russian Orthodox or Protestant, has ever sent to China."

Timothy Richard was born at Ffaldybrenin, Carmarthenshire, on October 10th, 1845, the youngest child of Timothy and Eleanor Richard. Ffaldybrenin (i.e. The King's Fold) is a small village situated a few miles distant from three places of greater interest and importance; Pumpsaint (i.e. Five Saints); Caio, which a fifteenth century Welsh poet described as "a paradise containing everything necessary to man"; and Lampeter, the assize town of Cardiganshire, but better known as the seat of St. David's College, a degree-conferring institution of quasi-university standing, founded by Bishop Burgess in 1822 mainly for the ministry of the Welsh Church. The district between Pumpsaint and Caio has some famous gold-mines, which have been worked intermittently from Roman times.

Richard was blessed in his ancestry. For generations his forebears were blacksmiths and (or) farmers—men and women of piety, industry, and clean and kindly living, possessed of a modest sufficiency rather than an abundance of this world's goods. It is the sort of ancestry that is behind many men who have achieved eminence in the service of the Kingdom of God. His parents, we learn, were themselves the youngest children of their respective families, and so he never saw his grandparents. His father was a deacon and the secretary of Bethel and Salem Baptist Churches, Caio. A versatile man, he was fond of company and capable of such good talk that the brilliant Dr. Rowland Williams found it pleasant and profitable to ride over from Lampeter to see him. Rowland Williams was Vice-Principal and Professor of Hebrew at St. David's College from 1849 to 1862. A Cambridge

TANYRESGAIR FARM, FFALDYBRENIN

CAIO BAPTIST CHAPEL

scholar and author of distinction, he is now chiefly remembered for the controversy which was aroused by his contribution (on Bunsen's *Biblical Researches*) to the once-famous volume *Essays and Reviews*. Eleanor Richard, his mother, was a woman of grace and charm and practical ability. The daughter of a farmer, who was also a deacon of the historic Baptist Church of Aberduar, Llanybyther, she was brought up in a religious home and in a warmly evangelical church. It was at Aberduar that the celebrated preacher, Christmas Evans, became a Baptist, joining the church in 1788 after baptism by its well-known minister, Timothy Thomas, who was the nephew of the better-known Welsh Baptist historian, Joshua Thomas of Leominster. If it happened that anyone did Eleanor Richard an ill turn, by word or deed, her unvarying reply seems to have been : " Well, it is worse for them than for me."

Timothy Richard was still a child when the family removed to the nearby farm of Tanyresgair, and it was there that he grew up into youth and early manhood. He had the inestimable benefits of a Christian home, with the further specific advantage of membership of a large and varied family circle. The intercourse of parents and children, and of the children with each other, under the acknowledged headship of the Lord Jesus Christ, made their family life both a wholesome social discipline and a joyous individual liberation and enrichment. Not the least of its beneficiaries was its youngest member.

Education, in the strictly formal sense, was, in general, far more difficult to secure then than now, especially in rural areas. There was no national and compulsory system of elementary education until the passing of Mr. W. E. Forster's Education Act of 1870, and the only schools previously available were relatively few in number,

of varying quality, and more or less privately or denominationally owned and controlled. On the whole, they did excellent service, but they touched only a percentage of the people. In addition, there were the Sunday Schools of the different churches. In Wales, at all events, they attracted and "educated" the bulk of the population from childhood to old age. The country owes them an immeasurable debt—a debt which generations of men and women, many of them of outstanding ability and eminence, have gratefully acknowledged. They have been centres of real intellectual stimulus as well as of spiritual enlightenment and instruction. Literary and choral societies, too, encouraged by the churches and meeting on their premises, have made their valuable contributions.

Timothy Richard's first school was a small elementary day school, connected with the Congregational Church, built in a field of Tanyresgair farm, and he remained there until he was fourteen years of age. The curriculum was, presumably, of the usual kind, but we can be sure that his eager quest for knowledge made him an apt and industrious scholar. He seems to have spent the following year on the farm, but his longing for further education was ineradicable, and it was encouraged by his mother and his brother. At length the father relinquished his desire that the boy should become a farmer, and he agreed to send him for a year to a school kept by a cousin at a place called Cross Inn, about twenty miles away, Timothy, on his side, promising that he would expect no further support. So he went to his second school. We have no information about his life there, beyond the little that he has told us: "Besides the usual lessons, I was given extra studies with the pupil teachers, and I also learned music in the Tonic-Solfa notation." One wonders whether, and what, "play" diversified the

rigours of his daily studies. That he did well at this school is evident from the fact that at the end of the year he was given a teacher's appointment at the mining village of Penygroes. There he had the double duty of teaching children in the day-school and miners (some of them old enough to be his father) at the night-school. It was an arduous post for a boy of sixteen, but it gave him an invaluable experience. He assimilated more thoroughly his previously acquired knowledge, and he was initiated into the technique of teaching and class discipline. He also saved enough money to pay for some more schooling, this time at the Grammar School of Llanybyther. From there he went to New Inn as temporary schoolmaster, and then he was able to support himself during a short course of training at the Normal College in Swansea. After leaving Swansea, he spent the following winter at home, to allow his brother Joshua to go to school. "I was familiar with all kinds of farm work," he wrote, "from ploughing and mowing down to digging trenches, trimming hedges, and thatching haystacks," and so he generously took his brother's place on the farm.

When eighteen years of age he was elected (out of sixty applicants) master of an endowed school at Conwil Elvet. His appointment, however, had offended local prejudices, and many parents withdrew their children from the school, with the result that he began his work with only twenty-one scholars. But Richard was not discouraged. He threw himself with characteristic energy and thoroughness into the service of the school, and it so prospered that, eighteen months later, he had no fewer than one hundred and twenty scholars on the register, and three small neighbouring schools had to close from lack of support.

One story, illustrative of his method of dealing with

a "bad boy" is worth telling, and it is better told in his own words:

"At this time I had to deal with a boy of about twelve years of age who had been a constant torment to my predecessor. The only child of his parents, he had been badly spoilt, and was always quarrelling with the other children. The more he was punished, the worse he became. One day I determined to try a new method of dealing with him. I told him to remain behind after school was dismissed in the afternoon. His first look at me was one of defiance, as if to show that he did not care how much I punished him. I began the interview by asking him why he was so often quarrelling with the other boys. He replied that it was because they were all unkind to him.

"'Is there not one in the school that is good to you?' I asked.

"'Yes, there is one boy who is friendly to everybody. He is always kind to me,' replied the boy.

"'I am glad to hear that,' I said, 'for I believe that if you make up your mind to be good to everyone in the school, no matter what is done to you, you will find everyone friendly with you, just as they are with that other boy. Now I want you to promise that you will try this experiment for a week. Do not tell anyone of it, and I will not tell anyone. It will be a secret between you and me and God. Will you promise for a week to try and be friendly with all of them?'

"I saw the boy's face soften, and he said he would try. 'Very well,' I added, 'we will say no more about it for a week, and then you can come and report to me how the plan has worked.'

"From that time the boy's character seemed to have completely changed. He became one of the most cheerful and lovable boys in the school, and if ever

I wished a boy to go on a message, his hand would always be the first put up to volunteer."

While at Conwil Elvet, Richard was at pains to impart religious instruction to his pupils. Especially notable was his Bible Class for the senior form, which he held one evening a week, and in which he dealt with the life of the Apostle Paul. His lessons were so enjoyed that he was asked to give them every evening! And they were so blessed of God that, within a year after he had left, every member of the class had become a church member.

Here it is apposite to consider " what manner of man " he was religiously. The child of godly parents, nurtured in a home of piety, and accustomed to a regular attendance at church and Sunday School, " religion " was natural as well as sacred and meaningful to him. But it was during the great religious revival of 1858–1860, " which swept almost like a prairie fire " through several countries of Protestant Christendom, that he heard and responded to the call of the Lord Jesus Christ to personal surrender. In Wales the movement began, towards the end of the year 1858, near Aberystwyth, and ere long its power was felt throughout the country and by all evangelical denominations. In Wales alone from eighty to one hundred thousand members are thought to have been admitted into church fellowship during the period between December, 1858, and March, 1860, and the number of the lapsed was remarkably small. Timothy Richard's self-dedication to Christ was full and unreserved. To Him, then and thereafter, he gave his all—heart, mind and strength. Christ and His glorious service became the grand, satisfying passion of his life. He was baptized in the river near to his home on April 10th, 1859, by John Davies, minister of the Caio churches. Fifty-one others were baptized at the same service.

Because the river was in flood, and he was so young, he was baptized first.

Timothy Richard was always a convinced and loyal Baptist. He regarded the New Testament teaching on baptism as sufficiently explicit. Its proper subjects are Christian believers, and its fitting mode is immersion. Nevertheless he soon came to believe that differences in the interpretation of this distinguishing rite should be no barrier to the intercommunion of those who acknowledge an unequivocal allegiance to the one Saviour and Lord.

He was still a boy when the idea of missionary service first entered his mind. Not long after his baptism he heard a sermon based on 1 Samuel xv. 22: "Behold, to obey is better than sacrifice." The sermon was "not particularly missionary in character," but "on my way home from Salem Chapel, I told my brother Joshua, who was four years my senior, how during the whole sermon I had felt as if a voice had been commanding me to go abroad as a missionary. He wondered at it, for no such idea had been conveyed to his mind." We, too, may wonder how it was that such an idea came to Richard, but God fulfils Himself in many ways and we can but watch and wait and rejoice. Like his hero, St. Paul, Timothy Richard "was not disobedient to the heavenly vision." The idea of missionary service, once conceived, was cherished and became a fixed purpose. His subsequent activities furthered the rich fulfilment of his divinely-disclosed destiny.

It was in 1865 that he preached his first sermon, and in that year also he entered Haverfordwest Baptist College as a theological student. At that time the Baptists of Wales had three theological colleges: Pontypool and Haverfordwest in South Wales, and Llangollen in North Wales. The Pontypool College (into which Haverford-

west had been merged) was removed to Cardiff in 1893, and the Llangollen College was transferred to Bangor in 1892. Haverfordwest itself is an historic old town, dominated by its impressive castle, in ruins since it was " slighted " after the Civil War, when it was successfully besieged by the forces of Parliament. It is the county town of Pembrokeshire and, by a charter dating from the reign of James I, a county in its own right. Its Scandinavian name may be a legacy of Danish raiders or settlers, and its speech and sympathies are certainly more English than Welsh. Anglican influence has always been strong in the town, and, of its three old parish churches, that of St. Mary, in the High Street, is one of the finest in Wales. But Nonconformity has also flourished there, and we can be thankful for the vigorous witness of our two Baptist churches—Bethesda (founded in 1769) and Hill Park (founded in 1857). For many years Bethesda was probably the most influential Baptist church in Pembrokeshire, and the first two presidents of the college were also its ministers, David Davies and Dr. Thomas Davies. Richard regarded the latter as " one of the ablest theologians in Wales." In addition to the President, the college had a " classical tutor " and, during the last three years of Richard's studentship, this post was filled by the brilliant Dr. G. H. Rouse, a gold medallist of London University, whose missionary service in India was suspended by a breakdown in health. Richard and he became fast friends. " The friendship I formed with him when at college," wrote Richard, " continued after my departure to China and lasted after his return to mission work in India and throughout the remainder of his life. One of the pamphlets he prepared for use among Indian students, ' How to Pass the Great Examination,' was translated into Chinese by my wife, and distributed at the Triennial examinations in T'ai-yuan

fu." Rouse was probably the most stimulating personal influence of Richard's student days.

His fellow-students regarded him as "a thinker rather than a talker," and one of them, Dr. J. Gomer Lewis, of Swansea, bore this testimony to their sense of his quality:—"During the whole of his student-life at Haverfordwest, Timothy Richard gained the reputation of being fully consecrated to the Master's service, and of one who was destined to be a leader in the Church." And when Thomas Lewis, of Congo fame, entered the college in 1880 he found that "Timothy Richard . . . had left behind him a glorious tradition in the life of the place."

Richard proved himself a good student, as we should expect from his earlier assiduity in education, but he became critical of the curriculum and helped to change it in some of its details. "The students joined together to beg that living languages should be substituted for the dead ones of Greece and Rome, and that universal history, covering such lands as Egypt, Babylon, India and China, should be studied instead of solely European history; they regarded science with its modern applications as more useful than barren metaphysical and theological studies. I joined most heartily in the demand for reform in the curriculum, and was prepared, along with others, to be expelled from the college rather than submit to a course of antiquated studies two hundred years behind the times." More could be said in support of the curriculum than they realized, but their contention was not without cogency and the committee agreed to some alterations. Hebrew, however, was retained as essential, and in this subject Richard won a prize.

In 1868, towards the end of his college course, he heard an address which directed his missionary thoughts to China. The speaker was Mrs. Grattan Guinness, of London, and she so pleaded the cause of the China

Inland Mission, founded by J. Hudson Taylor as recently as 1866, that his heart was stirred. China as a sphere of missionary service appealed to his imagination and judgment, and the principles of the Mission, as enunciated by Hudson Taylor and as advocated by Mrs. Grattan Guinness, evoked his spirit of heroism and self-sacrifice. He offered to join them but, as he was a Baptist, they recommended him to apply to the Baptist Missionary Society. He acted on their advice and sent in his application in the spring of 1869. He was interviewed and was accepted for missionary service in North China. He had received two invitations to home pastorates, one in Pembrokeshire and another in Glamorganshire, but God had called him to China, and to China he went. The way thither was now open, and he was ready.

The following months, given up to preparations and farewells, passed quickly. He was ordained in November, and on the 17th of that month he set sail from Liverpool in the s.s *Achilles*, of the Blue Funnel (Holt's) Line. His father accompanied him to Liverpool, but he insisted on seeing him safely in the train back to South Wales before the steamer sailed, lest he should be embarrassed in a strange city. That was characteristic of Timothy Richard. Characteristic, too, was his generous loan of money (out of his own slender means) to two needy fellow-travellers who appealed for help. In both cases the money was refunded as promised, but the Post Office refused to cash the money order of one of them because he had forgotten to take the name of the sender.

The Suez Canal, seventy miles long, that fine feat of modern engineering, which halved the distance to the Far East by connecting the Mediterranean with the Red Sea, was opened on the very day that he sailed from Liverpool, but it was not then deep enough for vessels

of the tonnage of the *Achilles* and they had to take the traditional route round the Cape of Good Hope. We have no record of his impressions either of his fellow-passengers or of the variegated scenes that he witnessed as he made this, his first, journey to the Far East. Eager as he was to reach China, he would be friendly towards men and appreciative of the wonders of God on sea and land; everywhere he was on his Master's business, and always he was learning how to do it more efficiently and effectively. At Hong Kong the Rev. George Moule, afterwards Bishop of West China, went on board. He was returning from his first furlough in England, and they travelled together as far as Shanghai. By his advice Richard set to work on the 214 Radicals, which are the indispensable key or index to "the hieroglyphic puzzles that constitute the written Chinese language," and which all must learn who wish to read Chinese literature, and so well did he apply himself that he passed Mr. Moule's examination before they arrived at Shanghai. It was a notable achievement—"probably the first and only time that the Radicals have been learnt between Hong Kong and Shanghai."

CHAPTER II

EARLY YEARS IN CHINA

REACHING Shanghai on February 12th, 1870, Richard spent most of the next fortnight in the hospitable home of the Rev. James Thomas, minister of Union Church and afterwards one of the London secretaries of the British and Foreign Bible Society. Then, on February 24th, he sailed for the seaport city of Chefoo, Shantung, where he was to be stationed, and he arrived there on

February 27th, warmly welcomed by his future colleague, the Rev. R. F. Laughton. At last he was settled in the land of his heart's desire, the land of which he had long dreamed and for whose highest interests he was to labour with such devotion and distinction for nearly half a century.

It was in 1859 that the Baptist Missionary Society first decided to send missionaries to China. Dr. C. J. Hall and the Rev. H. Z. Kloekers, who were chosen for the new venture, had been there before and were possessed of a working knowledge of the language. They made Chefoo in Shantung (sacred to the memory of Confucius and Mencius) their centre, in 1860, but within a year Hall was dead from the cholera he contracted while attending to cholera patients, and ill-health soon compelled Kloekers to return to England.

Disease was their most dreadful foe. Three other missionaries, Messrs. Laughton, McMechan and Kingdon, arrived in 1863, but illness compelled the withdrawal of two of them and only the first named was there to welcome Timothy Richard in 1870, and four months later he died of typhus fever. What a position for a young missionary! To be left alone in sole charge of a mission station set in a great city of a strange, unfriendly land, whose people he hardly knew and whose language he was only beginning to learn! And the position was temporarily worsened by the prevalent fear that the anti-foreign excitement, kindled by the Tientsin massacre of 1870, might extend to Chefoo. It was a heavy responsibility, and a heart-searching test of his quality as a man and as a Christian missionary.

His courage matched the challenge. "After my colleague's death I set to work with greater energy than before on the language, so as to acquire it as soon as possible, for all the responsibility of the Baptist Mission

work rested on me, its sole representative. Left entirely alone, my various experiences formed my only guide, and from them I learned what courses to follow and what mistakes to avoid in the future." He was also encouraged by the arrival in December of Dr. William Brown, an Edinburgh graduate who proved to be an able and devoted medical missionary. They worked happily together in mutual confidence, but in 1874 Dr. Brown resigned and went to New Zealand, and once again Richard was left as the Society's only representative in the vast field of China. Nevertheless, he was not without Christian companionship. Fortunately for him, there were some missionaries of other Societies stationed at Chefoo, several of whom were men of outstanding ability, and with them he had fortifying and enriching fellowship. They included Dr. Alexander Williamson, of the National Bible Society of Scotland, "a gigantic man physically, intellectually and spiritually," who towards the end of his strenuous life founded the Society which became the Christian Literature Society and whom Richard succeeded as its secretary; John L. Nevius, Hunter Corbett and Calvin Mateer, of whom it is said that "if the American Presbyterian Mission had only sent out these three men, they would have justified ten times the amount of expenditure on them"; J. B. Hartwell, of the American Baptist Mission, who had early won the confidence of the Chinese; and Robert Lilley, assistant to Dr. Williamson and "the wittiest foreigner in China until the arrival of the Rev. Arthur Smith." It must have been a stimulating company.

His predecessors' labours had resulted in the gathering of a small church, and Richard gave himself to the task of its oversight and development. In this he had the invaluable assistance of an able Chinese colleague, named Ch'ing, a man who, after being a secretary of the

Taiping rebels, had been given a theological training by R. F. Laughton. It is easy to see how important was the help of such a man to a young missionary, with so much to learn of the mentality as well as the language of the Chinese.

Within that year Richard was heartened by the winning of his first Chinese convert. Before receiving him into church membership he catechized him thus: "Are not all men sinners in the eyes of God?" To this the man replied, in distress: "I do not know about other people, but I know I am great sinner." This answer made him think. "I was much struck by the sincerity of the answer and the foolishness of the question, and felt that the man was a true Christian in spirit. Never again did I repeat that question." The catechetical method of instructing young converts has been validated by the practice of the Church of the ages, but its justification and efficacy, as Richard was quick to see, require the scrupulous use of terms, that they shall be both intelligible and personal. It is good to know that the reality of this man's conversion was attested by many years of solitary Christian witness in the midst of a wholly non-Christian village of Manchuria.

But Richard was not content to confine his activities to Chefoo. The spirit of the pioneer missionary stirred within him and he longed to go out and beyond. By the end of his first year he had acquired a speaking knowledge of the language and so, in company with Robert Lilley, he made a tour of about 150 miles in the Shantung Promontory, distributing portions of Scripture in the chief towns and market-places and discovering the general "lie of the land." This tour had important consequences for the Church in Chefoo and for the development of our own missionary policy. On his return he proposed that the Church (although com-

paratively weak) should choose and support one of its members for missionary service in the Promontory, and he was cheered by the heartiness with which his proposal was adopted. The man then chosen was the first Baptist missionary of the native church. Richard saw clearly that the Chinese Church must be missionary-minded and that only through its unreserved consecration can the vast population of China be won for Christ. The white missionary's chief task is to encourage, to guide and to teach, by contributing what he knows of "the unsearchable riches of Christ" as stored in the experience of the greater Church of the Christian centuries.

In the following year (1871), and again with Robert Lilley, he made four more trips of exploration in the country adjoining Chefoo, and one long journey of 600 miles through Manchuria to the border of Korea. It was an arduous and adventurous journey. The ship in which they sailed from Chefoo to Newchang, Manchuria, was nearly wrecked. Travelling was excessively difficult and fatiguing and Richard succumbed to a severe attack of sunstroke, from which he recovered by taking a stiff dose of laudanum. Brigandage and lawlessness abounded in the country almost unchecked, and the travellers were exposed to real dangers and passed through some exciting experiences. But they managed to distribute literature and they saw what they had set out to see. Manchuria made a deep impression on Richard's mind. "As we turned our steps back toward Newchang, we wondered when the day would come when this land, which in so many respects might be said to be 'flowing with milk and honey,' would be properly governed, and the people be happy and prosperous."

Returning to Chefoo, he devoted his energies to teaching and evangelistic work, and to hard, systematic study. He knew that success in the former depended,

under God, upon his proficiency in the latter. He sought as complete a mastery as possible of the Chinese language and literature. Eager to understand the Chinese people, and to discover the most effective ways of presenting the Gospel to them, he also studied their religious beliefs, sects and customs, and these again he set in the larger context of Comparative Religion. Alongside, and in consequence of, these studies he felt compelled to undertake a searching re-examination of the New Testament, in order to safeguard and firmly secure the basis of his own Christian faith and to free it from such forms and traditions as were Western rather than Universal.

It was about this time (1872) that Richard was led to realize that the New Testament teaches not only Christian doctrine but also methods (shall we say " a method ? ") of Christian evangelism. At his valedictory service, Dr. Trestrail, the Society's secretary, had exhorted him to study our Lord's instructions to the Twelve Apostles, and one verse (St. Matthew x, 11) in particular, largely determined his subsequent thinking and conduct :— " In whatsoever city or town ye shall enter, enquire who in it is worthy ; and there abide till ye go thence." Unlike his eloquent L.M.S. contemporary and fellow-Welshman, Dr. Griffith John, of Hankow, Timothy Richard found general preaching unsatisfactory.

" I did not find the preaching very productive of good results, and was consequently considerably discouraged. I learnt that many of the native business houses had taken an oath together never to countenance the foreign preaching by entering a chapel. Those who attended the services, therefore, were for the most part stray visitors from the country passing by, who came out of curiosity to see the foreigner and his barbarous costume. In my evangelistic work during the first two years in Chefoo I had tried street-chapel

preaching without any success worth mentioning. I then began to follow the plan of 'seeking the worthy,' as our Lord commanded, for I found that they constituted the 'good ground' in which to sow the seed."

Richard was confirmed in this method by reading Edward Irving's remarkable sermon on *Missionaries after the Apostolic School,* delivered for the London Missionary Society in 1824. That sermon, meditated "not without much prayer to God and self-devotion," aroused (if Mrs. Oliphant reports truly) bewilderment and even resentment in L.M.S. and other circles, Its plea for a literal carrying out of the New Testament commission was condemned as rhetorical and visionary, and as an implied libel upon the missionaries. But Irving adhered to his views and published the sermon. It is in the first volume of the *Collected Writings of Edward Irving.* Richard's copy of that volume bears the marks of frequent reading, with many underlinings and some marginal notes. He gave it to his wife in 1883, and it is now in the Christian Literature Society Library, Shanghai. So highly did he value the sermon that he reprinted it in 1887, and sent one to every missionary in the Far East, with the following commendatory preface :—

"DEAR READER,

"No great work is ever done without much pain. No high art is ever perfected without much practice. Pains are much lessened and practice much facilitated by judicious lessons. Without them there is much waste and failure.

"In Missions we have very few handbooks of great value, though early Mediæval and Modern Missions contain most instructive lessons. There we can trace

how the Spirit of God led His chosen Apostles to adopt different methods in different circumstances.

"It is true we have invaluable help in several excellent works published during the last twenty years. But I know of none dealing with the most fundamental Principles of Christian Missions so applicable to all times and circumstances that will for a moment compare with this of Edward Irving's *Missionaries after the Apostolic School.* With a few modifications which change of circumstances may require, it stands out alone among missionary addresses, like the Sun among the Stars, having a marvellous, unique and most blessed effect on those who read it devoutly.

"Thanks to the generosity of a brother Missionary, I am able to send some copies to every Mission in China, India and Japan. If you find good in it, I will be much pleased if you will kindly lend it to others. Thus we send it forth, praying that it may be the means of much blessing to our brethren wherever it goes.

TIMOTHY RICHARD,
Peking, December, 1887."

To seek the "worthy"! But who are they? Not necessarily the wealthy, who are "worth" so much. Nor, of necessity, the highly placed, although in China, which has a proverb, "What those above do those below will imitate," it is particularly important to secure the goodwill of the rulers and scholars. Rather, the "worthy" are those of all classes whose character has won the respect of their fellows, and who have shown themselves to be aware of and responsive to spiritual issues. Faithful to such "light" as they have had they are likely to be faithful to the further and fuller light which is brought to them, until finally they will rejoice

in " the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ."

Seeking the Worthy

Richard at once began to put this " plan " into practice. Hearing of a devout man who lived eight miles from Chefoo, he sent a request that he might visit him. This was readily granted and he found him to be a salt manufacturer, about sixty or so years of age.

" I took with me some Gospels, a few tracts, and a hymn-book, and he received me with great kindness, and insisted on my having a meal with him whilst we talked of religion. After a time he took me into an inner room, spotlessly clean, and said to me, ' This is the place where I worship daily.' On my showing the hymnbook to him, he picked out one of the hymns which spoke of the fleeting character of this world and said, ' This hymn is ours.' I opened my eyes in astonishment and asked him what he meant. He replied that his religious sect used it regularly in their worship. He told me various other things about his religion. As this was the first time I had met a man of his stamp, I was dumb, and felt that his religious experience was not only much earlier than mine, but possessed a depth which astonished me. After a long, happy day together, he insisted on accompanying me back to Chefoo over the hills, and though several times on the road I begged him to go back, he came with me the whole way to the door of the hospital where I was living. I never saw him again, but have always felt that he, if not a Christian, was at any rate not far from the Kingdom of God. My knowledge of the Chinese language and history of religion was too

imperfect at that time for me to take advantage of that most rare opportunity."

But Richard had been only two years in China. That "long, happy day" was certainly of great benefit to him, and who can doubt that some "good seed" was also sown by him in the "good soil" of that devout Chinese salt manufacturer?

His improved command of the Chinese language enabled him to undertake wider and more intensive pioneer work in Shantung. Not only did he go far afield, he also stayed for longer periods here and there, and always he sought to discover "the worthy." One of his methods was to placard town walls with carefully chosen texts, and with statements which would stimulate thought and inquiry. The results were encouraging. Often "groups of devout men would come and kneel before him, earnestly desiring to learn more about this wonderful new religion." For example, in the city of Lai Yang, eighty miles south of Chefoo, where he stayed for a fortnight, he discussed the relative merits of Christianity and Buddhism with two intelligent Buddhist priests, and a scholar named Wang, who followed him to his inn, and posed these two searching questions: "What must one do to be accepted of God?" and "Why was there need for Christ to die for mankind?" There was another man, named Liu, in the same city, "who had the reputation of being a seeker after truth," of whom he wrote in the following letter:

"We entered a long, narrow room, or rather a barn, for there was straw piled up on both sides, leaving but a narrow path up the middle. At the end of this path was a table, where Liu sat facing us. To his right was the only window of the room. Before him were three books, one Confucian, one Taoist (the *Book of Changes*), and the third Christian. On my inquiring

which of the three books was true, he answered that they were all true, that each of them must have come from Heaven. And this was not a casual remark, but his firm conviction. I took the New Testament which was before him and put a few questions to ascertain how far he understood it. There were others present, two very much interested, one lying down on the straw making occasional remarks, the other standing like a statue in the narrow passage during the whole conversation. At the door others chatted and cracked jokes, caring little about the foreigner's visit. Liu came to me for another conversation before I left the city."

These interviews resulted in Liu's eventual conversion, and he was baptized by Ch'ing, Richard's Chinese colleague at Chefoo. Another consequence was an important development in Richard's own missionary technique. Perceiving how ignorant even educated Chinese were of the veriest elements of natural philosophy, he decided to give a few lectures, with experiments, on physics and chemistry. To be ignorant of the world of nature, or to be misinformed about it, is to impoverish or to impair our knowledge of God. The steps which he now took in this direction led ultimately to the foundation of the University of Shansi.

In 1872 he also started a method of missionary work which he frequently used afterwards because of its proved success in reaching thinking men in the privacy of their homes. This was to offer a prize for the best essay sent in upon a carefully chosen subject, duly advertised in the press. The idea came to him from a Chinese newspaper, which offered a prize for the best Chinese essay on the question, " Whom say ye that I am ? "

Richard continued to alternate his work in Chefoo with missionary excursions, of varying length, over a wide

area. In the autumn of 1873 he paid his first visit to Chi-nan-fu, the capital of Shantung, situated over three hundred miles from Chefoo. He stayed there throughout the winter. The visit had its own importance. It coincided with the triennial examinations of civil and military candidates for the coveted Chü-ren (M.A.) degree, and thousands of the ablest men in the province were in the city as examinees. Curiously enough, he found it easier to mix freely with the military than with the civil students. Among the men whom he met there was a lieutenant from the province of Honan. After many talks together, this young officer surrendered to Christ, and Richard baptized him, on confession of his faith, in the beautiful lake of the city. So far as is known, this was the first baptism in Chi-nan-fu. Directly after the service, his clothes still dripping with water, the soldier addressed the assembled crowd of people and explained, "in a most interesting manner," the meaning of the rite. Further, it was during this visit that Richard first encountered Islam in China. There were two large mosques in the city, with a considerable number of adherents. He found, on inquiry, that the Koran had not been translated into Chinese, and that Mohammedans were, "as a rule, lamentably ignorant of Chinese literature." There are now thought to be about eight million Moslems in China.

On his way back from Chi-nan-fu to Chefoo he spent a day at Wei-hsien, an important official and commercial centre. "Whilst there I learned two very important factors in connection with Mission work in China, one the intense hostility of the officials, the other that even among the non-Christians in China, as elsewhere in the world, some of the most devout people are to be found." Officials often made it as difficult as possible for the missionary to rent a house, and many of them did not

hesitate to arouse mob violence in order to prevent it. On the other hand, one of the local gentry was "a veritable Cornelius, a devout man, full of good works." Smallpox was one of the most dreadful scourges of China, especially of North China, and when this man heard that a medical missionary in Peking (Dr. Lockhart, of the London Missionary Society) was able to prevent it by the practice of vaccination, he made the ten days' journey thither in order to consult him. He was given a friendly welcome and taught how to vaccinate, and then, returning home, he proceeded to vaccinate his friends and neighbours. He had been doing this for many years when Richard arrived at Wei-hsien, nor did he hesitate, as occasion required, both to acknowledge his indebtedness to a missionary doctor and to affirm his belief in the good intentions of Christian missionaries. Richard was invited to meet him and, finding that he had read through the New Testament three times, he asked him: "What impressed you most when you read it?" The man paused for a while before replying, and then he said: "Perhaps the most wonderful thought was this—that man might become the temple of the Holy Ghost." It was a remarkable answer, indicative of a high degree of spiritual insight and appreciation.

Richard was deeply interested in the medical side of missionary work, and keenly alive to its importance in the practice of Christianity. Preaching, teaching and healing constitute a trinity of Christian service, equal in status and beneficence, and deriving their authority and inspiration from the Master, Whose "doing" of "good" embraced all three activities. And the need for capable doctors was urgent in China, where bad sanitation was only one of the prolific causes of diseases which too often swept masses of its crowded population

into avoidable death. To him, therefore, it was a real satisfaction to have a doctor as his missionary colleague, and his association with Dr. Brown was all the happier because it meant that together they stood for a richer presentation of the Christian Gospel. Early in 1874 they carried out a tour of the counties of the promontory in the eastern part of the province: "He to heal the sick," wrote Richard, "and I to preach in the waiting room, admitting the patients to Dr. Brown's room one by one." It proved to be an inspiring trip to the missionaries and they had some memorable experiences.

On one occasion, after spending the night at an inn, the innkeeper refused to accept any payment for their board and lodging, saying: "You have come here, giving medicine gratis to our people; it would be wrong for me to charge you for the night's lodging. Besides, do you not remember me?" And he reminded Richard of some long conversations which they had had in the previous year, from which he had learned much about religion and the outside world for which he remained most grateful. He would like to have a share in doing good to people.

During the years at Chefoo Richard made and maintained contact with the small foreign community that had settled there. He loved the company of his fellows, and he could not withhold from his own countrymen and other "foreigners," the generous goodwill which he was showing to the Chinese. In winter-time, in the early 'seventies, Chefoo was isolated, because its harbour was ice-bound, and its business life was at a temporary standstill. The foreign community (mostly engaged in business) therefore contrived to profit from its ample leisure by the formation of literary and other societies. One winter Richard read, by request, a paper on

"Demoniacal Possession in China," and his account of it is worth re-telling:

"The subject proved very attractive, and missionaries and merchants, Jews and Gentiles, Catholics and Protestants, believers and sceptics, all came and it was the largest gathering we had had. Beginning with the cases of demon possession cured by our Lord, I then referred to similar cases in China. Men were possessed by evil spirits to such a degree that the afflicted ones would personify different individuals. One day the unfortunate victim would say his name was Li, from a locality some distance off, and would weave a history of that personality, whereas in reality his name might be Chang. When in his right mind he would speak of his home and the Chang family with perfect clearness and in a natural voice, while when possessed he would talk in quite a different voice, speaking of himself as Li. At other times houses would be haunted and the residents would be so terrified that they would leave their homes, and houses were known to be left untenanted for twenty years or more, because people believed they were haunted by evil spirits. The philosophy of the matter seemed to be that men and women of weak will were like reeds shaken by every breeze that passed; every rumour of evil spirits and haunted houses took possession of their wills, and swayed them hither and thither. When Christians approached them and told of an Almighty God, to Whom the evil demons were subjected, and Whose Holy Spirit would come and dwell in the hearts of all who were willing to obey Him, it was glad tidings of great joy to them. Their wills received tonic and strength, and in this way were able to resist common reports. Thus the weak

became strong, and those who had lost their reason became restored to their right minds."

This paper was followed by an "intensely interesting" discussion, in which men of all sorts took part. A Jew declared that the idea of demon possession derived from Persia; a medical man derided the notion as a form of hysteria and capable of a physical explanation; a prominent Roman Catholic business man, who had been a Jesuit priest, expressed his belief in it, and cited some striking instances of the power of ordinary Christians to exorcise it. The paper was subsequently published in *The Celestial Empire*, and it started Dr. Nevius, of the American Presbyterian Mission, upon those wide-spread investigations which resulted in his exhaustive treatise on *Demon Possession*, published after his death.

Richard was anxious to pay a second visit to Chi-nan-fu, but he had to wait for the passing of the rainy season (July and August) before he could do so. During those two months the rains were so heavy that the "roads" became impassable. They were "nothing but mud." However, in September (1874), before the roads had properly dried and hardened again, he hired a cart (drawn by two mules) and set off. "Ten or twelve other carts started with us, for, as the roads were not dry, there would be many pitfalls, and it would need the help of all the men to get the carts out of the mud. One day we were upset out of the cart no less than three times." They had to put up with much discomfort and many delays before they reached Chi-nan-fu. At one place, where the carters had left the waterlogged main road for the drier adjoining fields, the villagers vigorously protested and there would have been a serious fight but for Richard's intervention. He sought out two of the chief men of the village, and so reasoned with them that they allowed the carts to pass on through the fields.

"When we reached the next inn the carters were so grateful that they wished to pay my expenses for having got them out of their difficulties." This experience helped to confirm Richard in the conviction, which he made large use of in his later years, that safe and easy and cheap internal communication is one of the indispensable factors of a country's progress. It is a primary requisite of good government and of the development of civilized life, and thereafter he never tired of pressing for the building of better roads and of new railways in China.

Richard had not been long at Chi-nan-fu when Dr. and Mrs. Alexander Williamson, of Chefoo, arrived in the city. They had with them a Chinese medical assistant named Li, whose work was to distribute literature and to disburse simple medicines to needy sufferers. Li was ill with "fever" at the time of their arrival, but the Williamsons, when they passed on to Tai An, expected that he would soon recover, and left him in Richard's charge. The "fever," however, proved to be "malignant typhus." Li daily grew worse, and when, about three weeks later, severe hæmorrhage set in, it seemed impossible for him to recover. But recover he did, thanks to Richard's courageous and careful nursing, continued day and night for over a month at the risk of his own life. Such conduct, however, was of a piece with his character, and it helps to explain how he won the confidence and gratitude of the Chinese people. He was so obviously the self-forgetting "lover" of men—Chinese no less than British or American. As a consequence, however, he fell a victim to his patient's disease, and was, in turn, nursed to health by McIlvaine, an American Presbyterian missionary who came in from a town distant two days' journey from Chi-nan-fu. Richard afterwards declared that this illness gave him immunity from the

attacks of famine fever which prostrated so many millions of Chinese during the dreadful famine years.

Richard was in Chefoo when Li Hung Chang went there to negotiate and sign the "Chefoo Convention" (1875), by whose terms the Chinese Government agreed to send to England a mission of apology for the murder of a British consul in the previous February, and to open up four new ports to foreign trade. Li had acquired fame as perhaps the ablest of the generals who had crushed the terrible Taiping rebellion (in which task he had been assisted by the brilliant and high-minded British general, "Chinese Gordon"), and he was becoming, if he had not already become, one of China's most influential statesmen. Finding that large numbers of his soldiers were attending the Mission Hospital for treatment for ague and dysentery, Richard characteristically sent him a present of a quantity of quinine and chlorodyne for distribution amongst his personal staff and escort, and Li acknowledged this timely gift in a letter of thanks. This was the first of Richard's many subsequent contacts with that celebrated man.

New Headquarters—Ch'ing-Chou-Fu

By this time Richard had become convinced that he ought to leave Chefoo for another centre. Chefoo was a seaport town of no particular importance in the life of Shantung, and it had serious disadvantages as the headquarters of a Christian Mission conceived in terms of growth, expansion and influence. The decision to abandon it, therefore, was a wise one. But the choice of the best place for the new centre was more difficult. Richard was sure that it should be somewhere in the interior, and as near as possible to the heart of things. Eventually, after reviewing the whole position as he had

come to see it, and bearing in mind his guiding principle of seeking out the "worthy," he chose the historic old city of Ch'ing-chou-fu, situated about two hundred miles away from Chefoo and about half-way across the great province of Shantung. Although its population was not more than forty thousand, it was the head of a prefecture of eleven populous counties. Moreover, "there were several native sects, with a large number of followers seeking after higher truth than was to be found in the three great religions of China," and these, he felt sure, were a people providentially prepared to receive his message.

It was in January, 1875, in the depth of winter, that he left Chefoo for Ch'ing-chou-fu. Rather surprisingly, he took with him the fourteen-year-old son of a sea captain, whose education he had promised to supervise. They had a most trying journey. The snow was thick on the ground and the "going" proved to be exceedingly "heavy." The first day they made only ten miles, and on the second day, although they toiled until midnight, they moved no more than five miles. The route lay through hilly country and a high wind caused the roads to be blocked here and there with deep snowdrifts, which seriously increased the difficulty and delay of the travellers in their heavy, lumbering carts. Sometimes they had to leave the roads and drive over the adjoining fields, and occasionally they had to cut down the hedges that blocked their way. One night the carters lost all sense of direction and engaged a guide, who led them over some wheat-fields. The result was an altercation with protesting villagers, and Richard had to intervene, as on a similar occasion already mentioned. The village elders, after hearing what he had to say, first reprimanded the guide, and then said to Richard: "We will let you pass this time, as you are a stranger. We have ordered the guide to take you to the nearest inn, but as a punishment

for his misdeeds you are not to pay him anything." So they struggled on. But worse was to follow. When they were within two days of their journey's end, a terrible blizzard almost overwhelmed them. The fierce wind whipped up the snow and blew it into their faces with such density that everything was obliterated, even the sun itself, and for several hours they were quite lost. Roads, fields, direction were all one to them, and the cold was intense. However, they travelled on, hoping against hope, but also, no doubt, stimulated by the knowledge that to stop might be to die, and then, to their relief and thankfulness, they stumbled across an inn. On the next day they learned that some other travellers, who had also lost their way, had been found frozen to death. The rest of their journey was uneventful, and in due course they arrived at Ch'ing-chou-fu.

Richard, of course, planned a prolonged stay at Ch'ing-chou fu, hoping to make it both a permanent Mission centre and the base from which widespread missionary operations might be undertaken. But this was for the future; for the present he had to go warily. A house was a requirement for which he was content to wait. To try to secure one at once would indicate his intention of permanent residence and would certainly arouse suspicion if not (which was more probable) active hostility and opposition. So, very wisely, he took up temporary quarters at an inn, and the position of a friendly visitor. "I studied Chinese and general literature," he wrote afterwards, "while the boy went on with his lessons. We were a great curiosity to the people. We used to go out for a short walk every afternoon, and, as we dressed in European costume, the whole city used to turn out to look at us as we passed along the streets, while some of the most inquisitive and courageous would come to the inn to see us. I tried to

receive them as kindly as I could, though I was often interrupted far more than I liked." But such people as religious leaders and government officials—the classes whom he most wanted to meet—were not among his visitors. They held aloof.

It was as a doctor, a minister of healing, that he first acquired influence in the city, and this chiefly by his use of two simple but potent drugs. During the summer months, when cholera was rife and deadly, he saved many lives by means of chlorodyne, or spirits of camphor. One of his patients was the wife of the Superintendent of Police, who called on him because she was dying of cholera. "Would I go and see her? I went with him, and found her laid out on matting in the open courtyard, her people evidently expecting her to pass away very shortly. I gave her a few drops of spirits of camphor on sugar every five minutes, and within a quarter of an hour she turned round of her own accord and said she felt much better. This was one of many similar cases. The report went forth that, though it was very difficult to get me to give medicine, when I did I could cure like a god." In the autumn of that year again, after the rainy season, ague was very prevalent and caused a great deal of suffering. For this Richard's prescription was quinine, and, having an abundant supply, he was able to distribute it freely. "To the people around it seemed nothing short of miraculous, as a single dose of from eight to ten grains was usually enough to stop the distressing ague at once. Then they came for medicine for other diseases, but I told them that I was not a medical man."

In consequence of his reputation for kindliness and medical skill, he received one day a visit from the Treasurer of the Prefecture. This important government official, a man about fifty years of age, had no son,

although he had two wives, and he was very concerned about it. His friends attributed his childlessness to the opium habit and he sought help to break it off. Richard advised him to do this gradually by a daily reduction of the amount that he smoked. Then the Treasurer asked if he might sit with him every day. "I do not want to interrupt you in your studies," he said, "nor do I wish you to spend your time talking to me. All I wish is to avoid my companion opium-smokers. They will not come to smoke here." It was impossible to refuse such a request. "So he came daily about ten o'clock to sit with me while I worked. He used to take out his tobacco pipe, with a stem of about a yard long. Having loaded this, it was amusing to watch him light it. He always brought incense-sticks with him about a foot long, and having first lighted an incense stick, his arm would be long enough then to light the pipe. He was a very intelligent man, full of good nature. It was always a pleasure to see him, and his daily visits resulted in talks on many matters. He marvelled at the foreigner's knowledge of wonders that were utterly inexplicable to the Chinese." Their regard was mutual, and far-reaching consequences followed their association.

It was about this time that Richard decided to don Chinese dress. He hoped that, by this means, he would attract more visitors of the educated classes, or be invited to their homes. So he shaved his head, put on native dress and wore an artificial queue. The effect was startling and immediate. No sooner did he appear in the street than men, women and children gathered eagerly to look at him, and he overheard one man say to another, "Ah! he looks like a man now." More important, that very afternoon he was invited to drink tea in a friendly home. It was only then that he understood why he had not been invited before. In his

European clothes he was a spectacle for curiosity, and, if known to be in a house, sightseers would have gathered outside, wetted their fingers and made holes in the paper windows in order to look at him. Every private visit would have involved the breaking, and therefore the mending, of window panes. Dressed like a Chinese he ceased to be a spectacle ; he was one of the people.

One day, after being daily with Richard for about a month, the Treasurer said to him : " You are a busy man and should not be subject to constant interruptions from any idler that chooses to come to the inn. Why do you not get a house of your own ? " This, of course, was what Richard wanted and he replied ; " I would be very glad to have a house of my own, but I cannot rent one without someone guaranteeing me as an honest, peaceable man, and becoming surety for me. I am a foreigner. No one knows me. People think foreigners are all bad." " Oh, is that your only reason ? " answered the Treasurer. On the next day he took him to see a house, adjoining the Yamen of the city magistrate, and offered to become security for him. Three days later Richard became its thankful tenant and went into residence. His description of it, and how he lived in it, deserves quotation :—

" My house was built round a little courtyard facing south, about twenty yards long and ten yards broad. My landlord was fond of flowers, and he kept the yard well filled with plants in pot and with flowering shrubs, which he tended daily. On the north side were the chief apartments, which I occupied. They were three rooms, the central and largest one serving as a meeting house at first. The side room, towards the west, was fitted with a stone floor, with flues under it, and a fire to heat it could be lit from the outside. This I found most comfortable in winter. I made it my bedroom

and study, and no other stove was needed. The floors of the other rooms were of clay or mud. Behind the chief apartments was an orchard of about half an acre in size, filled with mulberry-trees, the leaves of which were used to feed silk-worms. The rent for the house and grounds, together with a little furniture, cost me about four and a half Mexican dollars a moon, about £6 a year. . . . I paid nothing to the landlord for being my gardener. It was a labour of love with him."

Food was a difficulty. He had no cook and he was, therefore, dependent upon supplies from the street (with some risk of infection in times of an epidemic) and attendance at the native restaurant. This is how he fared :—

"My food was very simple. Breakfast consisted of millet gruel, much like oatmeal gruel, which my servant obtained outside in the street. It was usually covered with a thick layer of brown sugar, which in winter kept the gruel underneath warm for an hour. A basinful of this cost five cash. I usually took with it a millet pancake, as thin as a sheet of paper, about the size of a Welsh cheese in circumference. This cost only three cash. But I was extravagant in one thing : I always used foreign butter with the pancake. My breakfast, including tea, never cost me more than ten cash, about a halfpenny at the current rate of exchange. My midday meal was also bought on the street by my servant. It consisted of four rice dumplings, each wrapped in a broad leaf, sold by hawkers in the street, and altogether cost less than a penny. My evening meal was luxurious. Instead of taking it at home, I usually went to a restaurant. There I would order one evening 'chi-p'ien' (a course of the white meat of a chicken boiled with soup and nicely flavoured) and the next evening 'yü-p'ien' (a dish of good fish)

with well-flavoured soup. After this meat or fish course I would order four little steamed loaves of bread, the size and shape of a small glass tumbler. With these I drank as much native tea as I liked, and the whole meal cost the extravagant sum of not more than one hundred and twenty cash, or sixpence. In winter I used to begin my evening meal with two ounces of hot yellow rice-wine, costing about six cash, which in a few minutes would cause my cold feet to tingle with a delightful glow. After dining I would enter into conversation with other visitors in order to practise my Chinese and to learn the news of the day. By way of a change I used to go to a Mohammedan restaurant. which had the reputation of being cleaner than the usual Chinese eating-house. There they served me with roast beef or roast mutton, deliciously flavoured. During the time of the great famine in Shansi cooking was reduced to its simplest elements. No meat or vegetable of any kind was to be got. There was an excellent substitute, however, in what the natives called ' gu-p'i' (orange peel). On arrival at an inn at noon or night all that was necessary was to order this dish. The innkeeper would then take some flour, add water, knead it into dough, and flatten it out into a large pancake. Then he would take the thin dough between his thumb and finger, snap it off piece by piece, and throw it into a pot of boiling water. After a few minutes these snippets were sufficiently cooked to be ladled into a basin, with some water which made the soup. Into the basin were then added a few drops of vinegar and a pinch of salt. The ' orange-peel ' was then ready for consumption. It was always most wholesome and very quickly made."

The only opposition to his taking the house came from a retired ex-magistrate, who was prejudiced against all

"foreigners." This man went to all lengths to try to dispossess Richard, but again and again he was discomfited. Finally, the Prefect himself (a Manchu) clinched the matter, saying :—" There are many foreigners living in Peking, and there is no trouble there. I hear that this man gives away medicine and does a lot of good to the poor. Therefore it would be a pity to make trouble without cause. If, however, you hear of him doing any wrong, let me know, and I shall attend to the matter." So Richard was allowed to occupy his house in peace. But the man continued to nurse his antipathy and it came out in the following year. There had been a period of famine, when many people died of starvation and Richard had established an orphanage for some of their destitute children. The ex-magistrate, seizing a chance, charged him with kidnapping children ! Richard in turn wrote to the Prefect, complaining of mischief-makers in the city and begging him to check their activities. The result was that, the next morning, the Prefect issued a proclamation stating that anyone who took charge of famine orphans was a public benefactor, deserving of gratitude, and that anyone convicted of circulating false reports would be severely punished. The ex-magistrate could do no more. Public opinion and official judgment had pronounced in favour of Richard and the orphanage which his generosity had established.

Richard was now able to pursue his studies without interruption. He was already familiar with some of the Confucian Classics, as translated by Dr. Legge, and he desired to read the religious books which were current amongst the devout sects. Of these, the most important was *Ching Hsin Lu* (or *Record of Devout Faith*), a collection of the most popular Confucian and Taoist tracts. A Chinese friend also gave him a beautifully written copy (in two volumes) of the *Diamond Classic*, the chief

book on Buddhism. The thorough study of these books brought him the dual benefit of an understanding of their religious thought and of a mastery of their thought-forms and vocabulary. Thus equipped, he prepared a Christian Catechism in Chinese, couched in their terminology and as free as possible from foreign names, and appealing to their conscience rather than to an authority which they did not recognize. He clothed Christian truth in Chinese dress. At the same time he also translated a Religious Tract Society book, *The Philosophy of the Plan of Salvation*, and two Christian Classics, Jeremy Taylor's *Holy Living* (first part) and Francis de Sales's *Devout Life*.

Extended Activities: Moslems and Others

Ch'ing-chou-fu was an important Mohammedan centre, having two mosques, belonging to different sects, and a Theological College for the training of mullahs. There were also scores of mosques in the surrounding country. Richard, in obedience to his principle of seeking the "worthy," sent a messenger to the chief Mullah of the leading mosque asking if he might call on him. He received a very civil reply and an appointment was made. He went and found that his host had invited the College professors and the leading teachers of the district to meet him. After the introductions, he was given the seat of honour and refreshments were served, amid general conversation. Then the Mullah gave a carefully prepared address, lasting for about twenty minutes, on the importance of Islam, alleging many miracles in support of its Divine origin. He referred respectfully to Jewish patriarchs and prophets, and with equal respect to Christ and His apostles, but he affirmed the higher merits of Mohammed. Richard thanked him for his courtesy and took his leave, promising to think over

what he had said and suggesting that they might talk again on the matter.

Richard came to regard this interview as "another epoch-making step" in his life. Thinking over the evidence put forward by the Mullah, he realized that the then conventional lines of Christian apologetics were useless against Mohammedans. It was futile to pose "authorities" whose cogency carried no conviction because they were considered inferior to those of their own faith. "For every prophecy I could quote they would match it with a similar one of their own, and for every miracle which I could mention they could produce a hundred. Thus if ever I was able to win Mohammedans over to Christianity it would be necessary for me to adopt a different line of argument altogether." But what other line should, or could, he adopt? The question raised the whole problem of authority in religion, a problem which, always difficult, was more difficult for him, in those days, than it is for us. Richard discovered that the one unassailable basis of religious authority lies in the "Truth" itself. God requires "truth in the inward parts" of every man, and Jesus Christ claims the allegiance of men by virtue of His being Himself the illuminating incarnation of Eternal Truth. Christianity, therefore, carries its own commendatory credentials, and when men become Christians it is not at the expense, but at the behests, of Truth. Richard was also driven to undertake a revaluation of Islam, carefully studying the Koran (in Sales's and Rodwell's English translations) and every book on the subject that he could procure. Nor did he neglect the views of those writers who, respecting its austere monotheism, regarded it as akin to some forms of Unitarian Christianity.

In due course the Principal of the College, accompanied by about a dozen of his students, returned Richard's

call, and again, after the customary civilities, delivered a prepared address. At its close, Richard thanked him and asked permission to speak to them on the subject of Christianity. This being granted, he delivered an address which so impressed the students that the Principal never brought them to him again, fearing, apparently, his religious influence upon them. But who of us can follow the course of God-inspired speech? One old Mullah, however, continued to visit him, and they had worth-while conversations together. "He requested that he might often come and sit quietly in my room while I worked, for he found himself always strengthened after his visits to me. And so he frequently came to see me as long as I remained in Ch'ing-chou-fu. He was one of those devout souls whose delight it is to seek God."

Richard's next move was to make contact with the head of one of the most popular religious sects in the district, who lived about twenty miles away in the mountains. First of all, he invited him to Ch'ing-chou-fu and received, instead, a courteous invitation to his house. Richard accepted the invitation and determined to model his behaviour on our Lord's injunctions in St. Matthew x. Defying the intense heat of July, he made the journey on foot. On his arrival he met one of the most hostile receptions of his long career in China—not, however, from his host, but from one of his "evangelists" who chanced to be staying there overnight. This man fanatically denounced Christianity as cruel, and inhuman, "proving" his case from some surgical illustrations which he had seen in a medical missionary's textbook. He refused to listen to any explanation of the humane purposes of surgery and reasonable conversation became impossible. The next morning Richard told his host that God had sent him from the other side of the world with a special message to good men like

him, but what had passed on the previous night suggested that he was not prepared to receive it. His host thereupon apologized for the conduct of his subordinate, who was about to leave, and begged him to remain another day in order to explain his message. "I did so," wrote Richard, "and we had a hallowed time together, when we truly felt that God was present with us." When he left on the following morning "to visit others who were seeking after the highest truth," his host sent a servant to show him the way. "Bidding farewell to this man, I told him that in showing me the way and thus helping to bring men together who sought after the highest he was co-operating with God."

Continuing his journey alone, it was near to noon when, fatigued by the heat, he sat down to rest under the shade of a roadside tree. Soon, labourers began to pass him on their way to their noonday meal and he greeted them one by one. None of them acknowledged his greeting save one man, who, after passing, returned to ask him whither he was going. He told Richard that the river was impassable because of flood, and he invited him to the village, where he could wait until the water had subsided. Richard gratefully accepted the invitation and on his arrival he was entertained to dinner by the village schoolmaster. They had good talk together until late in the afternoon, when it was reported that the river could be crossed. Half a dozen villagers accompanied him to help him across, and it was well that they did. The river was a hundred yards wide, with a powerful current, and it had to be forded because there was no bridge.

"One man made my clothes into a bundle, which he carried on his head, and led the way side by side with a second man. I had a man on each side of me, and two men followed close behind. As we proceeded,

the river became deeper and deeper, till we were breast high in the water. The current was so strong that I felt big stones rolling under my feet. Whenever I stumbled, the men around me at once steadied me until we safely reached the farther side. When I saw how dangerous the river had been, and that I would probably have been drowned had I attempted to ford it alone, I was greatly moved by the kindness of all these men to me, a perfect stranger, and I told them I was utterly at a loss how to thank them for their goodness. 'Oh!' they cried, 'do not talk like that. Do you not remember us? We know you. At New Year time we visited a famous temple near Ch'ing-chou-fu to worship there. Hearing of the foreigner in the city, we called at the inn where you were staying. You received us courteously, answered all our questions, and gave us tea. This is the first opportunity we have had of returning your kindness.' They pointed out the way I was to go for my next appointment, and we parted, wishing each other well."

The place he sought was another mountain village, which he reached before sunset, and where he was heartily welcomed by an intelligent man whom he had often met at Ch'ing-chou-fu. This man introduced him to a scholarly teacher, who had a group of students (ranging from seventeen to twenty-five years of age) whom he was preparing for a degree examination. He supped with the teacher and his students, and they had such a good time together that the latter brought their fans and asked him to write something on them—a mark of unusual respect. This he did, stipulating that they would write his Chinese translation on the other side. On each fan he wrote a verse of an English hymn. Before he left they asked him to visit them again and tell them more about the teaching of the hymns.

His next place of call was a market town, where he was welcomed by an innkeeper who had called on him at Ch'ing-chou-fu. His visit coincided with an annual Taoist festival for women, and large numbers of them came into the town for the occasion. Most of them were middle-aged and their purpose was to pray for such tangible blessings as a good harvest or (in some cases) for sons. When they heard of the foreigner they streamed into the inn to see him, and Richard spent many hours of the day in answering their questions and explaining his missionary purpose.

The ceremony took place at midnight, and Richard sought and obtained the permission of the Taoist priest to witness it.

> " Each woman brought him her thanksgiving, mostly in the form of bags of millet and in kind. He wrote down the names of all the donors, with the quantities they brought, on two long sheets of yellow paper. One of these sheets was pasted on the temple walls outside, so that passers-by could see the lists of donations. The other was laid aside till midnight, when it was burnt before the chief image of the temple, so that the names could ascend on high. During the service the priest burnt incense and chanted prayers, but not a word of teaching or exhortation was given, so that I felt that the people were like sheep without a shepherd. The service over, some of the women retired to their lodgings in the town, others lay down in the temple courtyards, whilst the most devout continued their prayers until sleep overtook them."

On the following day the women departed to their homes, and Richard returned to Ch'ing-chou-fu.

Looking back upon his tour, he testified to his " having found the devout always ready to welcome and hear me, and give me every hospitality, thus proving the

soundness of the principles laid down by our Lord in the tenth chapter of St. Matthew."

So the great work went on and quietly prospered. Ere long several little Christian communities were established in neighbouring villages, and to them, for their further instruction and encouragement in the Christian faith, teachers were regularly sent from Ch'ing-chou-fu. Richard himself also, fully occupied in the King's business, continued to grow in understanding, power and influence. He was alive to the opportunity and alert to seize it when it came, and his methods matched the need and the occasion. He prepared a catechism for the use of Chinese converts; he compiled a hymn-book of about thirty carefully selected hymns; and he boldly "edited" (by omissions and additions) for general circulation several popular native religious tracts. The first-fruit of this work was the application for baptism of a devout silk-weaver and his wife, who had committed both catechism and hymn-book to memory and had taught the hymns to their two young children. Baptism by immersion was a rite unknown to Ch'ing-chou-fu, and Richard was anxious that there should be no misunderstanding about it, especially as one of the candidates was a woman. He took them through the West Gate of the city to a place where there ran a river of beautifully clear water, and where there were no houses, but only a Buddhist temple within sight. Then, characteristically, he called on the Buddhist priest, explained to him the meaning of the sacrament, and asked for the loan of one or two rooms in the temple as dressing-rooms. The priest, we are told, readily granted his request. Richard thereupon baptized the couple in the river and afterwards they changed their garments in the Buddhist temple.

At the end of the year (1875) he paid a brief visit to Chefoo on business. During his ten months' absence in

the interior (when he had only twice seen any foreigners), he had baptized three converts—the weaver, the weaver's wife and his teacher. Still more encouraging results followed early in 1876, when no fewer than fifteen additional candidates were ready for baptism. Truly his pioneering work was being signally blessed of God. For these new candidates he had a permanent baptistery built in the courtyard of his house, and, in order to obviate ignorant or malicious rumours, he invited his old and tried friend the Treasurer of the Prefecture to attend the service. A few more baptisms later on crowned the work of a memorable year.

CHAPTER III

FAMINE RELIEF: SHANTUNG AND SHANSI

WE now come to the period which was to prove of decisive importance for the future character of Richard's service to China. He was confronted by problems which were provincial rather than local, and which then became national rather than provincial. These problems quickened his lively concern for the basic needs of vast populations; needs which, unless met, threatened their very existence; needs which were so elemental that they preceded even those to which the Christian missionary's distinctive message is addressed. "That was not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural; and afterward that which is spiritual."

China, unhappily, has long been accustomed to periodic famines: in the North as the result of drought, and in the South as a consequence of excessive rain and flood. Hardly any rain fell in North China during the fateful years of 1876–1878, and the blight of the most terrible famine on record fell upon the hapless Northern provinces.

The suffering became steadily more acute and widespread, and impotent terror gripped the hearts of all men. The chief centre of distress was southern Shansi, with a radius of nearly one thousand miles.

Public anxiety became manifest in the spring of 1876. No rain had fallen and the crops on which the people depended were withering instead of growing. Officials and people crowded the various temples to petition for it. The city magistrate of Ch'ing-chou-fu not only proclaimed a public fast from the eating of meat (especially beef), but he took the unusual step of shackling himself with a chain and heading an immense procession to the chief temple, where, prostrating himself before the idols, he importunately petitioned for rain.

The tragic pathos of these scenes stirred Richard to immediate action. He prepared some yellow placards, announcing that the way to secure rain was to turn from dead idols to the living God, to pray to Him and to obey His laws, and then he rode on horseback to every town (eleven in number) of the Prefecture of Ch'ing-chou-fu and posted one or more of them on its gates. In each town, after posting up his proclamation, he went to one of the principal inns for refreshment, and again and again he was deeply moved to find deputations of elderly men coming to him and beseeching him, on their knees, to tell them how to pray to the living God. Later, these placards were the means of inducing a number of women to trudge, on their tiny feet, the twenty miles or so from their mountain village to Ch'ing-chou-fu, in order to ask him the same question. Still later, these same women became the nucleus of a Christian Church in their home village.

The drought continued and food became scarcer and dearer. Hunger made many people desperate, and there were serious outbreaks of organized pillage, which were

checked only by the ruthless punishment of offenders by execution, or by slow starvation in the execrable "sorrow cage," in which they could neither stand nor sit. Official measures to cope with the situation proved inadequate, although well intentioned. For example, the Governor of the Province ordered the removal of taxes on the import of grain and the purchase of large quantities of grain from Kiangsu and Manchuria, to be sold to the people under cost price, the Government becoming responsible for the deficit. Richard interviewed the Prefect of Ch'ing-chou-fu and urged a petition to the Government authorities in Peking requesting that they arrange with Korea and Japan for free trade in cereals. But, in spite of everything, the situation steadily worsened, and grim scenes were witnessed. Mothers began to offer their babies for sale. A prominent villager named Chiu was asked to lead a rebellion against the Government, and when he refused and fled for refuge to Ch'ing-chou-fu, the angry villagers resentfully killed the six members of his family. A deputation even waited on Richard and pleaded with him to head an armed rebellion, promising widespread support. He warned them of the folly and futility of such a step and advised them to devise more constructive measures. A similar appeal came to him, not long afterwards, from another town—a striking illustration of the desperate straits of the people and of their confidence in him, a "foreigner" so recently settled amongst them.

Richard was in a position of extreme difficulty. Warm-hearted Christian that he was, he could not but minister, to the utmost of his ability, to the suffering people who surrounded him. But how? It was easy to do more harm than good. All the resources that he had were his own slender stock of money, supplemented by some small contributions from Chefoo, and the public dis-

tribution of money was attended by grave risks of rioting and death. When a dealer gave away his stock of grain the crush of people who pressed for it was so great that one little girl was killed and many of them were injured, and the magistrate forbade further private distributions of the kind. The position was also complicated by the likelihood that Richard's generous sympathy might alienate the public officials, who were being criticised and unfavourably compared with him for their indifference to the needs of the starving poor. However, he had to do what he could with what he had. One of his ingenious plans was " to stand at the end of a long narrow lane in the poorest quarter of the city and have the applicants pass me in a long queue. As each was given a small dole of money, I marked his dirty palm with aniline ink, knowing it was not easily rubbed off. After sufficient time had elapsed for some to run round to the other end of the lane and take up new positions in the queue, when suspiciously clean palms were proferred we guessed that the owners must have received their doles before and had vigorously scoured the ink off. We therefore continued distributing to the remaining few who had dirty palms." Not long afterwards he had a flash of inspiration whose occasion and application he recorded in his diary, against the date, July 3rd (1876). The whole paragraph deserves transcribing :

" In the course of our morning worship I read the passage about our Lord feeding the multitude, where he made them sit down. Like a flash of lightning, the secret of sitting down was revealed. A sitting crowd cannot crush. I called a dozen men to bid the starving crowd to go to a large threshing-floor opposite my house, and bid them sit down in rows. Men as well as women with babies in their arms sat down. I appeared and told them that I had very little money,

but that all I had I would gladly give if they would remain sitting quietly. I would only distribute a small sum at first, and then a second and a third. The men commenced their distribution and not a soul stirred from his place. They were as quiet as if at a Communion Service. The magistrate's Yamen was across the street, and in a few minutes several Yamen runners and one or two senators looked on the wonderfully quiet scene with amazement. When the last cash and the last dole had been given, I told them that I had no more, and that even the Government could not save them, unless there came heavy rain. For that we must pray to God. I called upon them all to kneel down and I would pray to God to look down in pity on them. So thousands of poor sufferers received the little help with gratitude and joined in prayer as far as they knew."

The drought continued and the scarcity of grain made its price so prohibitive to the suffering masses that 'relief" did little to meet the pressing and widespread need. Property values of all sorts depreciated to the point of extinction. Richard interviewed the Governor of Chi-nan-fu and suggested the wisdom of importing grain from Korea and Japan as well as from Manchuria. He also advised that railways should be built and that mines should be sunk for the development of the province's rich mineral resources. There were no railways at that time in any part of China and transport was always difficult, slow and costly. These undertakings would provide large-scale employment; they would create wealth; and they would facilitate quick and cheap communication. The Governor, a strong and capable man, listened with interest to Richard's statesmanlike proposals and professed himself in favour of them, but, unfortunately, he was promoted to the Viceroyalty of

Szechuan before he could do anything to carry them out.

Richard's tireless and disinterested philanthropy proved a most persuasive apologetic for his Gospel. Such a religion carried credentials which commended it to the devout, and which convinced thoughtful minds of its social worth. Throughout this period posters were displayed, directing prayer to God, and Christianized newssheets were circulated far and wide.

Many inquirers came to consult him, and to them he gave copies of his catechism and hymn-book, on condition that they committed them to memory. They, in turn, discussed these little books with their neighbours, with the result that the nucleus of a Church was eventually formed in several new centres. When the leaders of these little groups, having mastered the catechism and hymn-book, came asking for more literature, Richard was ready for them. He gave them copies of his translation of the first part of Jeremy Taylor's *Holy Living* (which deals with the practice of the Presence of God), some selections from the Psalms and the New Testament (to be memorized), and a selection of prayers from the Anglican *Book of Common Prayer* (to be used in public worship). When the number of inquirers increased, as they rapidly did increase, he invited their leaders, within a radius of forty miles, to visit him at intervals at Ch'ing-chou-fu, when he gave them further instruction and heard their recital of the Scripture passages which they had learned. He found that the Epistle to the Ephesians made " strong Calvinists, sure of their election to do great work for God," whereas St. John's Gospel made men " lovable mystics." Sometimes as many as sixty leaders would meet thus to spend a few days with him. They brought their own food and bedding, and he provided them with empty rooms for lodging. On other

occasions he made separate but similar provision for women leaders. Further, adult Sunday Schools were formed, spontaneously, in every centre and Christians grew in knowledge of their faith as they taught inquirers and met for common worship. The results were phenomenal. Within a year there were over two thousand inquirers, who met regularly for worship at about twenty centres—north, east, south and west.

This method of missionary work was adopted by Richard from what he had observed of Chinese methods of education and religious propaganda, and likely, therefore, to be the best way of making Christianity indigenous whenever he convinced them of its superiority to other forms of religion. His success attracted the attention of Dr. John L. Nevius, the distinguished American Presbyterian missionary at Chefoo, and he, after visiting Richard and accompanying him to several of his stations, was so impressed by what he saw that, after further study, he adopted it almost in its entirety. Dr. Nevius expounded and advocated the principles of the system in his once famous book *Missionary Method.*

In the meantime, the rigours and horrors of the famine grew more intense, and Richard sought help from a wider field. He wrote to his friend the Rev. James Thomas, of Union Church, Shanghai, suggesting that his account of the distress in Shantung should be published in the foreign papers of that city. His appeal was effective. Committees were formed in Shanghai and other ports, and substantial sums of money were raised and sent to him. With this money he was able not only to continue his distribution of general relief to the stricken poor, but also to establish orphanages, each one for a hundred boys, in five different centres. The boys ranged from twelve to eighteen years of age, and it was a real problem to decide on the best way to deal with them. Richard had

some assistants but no proper teaching staff, and so, because the boys must be able to earn their living afterwards, he introduced such old-time occupations as smith-working, carpentering, silk-weaving and cord-making. Each orphanage thus became also a workshop.

It is unnecessary to describe in further detail the relief measures carried through with courage, ingenuity and thoroughness by this indefatigable man. Money came to him from various quarters, Chinese as well as foreign, as people became aware of the work that he was doing, and he was able to extend his activities over a widening area. Always the neediest people in the most stricken districts received his chief attention, limited only by the limits of the money in hand. He travelled far and fared hard; he faced personal danger from clamorous mobs of desperate, because starving, people; he confronted indifferent or suspicious or hostile officials and bent them to his will to help and co-operate, or at least to acquiesce, in his beneficent activities. His work entitles him to be called the Founder of "Famine Relief" in China.

In November of that year (1876) Richard's heart was gladdened by the arrival of a B.M.S. colleague, the Rev. A. G. Jones. He went to meet him at Chefoo, made arrangements for him to stay there for a course of necessary language study, and then returned to Ch'ing-chou-fu—taking twelve days for the journey, owing to the heavy snowdrifts. Jones joined him in the following March (1877) and at once undertook charge of the famine relief accounts. The association of these two remarkable men was providential, and it was productive of a work of incalculable blessing. They were the architects of our splendid B.M.S. work in Shantung.

"Each was the complement of the other," writes the Rev. E. W. Burt. "If Richard was a seer and a poet, with the heart of a little child, and with an

irresistible charm for all with whom he came in touch, Jones was a fine Christian gentleman, with a most courteous and dignified bearing, endowed, moreover, with great business ability and organizing power, and it was an incalculable blessing that two such great men were forthcoming for the difficult initial stages of the work in China."[1]

Richard, of course, throughout this distressful period, had kept the Baptist Missionary Society informed both of the needs of famine-stricken Shantung and of his efforts to relieve its people, and the Society had responded to his appeals with ready and generous sympathy. Substantial grants of money were sent out to him and he was strengthened in his beneficent but heart-aching task by the knowledge that a Christ-inspired Church was behind him.

The scale of his relief measures will be realized when it is stated that there was a daily distribution to 1,000 people, and that no fewer than 70,000 are estimated to have been saved from death by starvation.

But Richard was too much of a Christian statesman to be content with "relief" work. He looked ahead, beyond the pressing immediate situation, and sought ways and means for the avoidance of its tragic recurrence. There were, he said, four ways in which China could be helped :—

(1) By immediate famine relief.

(2) By teaching the people the true principles of Christian civilization, including medicine, chemistry, mineralogy, history.

(3) By the introduction of new industries.

(4) By the teaching of spiritual truths and the relation of progress to the worship of the true God.

China, he declared, needed a sounder "economy," and

[1] *After Sixty Years*, p. 15.

this could be achieved, surely if slowly, by the progressive adoption of Christianity and by the courageous application of its life-giving teaching about the nature of God and His purpose for man.

Throughout this period the little Christian communities under his care were growing larger and stronger. This gracious and indefatigable almoner of public relief was primarily a minister of the Gospel, and he so ministered to his people that they increased both in numbers and in the knowledge of God. The following extract from his autobiography will indicate something of his methods and their results :—

" On February 18th, 1877, I preached on the Parable of the Talents, and showed that we had to trade with our Master's gifts, and that we should be rewarded according to our deeds. I urged my hearers that, in addition to the ordinary worship, those who joined the Church should henceforth make vows as to the particular way they proposed to serve God :—

(1) By subscribing money to print and circulate Christian books.

(2) By devoting a certain part of their time to preach the Gospel.

(3) By visiting and healing the sick.

(4) By comforting the afflicted.

(5) By giving alms and distributing warm clothes in winter to the deserving poor.

(6) By rendering help in burying the dead of the poor.

(7) By distributing medicine gratis.

(8) By care of the aged, widows and orphans.

" At that time the Old Testament had not been translated into Mandarin, but only the book, *Line upon Line*, which gave the substance of it. So the leaders of the Church were instructed to use *Line upon Line*, and in this way they became familiar with the

Old Testament heroes and saints. I also projected a series of addresses on the answers to prayer, for children by Abraham, for rain by Elijah, for life to the dead by Elisha, for protection by Daniel, for victory by Moses, for the cessation of pestilence by David, and other instances.

"Old women of sixty and seventy, who could never read a word before, were now committing our books to memory, and on Sundays travelled as many as ten miles on their crippled feet to attend Christian services. One of the inquirers led the representatives of thirty villages to pray to God for rain. Another time a woman led six of her neighbours to do the same, and it is my joy to record the fact that, despite the sneers of the sceptics, rain did fall in both instances.

"In July, 1877, I drew up rules for Church discipline, largely after the manner of those laid down in Smith's *Christian Antiquities*:—

(1) That the Chinese Christians should set apart some of their money for the support of widows and orphans, the unfortunate and the sick.

(2) That patient endurance of suffering from the Christian community as well as from the non-Christians be considered evidence of Christian love.

(3) That there should be the offering of talents in God's service as well as money.

(4) That the Christians should aim at the salvation of others as well as themselves.

(5) That no member of the Church should go to law without having first consulted his native pastor."

As the number of inquirers increased he organized them into bands of men and women, under leaders of their own choice. "Those chosen were to be of good report and peace-makers, prepared to devote much of their time to save their fellow-men from sin and lead them to God. Prizes were given for the best Christian

tracts and hymns. Music was to be taught. The learners were exhorted to be hospitable and liberal to those who were spending time in teaching them."

It was a most sagacious and salutary regimen, and it was blessed of God with a phenomenal success. When the call came for him to leave Shantung for Shansi, Ch'ing-chou-fu was the centre of a Christian Church of 700 members, with more than 1,000 inquirers under catechetical instruction for Church membership.

SHANSI

The call to leave Shantung, where, during seven adventurous and arduous years, he had so impressed his Christian personality upon the people, came in the fall of the year 1877, and it came in this way. Bad as famine conditions were in Shantung, they were far worse in Shansi. The years 1875 and 1876 had been so abnormally dry that, when scarcely any rain fell in 1877, the crops failed altogether and the people were brought face to face with starvation and death. It was the worst famine on record, and relief measures presented appalling difficulties. Shantung was accessible by sea, so that some food supplies could be taken thither in ships, but Shansi was so distant an inland province that "a horse or mule would eat the food off its back on the journey." When news of the situation reached Shanghai a Famine Relief Committee was at once set up and Dr. Muirhead, of the London Missionary Society, was requested to invite Richard to become its almoner in Shansi. Such a call could not be disregarded. Richard's experience of relief work in Shantung, and his outstanding ability and adaptability, singled him out as the best man for the task. He discussed the matter with his new colleague, A. G. Jones, and with his old Chinese colleague, Pastor Ch'ing, who had recently joined them at Ch'ing-chou-fu,

and they prayed about it. Eventually they agreed that it was his Christian duty to go to Shansi, and Richard fully concurred. He felt that he could safely leave the Shantung Church under the care of Jones and Ch'ing ("one of the finest Christians ever found in China") whereas Shansi presented the challenge of a vast, unoccupied field of service. Its people were in the straits of spiritual no less than of physical starvation. "At the close of our prayers and talk," he wrote afterwards, "I was so profoundly impressed with the deep feeling that God was giving us an opportunity of exercising influence over many millions of people, that a powerful physical thrill affected me so that I could hardly walk back across the courtyard of my own room."

When it became known that Richard had decided to leave Shantung for Shansi, several members of the Church volunteered to go with him. But he persuaded them that it was their duty to stay on at Ch'ing-chou-fu, and he undertook the long journey to T'ai-yuan-fu, the capital of Shansi, accompanied only by his Christian servant and a Christian farmer. Before setting out on this perilous journey he took the wise precaution of securing a passport from Li Hung Chang, the then Viceroy of Chihli. It was the month of November, and the weather, therefore, was bitterly cold, and it became colder as they approached Shansi. For some part of the way they travelled in carts, but when they came to the mountains of Shansi they rode on mules. At night they were thankful for the warm shelter of such inns as they found—many of them built in caves dug out of cliffs of loess. As they proceeded on their journey they came across many gruesome reminders of the consequences of famine—for example, dead bodies lying by the roadside, torn by dogs and wolves, and these terrible sights, coupled with the Arctic cold, so unnerved his two companions

that Richard told them they could return home. This they did, but only to meet the indignant remonstrances of their fellow Christians when they arrived. "To think that you, being Chinese, and accustomed to the climate of your country, should leave the foreigner, unused to it, to face all the cold and perils and privation alone! Shame on you! It is a disgrace!" they cried. The two men thought better of it and, after many weeks of travelling, they rejoined Richard at T'ai-yuan-fu.

The capital of Shansi stands about 3,000 feet above sea-level (Ch'ing-chou-fu is only about 200 feet), and it is situated at the north end of a plateau extending about 100 miles (north to south) long and about 30 miles wide. Its winter climate, therefore, is very severe.

When Richard arrived at T'ai-yuan-fu he at once called upon the Governor, showed him his passport and told him of his mission of famine relief. The Governor, fearing anti-Government disturbances, gave him a chilly reception, put difficulties in his way, and, thinking that the supposed hostility of Roman Catholics and Protestants would neutralize his efforts, suggested that he gave his money to the former body, which had been established in the province since the Jesuit ascendancy in Peking. Richard thanked him and promised to discuss the matter with the Roman Catholic Bishop. This he did, stating that he would willingly hand over the money for the relief of the orphans in their charge, provided that one of his men could co-operate in its distribution, so that he could send in a detailed report to Shanghai. The Bishop declined this proposal, but readily confirmed the report of their interview which Richard drew up and sent to the Governor, with a request for further advice. The Governor was so long in considering his reply that Richard decided to profit from the delay by visiting the south of the province,

where the distress was most acute, and so getting a first-hand knowledge of prevailing conditions. Before setting out, however, he drew up a list of questions which he asked the Roman Catholic Bishop to forward to his priests, and to return their replies to him as soon as possible. The Bishop readily granted this request, with the result that, when Richard returned from his trip, their replies were awaiting him. They gave him a fund of useful information, from several districts of the province, on such matters as the usual and the famine price of grain, the rate of famine mortality and of evacuation, the proportion of women left behind, and the percentage of cattle that remained uneaten. This information he summarized and wrote out in the diary of his experiences which he kept and which he afterwards sent to Shanghai.

He set out on his perilous journey on January 28th, 1878, accompanied only by a servant. They were mounted on mules. A few extracts from his diary will help us to realize some of the scenes through which they passed :—

" January 28th.—Before leaving the city we could not go straight to the south gate, as there was a man lying in the street about to die of starvation, and a crowd had gathered round.

" January 29th.—Passed four dead men on the road and another moving on his hands and knees, having no strength to stand up.

" January 30th.—Passed two men apparently just dead. . . . A few *li* farther there was a man of about forty walking in front of us, with unsteady steps like a drunken man. A puff of wind blew him over to rise no more. . . . saw fourteen dead on the roadside. One had only a stocking on. His corpse was being dragged by a dog, so light it was. . . . A third corpse

was a feast to a score of screaming crows and magpies. There were fat pheasants, rabbits, foxes, and wolves, but men and women had no means of living. . . .

" In the midst of such universal suffering, the wonder was that there was no robbery of the rich. But to-day this was explained, for there were notices put up in the villages saying that by order of the Governor, if any persons attempted robbery and violence, the head-men of the town or village were empowered to put the robbers to death at once. The result was a wonderful absence of crime.

" February 1st.—Saw six dead bodies in half a day. . . . Saw men grinding soft stones, somewhat like those from which stone pencils are made, into powder, which were sold for from two to three cash per cutty (1⅓ lb.) to be mixed with any grain, or grass seed, or roots, and made into cakes. I tried some of these cakes, and they tasted like most of them were—clay. Many died of constipation in consequence of eating them. Farther on I saw two heads in one cage, a warning to those who would attempt violence.

" February 2nd.—At the next city was the most awful sight I ever saw. It was early in the morning when I approached the city gate. On one side of it was a pile of naked dead men, heaped on top of each other as though they were pigs in a slaughter-house. On the other side of the gate was a similar heap of dead women, their clothing having been taken away to pawn for food. Carts were there to take the corpses away to two great pits, into one of which they threw the men, and into the other the women.

" Snow had fallen the night before. On the snow there were the marks of what had been a struggle between two men, and blood was mingled with the snow—a sign that it was not safe to travel alone,

although there were two human heads hung in cages on two separate trees as a warning to evil-doers. For many miles in this district the trees were all white, stripped clean for ten or twenty feet high of their bark, which was being used for food. We passed many houses without doors and window-frames, which had been sold as firewood.

"February 3rd.—Saw only seven persons to-day, but no woman among them. This was explained by meeting carts daily full of women being taken away for sale. There were travellers on foot also, all carrying weapons of defence, even children in their teens, some with spears, some with bright gleaming swords, others with rusty knives, proofs of their terrible plight. We did not feel very safe in their midst.

"February 4th.—Stopped at Siang Liu. Met forty carts from Pu Chow fu going north for grain. . . . Heard stories at the inn that night of parents exchanging their children as they could not eat their own, that men dared not go to the pits for coal as mules, donkeys, and their owners were liable to be killed and eaten."

He had gone far enough, and, having gathered sufficient proofs of the horrors of famine to move even hearts of stone, he decided to return to T'ai-yuan-fu.

"Returning along the same road, we had a daily repetition of the same ghastly sights, until I sometimes wondered whether the scenes were not the imagination of a disordered mind.

"The many refugees I met coming from Pu-Chow-fu, the extreme south of the province, had the same tale to tell. When I asked them the percentage of dead and of those who had migrated, in no instance did they say that less than fifty had disappeared. In many places only twenty or thirty remained. I heard from

other eye-witnesses that they had seen 270 dead on the roadside in three days. In every city there were carts going about, carrying some thirty or forty daily, to be buried in pits.

"Small wonder that I began to doubt my senses or my sanity, amid such scenes of horror. Was I among the living or among the tormented dead? Terrible as the suffering was, we did not dare to give relief except surreptitiously; for once it was known that we gave relief, we would have been surrounded by such crowds that progress would have been impossible, and our lives would have been endangered, perhaps lost, without any good to the people, while by our safe return and subsequent appeal many of their lives would be saved.

"At the end of fourteen days we were back in T'ai-yuan-fu, and thankful we were for a respite from the awful sights which we had seen from day to day on our travels."

Such was the situation as Timothy Richard beheld and described it, and which we must try to picture and keep before us. "That winter, too, was the coldest for years. The Yellow River was frozen, so that carts could cross over the ice, an event which had not happened before for thirty years." To add to the horror, there was the deadly and devastating famine fever.

How did he address himself to this vast and horrifying problem?

He found that the Government was transporting grain, at its own expense, from Tientsin, eight hundred miles away, but that this relief measure was almost hopelessly hampered by the shocking state of the available roads, the slowness of the transport (carts, camels, mules), and the corruption or ineptitude of so many officials. "When the Great Famine of 1876–79 was over, the greatest on record in history, during which half the

eighteen provinces of China suffered more or less, there can be no doubt that between fifteen and twenty millions of people had perished—a number equal to the population of a whole European kingdom. These millions could have been saved if the Chinese officials had not been so full of pride, saying that they alone were civilized, that they had nothing to learn from the barbarians of the West."

Some Christian missionaries had slightly preceded Richard in Shansi—Messrs. James and Turner, of the China Inland Mission, who had arrived in the early part of 1877. After spending the summer and autumn months in evangelistic work, they succumbed to famine fever and had to leave T'ai-yuan-fu two days before Richard's arrival there. They therefore share with him the distinction of being the first Protestant missionaries to labour in Shansi, although their stay was short. Then the Rev. Arnold Foster, an L.M.S. missionary in Hankow, had inquired into the facts of the famine during a brief visit to Tientsin and to Shansi. What he saw decided him to hurry to Britain to raise money for famine relief. He also left Shansi two days before Richard entered the province. In London he met Sir Thomas Wade, the British Minister to China, who advised delay, pending fuller information. Fortunately, Richard's diary and report, which he had sent on to Shanghai, had been forwarded to London, and they were delivered there at that very time. The coincidence was providential. Richard's testimony so reinforced Foster's appeal that Sir Thomas Wade and the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Tait) were able to induce the Lord Mayor of London to open a Mansion House Relief Fund.

Richard's next step was to secure official sanction for his relief work, on as extensive a scale as possible. More money had come, and was coming, in from Shanghai, and he chafed at the thought of its lying useless when

so many starving people needed it; but the Governor still delayed replying to his earlier request. Richard accordingly sent word to him that he proposed to distribute relief in some of the neediest villages in five days' time. This intimation moved the Governor to action. He at once sent the city magistrate and assistant magistrates to confer with him, and they allocated certain villages to him, with the promise of help from local officials and gentry. This arrangement was perfectly acceptable to Richard. It gave him access to official registers of the population; it secured immunity from disturbance; and, best of all, it established a basis of friendly co-operation with the Chinese officials, which held firm to the end. Richard's relief work was made to supplement that of the Government, whose undertaking, however inadequate, was necessarily on an enormously larger scale. Government relief included money grants (one hundred cash per month, i.e. a farthing a day, per person) in the villages, and a daily pot of millet gruel in the cities and chief market towns. In T'ai-yuan-fu twenty thousand people went daily for their pot of gruel. The Governor safeguarded official efficiency and public order by the stern punishment of all offenders. An official convicted of peculation was at once executed.

But Richard's mind was also, as always, busy with larger plans, and he recommended the following three measures to the Governor's consideration:

"(1) Emigration on a large scale to Manchuria and other places where cheap grain was to be got.

"(2) The commencement of public works, such as railways, which, besides giving immediate occupation to people who had to earn a living, would be of permanent value, preventing famine in the future.

"(3) A famine relief tax to be imposed on the provinces not suffering from famine."

These proposals were akin to those which he had previously advanced in Shantung, and for the time being they proved equally abortive. The Governor of Shansi did, indeed, set up a commission to consider the scheme, but its report was negative. Nothing was said about emigration and the famine relief tax, and the suggestion of a railway, although seen to be advantageous, was turned down on the ground that the many foreigners required to build it would themselves be a source of constant trouble to the province.

At this time, too, Richard became convinced of the feasibility and immense practical advantages of flying machines.

Immersed as he was in these exacting affairs, Richard made time to write about other important matters that pressed upon his heart and mind. For example, he wrote to Mr. A. H. Baynes, then Secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society, soliciting his influence to interest some of the leading Christian men of Britain in the newly-appointed Chinese Ambassador to London, that he might be introduced to the more Christian side of our Western civilization. He wrote a pamphlet for circulation among the leading Chinese gentry, pointing out how famines could be averted if they were brave and humble enough to learn from the practice of other countries, and pleading for the co-operation of East and West for the good of China. He also wrote a letter to the Protestant Missions at work in China, deploring the waste and inefficiency which resulted from their lack of unified co-operation. Alas! He was far ahead of his time, and this fundamental question was not faced until the Shanghai (Centenary) Conference of 1907, nearly thirty years later.

Welcome reinforcements arrived at Tientsin in March, 1878, bringing with them about thirty thousand *taels* from the Shanghai Relief Committee. They were the Revs.

David Hill, of the Wesleyan Methodist Mission; Albert Whiting, of the American Presbyterian Mission; and Joshua Turner, one of the missionaries who had visited Shansi the previous year. Defying the prevalent and "terribly infectious famine fever, which had carried away some of the best missionaries in Tientsin," they made their way to T'ai-yuan-fu, but they had hardly arrived there when Whiting fell a victim to it. He died on April 25th.

The three men, knit together in the bonds of a common Christian faith and compassion, planned fresh and larger measures of relief. They were in possession of considerable funds. In addition to the money from Shanghai, they now had substantial and regular contributions from the Mansion House Relief Fund, which, after being cabled to Shanghai and shipped to Tientsin, were consigned to Richard at T'ai-yuan-fu in charge of an escort of Li Hung Chang's soldiers. They soon moved, however, from T'ai-yuan-fu to P'ing-yang-fu, where the suffering was more acute, and there, with the help of officials appointed by the Governor, they settled down to their task of distribution. They distributed relief in no fewer than 145 villages, whose populations varied from 63 to 1,267, and whose families averaged 3·1 in size. They found the population, as a whole, greatly reduced; 150,000, they were told, had died in a county of 250,000 inhabitants.

Altogether, Richard and his few colleagues, who for a while included Canon Scott (later Bishop of North China) of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, are said to have distributed relief (presumably regular relief) to no fewer than 157,603 persons, scattered over seven counties. They had to distribute their relief in money because they lacked sufficient helpers to import and distribute grain. Even so, their difficulties were complicated by the crudity and the exasperating inequalities

of Chinese currency. The amount of money contributed for famine relief from the ports and from Britain (including some £3,300 from British Baptist Churches) totalled at least £60,000, and three-fifths of this money was entrusted to them. Small wonder that Mr. Hillier, the British Consul, in his official report to Lord Salisbury on the distribution of the Famine Fund, felt bound to pay them this impressive, and so deserved, tribute:

> "It would be invidious to make any distinction in recording the services of this devoted band; but Mr. Richard, whose Chinese name, Li Timotai, is known far and wide among all classes of natives, stands out so conspicuously that he must be regarded as the chief of the distributors. He had experience in 1877 of a similar work in Shantung, and, by his great tact and power of organization, has been a powerful agent in bringing the relief through to a successful termination. . . . I may say that I have never heard foreigners, individually, spoken of with such respect and esteem as these gentlemen, a reputation they have earned by their own influence and exertions. Lives which bear every mark of transparent simplicity and truthfulness, that will stand the test of the severest scrutiny, must in the end have their due effect. It seems presumptuous to offer praise to men whose literal interpretations of the calls of duty have placed them almost beyond the reach of popular commendation; but perhaps I may be allowed to say that anyone who has seen the lives that these men are leading cannot fail to feel proud of being able to claim them as countrymen of his own."

The people of Shansi showed their gratitude in various ways. At P'ing-yang-fu they set up a stone tablet, recording the help they had received from them. A deputation asked for their photographs, which they proposed to set up in their temples for perpetual

remembrance. The Governor sent Richard a very flattering letter of thanks, in his own name and on behalf of the many thousands whom he had helped to save from starvation. "This letter I destroyed," wrote Richard afterwards, "for fear I might be tempted at some future time to make an improper use of it." But when the Governor solicited the Throne for the conferring of honours on those who had engaged in relief work, he omitted the names of the missionaries who had wrought the most relief and for two years had risked their lives in its daily distribution. Later on, indeed, official rank was offered to them by Li Hung Chang, but it was respectfully declined. To them the service had a Divine authority and sanction which put it far above the categories of earthly reward and honours. They valued the appreciation of men, but their joy was to do the Master's will. And they found that their fidelity herein led to further disclosures and still larger opportunities. Their magnificent relief work in Shansi proved, under God, to be the direct means of opening up that vast province for the undertaking and development of their primary task—Christian evangelism and education. Indispensable though bread may be, man cannot live by bread alone. They were in China to give to its people the Bread of Life.

CHAPTER IV

MISSIONARY WORK IN SHANSI

THE worst of the Shansi famine had barely passed, and further calls for famine relief were to be made upon him, when Timothy Richard married Miss Mary Martin, an accomplished Scottish lady who had joined the United Presbyterian Mission early in 1878. After a brief

engagement they were married in Chefoo, in October, 1878, and in November they left for T'ai-yuan-fu. Their union was entirely happy and of permanent mutual blessing. "Well educated, intellectual, musical, a good speaker and writer, gentle and brave, idealistic but practical, she consented to share his life, and thereby greatly enriched it," wrote Dr. Soothill. "*Now*," wrote Richard himself in the first glow of his happiness, "I have my dear wife to welcome me each time I come home; and not only so, she is in sympathy with my work, working and praying for the same end." And again, after many years: "No missionary ever had a more devoted wife."

Before leaving for the coast Richard had temporarily given up his house at T'ai-yuan-fu to Mrs. Hudson Taylor, the Misses Horne and Crickney, and Mr. Baller, who had arrived there in answer to his appeal to the China Inland Mission for more workers in what had now become a promising field of missionary service. They were soon joined by Mr. and Mrs. James, of the same Society, and, pending the rental of another house, they all continued to reside in it after Richard's return thither with his bride. The arrangement worked well, for within a month Richard was called away to carry out relief work in southern Shansi, with Canon Scott and Mr. Capel, of the S.P.G. He was away for four months, and he had just completed the work when he became ill with an attack of dysentery, brought on by fatigue and exposure to the sun. He was carried on a litter to P'ing-yang-fu, and he stayed there until he was well enough to return to T'ai-yuan-fu and the Mission work which he was so anxious to begin.

To this undertaking he consecrated all the resources of his now matured strength. Seeking to win the whole province for Christ, he was ready to adapt ways and

means to that end, and to adopt those which were most likely to be effective. He sent to Shanghai for a complete set of Roman Catholic publications in Chinese, and to Peking for a complete set of the Chinese publications of the Greek Orthodox Church. Ricci and the earlier Jesuits, he found, had used Christian literature so successfully that converts had been won in considerable numbers from the highest as well as from the lowest circles of Chinese society. Excluding the merely Roman or Greek, there remained much in their writings that Richard felt could and should be used for the propagation of Christianity, and the more so because of the comparative meagreness and inadequacy of the Chinese literature of contemporary Protestantism. His sense of the importance of literature grew stronger and stronger as the years went by, and it was, of course, a determinative factor in his subsequent missionary career.

He became convinced also of the advantage, even the necessity, of co-ordinating the Protestant missionary enterprise, and he discussed the matter with his colleagues. It was the Roman Catholic policy to allocate certain large areas to particular societies or "orders." Why could there not be a similar plan for the various Protestant denominations? It would ensure the avoidance of overlapping and the more effective use of man-power. Better still, if only it were possible for them to form united Chinese Churches! Such were his thoughts and outlook —sixty-five, and more, years ago!

It was a real joy to Richard that David Hill went to T'ai-yuan-fu in 1879, and decided to settle there for a while. "Our friendship," he wrote, "was the closest, happiest and sweetest, and lasted till his death." It has been well said of these two noble and notable men that: "David Hill became especially the friend of the poor, with an open heart for officials and gentry; Timothy

Richard, with an open heart for the poor, became especially an associate of officials and gentry, with a programme of so raising China as a whole, that the physical and moral destitution of the populace should be mitigated and eventually removed." Both men had gone to China, "not to condemn, but to save; not to destroy, but to fulfil; not to sadden, but to gladden," through the Name of their common Lord, Jesus Christ.

The missionaries' first major undertaking, at Richard's suggestion, was to distribute Gospels, pamphlets and specially prepared tracts throughout the one hundred and eight counties of the province of Shansi. "It was a gigantic task, considering the fewness of our numbers. A great map of the counties of the province was laid before us, and volunteers were asked to undertake distribution in as many counties as they could. After a large number had been provided for, I undertook to distribute in the rest, and the task was accomplished within one year."

Advantage was taken of the 1879 triennial examinations for the Chü-ren (M.A.) degree, held at T'ai-yuan-fu, and attended by about seven thousand candidates. Suitable pamphlets were freely circulated among the examinees, and prizes were offered, from money generously provided by Sir Robert Hart, for the best essays on specified moral and religious subjects. Over a hundred essays were sent in, and one of the prizes was won by a Mr. Hsi, of P'ing-yang-fu, afterwards so well known as Pastor Hsi.

The year 1880 saw China on the brink of catastrophic war with Russia, and Richard, always the zealous promoter of peace, sought to avert the calamity. He wrote a pamphlet on Peace, and, at no small personal risk, he went to Peking to circulate it and to memorialize the high officials of the Government. He saw very clearly, and feared, the inevitable defeat of China.

Lectures to Officials and Scholars

The importance of presenting the claims of Christianity to the governing classes of China was borne in upon him very strongly about this time by an interview which he had with Li Hung Chang. Richard was passing through Tientsin and the Viceroy, hearing of it, sent word to say that he would like to see him and Mr. Lees, of the L.M.S. After thanking them for their services in famine relief, he proceeded to discuss the subject of Christian Missions, and said: "Your converts gather round you because they and their friends are in your service, and have their living thereby. Withdraw the pay of these native agents and there will be no more Christians." The Church of Christ in China has provided abundant and irrefutable proof of the falsity of this charge. Li Hung Chang also pointed out that there were no Christians among the educated classes of the land. "This made me consider more than ever," wrote Richard, "the importance of influencing the leaders, and I returned to Shansi resolved to lecture to the officials and scholars."

He lost no time in carrying out this resolution, which, he knew, would tax all his powers. There were mountains of prejudice, no less than of sheer ignorance, to be overcome, but he believed in the prevailing power of Truth, and he set to work. Western civilization had "sought to discover the workings of God in Nature, and to apply the laws of Nature to the service of mankind," and he was convinced that if he could interest and instruct the local officials and gentry, and the many others who hoped to become officials, in these "miracles of science," he would promote the material interests not only of Shansi, but of the whole of China. Further, inasmuch

as the God of Nature was also the God of grace, and the "natural" and the "spiritual" were so intimately related, he hoped that these lectures would conduce to the service of the Gospel.

The scale of his programme called for careful, even elaborate, preparation. He had enjoyed the privileges of a passably good education, but it had been mainly on the side of the "arts" rather than of "science," and it is a tribute equally to the native vigour of his mind and to the quality of his Christian devotion that, at the age of thirty-five, he applied himself to these studies. Mrs. Richard heartily supported the project and encouraged him in all his preparations for its successful pursuit. They reduced their personal and household expenditure to the minimum of bare necessities in order to save money for the purchase of up-to-date books and apparatus. From 1880 to 1884, he tells us, he spent, out of his modest missionary allowance and a legacy left to him by a relative, nearly £1,000 on books and instruments. His purchases included standard theological books on Romanism and Protestantism—German, American, British, High Church, Low Church, Broad Church, and Nonconformist—"to guard myself against becoming a one-sided Christian"; books on Comparative Religion and Church History; biographies; a complete set of Max Müller's *Sacred Books of the East*; a complete set of the Buddhist *Tripitaka*, translated into Chinese (costing £32); books on Astronomy, Electricity, Chemistry, Geology, Natural History, Engineering, Workshop Tools; books on Medicine and on various Industries; standard Histories of several nations; the Literature of Asia; the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (at 30s. a volume); Chambers's *Encyclopædia*—and many other volumes. As for apparatus, we learn that he bought a telescope, microscope, spectroscope, hand

dynamo (costing £40), Wimshurst machine, induction coil, various galvanic batteries, galvanometer, Geissler tubes, voltmeter, electrometer, pocket sextant, pocket aneroids, magic-lanterns worked by oxy-hydrogen, spirits of wine, acetylene, with the latest set of astronomical slides, natural history slides on Australia, Africa, America, etc., botanical slides on tea, coffee, cocoa, india-rubber, sugar-cane, etc., and scientific slides, a complete photographic outfit (which he afterwards gave to his Chinese assistant, who became the best photographer in the province), and a sewing machine.

From his study of these books, and by the use of his apparatus, he was able to give regular lectures on the following subjects :—

" (1) The Astronomical miracle discovered by Copernicus.

(2) The miracles of Chemistry.

(3) The miracles of Mechanics, such as the lathe and other tools, leading to the sewing machine and bicycle, etc.

(4) The miracles of Steam, bringing incalculable blessings to every country that adopted them, as seen in railways, and steamers and factories.

(5) The miracles of Electricity as seen in the dynamo, used for light and power transmission.

(6) The miracles of Light, as seen in the magic-lantern and photography.

(7) The miracles of Medicine and Surgery."

For three years Richard gave monthly lectures to large audiences of officials and scholars, at their own request and to their marked appreciation. When the Manchus and Chinese quarrelled over a newly-built theatre a Prefect urged the Governor to give it to him for his lectures. In this way many hundreds of the " key men " of the province had their first introduction to Western

Science and its vast, far-reaching potentialities, and he encouraged those who wished to ask questions to remain behind after the lectures were over that they might freely discuss them together. For all of them the experience was a revelation; for most of them it must have been an intellectual Renascence; and for some of them it opened the way to a religious Reformation.

"In all the lectures I pointed out how God had provided infinite powers for men's use in the forces of Nature, in ignorance of which men lived like drudges and slaves. Many of the Government couriers, after riding with despatches for long distances at the rate of two hundred miles a day, often died of fatigue, while the electric telegraph was able to transmit in a few minutes messages from all round the earth, causing no exhaustion to anyone. The matter of supreme importance was that we should study all the laws of God in Nature, so as to gain the benefits that God intended to bestow upon us when He stored up all these forces for our use, and then show our gratitude for all His loving-kindness by obeying His spiritual laws."

In consequence of these lectures so many officials called to see him that he was obliged to rent an additional office in an adjoining street, in order to secure some measure of quiet for his studies. But he valued, and sought to take full advantage of, these opportunities of closer, more personal, intercourse because he knew that, after all, there was "nothing comparable with the love of God, with the love which genuine Christians all have, and the marvellous power of prayer, and the comfort of the Holy Ghost in the heart. These are the truths, with the fact of redemption from our sins, so as to make us meet for the inheritance of the saints in light, which are the truest and grandest discoveries ever heard of. They can give joy *to all* and for ever."

These intellectual and personal contacts did much to lift the status of Christian missionaries in the eyes of the official classes, and they proved helpful in safeguarding their persons, and those of their converts, against many petty annoyances and even against more serious persecution. Many of these officials promised to befriend his fellow-missionaries if he gave them letters of introduction when settling in their districts. That they kept their promise is proved by the fact that "at the end of eight years' work in Shansi, there were fifty missionaries from Europe and America, with many mission stations, in the province, and not a single riot anywhere."

But his activities were by no means confined to the upper classes. Alongside of this extraordinary work he carried on the more ordinary duties of the missionary: evangelism in town and country; the conduct of regular services; the oversight of seven village elementary schools; teaching the sixty boys in Mrs. Richard's orphanage. And, by the grace of God, this work also prospered, surely if less spectacularly.

Missionary Co-operation

Throughout his career Richard's brotherly and eirenical spirit prompted, and rejoiced in, the closest possible co-operation with his fellow-missionaries, of all branches of the Christian Church. It was by his invitation that the China Inland Mission, had sent missionaries to T'ai-yuan-fu, and when they arrived there he had given them the hospitality of his house and home. With them, and with the several other missionaries who soon reinforced them, he had such fellowship that he was able to win them to his suggestion of one united Church, rather than separate churches, in the city and of the delimitation of their spheres of work in the province. Hudson Taylor intervened, however, in 1881, and in-

sisted that his Mission should work separately—chiefly, it appears, because of their differences of theological outlook and emphasis. We cannot but regret this divergence of two such devoted and distinguished Christian missionaries, but we must recognize it and respect the convictions which were responsible for it. Let us also, however, thankfully acknowledge the undeniable fact that God signally honoured with His blessing the work which each of them was enabled to do.

"Taylor and Timothy Richard," writes Latourette, "were outstanding exponents of different and in time conflicting conceptions of the missionary's function. They had much in common. . . . Both dared to think in terms of all China and to attempt to formulate methods for reaching the whole of the nation much more expeditiously and effectively than was being done by their contemporaries. They were unlike in that Richard dreamed of seeing all phases of China's life transformed by the introduction of every wholesome feature of Western civilization, while Taylor confined his efforts to the proclamation of the Gospel as understood by the Evangelicals of the time. Richard's theology was the more flexible and he was quicker to recognize all that was good in the non-Christian faiths of China. Each was a great missionary, and it witnesses to the inclusiveness of Protestantism that both were usually recognized as in good and regular standing in missionary circles."[1]

To conclude with Richard's own words :—

"The matter is now a thing of the past. I see nothing to regret in my attitude at the time, although to this day its consequences follow me. But I am glad to say that in T'ai-yuan-fu there is no longer any schism, the Baptist Missionary Society now occupying the whole city."

[1] *Christian Missions in China, p.* 387.

Intercourse between Protestant and Roman Catholic Christians has always, and necessarily, been difficult—difficult, but desirable and not impossible, as Richard proved again and again. Here, as elsewhere, he sought out and found the "worthy." Courtesy and friendliness provoked a kindred response. For example, in Chefoo he made friends with Father Angelini. When about to leave for Chi-nan-fu he asked if there was anything he could take to the priests there, and Angelini gave him a parcel, which Richard duly delivered at the Cathedral. "The Bishop was not at home, but the priests were very friendly and invited me to dinner with them." Three years later, happening to be at Chefoo and hearing that Angelini was ill, he called to see him. "I found him in bed. After some talk, he asked if I would pray for him, which of course I was glad to do." And Angelini, though uninvited, attended his wedding.

In T'ai-yuan-fu his relations with the Roman Catholic Bishop were on a footing of friendship, born of mutual respect, that survived their important theological discussions and differences. The Bishop offered public prayer in the Cathedral on behalf of Richard and his colleagues when they were engaged in famine relief, and he instructed his priests to extend their hospitality to him if he chanced to be near their churches, as he would find their quarters cleaner than the inns. Richard lectured on Astronomy to his students, and when the bishops of the five dioceses of the Empire were in conference at T'ai-yuan-fu he was invited to meet them. On one occasion he was instrumental in saving their Cathedral from the superstitious violence of the populace.

In 1882 the brilliant and energetic Chang Chih-tung was appointed Governor of Shansi. Chang was a sincere patriot, devoted to the welfare of his people, but at that time he barely tolerated the presence of foreigners. He

was big enough a man, however, to change his mind (partly through the influence of Richard) on this matter, and he figures prominently and honourably in subsequent Chinese history. On two separate occasions he invited Richard to give up his missionary work and enter the Chinese Imperial service, and they occurred in this way, as Richard tells us:—

"From the beginning of his Governorship in Shansi, Chang Chih-tung was most energetic in devising means to enrich the people and to avert future famines. Finding in the archives of the Yamen in T'ai-yuan-fu some suggestions of mine to the former Governor . . . to build railways, open mines, commence manufactures and industries, and found a college for modern education, he called together the leading officials and laid the suggestions before them, and afterwards sent a deputation of three officials asking me to give up missionary work and enter the Chinese service for the purpose of carrying out my ideas. I replied that, although I knew the value of these reforms, I was not an expert, and it would be necessary for a number of foreigners to be engaged who were experts in their respective lines of work before the reforms could be carried out satisfactorily. The officials replied that the Governor understood that, but, as I had the interests of China at heart, he desired to find suitable men to carry out the various reforms under my direction. To this I replied that, however important material advantages were, the missionary was engaged in work of still greater importance, and that I could not permanently leave the higher work for the lower. I, therefore, declined the honour and emolument.

"As there was danger of the river flooding the city, the Governor asked me to take surveys of the land around T'ai-yuan-fu and make suggestions for preventing inundations. I asked Dr. Schofield to help

me in taking levels and photographs, and we reported our views to the Governor. He also asked me to get estimates of proper mining machinery for him, which I did.

" Before the Governor had made up his mind what to do in regard to his projected reforms, he was made Viceroy of Canton, to deal with the French, who were making trouble on the borders of Annam.

" Later, when he was transferred to be Viceroy of Wuchang, the suggestions made in Shansi were not forgotten. He founded steel works, started the railway, and began industries and modern colleges, such as I had suggested to him in Shansi. Once more I was asked to join his service, and once more I declined. I also felt that underneath this invitation there was a strong residuum of anti-foreign feeling which I feared might produce too much friction. He was about the only official at that time who seemed awake and in earnest. The rest were still asleep or proud or indifferent to the sufferings of the people."

Herein we see further proofs of the reality and quality of Richard's sense of personal missionary vocation, and of his appraisal of its unique importance in the service of China.

Return to Shantung

In that same year (1882), at the urgent request of A. G. Jones and his junior colleagues, Kitts and Whitewright, Richard returned to Ch'ing-chou-fu. Jones had to go home for a while and he felt that the interests of the young Church required the senior missionary's presence during his absence. Richard demurred, thinking that it might be good for the Church to have to rely upon its own resources and leadership, but eventually he yielded and went. It meant prolonged separation from his wife, whom he would not expose to the rigours of a twenty-one days' journey under a sun so hot that, one

day, his carter cried out: "It's raining fire to-day." At Chi-nan-fu he became so seriously ill with dysentery that he thought he was dying, and went so far as to write a farewell letter to Mrs. Richard and a message to Jones, "Bury me in Ch'ing-chou-fu." Kitts hurried on horseback to his aid, but at once took the same disease. And so did Whitewright. Fortunately, Mrs. Kitts, who followed in their wake, travelling in a chair, proved immune and "thanks to her careful nursing, the three of us recovered." The Governor of Shantung showed what he thought of Richard by sending an official to his inn to attend to his wants until his recovery. When Richard afterwards called to thank him he ordered an escort of four mounted soldiers to accompany the missionary party all the way to Ch'ing-chou-fu.

As they journeyed to Ch'ing-chou-fu they halted for Sunday at an inn in a small country town, and Richard asked the innkeeper what kind of harvest they had had. "'A very good one,' he replied.

"'Have you thanked God for it?'

"'No; we do not know how to thank Him.'

"'Do you think the people in the town would like to thank God for His goodness?'

"'I think so, but they do not know how to do it.'

"'Well, if you go to the leading men of the town and tell them to come here by noon to-morrow, I will show them how to thank God. But I want only the elderly men and people. They are the only ones to whom I wish to speak."

"Some forty or fifty people came at noon. I told them how all good things came from God, and that the least we could do was to show our gratitude in worshipping Him. After a general talk, I told them that, if they knelt, I would kneel and speak to God on their behalf. Thus I offered prayer, and the people were as reverent as if they were in the habit of worshipping all

the days of their lives. I promised to send an evangelist with books to instruct them. Thus we parted, having pledged each other to permanent friendship in the service of God." Let all who would understand Timothy Richard ponder these characteristic and revealing words : " permanent friendship in the service of God ! "

On his arrival at Ch'ing-chou-fu he met A. G. Jones, and they had several days' conference before the latter left for home ; and throughout his stay Mr. and Mrs. Kitts and J. S. Whitewright, his junior Baptist Missionary Society colleagues, gave him true comradeship and loyal co-operation. Whitewright especially proved to be a missionary after his own heart, and their close companionship during those months had notable consequences in the after years. Whitewright gratefully acknowledged his deep indebtedness to him, and confessed that but for Richard's influence his famous Missionary Museum (or Institute), opened in 1887 in Ch'ing-chou-fu and then, in 1904, transferred to Chi-nan-fu, might never have come into existence. Richard described it as " by far the most remarkable Institute in China," and as " probably unique in the world." Dr. John R. Mott thought it was the greatest single piece of evangelism which he saw in China.

Assuming charge of the work, Richard spent the autumn in visiting the widely-scattered churches of the Mission, preaching and administering the Lord's Supper. He had the heartening experience of meeting, here and there, those whom he had himself led to Christ years before. One of them was a man named K'u, who had been instrumental in " founding " no fewer than five churches. When winter came, with its slackening of work on the farms, Richard invited the leaders (men and women) of the various churches to meet him at Ch'ing-chou-fu, and there he prescribed for them a series of suitable courses of Biblical and kindred studies. This

foundation work, together with his general oversight of the churches and their evangelists, occupied his time until the spring of 1883, when the arrival of Huberty James enabled him to return to T'ai-yuan-fu. He had been absent nine months, and he found a little daughter (his third), already six months old, there to give him an additional welcome. Not long afterwards, he mourned the loss of Dr. Harold Schofield, a brilliant and beloved medical missionary of the C.I.M., who died of typhus fever, caught from one of his patients.

Visit to Peking

The outbreak of the Franco-Chinese War in 1884 made the work of Christian (especially Protestant) missionaries extremely difficult, and often definitely dangerous. It seriously aggravated the latent anti-foreign sentiments of the Chinese people, often fomented by their rulers and directed not least against those who taught a "foreign" religion. In addition, there was the still unexhausted legacy of hatred against Christianity bequeathed by that most terrible Taiping Rebellion (1857–1864), in which from twenty to fifty million lives are said to have been lost. The result was the outbreak, in all parts of China, of a persecution of the Christian Churches, which varied from petty annoyance and the destruction of property to the imprisonment of Chinese Christians and attacks on Christian missionaries. For this sorry state of affairs some prominent men, high in the central and provincial governments, had a direct personal responsibility. At last matters became so serious in Shantung that Timothy Richard and Huberty James were instructed by the B.M.S. to lay them before Sir Harry Parkes, the recently-appointed British Minister at Peking, and to solicit his influence with the Chinese Government on behalf of religious liberty. One Governor, anyhow, Ting I-Chang,

Governor of Fukien, had been high-minded enough to tell Peking that the chief cause of the trouble lay not with the Christians but with the officials.

When Richard and James arrived at Peking they were disappointed to find that Sir Harry Parkes had left on a diplomatic mission to Korea, and they had to wait until he returned. It was a profitable waiting-time, however, for they used it to establish a branch of the Evangelical Alliance among the Protestant missionaries of Peking on the basis of a short creed submitted by Richard. This was the first of several branches of the "China Evangelical Alliance," which were formed later on in provincial missionary centres, and a central executive was set up in Shanghai, but it cannot be said to have realized its founders' hope that it would be influential in averting persecution. Nevertheless, it brought Protestant missionaries closer together, and no one can measure the inspiration derived from its annual week of prayer.

Richard also raised the question of the "status" of Protestant missionaries, with a view to convincing the Chinese that they were not private individuals but the duly-accredited representatives of great world-embracing Christian Societies. It was a difficult question, complicated by the fact that other foreign officials, civil and military, had their definitive rank, and no agreement was reached. In written documents the term "religious scholar" was generally employed. In the 'nineties, when the Chinese Government granted the request of the Roman Catholic Church for mandarin status to its missionaries, and offered the same privilege to Protestant missionaries, it was at once, and rightly, declined.

While in Peking Richard had several conversations with Sir Robert Hart, that most capable and Christian statesman, surely one of the best advisers the Chinese Government has ever had, and they compared their

schemes of reform. Richard gave him a list of the detailed plans which he had previously submitted to several provincial Governors and to the Foreign Office, and to Sir Robert himself he proposed :

" (1) That a commission headed by a Chinese prince, assisted by some leading statesmen, should make a tour round the world to see the conditions of other countries.

" (2) That a Commission consisting of a number of the leading scholars of the Empire should go abroad and report on the educational systems of the world.

" (3) That a Commission of the most intelligent and devout should travel abroad to study the religious conditions of the world.

" (4) That a Commission should report on the industrial condition of other countries.

" (5) That a Commission be sent to study the various means of communication in other countries.

" (6) That a Bureau be established in Peking for making known these reports throughout the provinces."

Sir Harry Parkes, on his return from Korea, readily granted Richard and James the interview which they sought, and he gave careful attention to their complaints of persecution in Shantung. He suggested that they should draft a suitable proclamation and send it to him, and he promised that, if another serious case occurred, he would try to induce the Chinese Government to issue it as an edict throughout the Empire. When he expressed regret at the absence of unofficial social intercourse with Chinese statesmen, Richard told him of his own friendly experiences at T'ai-yuan-fu, and suggested similar action on the part of the minister. In consequence, Sir Harry invited some of the leading statesmen to dinner on the occasion of the Queen's birthday, and all the invitations were accepted. This gave him keen satisfaction.

Before leaving Peking Richard also wrote a pamphlet on religious liberty, in the hope that its circulation amongst the higher Chinese officials would dissipate that ignorance of the subject which, he believed, was responsible for much of their hostility.

Richard and James had done good service at Peking, and so, having fulfilled their mission, they returned to their respective provinces. Richard was absent from T'ai-yuan-fu for five months.

In August of that year (1884) he planned a Conference of the Christian missionaries in Shansi, to which he submitted a series of important proposals which, intended as a " follow-up " of his earlier systematic distribution of Gospels and tracts throughout the one hundred and eight counties, indicate some of his matured ideas upon missionary methods. They were four in number :

" (1) An Evangelical Alliance, with an Executive Committee of three persons to approach the Government on behalf of all Missions in regard to persecution and to secure religious liberty.

" (2) The publication of better tracts to meet the needs of the province.

" (3) The engagement of at least ten evangelists to assist each foreign missionary, it being well known that most converts are won by natives.

" (4) The establishment of colleges in ten of the leading provinces, where a hundred Chinese graduates would be given a three years' course in Western learning."

At the same time he planned the formation of a Christian Literature Society :

(1) To supply such Christian literature as should induce the Chinese to assist in all works of real benefit to the Chinese.

(2) To encourage goodwill and mutual respect among all nations.

(3) To enlighten China on all topics of real benefit to her.

However far these ideas outreached their immediate application, they indicate the quality of his mind and the statesmanlike width and inclusiveness of his outlook. Many of them, too, were to bear abundant fruit in the after years.

CHAPTER V

FIRST FURLOUGH

THE time had now come when Richard decided that he ought to take his long overdue furlough. He had spent fifteen strenuous and exacting years in China, and he needed the rest and refreshment which he could find at home as nowhere else. Also, there were matters and projects which he wished to discuss with the Home Committee. Accordingly, in the autumn of 1884, he and Mrs. Richard and their four young daughters, left for the coast. At Shanghai he met A. G. Jones, who had just arrived with a party of new missionaries, and David Hill, who had come thither from Hankow in order to see him. The two friends, deeply concerned about the continued hostility of the Chinese authorities towards Christian missions, made a special journey to Nanking to try to enlist the good offices of the Viceroy, who had been Governor of Shansi during a period of the famine; but he, to their disappointment, though friendly to them personally, declined to do anything. He was, wrote Richard, "in no mood to take up the question of religious liberty." It was during this visit to Nanking that Richard first met the Buddhist bookseller and ex-Confucianist, Mr. Yang, who did much to direct and stimulate his further study of Buddhism.

Early in 1885 Richard and his family sailed for England, which they reached in due course, saved as by a miracle "from so terrible a storm in the Bay of Biscay that it nearly swamped the ship." They went to live in Edinburgh.

Immediately after his arrival Richard attended the Annual Meetings of the Baptist Missionary Society, held in the old Exeter Hall, London. He was the third of three speakers, the other two being the Revs. J. H. Shakespeare, of Norwich, and T. J. Comber, the heroic Congo missionary, and when many people, because of the lateness of the hour, had to leave the hall for their trains. He feared his speech (read from manuscript) was a failure. But the *Christian World* called attention to its importance and pointed out, in a leading article, both his and Comber's significant change of emphasis in regard to the missionary motive—the saving of the heathen less from "the sufferings of hell in the next world" than from "the hell of suffering in this world." He believed that Christ "saves" men "here" as well as "hereafter."

Richard found that A. G. Jones's report on the Mission's remarkable work in China had aroused such deep and widespread interest that the Home Committee was able to answer his plea for reinforcements with a promise of eighteen men—twelve for Shantung and six for Shansi. Richard thereupon urged the claims of Shansi for parity of consideration. It was as large as Shantung and provisional work had been undertaken in each of its one hundred and eight counties, which needed to be consolidated. But his vision ranged beyond these two provinces and covered the whole of China, and he propounded a scheme that was imperial in its scope and "œcuménical" in its spirit and method. He sought the "national conversion of China" by united educational and evangelistic efforts on the part of the various Missionary Societies, and he believed that its necessary pre-

requisite was "a high-class college in each provincial capital, beginning with the maritime provinces." It was thus that the thinking classes, and future leaders, of China could be influenced, and it was thus that thinkers and leaders could be secured for the Chinese Church.

"I am after the leaders," he once said. "If you get the leaders, you get all the rest." "The Chinese nation is led by comparatively few persons—mandarins and the educated classes—who number about one hundred thousand. The supreme need of our day is to send out men who are competent to guide and instruct the thinking classes. When these are won for Christ, the whole nation will follow." Human nature is more obdurate than Richard's buoyant optimism suggests, but there can be no doubt of the prophetic wisdom of his scheme. Its immediate adoption would have been of incalculable benefit to the well-being of the Chinese people, and the general status of Christianity would have been correspondingly enhanced. Richard earnestly expounded and advocated its claims by voice and pen, and they achieved a wide currency as "Conversion by the Million." But the difficulties proved too great to be surmounted. Such ideas require time for their absorption and adoption. In the 'eighties of the last century large-scale missionary co-operation had scarcely begun; there was still some tension between the evangelistic and the educational emphases in missionary service; and the funds of the Baptist Missionary Society were sadly inadequate for such a project, especially in view of the collateral requirements of the work in India and Africa. So the Home Committee, whilst generally conscious of the splendour of the scheme, reluctantly decided that it was impracticable, in the sense that its requirements went far beyond the Society's available and conceivable resources. Richard was, of course, deeply disappointed. "He came home

in anguish," wrote his wife in her diary. It meant the frustration of the primary purpose of his return home and, as he thought and feared, the indefinite delay of the spiritual rebirth of China. Only those of a kindred spirit can fully appreciate his feelings of dejection, but it is easy to recognize the heroism of his subsequent behaviour. He blamed nobody. He wrote a pamphlet entitled, *Wanted, Good Samaritans for China*, in which he made suggestions for the improvement of missionary methods. And then, realizing " that God would have me bear my cross alone, and that I must fit myself more fully for influencing the leaders of China," he undertook a course of electrical engineering at South Kensington, and visited Berlin and Paris in order to learn what he could of the German and French systems of education. And at intervals, as throughout his furlough, he visited the churches in all parts of the country on missionary deputation work.

CHAPTER VI

" TRIAL AND SUSPENSE "

MR. and Mrs. Richard's furlough ended in the autumn of 1886, and they sailed for China in the French mail-steamer *Oxus*. They took only their two younger daughters with them, having put the two elder ones to school at Sevenoaks and left them under the guardianship of Mrs. Richard's brother and sister-in-law.

Among their fellow-passengers were seven Protestant missionaries and eighteen Roman Catholic priests and sisters, who were also, presumably, going out for missionary service. Richard's account of his conversation with one of these priests is too characteristic to be omitted :

"Among the Roman Catholics was a priest about my age, who was very zealous in placing Roman Catholic books on chairs and tables for the passengers to read. After observing his earnestness for some days, I said that I would like a talk with him. He replied he would be glad to see me after dinner that evening. I began by saying that I admired his zeal in endeavouring to lead men to the truth. 'We are both going to China to try and lead the Chinese in the True Way,' I said. 'May I therefore speak to you frankly as a brother Christian?'

"'Certainly,' he replied.

"Then I began: 'One way of doing our work is to labour each for our respective faiths. But whether we belong to the Roman Catholic or to the Protestant faith is to my mind a secondary question. The chief thing is to be faithful to God and to Jesus Christ, the Saviour of the World. Now I find that the books you are circulating are full of untruths, consequently you are not serving God. That is the rock on which the Roman Church will be shipwrecked, for God can never bless falsehood.'

"At this bold attack, spoken in as kindly a tone as I could command, his face turned white and he clutched his hands, a sign that his feelings had received a deep wound. He asked me if I knew who he was. I replied that I did not.

"'I am President of the Jesuit College in the Rue de Bac, Paris. I am astonished that you should say that I am circulating falsehood.'

"I replied: 'One of the books you are circulating is *A Short Way with the Protestants*. I have read it. As I am a Protestant, you must admit that I know Protestantism better than any Romanist. That book contains a number of false statements. I should be

only too glad to see a man like you defending truth instead of mere fiction.'

"'Oh!' he cried. 'I know what I am talking about. It was my rule to have a discussion every week in the college on Catholicism and Protestantism.'

"'But did you ever have a Protestant,' I asked, 'to state the Protestant position?'

"'No.'

"'Then unconsciously you misled all your students by putting a man of straw, and not a true Protestant, before them for them to lay low by their arguments.'"

So much for the conversation. "Eleven years later," wrote Richard, "a few days after my return to Shanghai from furlough, I found the card of Père Simon on my table. The name conveyed no remembrance to me, but I returned the call. When he was ushered in, I recognized my old fellow-passenger of the *Oxus*. My frank speech had not alienated his friendship. He was soon after consecrated bishop, and I attended his consecration. Three months later he died of heart disease." Five years afterwards a priest reminded Richard of this conversation, saying that the Bishop had told him all about it, and adding, "We have been watching you ever since."

Unhappily, before they reached Shanghai, Mrs. Richard became seriously ill with what seems to have been chronic dysentery. At Shanghai they secured the services of a good doctor and, under his treatment, she so improved that within a fortnight they were able to continue their journey to T'ai-yuan-fu. There, however, her condition steadily worsened, so that by the summer of 1887 it seemed that nothing could cure her. Then, in the providence of God, Richard himself found the right treatment, through his study of a new medical textbook which Dr. Edwards (then of the C.I.M.) lent to him before leaving the city, and in three months she was well again.

The most perplexing and distressing experience of his missionary career now confronted him, through the misunderstanding and consequent mistrust of some junior colleagues, conscientious but narrow-visioned men. The story need not be told in detail, but this is the sequence of events, in Richard's own words :—

"When I returned to T'ai-yuan-fu I continued my work on the same lines as before; and published a tract on Taoism, acknowledging what was true in it and showing where Christianity had advanced beyond it. This acknowledgment of any good in the native religion was considered rank heresy in the opinion of some of my young colleagues, and my method of carrying out Mission work was deemed highly unsatisfactory. They desired me to change my theological views and submit to their guidance. To neither of these proposals would I agree, first because I believed my views to be in harmony with those of the most enlightened ministers at home, and, secondly, because I had had many years' experience in missionary work, while they had had none. I insisted, therefore, on having the same liberty of action as they claimed for themselves. Upon this they sent a long letter to the Committee, censuring me in regard both to my theological views and to my methods of work.

"Since my colleagues were in this mood, it was quite clear to me that we could never work harmoniously together. To remain would induce permanent strife which would be fatal to missionary work. I, therefore, decided to leave Shansi. I informed my colleagues of my decision, and within two days I packed up everything with the exception of my scientific apparatus, which I sold at great reduction to various of the Chinese gentry, presenting my magic-lantern and hundreds of valuable slides to my colleagues.

" I found I would be too busy to pay a farewell call on the Roman Catholic Bishop, who lived about three miles distant, so I sent him a letter of farewell. Within a couple of hours he came to see me, and found me packing up my books, which were scattered all round the room. I asked him to look at them and choose any book he liked as a memento of our pleasant intercourse. He chose a beautiful volume published by the R.T.S. in London, *Those Holy Fields.* I wrote his name in the book, and so we parted. The last I heard of him was in the awful Boxer year. He advised his priests to flee from the city, but he himself determined to remain with his Christians. When the infamous Governor Yü Hsien superintended the massacre of the missionaries, men, women, and children, in the city, the Bishop was also put to death with the Protestants, thus testifying to the strength of Christian principle in both Roman and Protestant alike.

" On October 18th I took my family to Tientsin. There I had the offer of translation work for the Government at the Arsenal, with a salary of £600 a year, but I could not contemplate breaking with missionary work. So on November 14th I went to Peking, where I took a house which had formerly belonged to Bishop Shereshewsky, of the American Episcopal Mission.

" Pending the reply of the Baptist Committee, I prepared a pamphlet on *Modern Education* as carried on in the seven leading nations of the world. . . . This pamphlet I distributed among the leading statesmen in Peking and presented to Li Hung Chang in Tientsin.

" In the pamphlet I suggested that the Chinese Government should commence educational reforms by setting apart a million taels annually for it. To this proposal Li Hung Chang replied that the Chinese

Government could not afford so great a sum. I answered that it was seed-money, which would be returned a hundredfold. He asked when that would be. 'It will take twenty years,' I replied, 'before you can realise the benefits of modern education.' 'Ah!' he rejoined, 'we cannot wait as long as that.'

"In this interview he also asked me, 'What good can Christianity do for a nation?' This most vital question decided me to write later a book entitled, *Historical Evidences of the Benefits of Christianity*."

It was with heavy hearts that Mr. and Mrs. Richard left T'ai-yuan-fu and the work in Shansi, which owed so much to his initiative and into which they had put their splendid best; and they went out, not knowing whither they were to go. But they were upheld by their firm faith in God and by their thankful trust in each other (she wrote in her diary: "I could not touch His garment, but I might touch one of the most Christlike of His followers") as they made their laborious way first to Tientsin and then to Peking. They were cheered, too, by ample evidence of the love of their Chinese converts, who frequently and affectionately asked the missionaries about Li T'i-mo-t'ai. He had "left a trail of light" behind him. It meant much, also, to hear from A. G. Jones, who, in his own name and in that of the staff at Ch'ing-chou-fu, urged him to resume charge of the work there.

Pending further "guidance" and awaiting replies from London, Mr. and Mrs. Richard busied themselves with literary and other work. In addition to helping him, she "coached" in the English language three young secretaries of the Japanese Legation, adopting a more "natural" system of her own which proved remarkably successful. Best of all, the reading of St. John's Gospel under her guidance convinced these young men of the

truth of Christianity, and all three were baptized. One of them was the son of the Japanese Minister, who, when consulted by Richard, readily gave his consent to the baptism. Mrs. Richard also gave English lessons to the youngest son of Marquis T'sêng and to the grandson of the Viceroy of Canton. Richard had met the Marquis, who was then at the Foreign Office in Peking after serving as Chinese Minister in London and Paris, through the "accident" of his promising some recondite information which the latter had vainly sought elsewhere. The carters of Peking had petitioned against the proposal of a railway between Peking and Tientsin and Tsi'ng wanted to know what had been the effect of the introduction of railways upon the livelihood of the coachmen and carters of London. Richard gave him the exact dates and figures. The two men became friendly, and the Marquis became an enthusiastic convert to Richard's scheme of education. It was a loss to China that he died in 1890.

During his stay in Peking Richard was invited to read a paper before the influential Peking Oriental Society on the subject of *The Influence of Buddhism on China*. The meeting was held at the British Legation. Richard prepared his paper with characteristic thoroughness, not only consulting Chinese histories but also interviewing the Chief Lama of Tibetan Buddhism and the chief Chinese Buddhist priest in Peking. The Chinese Buddhist, in reply to his statement that God had sent him to China, asked him the searching question: "How do you know what the will of God is?"

In that year (1888) Richard also paid a brief visit to Japan, in order to see how missionary work was being carried on there. His visit convinced him of the soundness of the educational emphasis and programme which he had pressed upon the Committee of the Baptist Missionary Society.

On his return from Japan he received the anxiously-expected communication from London.

"I heard," he tells us, "from the Baptist Committee that though they would sanction my work among the 'literati' and officials, they could not support any educational institution, as they considered that the Churches would not approve of such a use of their Mission funds. At this refusal of my plans I began to contemplate leaving the Mission. Directly Mr. Jones heard of this possibility he telegraphed to me to say that he was coming to Peking at once, and that I must not decide on any course of action before his arrival. When we met he begged me to go to Shantung and work with him. At this urgent request I went with him in September to consult with my colleagues in Shantung.

"There I met all the brethren, and frankly told them my opinions, how if I came to Shantung I wished for the establishment of a Christian College in Chinan-fu and the assistance of ten evangelists, who would be under my sole control. I pointed out to my colleagues, as I had done in Shansi, that I did not wish to limit their liberty, nor would I submit to having mine limited by them. Co-pastorates of two men were proverbially difficult at home, but a co-pastorate of a dozen men on the Mission field would be impracticable. There must be division of labour, and each missionary must be free and yet responsible in his sphere of work."

Returning to Peking, Richard worked on his book, *Historical Evidences of the Benefits of Christianity*, until the following May, when an urgent appeal from Shantung induced him to remove his family to Tientsin. Another famine had stricken the province, and in June he set out alone to help in the distribution of relief. His centre

was Chi-nan-fu. He gave himself to the work with his wonted sagacity and devotion, and he sought means to minister spiritual no less than material relief to the suffering people. Eventually he fell a victim to typhus fever, that frequent and so devastating accompaniment of famine, and his condition was so critical that he had to be removed (by night—in a stretcher) to Tsouping. Before he had quite recovered he attended a Conference at Ch'ing-chou-fu, where he was seized with malarial paralysis in his right arm—a probable and most painful and disabling after-effect of his fever. This delayed his plan to return to Tientsin. But Mrs. Richard was not at Tientsin. She, too, had been so seriously ill that she was ordered, when convalescent, to leave for Chefoo. Richard followed her thither and three weeks later they returned together to Tientsin. His right arm recovered very slowly, and his general health was still far from normal.

The Conference which he had attended (but had to leave prematurely) at Ch'ing-chou-fu, in company with all twelve of the Baptist missionaries then serving in Shantung, had given unanimous approval to his educational scheme of a College at the provincial capital, Chi-nan-fu. Further, the twelve missionaries had signed a joint letter requesting its immediate adoption by the Society. So convinced were they of its timely wisdom and that Richard was the man to carry it through that, not doubting of a favourable reply, they suggested he should proceed to Chi-nan-fu in October. His state of health might occasion some difficulty and delay, but, confident that the request would be granted, he and Mrs. Richard made the necessary preparations for their early removal. But, in October, the reply came that the Home Committee had rejected the scheme and suggested, instead, that he should work in Shantung along

the more familiar lines of missionary service. Alas for disappointed hopes ! It is as easy as it is unfair to blame the Committee of 1889, more or less conditioned (as we all are) by the time-spirit, and conscious of responsibility both to the home Churches and to the whole wide field of the Society's work. This adverse decision, however, placed Richard on the horns of a most poignant dilemma. Conscious of his vocation as a Baptist missionary, he was now confronted by an apparently unsurmountable obstacle to what he conceived to be the way of its fulfilment. After mature consideration, and consultation with friends whose judgment he valued, he was clear that he could not accept the Committee's invitation, but nothing else was clear just then—except that he must live and work.

His future was still undecided when the second General Missionary Conference was held in Shanghai in May, 1890. It was attended by 400 missionaries from all parts of China and from such countries as Japan and Korea. Richard addressed the Conference on *The Relation of Christian Missions to the Chinese Government* and drew attention to the vile calumnies that were being sponsored and circulated by the Government against the Christian Church. He declared that they were standing on a volcano, prophesied an early eruption of persecution, and proposed the immediate appointment of a Committee charged with the duty of memorializing the Throne and urging the withdrawal of calumnious literature. Although many thought him unduly pessimistic it was decided to set up the Committee, with Richard as its Secretary. His prophecy, however, proved only too true. That very summer fierce persecutions broke out in the Yangtze valley. He did what he could by approaching the Viceroy at Nanking and Li Hung Chang in Tientsin, but both men declined to take action.

At this juncture (July 1890), Li Hung Chang and a few personal friends invited Richard to become editor of the Tientsin daily newspaper *Shih Pao* (or *Times*). He at once accepted it, deeming the appointment "most providential." He made this paper, and his weekly edition of its more important articles, a powerful organ of enlightened opinion, a pulpit from which he preached Goodwill and Reform. "This was the beginning of the systematic and daily publication of the leading ideas of Christendom among the Chinese," and the paper circulated far beyond Tientsin, even as far as the Palace and the Foreign Office at Peking.

At the same time Mrs. Richard gave splendid help to the American Methodist Episcopal Mission in Tientsin by her classes for Bible women. So successful was she that, when they returned to their own districts, they became remarkably effective workers in the service of the Gospel. One of them was the means of bringing in fifty inquirers and another brought in no fewer than one hundred. "This proved for the hundredth time," wrote Richard, "that the natives can best influence their fellow-countrymen to join the Christian Church." Mrs. Richard used his *Historical Evidences*, along with a map of the world, as the basis of some of her studies with these women.

But Richard was not destined to remain long in Chinese journalism. His editorship of the *Shih Pao* was indeed "providential," not least in that it brought him into national and not merely provincial prominence. His name was mentioned with respect in widely-scattered official circles and he "counted" as a forward-looking and disinterested friend of China. Quite soon a still more influential sphere of work was opened to him, for which his varied previous experience had been a progressive preparation, and which was wholly congenial to

his missionary vocation. In May, 1891, nine months after Dr. Alexander Williamson, the founder-Secretary of the Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge among the Chinese, had died in Shanghai, the Committee wisely invited Richard to become his successor. " Having experienced the widespread influence of a newspaper, I was convinced of the value of literary work in China, and I replied that I would gladly accede to their request if the Baptist Missionary Society would support me, as the United Presbyterian Mission had supported Dr. Williamson." The Society's income was insufficient for the payment of a salary as well as the publication of its literature. It was a happy and significant coincidence that Dr. Richard Glover (Chairman of the China Sub-Committee) and the Rev. T. M. Morris were in Tientsin at that very time, visiting China as the first official deputation of the B.M.S. When the matter was put to them by Dr. Murdoch, of the Christian Literature Society of India, who also happened to be in Tientsin, they gave it their approval and it was then sent on to London. In due course the reply came. The B.M.S. agreed to support him for a provisional period of three years. " The telegram came yesterday," wrote Mrs. Richard to her brother, on September 18th, 1891. " ' As God wills,' was ringing through my heart as I went upstairs to learn the contents. Those three words have been our motto for some time. It is nearly four years since we left Shansi, and this is the first satisfactory settlement of our affairs in all that time. This will probably be our work for the remainder of our days." It was a true prophecy.

They removed to Shanghai in the following month (October) and Richard at once assumed the duties of his new office. He was forty-six years of age. It was not until 1905 that the Society's title was changed to the now

familiar C.L.S.—*The Christian Literature Society of China.*[1]

Each stage of Richard's missionary career has a dual importance: that of the work which he did and that of the reciprocal benefit which he received. The missionary probationer soon develops into the resourceful pioneer missionary who surveys his task with increasing clarity of insight and width of outlook, and with steadily maturing powers for meeting its exacting demands. The Gospel's rich relevance to the varied needs of human life is seen in the work which he is led to undertake—evangelism, philanthropy, education and social reform—and his vision takes in the Christian good of Imperial China. During these twenty-one years he has wrought much that has been of enduring value, not least in missionary method, but these same years have also been a providential preparation for his own later work—the chief work of his life. His innate capacity has ripened into sagacity and he is ready for the direction of affairs of the utmost importance to the spiritual and cultural life of the Chinese people. "We can safely affirm," declares Mr. Burt, "that Richard did the right thing in going to Shanghai to become Director of the Christian Literature Society, where he could do a work after his own heart. Here, in the city which was the headquarters of China Missions, he filled a large and influential place, and undoubtedly became the leading personality in all China to mediate between China and the foreigners, and he well represented the culture of the West in the Councils of the East."[2]

Protestant Christianity has always emphasized the importance, and has made large use of, literature. The

[1] *In* 1943 *the C.L.S. joined with the Canadian Mission Press, the Associated Press, and the Christian Farmer to become the United Christian Publishers.*

[2] *After Sixty Years*, p. 146.

Bible in the vernacular; books explanatory of the Bible and of the Christian faith; worth-while books of a more general kind—all these forms of literature have been found invaluable. Through them, by the grace of God, knowledge of the Faith has spread, Christians have been won and instructed, and the level of social life has been lifted correspondingly higher. The printed page has penetrated farther and has persisted longer than the presence of the individual preacher or teacher. The book or pamphlet has found an entrance which prejudice has blocked to the man himself, and through it he has spoken. It is "embalmed and treasured up unto a life beyond life." The Chinese have a saying: "If you wish to be remembered for a hundred years, write a book." But the book must be distributed if it is to be read.

CHAPTER VII

SHANGHAI AND BEYOND

WHEN the Chinese Book and Tract Society, founded in Glasgow in 1884, was dissolved in 1887, it was succeeded by the Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge (S.D.K.), whose purpose was "the circulation of literature based on Christian principles throughout China, her colonies and dependencies, literature written from a Chinese standpoint, with a knowledge of native modes of thought and adapted to instruct and elevate the people, especially through the more intelligent and ruling classes." The time was ripe for such an organization. Sir Robert Hart was President of the Society from 1888 until his death in 1911, and Mr. C. S. Addis (later Sir Charles Addis) was Honorary Secretary during the

interregnum from 1890–91, and Vice-President until he left China in 1909. Able coadjutors were Dr. Y. J. Allen, Principal of the Anglo-Chinese College, who edited the Society's extremely influential monthly magazine, *The Review of the Times*, and Dr. Faber, a German missionary deeply versed in Chinese Classical literature, whose important book on *Civilization East and West* was republished by the Society. Other able colleagues came along one by one.

Richard, as the only full-time member of the literary staff, faced a heavy task resolutely and hopefully. His general aims were stated in his 1891 Report:

> "The generosity of the foreign communities in China and at home has repeatedly been shown in response to appeals for famine relief; but when through ignorance many of the preventible causes of these famines are not removed, there is a growing feeling that the best way of helping China is to give such kind of enlightenment as this Society attempts to give. We cannot even *dream* of establishing modern schools throughout the Empire; this will be the province of the Chinese Government after it somewhat understands its own needs and how to meet them. Nor do we intend to reach all the mandarins in the Empire. Much less can we reach everyone of the *literati*, who play such an important part in the government of China. Still, the chief mandarins, together with the High Examiners, Educational Inspectors of counties, Professors of Colleges, and a small percentage of the *literati*, with some of the ladies and children of their families, might be reached. (This number was estimated at 44,036.)"

The methods which he proposed were as follows (somewhat abbreviated):

> (1) Periodicals of a high-class order, somewhat after the manner of Cassell's *Popular Educator*.

(2) A series of books and pamphlets to show the bearing of educational and religious development in industries and trade and in every department of national progress.

(3) Prizes for the best papers by the Chinese on various subjects connected with the enlightenment and progress of the nation.

(4) The encouragement of such means of enlightenment as lectures, museums and reading rooms.

(5) Depôts for the sale of the Society's periodicals at each examination centre (provincial capitals).

(6) The co-operation of the Chinese in all efforts, and to get them to join societies for the advancement of learning.

(7) Advertisements of the Society's aims and purposes put out at every examination. "As the best schoolmasters of every distant village attend these examinations, we hope in this way to make our influence felt in every nook and corner of the Empire."

In 1892 he secured a list of seventy subjects which leading missionaries suggested to him as important, and about a score of his friends promised to write on some of them. But the publication of books and magazines (though costly) was easier than their distribution, which had to be chiefly undertaken by missionaries because Chinese booksellers of those days would not touch them. In that year a free distribution of books was made to thousands of examination students in Peking, and his *Historical Evidences* was presented to the highest authorities in most of the provinces. It was then, too, that he began his well-known translation of Mackenzie's *History of the Nineteenth Century*, a book which had a considerable effect upon the Chinese Reform Movement. 1893 saw a wide extension of activity. Special donations from interested friends enabled the Society to distribute

sixty thousand of its publications, including copies of Faber's *Civilization* at various examination centres, and depôts were established in Peking, Moukden, Tientsin, Sian, Nanking and Chefoo.

In 1894, to commemorate the Empress-Dowager's sixtieth birthday, a beautifully bound copy of the New Testament, printed on the best foreign paper, with an address prepared by Mrs. Richard, and enclosed in a silver casket, was presented to her in the name of the Protestant women of China. The gift was suitably acknowledged, and the Empress sent to the Bible Society's depôt in Peking for a copy of the Bible and some other Christian books. High Chinese officials began to recognize the valuable work of the Society and some of them sent substantial contributions to its funds.

He and Mrs. Richard gave their warm personal support to the work of the Anti-Footbinding Society (for which Mrs. Archibald Little did so much), and the Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge proved to be a powerful factor in its ultimate success.

Every year witnessed an expansion of the Society's work and influence. In 1900 it published Lambert Rees's massive *Ancient, Mediæval and Modern History of the World*—" the most complete universal history the Chinese possessed "—which so pleased Viceroy Chang Chi-tung that he sent a donation of three thousand taels to the Society. It was Viceroy Chang who, ten years later, issued the famous booklet which secured the epoch-making change of China's ancient educational system, and it was through the Society's publications that his prejudice against " foreigners " was removed. He was a friend of Richard and of the Society until his death in 1909.

While Richard was the only full-time member of the Society's staff, heavy clerical and business work fell to him in addition to his more proper and responsible

duties as Director. For many years, however, he had the valuable help of Miss Hilda C. Bowser as secretary, and as the work of the Society extended so was the staff increased. When he resigned in 1914, after twenty-five years' service, he had six Western colleagues, several associate workers, and eighteen Chinese translators and assistants. The assets of the Society, which in 1891 amounted to a thousand dollars, had by 1914 increased to nearly two hundred and fifty thousand dollars. During that period he had himself written or translated over a hundred books or booklets, and he had a share in the production of at least three hundred books.

China's crushing defeat by Japan in the war of 1894–1895 was a bitter humiliation, which caused great searchings of heart and provoked many disturbing questions. The proud and self-satisfied rulers of China were confronted by the plain lesson of the war—that their country must progress or perish. And progress required radical and many-sided reform along the "Western" lines Japan (only a tenth of her size) had so successfully adopted since 1868. This conviction was powerfully fostered by Dr. Allen's articles in the S.D.K. *Review of the Times*, and by Richard's translation of Mackenzie's *History of the Nineteenth Century*, issued soon after the outbreak of the war. "What," he asked in his Introduction, "is the cause of the foreign wars, the indemnities and repeated humiliations suffered by China during the last sixty years?" An important part of the answer was that "God was breaking down the barriers between all nations by railways, steamers and telegraphs, in order that all should live in peace and happiness as brethren of one family; but that the Manchus, by continual obstruction, determined from the first to prevent this intercourse. They were thus not opposing foreigners so much as God in His universal ruling." If this attitude

were changed,' it was not too late for China to become "one of the greatest nations on earth." The book achieved an enormous circulation, including perhaps a million copies of pirated editions, and an outstanding national influence. Its astonishing success helped also to break down the prejudice of Chinese booksellers, who henceforth were glad to handle it and other publications of the Society. They were ready to sell Christian as well as non-Christian literature.

Richard sent copies of the book to several leading Viceroys, and Viceroy Chang Chih-tung invited him to Nanking on three separate occasions. In these interviews Richard laid specific proposals before him, both for the immediate making of peace with Japan and for the averting of future disputes by the better ordering of China's affairs. But the Viceroy, whilst appreciative of Richard's good intentions and conceding the cogency of most of his proposals, felt unable to sponsor them. The difficulties were too great, especially at Peking. Richard also had a long interview with China's Peace Envoy as he passed through Shanghai on his way to Japan. He, too, was pessimistic, but agreed about the necessity for drastic reform. Later, the Envoy's place was taken by Li Hung-Chang, with plenary powers to negotiate peace. Richard's proposals were drastic, and unpalatable to a proud people, but, writes Professor Soothill, "It is probably true that, had they been adopted, China would have been raised to a position of unparalleled prosperity and world history itself have been entirely different."

In 1894 Mrs. Richard returned home with her two younger daughters. Richard would have accompanied them but for the state of affairs in China. In May, 1895, however, feeling the need of some change and anxious to extend his knowledge of Buddhism, he and the Rev.

Ernest Box, of the L.M.S., spent a month in visiting the famous Buddhist centre of T'ien-t'ai, in the adjoining province of Chekiang.

In the course of this "most interesting trip" they spent a night at an inn, where they found, written on the walls, the following remarkable inscription, "which seems to sum up the teaching of the T'ien-t'ai Mountain temples:

"*A Fine Tonic Prescription for Mankind, called the Tincture of Purity.*

Ying Yang	The whole.
Favours	Enough.
Careful speech	To flavour.
Straightforwardness	Three grains.
Duty	According to occasion.
Love and Righteousness	Practise extensively.
Honesty	One piece.
Goodness of heart	A slice.
Carefulness	A bit.
Gambling	Wash entirely away.
Faith	Be careful of.
Peace-making	A lump.
Joy	A large quantity.
Bowels of Mercy	The whole length.
Patience	10,000 parts.
Worship of heaven and earth A pure heart Days and months	As much as is needed.

"In all twenty kinds. Let them be made into pills called seeds of wisdom. Take 108 for a dose. Use it for the benefit of three others. Let this tincture for calming the heart be taken warm.

"Incompatibles: the knife of sarcasm, the secret arrow, impure speech.

"This prescription is circulated from the Palace of Reform on the spiritual mountain ; a speciality for healing all men and women of all diseases, such as unfaithfulness, unfilialness, want of love, want of justice, and such-like. Whoever takes the medicine according to prescription never fails of cure."

In the meantime the public safety of Christian missionaries had become an immediate and pressing problem. Richard's ominous prophecy of an early eruption of persecution proved only too true, and the authorities did little or nothing to check it. Even Viceroy Chang Chih-tung merely said : "We do not want these missionaries. We oppose them, we raise riots against them, we destroy their churches, we kill their converts, we murder the foreigners themselves. Yet the astonishing thing is that the more we kill them, the more anxious they seem to come."

Promoting Religious Liberty : Negotiations at Peking

The Committee appointed by the Shanghai Conference (1890) to memorialize the Throne on the matter of current calumnies against the Church, to set forth the true nature and aim of the Christian Missions and to request religious liberty, eventually drew up a comprehensive Memorial, but it was long before it could be presented. In 1893 Richard went to Hankow to consult Dr. Griffith John and David Hill on the matter. When eleven C.M.S. missionaries (mostly women) were murdered in the province of Fukien, in April, 1895, action became imperative. Richard wrote to the members of the Committee that they should all proceed at once to Peking, and there try to approach the highest authorities. Most of the Committee were unable to leave their posts, but they empowered Richard to take such action as was

possible or advisable, in conjunction with the two members, Drs. Wherry and Blodget, who lived there. Before leaving for Peking, Richard secured the signature of twenty leading missionaries to a shorter and more practical Memorial which he had himself drafted. Dr. Blodget was on furlough when he arrived in September, and so he and Dr. Wherry had to undertake the negotiations. They desired to present Richard's shortened Memorial and the statement on Christianity which Dr. Blodget had left in manuscript before returning to America, after a careful revision of both documents.

The approach to the Foreign Office had then to be arranged—a matter calling for ambassadorial wisdom. Richard had three interviews with Li Hung-Chang, who was "unusually gracious, insisting on my staying to dinner with him, during which he used some very kind words to me." The ex-Viceroy was helpful and communicative, and wished Richard could live in Peking to lecture to the Hamlins ("Academicians"). Then followed an interview with the Prime Minister, Weng T'ung-ho, to whom he presented an irresistible proof of the Government's responsibility for the calumnies and persecutions. "What the Christians ask from the Government now is only to be left alone," was his final word. "If that is all," replied the Prime Minister, astonished at the simplicity of the request, "I can easily promise it." He also asked Richard to prepare a statement of what he thought were the necessary reforms for China at that juncture. Finally there was an interview with Prince Kung, President of the Foreign Office. The Prince, who was the brother of the late Emperor Hsien Fêng, was, states Richard, "the most imperious man I ever met, every inch a prince, with demeanour as if he felt himself a god among men." It is said that he was the only man in the Empire of whom

the Dowager-Empress was afraid. They had stormy times, and she often found it expedient to bend her will to his. The seven other members of the Foreign Office were present at the interview, which the Prince opened by venting his feelings in a tirade against the Christians.

Then Richard asked leave to state the Christians' views :

> " The charges he quoted against the Christians were not true, and the Government's actions, based on these charges, were not just. Having lived many years in different provinces in China and seen the great amount of good done by Christians, I knew the real facts ; while he, living in Peking, had to trust to hearsay, and had been misinformed. I was persuaded that, if the Prince knew the whole truth about Christians, his sense of justice would soon put an end to their sufferings. I had come that day not in my private capacity, nor as an ambassador representing one country, but as representing the Christians of all the Protestant countries of the world, to ask him to appoint a Commission of Inquiry into all the alleged charges against the Christians. If we were guilty of crimes we did not wish to avoid just punishment, but if we were innocent, I felt convinced the Prince would see that justice was done to us, and the same liberty granted to Christianity as to other religions in China."

When Prince Kung left, Li Hung-tsao, one of the Emperor's tutors and a member of the Foreign Office, crossed the room to thank Richard for speaking so frankly. " None of us would have dared to contradict the Prince as you did, but as you had a request to make, and put it in so respectful a manner before him, he could not possibly be offended. Your visit here will do good."

At the same time Richard and Dr. Wherry approached the British, American and German Ministers in Peking

and explained their intention to present the Missionary Memorial. The German Minister held back, but Sir Nicholas O'Connor and Colonel Denby gave their ready co-operation and sent special despatches to the Foreign Office. Colonel Denby accompanied and introduced them to the Foreign Office at their first interview there on November 14th.

The Memorial is so important a document that its substance must be given here :—

"Although the Chinese Government had allowed freedom to the Confucian, Buddhist, Taoist and Mohammedan religions for a thousand years, it had, since the days of the Emperor Yung Ching (1723–36) continually persecuted the Christians, even after treaties, from 1842 onwards, had been made in which protection of Christians was promised. The Government had republished official reports in which the Christians were accused of all manner of horrible practices. The officials and scholars, finding that these books were published with the consent of the highest Viceroys in the land, naturally believed them to be true, and encouraged the common people in persecutions and riots, which resulted in the burning of chapels, killing of native Christians, and even of foreign missionaries. The Chinese did not know that wicked persons were not permitted to enter the Church. Christianity benefited all nations. Not only was Western civilization indebted to the Christian Church, but the inhabitants of all continents and islands of the sea had been uplifted by it. The adoption of Western civilization in Japan was largely due to missionary influence.

"Even in China missionaries had worked for the good of the people. They had translated the sacred books of the West, together with histories and books

of science, into Chinese, and had translated the sacred books and histories of China into Western languages. They had assisted in famine relief in Shantung, Shansi, Kiangsu, and Manchuria. Though many had died from famine fever, others had come to carry on the good work. They had given advice how China could be saved from poverty, weakness, famine, and war, and become one of the great nations of the earth. What missionaries desired was that the Chinese Government should learn from God and should show benevolence to all. If the Government did not protect good men who had come to help China, then it was to be feared that their own nationals would enter to protect them. Unless Christians were let alone to carry on their good works, international troubles would arise. We, therefore, pray that an edict be issued granting these three requests."

Altogether they had nine interviews with the Foreign Office, and they had good grounds for believing that an edict would be issued. But complications unexpectedly arose to prevent it, one of them being the opposition of the French Minister. However, they had rendered a most important service to the missionary cause, not least through their personal contacts and by means of enlightenment as to its purpose. The day before Richard left Peking, February 26th, 1896, Weng Tung-ho, the Prime Minister, called to see him (an unprecendented honour to a missionary) and "gave promises that the slanderous literature would be suppressed, and the local authorities everywhere be instructed to be friendly towards the missionaries." Richard declared that all would be well if the distinctions between Christians and non-Christians were abolished. In the later stages of the negotiations, it should be added, Dr. Wherry left Peking for America and Dr. Lowry took his place.

The Reform Movement

The movement for Reform in China's affairs which followed in the wake of the humiliating Chino-Japanese War was powerfully stimulated by the writings of the brilliant Cantonese scholar, K'ang Yu-wei, a Doctor of Literature. Becoming convinced that Chinese civilization was backward, he put aside his national prejudices, studied Western literature and then drew up a Memorial (on S.D.K. lines) praying the Empress to initiate Reform. The Memorial was soon signed by 10,000 scholars including 1,300 M.A.'s, and a Junior Reform Society was established in Shanghai, with branches in Hangchow, Nanking, Wuchang and Tientsin. K'ang Yu-wei visited Richard in Peking in October, 1895, presented him with a copy of his famous commentary on the Classics, told him that he believed in the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of nations as taught in the S.D.K. publications, and declared that he hoped to co-operate with them in the work of China's regeneration.

The Reform Society grew rapidly in both numbers and influence. Soon it published a paper of its own (the first independent Chinese journal), bearing the same title as that of the S.D.K.'s *Review of the Times*, many of whose articles it reproduced, and propagating Western ideas. Richard often met the Reformers during his stay in Peking on the business of the Missionary Memorial, when the Prime Minister asked him to put on paper his own scheme of reform. The gist of that scheme is as follows :—

> "After prefacing that God showed no partiality towards any nation, East or West, that the nation that obeyed Heaven prospered and the nation that disobeyed perished, according to unalterable law, I pointed out four vital requirements for China :

educational reform, economic reform, internal and international peace, and spiritual regeneration. To carry out these great measures I proposed :

" (1) Two foreign advisers to the Throne.

(2) A Cabinet of eight ministers, one half of Manchus and Chinese, and the other half of foreign officials who would know about the progress of all the world.

(3) The immediate reform of currency and the establishment of finance on a sound basis.

(4) The immediate building of railways and the opening of mines and factories.

(5) The establishment of a Board of Education to introduce modern schools and colleges throughout the Empire.

(6) The establishment of an intelligent Press with experienced foreign journalists to assist Chinese editors for the enlightenment of the people.

(7) The building up of an adequate army and navy for the country's defence."

The Emperor was shown, and approved, this scheme of reform, and it was published by the S.D.K. The Prime Minister thought that one able foreigner would suffice, and he asked Richard to take the post. But he declined the offer because it would interfere with his missionary work. For much the same reason, he also declined the office of President of Peking University, which Sun Chia-nai, the Emperor's tutor, offered him—an offer which was twice renewed.

Second Furlough

In 1896 Richard decided that he ought to return home on furlough—his second in over twenty-six years of strenuous service. He needed rest and change ; his wife and daughters were long since in Europe ; and he wished

to bring the needs of China and the claims of the S.D.K. before the public of Britain. Accompanied by the Rev. A. G. Shorrock, of the B.M.S., he left Shanghai on a French steamer, which carried Li Hung Chang as its most prominent passenger. They had many conversations, and the Viceroy expressed surprise that so important a man as Richard should travel second-class, whereas his secretaries travelled first-class. The two missionaries broke their journey at Ceylon, in order to study missionary work in India. They called at Madras (chiefly to see Dr. Murdoch of the Christian Literature Society), Calcutta, Benares, Delhi and Bombay, from whence they sailed by another French steamer to Marseilles. In Paris he had the joy of meeting his wife and their four daughters, the two eldest of whom he had not seen for more than ten years. A few weeks later he proceeded alone to London, where he and Shorrock were duly welcomed home by the B.M.S. General Committee. Instead of making the usual speech he produced a box of Chinese books, as an ocular demonstration of his past ten years' work: an edition of the silver-bound New Testament presented to the Empress-Dowager, his translation of Mackenzie's *Nineteenth Century* in eight volumes, his *Historical Benefits of Christianity*, the bound annual volumes of the *Review of the Times*, the *Missionary Review*, the *Tientsin Times* which he had edited, etc. As he took them out, one by one, he gave a brief description of the volumes.

Mr. A. H. Baynes, Secretary of the B.M.S., who sympathized with his aspirations, enabled him to address a joint meeting of missionary secretaries on the subject of *The Awakening of China*, in which he dealt with the Reform Movement and its relation to S.D.K. publications, concluding with an appeal for more men for this kind of missionary work. As a result of this address, followed

by a direct appeal to the Societies to support this ministry of literature ("Conversion by the Million,") the C.M.S. set apart the Rev. Gilbert Walshe, the W.M.M.S. promised the Rev. W. A. Cornaby, and the L.M.S. undertook to make an annual monetary grant. He also appealed to the Bible Societies to issue explanatory tracts along with the copies of the Scriptures which they circulated, and to the R.T.S. to broaden the scope of its publications, but they were bound by the letter of their respective constitutions. Only the Scottish Bible Society was able to agree to his proposal.

His furlough gave him plenty of change but little rest, and in his manifold activities Mrs. Richard took her invaluable share. He corresponded on Chinese affairs with such leaders as the Archbishop of Canterbury, Mr. Gladstone, Lord Curzon and Mr. W. T. Stead; he wrote and circulated a Peace pamphlet on the Federation of Nations, and a booklet for the use of young statesmen; and, in addition to all this, he travelled widely on deputation work for the B.M.S. among the home churches.

He returned to China in the early autumn of 1897, travelling via the United States, and making a special journey to Toronto in order to persuade the Canadian Presbyterian Board to allocate the Rev. (afterwards Dr.) D. MacGillivray, of West China, to the S.D.K. In this he was successful. Dr. MacGillivray eventually succeeded him as secretary. Richard's three new recruits were powerful acquisitions to the personnel of the Society, and had he done no more than secure their services, this furlough would have been amply justified.

Reform and Reaction

Arriving in China at the end of 1897, Richard "found the Reform Movement in full swing," stimulated by

S.D.K. publications and by Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's recently started newspaper, *Chinese Progress*, published in Shanghai. Dr. Allen's *History of the War* (i.e. the Chino-Japanese War) was being widely read. The number of Chinese newspapers had increased from nineteen to seventy, and drastic reforms were being mooted in government, education and religion. A school (the first) for Chinese girls was established in Shanghai, to which Mrs. Richard was attached as inspector—a direct consequence, and a plain indication, of the Christian emphasis upon the inherent worth of womanhood. In February, 1898, the Reform Society published in Shanghai a new collection of *Tracts for the Times*, thirty-one of the one hundred and thirteen being compositions of Richard. The high hopes of the Reformers and of their large and representative following were further raised by the known sympathy of the young Emperor, and by the issuing of three remarkable reforming edicts. Alas for these hopes of better things! The Empress-Dowager and reactionary opponents of Reform had watched the trend of ideas and events with a growing concern, and then suddenly there occurred the celebrated *coup d'état*. The Empress-Dowager swooped down on Peking, seized the person of the Emperor and the reins of authority, and ordered the execution of the leading Reformers. Some of them managed to escape, but many were arrested and instantly executed. Richard was in Peking at the time, having arrived there, in the middle of September (1898), in response to K'ang Yu-wei's invitation to become one of the Emperor's foreign advisers. He was to have had audience of His Majesty at the very hour of the *coup d'état*, when the Emperor was made a lifelong prisoner. The Empress-Dowager, fearing international or internal troubles if he were put to death, allowed him to retain his title, but deprived

him of Imperial authority. He "reigned" but she "ruled," and the edicts were repealed.

"More haste less speed" is a proverb which social reformers must never forget. The Chinese Reformers forgot or ignored it. In addition, they neglected Richard's warning that they should try to win the support of the Empress-Dowager. Then, when they plotted against her, she moved first—and decisively. Controlling the army, she was irresistible and overt opposition was hopeless. For years to come the cause of Reform languished but was not "liquidated." Something remained as a legacy from the work of the Reformers in the country at large, and, even in reactionary Peking, there were those (a few) in the Government who favoured progress, if pursued slowly. But the immediate outlook was depressingly bleak, and when Richard went to the capital in 1899, in order to discover what chance there was of an organized scheme of education for China, he found Sir Robert Hart distinctly pessimistic.

One of the most disturbing features of the time was the steady increase of hostility towards foreigners. Some of the Reformers themselves had been anti-foreign, and they had worked for Reform at least partly with a view to making China strong enough to withstand foreign aggression. This anti-foreign spirit was fomented by the reactionaries who were in power. Unhappily the Christian Church shared in this hostility, not only because the Gospel is a "scandal" to the natural man but because the large majority of its missionaries were "nationals" of those foreign powers whose intrusion into China was so resented. The feeling was intensified when Germany seized the port of Tsing-tao, in Shantung, as a punishment for the murder of two German missionaries in that province in 1897. A storm of terrible magnitude and violence was brewing, but too few were

acute enough to discern it. One of those who did was Dr. A. H. Smith, a distinguished American missionary, and he felt it his duty to issue a warning, duly documented, to the American Legation in Peking. His warning was ignored.

Richard shared these convictions, and when he went, early in 1900, to the World Missionary Conference in New York, he presented Dr. Smith's report, amplified by his own information, to the Executive Committee. There was, he claimed, imminent danger of an outbreak which threatened to suspend all missionary work and to endanger the lives of all foreigners. He pleaded for immediate and united action, but the Committee decided that it could not "interfere in politics." In Boston, however, when (May 5th) he addressed the "Twentieth Century Club" on the situation in China, he was urged to explain it to the Government at Washington. There, on the next day, he had interviews with Mr. John Hay, the Foreign Secretary, and Senator Hoar, President of the Senate, and others, all of whom were personally considerate, but he learned to his dismay that "nothing short of a massacre would justify action on the part of the Government. Within a fortnight telegrams announced that foreigners had been massacred by the Boxers!" The Boxer madness had broken out.

"The Boxer Madness"

Richard at once returned to China, travelling via Japan. At Yokohama he read of the narrow escape of the Shantung missionaries and, "at my wits' end to know what to do next, God gave me a thought." From Kobe, the next port of call, he wired, anonymously, to the British Consul-General at Shanghai advising that Lord Salisbury should announce that the British Govern-

ment would hold the Viceroys and Governors of China responsible for the safety of British subjects in their respective provinces. When he arrived in Shanghai the morning paper published a Reuter's telegram stating that Lord Salisbury had adopted this policy. Anxious for the safety of B.M.S. missionaries in Shensi and Shansi, Richard at once wired this information to the missions in Sianfu and T'ai-yuan-fu. To his intense grief, the latter telegram was too late, for Yü-Hsien, the infamous Governor of Shansi, had already massacred the Protestant and Roman Catholic missionaries, but Tuan Feng, the scholarly Governor of Shensi, at no little personal risk, sent soldiers to escort the missionaries to the comparative safety of Hankow. Had Richard himself been allowed to remain at T'ai-yuan-fu it is just possible that his influence might have averted the ghastly tragedy enacted there, when the Governor himself superintended the butchery of forty-six missionaries, including women and children. But it is idle to speculate. The mysteries of the providential ordering of our lives are beyond fathoming. The death-roll in Shansi was the heaviest in all China—159 missionaries (men, women and children) and many thousands of native Christians. When, during the Revolution of 1911, Yü-Hsien's daughter fled for safety to Sianfu, it was with Baptist missionaries that she found a refuge. The foreigners in Szechuan would also, no doubt, have been massacred but for the courageous stand made by Chou Fu, the Provincial Treasurer, and his restraining influence upon the Viceroy. Chou Fu, it should be added, knew and owed much to Richard.

The Boxers or "Fists for Justice and Peace," had their origin in Shantung. Begun as an anti-dynastic movement, it was astutely diverted into one of anti-foreign aggression, and, spreading over the north-east,

it was taken up by the Court party and the Empress-Dowager. The rising of 1900 was a last mad attempt to eject the foreigner from China and its slogan was " Protect the country; destroy the foreigner." The South, however, was kept in peace. In the North, many hundreds of foreigners, mostly missionaries (more Protestants than Roman Catholics) and their families, were massacred or officially executed, and many thousands of Christian converts (more Roman Catholics than Protestants) faithfully endured martrydom. Tens of thousands of Boxers and of the common people lost their lives, and enormous damage was done to property. The foreign Legations in Peking were all destroyed except the British Legation, which, after a splendid defence, was relieved by an Allied punitive force on August 14th, 1900. The capital was occupied and China was reduced to utter humiliation. The Powers imposed a heavy indemnity (450 million taels) and reinstated the fugitive Empress-Dowager—the woman who had done so much to ruin her dynasty and country.

Shansi University

In 1901 Richard was invited by the Chinese Plenipotentiaries, Prince Ch'ing and Li Hung Chang, to help in the settlement of the Shansi troubles. They feared the possibility of an allied expedition into the province and the consequent execution of some of the officials involved in responsibility for the recent massacres, and they hoped he could suggest something less drastic, yet mutually satisfactory. Richard rose magnificently to the height of a great opportunity—an opportunity which only a great Christian could have seen and a great statesman could have seized. A terrible crime had been committed, which equity refused to overlook or condone.

There could be no commutation for human lives, which are beyond price, and the Protestant Missionary Societies would not bargain for those of their missionaries. He therefore "proposed that a fine of half a million taels (about £100,000) should be imposed upon the province, to be paid in yearly instalments of fifty thousand taels, and that the money should be devoted to the establistment in T'ai-yuan-fu of a University on Western lines, the aim being to remove the ignorance and superstition that had been the main cause of the massacre of the foreigners. This proposal commended itself to the Plenipotentiaries, and they placed the appointment of the professors, the arranging of the curriculum, and the administration of the funds of the University in my hands for ten years, after which period the control would pass into the hands of the provincial Government."

It was a signal instance of magnanimity, compounded of generosity and sound judgment, and it assured the realization of his splendid, but so long delayed, dream of earlier years. The fine imposed upon Shansi was of trifling amount for a rich province, but it stood for the official recognition of, and reparation for, an outrageous wrong, and it was made to foster friendly co-operation and enlightenment. This settlement had wide repercussions in the larger life of China, which cannot be dealt with in this narrative, beyond stating that it stimulated radical educational reform throughout the Empire. Nor is it possible to give details of the initial difficulties and subsequent developments at T'ai-yüan-fu.

The University, of course, which he modelled on London University, was not, and could not be, a specifically Christian institution, and positive Christian teaching has no place in its curriculum, but sound learning is ever the handmaid of true religion, especially when taught by Christian men. The University was fortunate in the

SHANSI UNIVERSITY, T'AI-YUAN-FU

two Principals whom Richard appointed; first, the Rev. Moir Duncan, of the B.M.S., and then, after his death in 1906, the Rev. W. E. Soothill, a Methodist missionary who subsequently held the Chair of Chinese at Oxford. Both were able and devoted men, and under their capable administration the University so flourished that eventually it had no rival in the country.

Its students, for the most part, were the cream of the province and when, after graduation, they took up their various appointments they extended their University's cultural influence. Many of them went to England for more advanced studies. It was largely due to the University that, notwithstanding the dispersal of the 1911 Revolution, Shansi became the most educationally advanced and the best governed province in all China. Richard took a lively and active interest in its affairs throughout the period of his Chancellorship, but he was seldom able to visit T'ai-yuan-fu. When he was there in 1908, he had the joy of seeing that the railway which he had encouraged in 1902 had been completed, and that a regular train service was running between the city and Peking. At last it was being realized that the future welfare of Shansi required the development of its natural resources and of transport facilities. His last official visit was in 1910, in response to a pressing invitation from the Governor and the Provincial Assembly, when he was returning from Europe to Shanghai. They gave him a wonderful reception, and at a representative public meeting they spoke in the highest terms of the immense service rendered to the whole province by the University. It was during this visit that Richard resigned his Chancellorship. "Being convinced that modern education had taken such a deep root in the province that it would never be eradicated," he wrote, "I wished to show the officials and students that I had

no desire to retain the control of the University till the last minute, when the ten years would be over in the spring of 1911, so I determined to hand over the control to the Chinese there and then. This was done on November 13th, 1910, when the Chinese authorities promised to take over the contracts of the professors and continue to enlarge the University. At the time I gave over my control the foreign professors numbered eight, assisted by fourteen Chinese professors and teachers."

Manifold Activities

China's humiliation in 1900 had far-reaching consequences in the realm of internal affairs. The Reform Movement of 1895–1898 had been ruthlessly suppressed, but it was far from dead, and its ideals and projects were largely revived and re-enacted by the Government. It was recognized that an overhaul of the nation's general "economy," especially the education system, was necessary if China was to grow strong enough to be saved from further, and perhaps more disastrous, failure. 1901 saw the issue of three successive edicts (reviving those of 1898), ordering (1) The reform of examinations, on Western lines; (2) The changing of existing colleges into schools of Western learning, with a University in each provincial capital; (3) The creation of opportunities for able young men to go abroad for special study. In 1902 the Empress-Dowager issued an edict against the long-established Chinese (but never Manchu) custom of foot-binding. Thus Richard's influence, and that of his Society's publications, found statutory expression. During this period, at Peking and elsewhere, he had the entry into the innermost circles of China's highest governing classes—to a degree without parallel in the history of

Protestant Missions in China—and even the Empress-Dowager wished to give him audience.

At this time, while Richard was still in Peking, he learned that the Foreign Office was conferring with Bishop Favier about new regulations for a better understanding with Roman Catholic Missions. He at once requested a similar recognition of Protestant Missions, and reminded the Foreign Office of the Memorial which he and Dr. Wherry had presented in 1896. When asked to act as the Protestant representative, he pointed out that there was a properly constituted Committee appointed for such a purpose, and that it should be consulted. The Committee was, however, not consulted, and the following Imperial edict was issued on July 3rd, 1902 :

" We have received a Memorial from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs stating that foreigners from the West are divided into two religions, namely, Roman Catholicism and Protestantism. The said Ministry speaks in the highest terms of recommendation of Dr. Timothy Richard, who is at present in Peking, and is a representative of Protestant Missions. We know Dr. Richard to be a man of great learning, high attainments, and strict sense of justice, qualities which we deeply admire and commend. We therefore hereby command the said Ministry of Foreign Affairs to take the scheme which the said Ministry has lately drawn up, with the object of making Christians and non-converts to live harmoniously with each other throughout the Empire, to Dr. Richard, and consult with him on the matter, with the sincere hope that, with the valuable assistance of that gentleman, the object in view may be arrived at and the masses be able to live at peace with their neighbours, the Christians."

This was tantamount to making him, jointly with

Bishop Favier, Religious Adviser to the Chinese Government. On July 14th he and Governor Chou Fu called on Bishop Favier, and suggested an effort towards a better understanding between Roman Catholics and Protestants. The Bishop, who had three other bishops with him, agreed, but unhappily he died before they could consult further on the matter. Later, however, Richard drew up seven simple rules, which Chou Fu (who had become Viceroy of Nanking) approved, and which, when on furlough in England in 1905, he personally submitted to Dr. Bourne, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Westminster. After reading them, his reply was : " If these regulations had been observed, we should not have had to mourn over the massacre of our missionaries. If you will let me have a copy, I will forward it to the Pope myself, and recommend that they be adopted for the future in China." These were the rules :

" (1) That if any missionary should circulate literature showing disrespect to the religions of China, he should be removed.

" (2) That if any mandarin promoted the circulation of literature derogatory to the Christian religion, he should be removed.

" (3) That if any missionary interfered with the lawsuits of Chinese subjects, he should be removed.

" (4) That if any mandarin made any difference in the treatment of Christians and non-Christians, he was to be removed.

" (5) That the head of each Mission should send an annual report to the Governor of his province, stating the number of chapels, schools and colleges, hospitals, literary work or philanthropic work that the Mission was engaged in.

" (6) That the Governor should annually invite three of the leaders of Missions in his province to confer

with him as to how their work could be rendered more useful.

"(7) That the Governor or Viceroy should report on Missions once every three years to the Central Government, so that it may be well informed and not liable to be misled by imperfect reports circulated by the ignorant or mischievous."

A project of immense public service, and one for which Richard was chiefly responsible, was the successful establishment of a Public School for Chinese in Shanghai. First mooted in 1899 and then delayed by the Boxer upheaval, he and Drs. Hawks Pott and Ferguson submitted a scheme to the Municipal Council. It met with approval and the Council promised to provide a suitable site and an annual grant of a thousand taels on condition that the Chinese themselves raised the thirty thousand taels required for the School buildings and their equipment. Richard thereupon secured the interest of three prominent Chinese gentlemen, who promised to become responsible for the money, with the result that, early in 1904, a handsome block of buildings was ready for a school which became the pioneer of modern day-school education in Shanghai. Richard was made Chairman of the School Committee and entrusted with the engagement of its first masters.

In May, 1903, he paid a short visit to Japan in the interests of his Translation Bureau for Shansi University. While there he studied the educational development of the country and interviewed leading educationists, including the Minister of Education and the President of the Imperial University. He also met Prince Konoye, President of the House of Peers, and "the Bismarck of Japan." In their talk Richard broached the subject (always very much on his heart and in his mind) of the federation of nations and the use of armies merely as

police forces, but the Premier replied that "it would be long before the nations would be ready for such a step, and by this remark clearly indicated the trend of his thought." The alternative, as we now know to our immeasurable cost, was the present global war. Richard found disturbing evidence of Japan's ambitions on his return journey to Shanghai. Among his fellow-passengers on the steamer were eleven Japanese professors. He asked one of them, a Professor of Chemistry, what they were going to do, and received the reply that they were going to teach the Chinese the proper place of Europeans. "Their place is here, under our heel," he cried, with a fierce laugh, stamping on the floor. Later that evening he apologized for his insolence, saying that he had had too much wine and that he had talked nonsense, but he had convinced Richard of the possibility of a real "Yellow Peril."

Soon after his return Richard suffered the most poignant and disabling sorrow of his life. Mrs. Richard died on July 10th, after an unavailing operation for cancer in the Shanghai Nursing Home. "The blow to him and his daughters was staggering," wrote Dr. Soothill, who knew them so well. "He had now to face the later years of his life without the one who had been both inspiration and check. They had been a remarkable pair, each with ability far beyond the common. She understood his every thought, and was always ready and able to strengthen his hands. She would sympathise with his plans and see their aim, but 'You leave other people to build your bridges,' she would criticize. Therein lay the weakness of his genius. He often expected others to leap with him across the stream. She was the guardian angel of his eager mind." Exemplary as wife and mother, she never ceased to be also a missionary, and her literary and musical ability was of substantial help to the S.D.K. "It must be God and

His work that is to be first in our thoughts and each other next"—that was the soul-animating principle of her life. People of all social grades, foreign and Chinese, loved her, and the Cemetery chapel was crowded with sorrowing friends when she was laid to rest. "Who can find a virtuous woman? For her price is far above rubies . . . strength and honour are her clothing; and she shall rejoice in time to come. She openeth her mouth with wisdom; and in her tongue is the law of kindness. She looketh well to the ways of her household, and eateth not the bread of idleness. Her children rise up, and call her blessed; her husband also, and he praiseth her."

When the Trans-Siberian Railway reached Port Arthur, in 1903, Japan considered that her interests were threatened, and in February, 1904, the Russo-Japanese War broke out. Russia lost both her Far Eastern Fleet and her Grand Fleet. The Russian army was driven back, Korea became Japanese, and Russia forfeited her rights in Southern Manchuria and half of Saghalien. Although China was a non-combatant, the war was fought out on Chinese territory and it brought the most suffering to her people. Shên Tung-ho, who had assisted in the founding of Shansi University, appealed to Richard for help in raising money for the relief of these Chinese sufferers. He gladly consented, and they formed the first International Red Cross Society in China, in which Chinese, British, American, French, German, and other nationalities co-operated. Shên acted as the Chinese and Richard as the Foreign Secretary. Many foreigners made liberal contributions to the funds. The total contributions of the Chinese authorities in the various provinces amounted to 451,483 taels (about £56,000), including 100,000 taels (£15,500) from the Empress-Dowager. But it was easier to raise funds than to

distribute relief. Both Russia and Japan refused the request of the Chinese Government to this end, and it was only when Richard wrote to the Rev. David Webster of the Scottish Free Church Mission, and through his good offices, that the Russian and the Japanese generals gave their permission. Money was at once placed to Mr. Webster's credit in Newchang, and ten thousand wadded garments were forwarded to him within a fortnight. Richard was later awarded the Red Cross medal for his services.

In May of that year he paid a short visit to Peking, partly to further certain reforms and partly to discuss the Government's attitude towards a Federation of States in the interest of World Peace. He also took the opportunity of the presence in the city of an L.M.S. delegation from Britain to draw the Government's attention to the "grand service rendered to China" by that and other missionary societies.

In July he was back in his old station of Ch'ing-chou-fu, Shantung, attending a Conference of leaders of all religious sects, which he and A. G. Jones had convened for the free discussion of the best means to promote religion in China. It was a daring thing to do, but it was done not out of feebleness but out of firmness of religious conviction. The non-Christian religions had their many "worthy" adherents, concerned about the "good" of China. Richard and Jones believed that such a Conference was timely and that, under God, it would so foster mutual knowledge and respect as to further that Cause of Religion which, they were sure, was fully expressed only in Christianity. This unique Conference lasted for four days. The Governor of Shantung was represented by the ex-Chancellor of Education (a seventy-third lineal descendant of Confucius) and three officials. There were also present thirty other officials and about one hundred

non-Christian leaders in addition to the Christian representatives, and several non-Christian gentry shared in the discussions. One of these latter suggested that missionaries should be asked to prepare religious textbooks for use in Chinese schools.

After the Conference, Richard, accompanied by his four daughters, went to see the Governor at Chi-nan-fu. Chou Fu showed them unusual respect and provided them with elaborate facilities for seeing the sights of the provincial capital. He gave a banquet in Richard's honour, with high officials and Protestant missionaries as guests, at which the chief subject of conversation was religion. What China most needed, he declared, was a great book on God and His relation to the forces of Nature. Later, the Governor gave a ceremonial dinner in the theatre of the Imperial Palace, in honour of the Empress-Dowager's birthday. The guests were high provincial officials, the Roman Catholic Bishop, University Professors and other foreigners. Richard was seated by the Governor's side on a raised platform facing the stage—the seat of honour. The meal lasted for several hours, with theatrical performances proceeding throughout its course. At intervals the Governor took him into a quiet corner for more private talk, and suggested : (1) that Richard should " write in his name to all the Protestant missionaries in Shantung desiring them to elect three representatives to confer with him in regard to Mission work in the province," and (2) that Richard should " procure copies of the New Testament for him to distribute himself to his subordinates, as they would then read the books with greater attention."

On his return to Shanghai he informed the Bible Society of this request and he was given two hundred specially bound New Testaments to pass on to Chou Fu. " Of all Chinese officials he was the most lovable," said

Richard. He was the first great Chinese official to take a personal interest in Christianity and, at considerable risk, he saved the lives of the missionaries in Szechuan in 1900. From Shantung he was promoted to the Viceroyalty of Nanking and then of Canton.

These, and other, "extra-territorial" activities were not allowed to trespass upon Richard's primary duties at Shanghai. The work of the S.D.K. went on all the time, and continued to develop and prosper. Its Annual Reports showed its steady expansion.

In January, 1905, he was back in England, not for rest but to further three of the great "concerns" of his heart as a missionary statesman:—"(1) To increase interest in the Christian Literature Society (the new name for the S.D.K.); (2) to help to reform missionary methods so as to get tenfold better results from present expenditure; (3) to help secure universal peace by the federation of ten of the leading nations, and thus remove the greatest curse which has ever fallen upon the human race—the curse of modern militarism."

The B.M.S. Committee, which had continued its financial support through the years, gave him an enthusiastic reception and was deeply impressed by his weighty exposition of changes and opportunities in China, wisely released him from routine deputation work so that he might be free to address churches and influential bodies of varying kinds in the chief centres of the kingdom. We find him in Liverpool, Edinburgh, Leeds, Aberystwyth, Bristol, and elsewhere; he addressed missionary societies at their annual meetings in London and other places; he was interviewed and "publicized" by journalists; he engaged in correspondence with, and met, all sorts of important and less important people. He spoke at one of the assemblies of the First Baptist World Congress in London in July, and was made

a member of its General Committee. It was the time of the Welsh Revival and he, in company with his fellow-Welshmen, the Revs. W. R. James and Daniel Jones (both of India), had a thrilling experience at a great open-air meeting at Abercarn in Monmouthshire. He never forgot the singing of a Welsh miner on that occasion. His days were indeed crowded, and, with varying emphasis, he pursued his triple purpose. His stay coincided with the visit of five Chinese Government Commissioners, sent to investigate the conditions of Western civilization in Europe and America. Richard wrote to Dr. Davidson, Archbishop of Canterbury, suggesting that he, as Primate, should invite the Commissioners to Lambeth Palace and also ask the President of the National Free Church Council to meet them there. The Archbishop concurred and Richard acted as interpreter. At the reception he met Bishop Gore and asked him if he did not think the time had come for a Christian Commission of five men to be sent to China in order to study Mission problems—two from the Anglican Church, two from the Free Churches, and one from the Church of Scotland. "Oh no!" he replied, "I am afraid that is altogether impracticable, we are not ready for that yet." "In that case," answered Richard, "the Chinese, who are a practical nation, may very well think that a religion whose parties cannot unite in such a small measure would not do for China."

But, nevertheless, a Commission was sent to China, mainly through the joint efforts of Richard, Dr. J. B. Paton and Sir Percy Bunting. They formed the China Missions' Emergency Committee, consisting of fourteen Anglicans and fourteen Free and Scottish Churchmen, and they commissioned five members to visit and report on China. They were—the Rev. Lord William Gascoyne Cecil, Lady Florence Cecil, Sir Alexander Simpson,

Professor Alexander Macalister and Mr. Francis Fox. Most opportunely, they arrived in time to attend the great Missionary Conference held in Shanghai in May, 1907, in commemoration of the hundredth anniversary of the arrival of the first Protestant missionary to China, Robert Morrison of the L.M.S. Richard was one of the Vice-Presidents of the Conference. The visitors were cordially welcomed and they were invited to stay for the discussions. After the Conference, they separated (in order to cover the widest possible ground) and travelled through different parts of China, where they met the missionary leaders and studied missionary work and methods—evangelistic, educational, medical, literary and philanthropic. They saw the need for some sort of central bureau, in order to co-ordinate the work and to avoid overlapping and waste. Then they returned home to report. Their report had important consequences. The first was an appeal, sponsored by leading men, for £100,000, in order to provide £40,000 for normal schools and colleges, £40,000 for medical colleges, and £20,000 for the translation of literature and textbooks. The second was the launching of the Oxford and Cambridge (later the United Universities) Scheme for a University in China, with Lord William Gascoyne Cecil as British, and the Hon. Seth Low as American, Chairman. Unhappily, the war of 1914–18 destroyed a scheme for which a large sum of money had been conditionally promised and of which high hopes had been legitimately entertained.

1907 was indeed a year of deputations. The American Laymen's Movement sent one, in time for the Centenary Conference, and its members consulted Richard about many things. Then, in the autumn, he had a special satisfaction in welcoming one from his own Society, the Revs. C. E. Wilson and W. Y. Fullerton. They were

there for the purpose of establishing the Shantung Christian University at Chi-nan-fu (the project which Richard had suggested long before), and to visit Baptist mission stations in the three provinces of Shantung, Shansi and Shensi. Richard met them in Peking, and when introducing them to members of the Foreign Office, he took care to dwell on the manifold service of the Mission. They afterwards published an interesting account of their experiences and reflections in a book entitled *New China: A Story of Modern Travel.* One of their recommendations was that Richard be freed from routine office work, and that the B.M.S. give him a roving commission as its "Apostle in China."

When returning to China, in 1908, Richard attended and addressed the Peace Conference at Lucerne, and, on the advice of Lord Weardale, President of the Inter-Parliamentary Union for Peace, he proceeded to Washington for an interview with President (Theodore) Roosevelt. The President, like Mr. (later Lord) Bryce, was cautious and non-committal as to the possibility of Richard's scheme of International Federation, but he promised to give careful consideration to any suggestion of the kind from the Chinese Government. On his arrival in China, Richard made a special journey to Peking to urge that an envoy, carrying these suggestions, should at once be sent to England and America, but the Foreign Office, through timidity or mistrust, took no action. In January, 1908, he was in Tokyo, trying to enlist the support of Prince Ito, and in May, 1910, when he was again in London, he elaborated his scheme at the annual meeting of the Peace Society :—

> "Let ten of the leading nations of the earth," he pleaded, "federate on the basis of reciprocity and equal opportunity, all prepared to lay down international difficulties before the Supreme Court of the

federated world, and let there be one army and navy to enforce the decisions of this Supreme Court for the justice and peace of the world; and last, but not least, let the nations who will not federate be submitted to a high tariff, while the rest of the world is free."

How far-sighted, and how right, he was is amply borne out by subsequent, world-shaking events. But the world has still to learn the truth that, in addition to Federation, Charters, Arbitration, Sanctions, and the like, Universal Peace requires the one stable basis of "a common recognition of God as the Great Ruler in the affairs of men."

His Fortieth Missionary Anniversary

The fortieth anniversary of his missionary service in China was not unheeded. The Christian *National Review* published a highly appreciative article upon his work and influence and stated that "the only person who fails to realize that Dr. Richard is a great man is—Dr. Richard." On November 15th (1909) his fellow British Baptist and Zenana missionaries presented him with a handsome leather sofa and chair, each with a reading desk attached, together with a beautiful silver bowl, suitably inscribed. The Rev. Samuel Couling gave the address on this occasion, and here are some of the things that he said:—

"The best man I have ever worked with—whom I do not hesitate to call the *saintly* Alfred Jones—was a pupil of yours and largely formed by you. . . . In these forty years what changes you have seen in China! We think of the wars, the rebellions, the treaties, the reforms, the railways, the newspapers—and in all these things which are making old China into a new country, you more than any other missionary

are able to say '*pars magna fui.*' . . . Our Society's work as it exists in the three provinces to-day was founded by your self-sacrificing zeal in Shantung forty years ago. . . . We thank God that you have not only been spared so long, but that you have been spared to us as an inspiriting example; your courage has never failed, your enthusiasm is that of youth, no disappointments have embittered you. . . . We congratulate you on the delightful fact that after forty years' work you are a man without enemies. You have sometimes been a man of strife—every forceful leader has to be; you have stood against many opponents. Some have criticized your methods; some may have thought your creed to be narrow, and some perhaps too broad; some may have thought you were wasting your great powers because you were not using them on the lines *they* preferred; but however you have been misjudged, your Christian spirit, that spirit of love which dominates you, and your unquestionable devotion to our common aim, must make everyone forgive you and must make it impossible that those who differ from you should have any feeling of enmity . . . and we might safely defy the eighteen provinces to produce a single person whom you have injured, while it is certain that those who have known you best have loved you the most. The great variety of your work is very astonishing to us. . . . You have evangelized poor peasantry and poured advice into the ears of the highest officials; you have produced and scattered valuable literature and have ruled a University; you have translated hymns which are sung throughout the churches and have been a peacemaker in international disputes; and in all these different departments, and in more besides, your work has always been of the best, whole-

hearted, unambitious and most effective. It is not for us to see and sum up the total effect due to any man's labours—that will be done hereafter; but the honours which the Chinese Government has had the wisdom to bestow upon you together with the affection and esteem your colleagues feel for you are enough to prove that your forty years of labour have been a great success. We pray that your ripened experience may remain as a treasure for many years among us to enrich a younger generation of workers and to help this nation in the critical times that are approaching."

Richard was deeply moved by these generous tributes, and, after thanking them for their "great kindness, which will remain in my heart as long as I live," he added: "I pray God that you may all be able to labour for an equally long time in China and render far greater service for the establishment of the Kingdom of God in this land than your pioneer colleague."

The Shantung Baptist Conference, a few days later, also sent him its affectionate congratulations.

Naturally and necessarily, Richard was summoned as a "special delegate" to the World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh in 1910. His œcumenical spirit and outlook, his long and varied experience, and his recognized pre-eminence in China—all these combined to require his presence at a Conference which not only opened the new era of organized missionary co-operation but also initiated the modern movement for the largest possible scale of inter-Church co-operation throughout the world. "Edinburgh, 1910" is in itself an event of fundamental importance in Ecclesiastical History, but still more because of the masterly thoroughness with which its eight preparatory Commissions did their work and because of the "follow-up" of its carefully chosen Continuation Committee, with Dr. John R. Mott, Chairman

of the Conference, as its first Chairman, and Dr. J. H. Oldham, Secretary of the Conference, as its first Secretary. Richard, who spoke at the Conference on the need of Christian Literature (" the weakest link in missionary operations in China ") was made a member of the Continuation Committee, while the establishment of " Edinburgh House," of the Board of Study for the Preparation of Missionaries, and of *The International Review of Missions*, was wholly in accord with his long-cherished ideas. In Committee, he begged for an improved distribution of Mission funds, and that Missionary Societies should insist on annual reports of the books (and their influence) which their agents had distributed, in order to find out the most effective kinds of literature for further distribution.

The story of the Revolution of 1911, with its vast and still undeveloped consequences for China, is beyond the province of this book, but a bare summary of events must be attempted. When the Emperor died on November 15th, 1908 (the day before the death of the Empress-Dowager), he was succeeded by his younger brother's infant son. " The Manchu Dynasty began with a child and a regent ; it ended with a child and a regent." But what a difference between the two regents ! " Every high office in Peking was soon filled with Manchu princes and nobles with sharp appetites for the spoils of office." Discontent became rife and there were local risings. Young China, led by Sun Yat-sen, demanded a republic and was set on becoming a modern democracy. The Manchu dynasty was seen to be effete. The Revolution first broke out on October 11th (1911) in Wuchang, and soon the Yangtze and many other centres were ablaze. Manchu garrisons and their families were massacred in their thousands. The regent resigned, Yuan Shih-k'ai, " the strong man of China,"

was recalled, and made Prime Minister, and on February 11th, 1912, he accepted terms which brought about the abdication of the Emperor and the termination of the Manchu dynasty. Sun Yat-sen, who had been made Provisional President of the Republic in December (1911), resigned in favour of Yuan Shih-k'ai, who took the presidential oath in Peking on March 10th, 1912. The twenty years that followed were full of difficulty, and there was a great deal of internecine strife between provincial rulers with private armies, and brigands terrorized wide areas of the country. No one authority arose to undertake the colossal task of national unification until the emergence of Chiang Kai-shek, and then, in 1931, Japan invaded Manchuria.

Richard, who knew both Sun Yat-sen and Yuan Shih-k'ai, was "all for" Reformation and against Revolution, and through the *North China Daily News* he gave sagacious counsel to the rival parties. He believed that "those who take up the sword shall perish by the sword," and in a letter to a Chinese correspondent in June, 1912, he indicated his disappointment with the then results of the Revolution. "Still," he concluded, "we must not be discouraged, for in the long run God will be sure to make right overcome might." There was encouragement in April, 1913, when the Cabinet sent out this telegram to provincial officials and Church leaders throughout the land: "Prayer is requested for the National Assembly now in session; for the newly established Government; for the President yet to be elected; for the Constitution of the Republic . . . that peace may reign . . . that strong virtuous men be elected as officials, and that the Government may be established on a firm foundation. . . . *Let us all take part.*" The "bread cast upon the waters" of China by Richard and the Christian Literature Society, and by

like-minded missionaries, was being " found after many days." And, as the " days " go by, more " bread " will continue to be found.

CHAPTER VIII

RESIGNATION AND LAST YEARS

In August, 1914, Richard was happily married to Dr. Ethel Tribe, a Bristol lady who had been for twenty years a self-supporting medical missionary of the L.M.S., working at first in Amoy and then in Shanghai. Still spiritually eager and mentally alert, but physically unwell, he, together with Mrs. Richard, left Shanghai in December for a two months' visit to Java. He wished to learn more about the methods of Christian work in the Dutch East Indies, and it was hoped that his health would benefit from the trip. On his way thither he wrote the pamphlet *Brotherhood verses Militarism.* The primary purpose of his visit was largely realized, but when they returned to Shanghai he had to take to his bed, and stay there for three months. In July, for convalescence, he went to Japan, and altogether he was absent from his office for eight months. He was not there long before he decided that he ought to yield his post to a younger man, and on December 10th he sent in his resignation. " In resigning this post, with which you have so kindly honoured me for so many years," he wrote to the Directors, " I wish to thank you and all my colleagues most sincerely for bearing with my many imperfections, whether in not advocating all your best ideals for literary work, or in too strongly urging my own individual views, or in any other way. Still, I think

we have unitedly and faithfully carried out the original aim of the Society to provide the best Christian and general knowledge for the use of the leaders of the Chinese nation, as far as our limited income has allowed."

His colleagues on the staff wrote to tell him that they received this intimation of resignation " with the profoundest emotion. We cannot fully express our sense of loss, not only to the Society but to the cause of Missions, Education and Reform generally, which your resignation would involve. Leader in pioneer efforts, almoner in famine times, founder of churches, adviser to the Government, friend of reformers, honoured and beloved by all, your strenuous services of forty-five years, twenty-two of which have been unstintedly given as Secretary of the C.L.S., have left an indelible impress on your adopted land. What our Society owes to your devotion, vision, guidance and books, it would be difficult to estimate. Your Christian character and philanthropic spirit are alike an inspiration and a heritage. We thank God for your whole life and example, and earnestly pray that God will still enrich your life with all grace and blessing. We would assure you of the unfailing love of all your colleagues and associates."

On the day of this letter (December 14th) the staff unanimously requested the Board of Directors to postpone decision to the next Annual Meeting of the Society. The Board met on December 15th, under the chairmanship of Sir Havilland de Sausmarez, H.M. Chief Justice of Shanghai, and unanimously put the following statement on record :

" Dr. Richard came in 1891 to take up the position of General Secretary to the C.L.S., left vacant by the death of its founder, Dr. Alexander Williamson. He was set apart by the Baptist Missionary Society for the C.L.S., a loan which has generously been extended

TIMOTHY RICHARD WITH HONOURS

for all these years. He at once proved to be the man for the hour. His numerous translations and books on Christian and General Knowledge, his articles in our magazines, and his unparalleled acquaintance with Chinese officials, soon made the Society's name a household word in China. He inaugurated many beneficial changes in the Society's policy and work. Notable among these was inducing various Missionary Boards to grant the services of their missionaries to our Society. These he initiated into the work with loving patience and care, and it is they who will miss him most in the future. By his efforts a large and increasing income was secured from individuals and Boards of Trustees. He is beloved by all, and Chinese and foreigners alike come almost daily to his office to ask his advice in solving their problems. They always go away helped and encouraged. . . . He is known everywhere as a true friend of China, and in many senses he can have no successor."

The resolution expressed "heartfelt regret" for the resignation and "affectionate admiration of the work he has done for the Society, and through it for China, as well as for the cause of righteousness and peace ever dear to his heart," and concluded:

"We trust that when he relinquishes the arduous post which he has filled, as no one else can fill it, we may long have the benefit of his advice on this Board, and his help in the management of the Society's affairs."

Further, it was unanimously Resolved that, "We respectfully ask Dr. Richard not to give effect to his resignation before the next Annual Meeting of the Society, and in the meantime all assistance shall be given him at an early date."

To this Resolution Richard replied on December 23rd,

After thanking them for what they had said about his services (" To my mind they are far less than I had hoped they would be "), he agreed to postpone his resignation as requested, but " subject to the exigencies of the times." He prayed that, as God " has blessed us and guided us to be of some special service in the past, He will still continue to direct us in the future, which is so full of dangers, and yet of possibilities for good."

His final resignation was reluctantly accepted at the Society's Annual Meeting, in Shanghai, on November 9th, 1915; but, on the suggestion of the chairman, he was appointed Secretary-emeritus. By an upstanding vote, a cordial resolution was unanimously passed that his great services to the Society and to China be put on record. These services were inestimable; his name was a household word in China; and he had succeeded, as perhaps nobody else, in reaching the Chinese heart and in interpreting to it the very spirit of the Gospel. As for the Society, Dr. Richard and the C.L.S. had long been synonymous terms. Dr. W. Hopkyn Rees, of the L.M.S., another Welshman, was appointed his successor as General Secretary. The *Shanghai Mercury* (November 10th) gave two and a half columns to its report of this meeting.

Meanwhile his health was far from satisfactory, and in August he went for a holiday to Japan. The *Japan Times* interviewed him on the day of his arrival in Tokyo, and gave wide publicity to his views on some of China's problems, including the movement for a restoration of the monarchy.

On the occasion of his seventieth birthday, two months later, he was cheered by the affectionate remembrance of many friends. Dr. Arthur H. Smith, the distinguished American missionary and author, wrote: " Many of your friends are to-day thanking God not merely that

He put it into your heart to come to China, but that you were born at all." And Mr. W. Sheldon Ridge, editor of *The National Review*, wrote: "For myself I may say that, apart from your many personal kindnesses to me, which I have greatly appreciated, your work and your example have been over and over again a great help to me. I am sure it has been the same with others."

Early in 1916, Richard bade farewell to his beloved China. In his last Annual Report as Secretary of the C.L.S. he had written:

> "A good many years ago they felt that China needed help from abroad, for when they looked at the textbooks used in the schools throughout China, they found that they lacked four things. One was the lack of true science; the next the lack of true history; the next the lack of true economics; and, last, the lack of true religion. . . . The C.L.S. stepped in to help China to understand her problems and to bring her abreast of other nations."

And Richard and the C.L.S., we remember, had come to be synonymous terms. Very fittingly, but most generously, he gave to the Society his valuable library of over seven thousand Chinese and Western books.

His health had become so precarious that it was decided he ought to return to the home-country. He and Mrs. Richard left Shanghai on May 20th, and, after breaking their journey in order to see one of his married daughters and her family in New Brunswick, Canada, they left Montreal on July 1st and arrived in Liverpool on July 10th. Their steamer was escorted by a cruiser because of possible enemy submarines.

On July 14th, he went to Aberystwyth to receive the honorary LL.D. of the University of Wales, conferred on him in 1913. The brilliant Church historian, Professor H. M. Gwatkin, received a doctorate at the same time.

Richard was presented by Principal T. F. Roberts, of Aberystwyth, a devout Baptist and an eminent classical scholar, who spoke of the dedication of his brilliant gifts to the service of God in China and welcomed him back to his native Wales. He had claims, which few could surpass, to the affectionate homage of his fellow-countrymen and to the honour conferred on him by their national University.

Few of his many distinctions gave Richard such pleasure as this one from the University of Wales. Georgia, U.S.A., gave him its D.D. in 1895, and Brown University, Rhode Island, its Litt.D. (which he valued the more because of Roger Williams, who founded that State), but " Aberystwyth is near my home and therefore doubly pleasant." His Chinese honours were quite unusually distinguished. In 1903 the Chinese Government conferred on him the rank of Mandarin, with a button of the highest grade (red), and later on ennobled his ancestors for three generations. In 1907 the Chinese Government decorated him with the Order of the Double Dragon.

From Aberystwyth Richard went to London, where he attended and addressed the July Committees of the B.M.S., which welcomed him with unmistakeable cordiality. In October he was given an upstanding reception at the Valedictory Meeting in Bloomsbury Central Church. With slow utterance and deep impressiveness he spoke of the missionary objective in the light of his experiences in China, and then, turning to the outgoing missionaries, he said: " Go forth; you will not be alone; God will be with you. The hope that never flickers will be yours. The Spirit of God will guide you in every perplexity."

He made his home in London, where he was at the heart of things, and eventually settled in a small house at Golders Green. Mrs. Richard helped at the local hospital and he occupied himself with reading and writing—especially on the subject of World Peace and

the need of a League of Nations when the war of 1914–1918 came to an end. As time went on his health improved enough to permit him to attend, and sometimes to take part in, meetings. Old missionary friends, and others, visited him, and he himself paid an occasional visit. But his heart was in China, and, early in 1919, he and Mrs. Richard went so far as to book their passages thither in the early autumn. But it was not to be. As Easter approached, his health so deteriorated that an operation was advised and performed. For a time it was thought that he would recover, but the long, strenuous years in the Far East had drained his strength, and on April 17th, 1919, he passed hence—in peace into " the Peace of God which passeth understanding." His body was cremated at Golders Green on April 22nd, and the funeral service was conducted jointly by Drs. W. Y. Fullerton (Home Secretary of the B.M.S.) and T. Reaveley Glover. Many old friends and the representatives of religious bodies and missionary societies, and of the Chinese and Japanese Legations, were present at the service, to pay the last offices of respect to one of the great men of the Church Universal. " Had he died in China," wrote Dr. Soothill, " his funeral would have been the greatest of any foreigner who has ever lived in that land." To this day " Li-T'i-mo-t'ai " (his Chinese name) holds a securely-honoured place in the remembrance of the Chinese people. When news of his death reached China, many tributes were paid, in the public press and elsewhere, to the noble qualities of his character and to the range and importance of his services. A Memorial Service was held on Sunday, April 27th, in the Library of the C.L.S. offices in Shanghai, under the chairmanship of Sir Havilland de Sausmarez, and the Society's thirty-second Annual Report (1918–1919) was enlarged into a special memorial number.

" The more I write about him," wrote Dr. W. E. Soothill, Richard's biographer, to Miss Hilda Bowser, " the more manifest does the greatness of his life's work become." Like his adored Master, he " went about doing good," which means that he went out of his way to do good, to all kinds of people, and the " good " that he did was rich enough to take account of the composite needs of Man—the individual, the member of social groups, and the world society to which he and they belong. The Kingdom of God, as founded and proclaimed by Jesus Christ, means the Rule of God in the world no less than in the hearts of Christian believers. Although it awaits its final, and ineffable, consummation, it has immediate social and universal, as well as individual and local, implications. This is the conception, more familiar now than in Richard's early years, which enables us to understand him and his work. It was the controlling and constraining inspiration of his life, and it gives coherence to its diversity. It explains and justifies his pioneering Famine Relief work—a veritable ministry of God to suffering thousands ; his scientific and kindred lectures ; his pioneering efforts for Chinese economic and educational reform ; his founding of the Shansi Imperial University, believing that all knowledge is sacred and that only culpable ignorance, falsehood and vice are profane ; and his indefatigable labours for World Peace, on the basis of the Divine Fatherhood and human brotherhood. His missionary service in Shantung and Shansi was creative of much that has become permanent in the modern missionary enterprise. The salvation of the soul, the enlightenment of the mind, and the healing of the body—all come within its beneficent ministries. His classwork for Church membership and his more intensive " retreats " for Church leaders, along with his insistence upon the

truth that China can be won for Christ only by the healthy vigour of an instructed Chinese Church—all show his grasp of sound missionary principles. He taught valuable lessons, too, by his sympathetic approach to the Chinese people and to their religious beliefs and social customs. He respected them; he tried to understand them; he identified himself with them. It was for the sake of the whole nation that he gave special attention to its leaders. Through them the way was best opened for the speediest presentation of the Gospel. The Christian missionary *must* get a hearing, and it was of the first importance that he should get a hearing from those whose influence was so dominating as that of the intellectual classes of China. But prince and peasant were equally in need of the Gospel.

It was, however, through the printed page that he did his greatest and most enduring work. Surely he and the C.L.S. were providentially prepared for each other! Up to 1912 he was instrumental in publishing fifty books on the *Works of God*, in order to improve the material conditions of China; thirty-seven books on the *Laws of God*, to improve social, national and international relationships; thirty-three books on the *Providence of God*, to improve education; and forty-eight books on the *Grace of God*, to improve religion and character. He and the Society published much else besides, in original work and in translations. He himself was a considerable scholar and author. His chief publications in English were: *Historical Evidences of the Benefits of Christianity*, *The Awakening of Faith in New Buddhism*, *Guide to Buddhism*, *Conversion by the Million* (two volumes, discussing some of the most important problems for the conversion of China, which aroused world-wide notice), *The New Testament of Higher Buddhism*, *A Mission to Heaven* (a translation of a thirteenth-century Chinese

masterpiece), his *Forty-five Years in China,* and a large number of booklets and pamphlets.

Of Richard's contribution to the study of Buddhism, to which he brought a sensitive and generous sympathy, there have been varying judgments. His technical scholarship may not have been impeccable, although it was certainly very competent, and he was apt to be carried too far by his imagination, but there is no doubt about its suggestiveness. His capacious mind was probably more intuitive than strictly philosophical. But what rare powers of sympathy and insight were his! And what an achievement that he of the West should enter with such generous understanding into the inner mind and heart of the mysterious East! We see in him a noble embodiment of catholic Christianity, fixed in its central conviction of the full deity and saviourhood of Jesus Christ, and flexible enough to grow with the expanding circles of human experience. Through the C.L.S he projected himself into the teeming life of China, with consequences of good that have already become a part of the national heritage and with the promise of more to come in the unfolding future. St. Paul, said Lord Birkenhead, in his book, *Turning Points of History,* was "a man beside whose achievement even a colossus like Napoleon seems a pigmy, and Alexander the Great the creature of an instant." Why? Because "he altered the basic ideas of Western civilization." Timothy Richard was not of the prodigious stature of St. Paul, but he was not unworthy of the great Apostle's company. He did much, and he may yet do more, to alter the basic ideas of the Chinese Empire (a fourth of the human race), and, like St. Paul, he was the servant and ambassador of Jesus Christ. To him there was no honour so high, and it was an incomparable service.