A MAKER OF MODERN CHINA

TIMOTHY RICHARD IN HIS LIBRARY, SHANGHAI

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CONTENTS

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

FOREWORD

WALES has given to China two of the greatest missionaries that ever went to the Far East: Griffith John and Timothy Richard. Both of them spent the greater part of their lives in China, that the coming of the Kingdom of God might be hastened in that land. Both of them endeared themselves to the people, among whom the names of *Yang Ke Fei* and *Li T'i Mo T'ai* became household words. Each of them emphasised a particular aspect of the Gospel. Griffith John was the evangelist, the preacher, the writer of popular religious tracts, the translator of the New Testament in the language of the people, the founder of churches. Timothy Richard was the prophet, the writer of books for officials and scholars, the statesmanlike apostle of a social and international Order based on obedience to the laws of God, the " Nation Builder " of Modern China.

In writing this book on the share which Timothy Richard had in the awakening of China, I was struck once more with the timeliness of his message, not only for China, but for the world to-day. The idea of the Kingdom of God gripped him: a Kingdom in which justice and righteousness, mercy and peace among men were to be the outcome of a right relationship to God; in which freedom from misery and enjoyment of material blessings were to be the result of a proper understanding of, and obedience to, the laws of God. " The LORD is King " was his battle cry against all forms of wrong in the human heart and of oppression among men.

Like all prophets, he was ahead of his times and therefore misunderstood by some. But he lived and died

beloved by the Chinese people who knew him to be their friend.

In the preparation of this book, I have availed myself of a large number of publications, too long to be given in full. Among the most important, however, might be mentioned the *Reports of the Christian Literature Society for China*, the *China Mission Year Book*, Couling's *Encyclopædia Sinica*, Cordier's *Histoire Générale de la Chine*, and Professor Soothill's *Timothy Richard of China*.

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A special word of thanks goes to the Rev. J. B. Middlebrook, M.A., for the general plan of the work and for valuable advice given from time to time; also to Mr. H. L. Hemmens for attending to many details in connection with the work.

The book goes out, as a small memorial to the life and work of a great and humble servant of Jesus Christ, on the one hundredth anniversary of his birth, in the hope that it may present a challenge to our young men and women to use what God has given them for the benefit of mankind and for the glory of God.

London, February, 1945 A. J. GARNIER

SECTION I

THE PRE-REVOLUTION CHINA TO WHICH TIMOTHY RICHARD WENT

I. BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF CHINA IN 1869

(a) Introductory
(b) Political conditions : (i) The Form of Government
(ii) The Manchu Court
(iii) Internal Affairs
(iv) External Affairs
(c) Social and Economic conditions.
(d) Religious conditions
(e) Education
(f) Literature in vogue at the time

II. FORCES MAKING FOR REVOLUTION BEFORE THAT DATE

(a) The T'ai Ping Rebellion
(b) The Nien Fei uprising
(c) The Mohammedan Revolts

SECTION I

THE PRE-REVOLUTION CHINA TO WHICH TIMOTHY RICHARD WENT

1. Brief Description of China in 1869

(a) Introductory

It is generally recognised that the work of the early preachers of the Gospel was made easier because of the circumstances prevailing in the Roman Empire during the first century of our era. The same cannot be said of the work of our missionaries who went to China over seventeen hundred years later, or of that of their followers, the men and women of the generation to which Timothy Richard himself belonged. China was then living in a period of stagnation. Her development had been arrested. Proud of her past, she looked with scorn on all newcomers.

Much has been written on the splendour of that past, and it is not our purpose here to recall it in detail. Yet the words of a well-known writer, Dr. Gracey, might be quoted with advantage as he sums up ancient Chinese civilisation.

"When Moses led the Israelites through the wilderness," he says, "Chinese laws and literature and Chinese religious knowledge excelled that of Egypt. A hundred years before the north wind rippled over the harp of David, Wen Wang, an Emperor of China, composed classics which are committed to memory to this day. While Homer was composing and singing the *Iliad*, China's blind minstrels were celebrating her ancient

heroes, whose tombs had already been with them through nearly thirteen centuries. Her literature was fully developed before England was invaded by the Norman conquerors. A thousand years ago the forefathers of the present Chinese sold silks to the Romans and dressed in these fabrics when the inhabitants of the British Isles wore coats of blue paint and fished in willow canoes. Her Great Wall was built two hundred and twenty years before Christ was born in Bethlehem, and contains material enough to build a wall five or six feet high around the globe."

But the glory had departed. "No one who loves China and the Chinese," wrote Sir J. T. Pratt recently, "cares to dwell upon the nineteenth century. It is a melancholy period. An arid and pedantic formalism invaded every branch of activity—religion, education, art and letters—and the spirit of her institutions gradually decayed, until little but the outer shell remained."

A rapid survey of the political, social, economic and religious conditions of the Far East, particularly in the land of Cathay, when Timothy Richard first went there, will show how unfavourable they were to progress, especially to the enterprise of making known the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

(b) Political Conditions

(i) *The Form of Government*

When Timothy Richard arrived in China, at the end of 1869, the people of that land were still trying to live in proud isolation from the rest of the world, driven by the reactionary forces embodied in the Manchu Dynasty and in the ruling classes. China was then under the sway of foreign despots, the Manchus, who had descended upon the country from the Northern plains east

of Mukden, during the seventeenth century, and had overthrown the Chinese Dynasty of the Mings.

The Manchus, it is true, had produced great Emperors, such as K'ang Hsi and Ch'ien Lung, who, between them, had ruled for over 120 years. But lesser men had followed, until the dissolute Hsien Feng ascended the throne in 1851 and made inevitable the downfall of the Dynasty, some sixty years later.

The form of government—in which there was no distinction between legislative and executive powers—was an Absolute Monarchy. In all national affairs the Emperor, with his Inner Council, was supreme. Under him there were six Boards, or Ministries, responsible for Official Appointments, Revenue, Rites, War, Punishments and Public Works. Each of these Boards was under the direction of a President and of a Vice-President, whose duty it was to report from time to time to the Emperor the result of deliberations with their colleagues.

The first of these Boards, however, was much more important than the rest, because it was responsible for the nomination to the Emperor of all civil officials, and also for the keeping of records on their behaviour, with a view to promotion or degradation. The Ministry of War alone had the privilege of nominating its own officials. It is easy to see, therefore, that the Presidents and Vice-Presidents of the other Boards were, in fact, little more than heads of departmental administration.

The affairs of the capital, Peking, were under a special set of officials, while the business of the Provinces, civil and military, was shared by a Governor and a Vice-Governor responsible to the Emperor. They were assisted by other officials in charge of general administration, of literary affairs, of the Salt Gabelle, of the Commissariat and of Trade. There was also a special

body of officials to look after the vagaries of the Yellow River, the " Sorrow of China " !

Officials were chosen by competitive examinations in the Classics rather than by nomination by the people on the basis of experience and personal worth, as had been the practice in ancient times.

Thus the living bond that had existed between rulers and people was no longer there. The ideal of Emperor Shun who, as the Classics tell us, sought to " see with the eyes of all and to hear with the ears of all " had disappeared.

It was not the same, however, in the case of purely local affairs. These were still carried on locally. The family—or the clan—was the centre of social life, while the village elders, or heads of families, together with the various guilds, attended to such matters as elementary education, relief of the poor, road repairs, sanitation and the settling of local disputes. The village elders also acted as intermediaries in all cases that must be referred to the official representing the Emperor in the district.

(*ii*) *The Manchu Court*

When Timothy Richard arrived in China, T'ung Chih, then a boy of thirteen, was nominally on the throne, but the real power was in the hands of Prince Kung, an able man who, however, was already largely acting on behalf of one of the most remarkable women the world has ever seen—known later as the Dowager Empress Tzŭ Hsi. The story of this woman could well be the subject of a great historical novel. It begins in the days of T'ung Chih's predecessor, the sickly and dissolute Hsien Feng.

Her name was Yehonala, a name derived from that of the two Manchu tribes to which she belonged. As the daughter of an officer in the Manchu Army, she was

eligible for the Imperial harem as soon as she became of age. She was sixteen when she was first taken to the palace, and Hsien Feng was twenty-three. The story goes that one day, as she was sitting sewing out of doors in a part of the Summer Palace, she sang a song she had learned as a girl in her old home in the south. The Emperor passed by and heard her singing, and from that time Yehonala became the favourite Imperial concubine.

Yehonala's influence over her lord became very great, her position being assured when she gave him a son, the future Emperor T'ung Chih. She was given the title of Empress of the Western Palace, and soon became the real ruler of China till her death in 1908.

We shall have more to say, in the course of our story, about this remarkable woman, for it is she who guided the policies of the Empire during the greater part of Timothy Richard's life in China, and who, in the end, brought about the downfall of the Empire and the ruin of the Manchu Dynasty.

The court of Peking was degenerate in the extreme, chiefly owing to the presence and power of thousands of eunuchs, some of whom contrived to gain a great ascendency over Tzŭ Hsi herself. These men appear to have been, as a class, utterly unprincipled, attending to nothing but their personal gain, as if they meant to revenge themselves for their condition on their fellow men. It is not without cause that they have been regarded as the bane of China.

But if the Court was cursed with their presence, it must also be recorded that the country had the advantage of the advice and help of a few faithful and able men. The names of Tseng Kuo Fan, Li Hung Chang and Chang Chih Tung, for example, stand out. All of them, as we shall see, tried to serve their country faithfully and in so doing enlisted the advice and help of Timothy Richard.

(iii) Internal Affairs

The internal affairs of the Empire were far from being in a healthy condition when the missionary from Wales first landed on its shores. Two rebellions, that of the T'ai Pings and that of the Nien Fei, had but recently been quelled, while the Mohammedans in the North-West were still giving a good deal of trouble.

This is not the place to relate the story of these movements, but some indication of their course will be necessary when we shall deal, at the end of this section, with the forces that made for revolution before the coming of Timothy Richard.

(iv) External Affairs

As for the relations of the Empire with the outer world, they were hardly better. China had recently been faced with two wars against Western Powers: the Opium War, which had forced open China's door, bringing about the cession of Hong Kong to Great Britain and the opening up of the first "Treaty Ports" to Western enterprise; and the "Arrow" War, which had imposed on the Chinese further humiliations and concessions.

And yet it cannot be said that China had, in fact, thrown her doors open to the West. The rulers of the country still persisted in regarding representatives of foreign powers to the Court of Peking as messengers of tributary States. Out of necessity they accepted the treaties, but immediately sought and found ways of nullifying their import.

The people still looked upon Western merchants and missionaries as barbarians whose chief assets were ships and guns. The cry, so often heard since, that the preachers of the Gospel had come "with the Gospel of Matthew in one hand and a sword in the other" well

reflected the conviction and expressed the feelings of the majority of the population. From time to time regrettable incidents had taken place, such as the massacre of some China Inland Mission missionaries on August 23rd, 1868, a little more than a year before Richard arrived in China.

Thus the political outlook, both in its internal and external aspects, was far from favourable to the work that Timothy Richard had come to do.

(c) Social and Economic Conditions

Socially and economically, too, conditions were not helpful to the preaching of the Gospel.

While the idea of the family, as the centre of Chinese social life, was of immense value, it was yet vitiated by the inferior position given to women. Again and again edicts had been issued prohibiting infanticide, and yet the practice was common among the people whenever they desired to get rid of unwanted girls.

Public services, at least on a national basis, were scanty. As we have seen, elementary education, the relief of the poor, ways of communication, except in the case of Imperial highways, were left to the initiative of individuals or of local communities.

There were as yet no railways in China. Country roads were proverbially bad, often being mere tracks across the fields.

There was no unity in the monetary system, the value of silver changing from province to province, even from one locality to another. Money changers thrived at the expense of the travelling public. One of the first jokes I heard in the capital of Shansi was that it was possible to start from there on a journey to the South, and arrive at one's destination penniless, by the simple process of exchanging money from one place to another.

As Timothy Richard said once—" The currency question in China seems to destroy the solid foundation of mathematics." In one place seventy-two cash would count as 100, in another eighty-four, and so on. Poverty was rife among the millions of China, while great wealth was the possession of the few.

China was, as she still is, an agricultural country, and it would be difficult to find anywhere more painstaking workers of the soil. But implements were primitive and labour almost entirely done by man himself.

(d) Religious Conditions

With regard to the religious conditions in China at the time, it is not easy to write. To be sure, the three great religious systems—Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism—were still influencing the people as they had done for hundreds of years.

But the Western student of Chinese affairs would make a mistake if he tried to look upon the Chinese people as a whole as giving an intelligent and exclusive allegiance to one or other of these systems.

The Chinese saying " San chiao wei i "—the three religions are one—seems to me significant. It means that a Chinese may belong, in a sense, to all three at one and the same time. If an Englishman were asked to say whether he is a Roman Catholic, or a member of the Church of England, or a Free Churchman, he would understand the question and know how to reply. But a similar question would leave the average Chinese puzzled.

Confucianism had, in practice, lost sight of the deeply religious basis on which the ancient religion of China stood. It had become mainly a system of behaviour, regulating right relationships between a man and his

fellows. Buddhism and Taoism, in the mind of the ordinary man, had become hopelessly mixed in the practice of everyday life. It was impossible to divide them, in spite of the fact that, in their origin and teaching, they differ profoundly.

A story, found in Chinese books, illustrates the point. At the gate of a certain Temple there were the clay figures of Buddha and of Laotzŭ—the founder of Taoism. A Buddhist priest came by one day, and, noticing that Laotzŭ was in the place of honour, removed the idol to the other side, setting that of Buddha on its pedestal. A Taoist priest passed by, and reversed the position. This happened several times, each idol in turn being moved to the place of honour. In the end, so the story goes, as the Taoist priest was moving his image, the latter came to life and winked at Buddha, saying, "You and I are old friends; we get on well enough together as we are; it is only these idiots who leave us no rest and, in shifting us from one side to the other, will end by breaking us both to pieces."

This, however, is not to say that there are not, in China, serious students and followers of Buddhist and Taoist teaching—it merely serves to indicate the attitude of the people, little interested, on the whole, in theological issues.

It is different in the case of Mohammedanism and Christianity. Here the allegiance has always been definite and exclusive. A Mohammedan is a Mohammedan and a Christian is a Christian.

When Timothy Richard arrived in China, a great Mohammedan rebellion was still raging in the North-West, a fact which is a sufficient indication of the extent and power of the followers of the prophet. Mohammedans had and still have their distinctive communities. In many towns of the interior their presence solves one of

the problems of food supply, for they carry on the butcher business from which the followers of Buddha are debarred.

The Christian Church in China, in 1869, was far from strong. There were, to be sure, large Roman Catholic communities in the Empire, but Protestantism was a very weak force as yet. Official opposition was strong, restrictions many, and the attitude of the people unfavourable. Even in the "open" ports, missionaries found it anything but easy to settle down to regular work. After the Treaty of Nanking, which brought the Opium War to an end, missionaries who had been waiting in the Malay Peninsula and in Siam hastened to enter the open door, but they met with untold difficulties in their endeavour to preach the Gospel and to establish churches.

It was slow and painful work. The missionary of those days had to do everything. As the Rev. William Ashmore, a Baptist missionary from the U.S.A., wrote in a breezy article—"In early mission days the missionary himself was the sum and substance of everything. He was evangelist; he was pastor and organiser, ruling elder, deacon, committee, financial secretary, sexton. He hired houses, built chapels, opened schools—in him and through him did all missionary prospects consist."

(e) Education

Properly speaking, China did not have an educational system when Timothy Richard arrived, although education itself was valued above all else, as it had been for centuries. What China did possess was an examination system. The purpose of it was the development of character on the basis of ancient classical lore, and with a view to official appointment.

The basis of it was the study of the Confucian classics.

For over 600 years, every child who started on his way to learning had begun with a small primer called *The Three Characters Classic.* This booklet was a miniature encyclopædia on philosophical, literary, historical and biographical subjects. It also gave information on common topics. The child memorised the book which was not explained to him. After that he went on to memorise the Classics themselves. The Physical Sciences were disregarded, a point which gave Timothy Richard one of his great opportunities in enlightening the minds of the official classes. As far as I know, the philosopher Mo Tzŭ, alone had advocated in the past the study of physics and chemistry as a part of education, but his had been a voice crying in the wilderness.

Sports, too, were sadly neglected. Indeed, they were regarded as a waste of time, in spite of the fact that archery and charioteering had been popular in days gone by. The ideal was one-sided. It aimed at the development of only one aspect of the student's mental powers. He had absorbed, without digesting it, a mass of classical learning intended to make him a good official. Moreover, education in practice was for the few. The vast majority of the population remained illiterate, while the few who were educated kept a closed mind to the scientific discoveries which were bringing about such a deep change in the life of the West. There was, then, a great stagnation of ideas.

Little need be said about the competitive examinations for degrees, except that the first was held each year in the prefectural cities, while the second and the third were held every third year in the provincial capitals and in Peking respectively. Thousands of candidates would gather for the occasion, each man being placed in a separate cell which must not be left until the ordeal was over. This lasted usually for one day, in the case of the

highest examination, and for three in the case of the other two.

But whatever may be said of the defects of the Chinese educational ideal, it must be recognised that it produced a deep respect for learning, as such. No sacrifice would be considered too great for a family to make, if thereby a promising boy could be given a chance to take a degree. Chinese boys counted it a privilege to be given a chance to study. One of the deepest impressions that my work in our Baptist Missionary Society's schools, in Shansi and in Shantung, has left upon me is this eagerness on the part of Chinese boys to go to school. I was amazed to see each year small boys coming to us from distant villages to sit for the entrance examination to the central school in the station. To suspend a boy from attending classes, even only for a short time, would have been for him the worst form of punishment.

(f) Literature in Vogue at the Time

China has always been a land of books and, apart from the Classics, there were plenty of publications, large and small, which were eagerly devoured by all who could read.

Among the most popular of these were such collections as the *Liao Chai* and the *Hsin Ch'i Chih*, which, even to-day, have lost little of their popularity in spite of the flood of translations of English, French and Russian books that fill many a modern bookshop. These books are collections of marvellous tales in which Confucian, Buddhist and Taoist elements are hopelessly mixed. There are stories of life in the nether world and love adventures between the living and the dead, tales of metempsychosis, of the double soul of man, of foxes and other animals in human form, of resurrections from the dead, and so forth. One lives in a fantastic world, as

dear to the Chinese reader as crime fiction is to us. Another popular prose work, to mention only one, was the *Dream of the Red Chamber*, a ponderous novel of some 4,000 pages in which no fewer than 400 characters are introduced, depicting Chinese life in all its aspects.

Nor should we forget the collection of poems, known as *The 300 Poems of the T'ang Dynasty*, widely read in China, and known in part even by people who cannot read. In Timothy Richard's time some of these poems, or parts of them, must have been in the mouths of everybody, from the scholar and official to the illiterate peasant boy, as they had been for hundreds of years. Even to-day an ignorant seaman, writing to his home folk from Singapore or from some far distant land, may suddenly break out into poetical expressions about the pangs of prolonged separation which abound in those poems.

There were also then, as now, large numbers of popular tracts, or sheets, stuck on the walls, or of booklets exhibited on portable shelves at street corners. Everyone who has been in China during a time of tension knows the power of this sort of "literature." It is doubtful, for example, whether the Boxer outbreak or the anti-foreign movements of more recent times would have had the results they had without the help of this kind of printed page.

2. Forces Making for Revolution

In bringing this section to a close, it is necessary to call attention to some of the forces making for revolution before Timothy Richard went to China.

It is difficult to say whether, at that time, there were many individual reformers chiefly inspired by the desire of bringing prosperity to the people as a whole. But

there were many, even then, who were bent on overthrowing the foreign dynasty of the Manchus.

(a) The T'ai Ping Rebellion

The most notable attempt in this direction, before the revolution of 1911, was that of the so-called "T'ai Ping" rebels, led by an early student of Christianity named Hung Hsiu Ch'uan. This man, after having been disappointed in repeated attempts to obtain a degree at the public examinations, gave himself to the study of the Bible and of some Christian tracts received in Canton from a missionary. He applied for baptism, but his request was refused, whereupon he baptised himself and set forth, with a few followers, on preaching tours in South China. At first these men set out with the purpose of establishing the "Kingdom of God" in China. They based their teaching on the New Testament and published a hymn book of their own. But soon the movement took a political turn, with the purpose of bringing about the downfall of the Manchu rulers.

These revolutionaries grew in numbers and power from year to year. They were known by the people as "the long-haired rebels," owing to the fact that they refused to shave the tops of their heads as the Chinese then did; and as "the reds" from the red cloth they wound round their heads. For fifteen years they threatened the life of the Empire. They established their capital in Nanking, and, after a series of victorious campaigns, they appeared at the very gates of Peking. At one time the movement became so powerful that even foreign Powers seem to have considered the advisability of "recognising" it, while a well known American missionary went so far as to declare in public that it seemed as if the days of the Manchu Dynasty were numbered.

But, in the course of their campaigns, the T'ai Pings had become little more than plunderers. Rivalry among their leaders, the various "kings" as they were called, also vitiated the whole movement. Tseng Kuo Fan and Li Hung Chang, with the timely help of Ward's and of General Gordon's "Ever Victorious Army," succeeded in bringing the revolt to an end, and Hung Hsiu Ch'uan, who by this time had become a lunatic, committed suicide.

(b) The Nien Fei Uprising

Meanwhile, another revolt, that of the Nien Fei, had broken out in the Northern Provinces of Shantung, Chihli and Honan. These Nien Fei were simply bands of outlaws, armed with spears and old rifles, who looted wherever they went, and yet they came to constitute a serious menace against the Dynasty. A British officer, Captain Coney, led some Chinese troops against them, but with little effect. They succeeded in capturing Nanking; they invaded the provinces of Shansi and Shensi, and appeared at the very gates of Tientsin. It was only after great efforts on the part of Tseng Kuo Fan and of Li Hung Chang, at the head of large forces, that this bandit outbreak was quelled and the Dynasty once more saved.

(c) The Mohammedan Revolts

Yet another rebellion devastated whole regions of China between 1855 and 1877. This was caused by a rising of the Mohammedan population, first in the South-West and then in the North-West of China.

It began with a local quarrel between Mohammedan and Chinese miners in the Province of Yunnan. At first the miners belonging to both sides worked happily together, but soon quarrels arose, chiefly owing to the

fact that the Chinese were more successful than their rivals in the enterprise, and fighting on a large scale flared up. In 1856, a Chinese general planned a wholesale massacre of all Mohammedans in the district, but was prevented through the energetic action of a Mohammedan priest, who succeeded in capturing the chief city and in establishing his headquarters there. For a time the Mohammedans carried everything before them and would have been able to establish in that part of China an independent state, but for the defection of two of their chiefs who, after repeated successes in the field, decided to surrender to the vanquished! From that time on the cause of the Mohammedans in South-West China was lost.

But that was not the end of trouble for the Chinese Dynasty. Another Mohammedan revolt broke out in the far North-West, under the leadership of Yakub Beg. This man succeeded in establishing a kingdom of his own, which obtained recognition both from Great Britain and from Russia. Soon, however, the Russians grew apprehensive because of the growing power of the Mohammedans, and the Chinese Government sent a powerful army to the North-West which managed to bring the rebellion to an end. But many lives had been lost, many villages and towns looted or destroyed, and once more the Manchu Dynasty had been in danger through internal warfare.

Such is the brief account of the pre-revolutionary China to which Timothy Richard went. The foundations of national life were tottering. The trouble, at bottom, was that her great past stood in the way of a greater future still, through the conservatism of the Manchus and of Chinese scholars who persisted in closing their eyes to events in the wider world.

The great need of China, from the political point of

view was, as Sir J. T. Pratt says, " to evolve out of her glorious cultural unity and her traditional system of devolution of responsibility administrative organs capable of exercising centralised control so that she might act as a political unit capable of carrying out the new obligations imposed upon her." But it was these very obligations that the court of Peking and the scholars of China failed to see.

And behind these political needs, there stood the greater need still of the new vision, the new inspiration which men like Timothy Richard had come to bring.

We must now turn to the important task of relating how China awoke out of sleep, of tracing the revolution as a process rather than as an event, and of indicating the part which Timothy Richard had in that far reaching historical development.

SECTION II

THE REVOLUTION AND THE PART TIMOTHY RICHARD PLAYED IN PREPARING FOR IT

I. A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF THE REVOLUTION, CULMINATING IN THE OVERTHROW OF THE MANCHU DYNASTY
   - (a) The reactionary policy of the Empress Dowager
   - (b) The Reforms of 1898 and the *coup d'état*
   - (c) The Boxer Rising
   - (d) The Revolution of 1911

II. SOME OF THE PROMINENT MANCHU AND CHINESE STATESMEN AT THE TIME AND THEIR ATTITUDE TO REFORM
   - (a) Prince Kung
   - (b) Tseng Kuo Fan
   - (c) Li Hung Chang
   - (d) Chang Chih Tung
   - (e) Yüan Shih K'ai

III. THE CHINESE LEADERS OF THE REFORM MOVEMENT AND OF THE REVOLUTION
   - (a) K'ang Yu Wei
   - (b) Liang Ch'i Ch'ao
   - (c) Sun Yat Sen

IV. TIMOTHY RICHARD'S PART IN PREPARATION
   - (a) His personality
   - (b) His motive :
     - (i) To work for the coming of the Kingdom of God
     - (ii) His idea of the Kingdom
   - (c) His attitude to the Chinese people
   - (d) His method of work :
     - (i) Preaching
     - (ii) Seeking out the " worthy "
     - (iii) Working from " top " to " bottom "
     - (iv) Interviews with officials :
       1. Chang Chih Tung and Li Hung Chang

2. Li Hung Chang, the Prime Minister and Prince Kung
3. Other leaders in Peking
4. Officials after 1900
5. Visit to Tai Yüan Fu

(v) Education :
1. General Activities
2. The Shansi University

(vi) The Printed Page :
1. The Need and the Opportunity
2. The Christian Literature Society for China
3. Some of the books published at the time

(e) Timothy Richard, the prophet and the practical man

(f) His success :
(i) Li T'i Mo T'ai
(ii) Enlisting the good will of foreign officials and merchants
(iii) Esteem of both Protestant and Roman Catholic leaders
(iv) Honours conferred upon him

SECTION II

THE REVOLUTION AND THE PART TIMOTHY RICHARD PLAYED IN PREPARING FOR IT

I. A Bird's-eye View of the Revolution, Culminating in the Overthrow of the Manchu Dynasty

Having cast a hurried glance at the China to which Timothy Richard went in 1869, we now proceed to give an account of the mighty changes which have taken place in the land since that day, and of the part played by the missionary from Wales in this great international drama.

The first thing we must attempt at this stage is to outline the course of events that led to the overthrow of the Manchus and to the establishment of the Republic of China in 1911, keeping in mind the fact that many of the leading personalities who shared in these events were reformers rather than revolutionists. Their purpose was to bring about the needed changes in China, without necessarily altering the form of Government.

(a) The Reactionary Policy of the Empress Dowager

We have already seen how Prince Kung himself attempted a number of reforms with a view to giving China a place among modern nations. In spite of his youth—he was only twenty-eight when his brother, the late Emperor Hsien Feng, died—he showed a remarkable understanding of China's needs, as well as ability in negotiations with foreign powers, and decision in the administration of internal affairs.

The chief obstacle in the way was the Empress herself.

She saw in this young Manchu prince a possible rival. Already he had contrived to bring about the execution of her favourite eunuch, an arrogant man named An Te Hai, concerning whose relations to the Empress scandalous stories were told. Tzŭ Hsi never forgave Prince Kung. She could not do without his help, but again and again she asserted her power by having him dismissed from office, only to have him reinstated again, sometimes after only a few days.

During these years, the affairs of the country were going from bad to worse. War broke out with Japan, in 1894. This was soon followed by the occupation of Kiaochow by the Germans, of Port Arthur by the Russians, of Wei Hai Wei by the British, of Kwang Chow Wan by the French, as well as by a number of other concessions to foreign powers, which seemed to herald an early collapse of China as an independent nation.

Moreover, Prince Kung had become an old man. Opium, even more than the burden of the affairs of State, had aged him before his time. He died in 1898, and China seemed to be left entirely at the mercy of the reactionary forces represented by the Empress.

(b) The Reforms of 1898 and the coup d'etat

Meanwhile, the humiliation of China through the events of the recent past was filling with indignation and resentment the minds of patriotic Chinese, especially in the south. The thought that within the life-time of some of them, China had lost Siam, Tonking, Assam and Burma, added to the remembrance of the more recent losses already noted, roused their spirit to action. The imagination of these men had been fired by what they had seen in Japan, in British Colonies near China, and by what they had read.

K'ang Yu Wei, Liang Ch'i Ch'ao and Sun Yat Sen

preached new ideas. What the first two of these men desired was greater simplicity in the machinery of Government; more honesty on the part of officials; greater care in their selection and appointment, which, they thought, ought to be based on something more than a knowledge of the Classics. They argued that China must be prepared to use for her benefit whatever the science and art of the West could offer. But they had no desire to overthrow the Dynasty. On the other hand, Sun Yat Sen was after the destruction of monarchical power in China as necessary to any reform.

A newspaper called *Chinese Progress*, written in the spoken language of the people, was started by Liang Ch'i Ch'ao. A series of *Tracts for the Times*—nineteen of which were from Timothy Richard's pen—were published.

The Emperor Kuang Hsü himself was on the side of reform. He had never taken kindly to the formalism of the Manchu Court. As a boy, he had displayed great curiosity for foreign toys which the eunuchs could buy for him. When he was older, he had a miniature railway built along the shores of the palace lake and used to invite ladies of the Court to run up and down with him. Later still, he devoured with avidity translations of foreign books, including the Bible. He went carefully through Timothy Richard's translation of Mackenzie's *History of Civilisation during the Nineteenth Century*. He understood well that the defeat of China at the hand of Japan was due to lack of an organisation capable of meeting new circumstances in the world. He wanted to know about foreign institutions and ways: and his tutor, unable to satisfy his curiosity, suggested that the help of K'ang Yu Wei be sought. Thus the fiery Cantonese reformer became the guide of the Emperor of China.

Unfortunately the pace was forced. In the short space between June 10th and September 20th, 1898—the "Hundred Days of China"—the Emperor issued an amazing number of edicts, intended to abolish the existing examination system; to establish a Western university in Peking; to turn temples into schools; to make *Chinese Progress* the official organ of the Government; to drop useless offices in the capital as well as in the provinces; to send young Manchus abroad to study foreign languages; as well as a number of other reforms.

Not satisfied with this, he sought to punish those who opposed him. Several officials were put out of the way, and, finally, the Emperor ordered Yüan Shih K'ai, then in power in Tientsin, to execute Jung Lu, who had been for some time, and still was, the right-hand man of the Empress. Another edict ordered that Tzŭ Hsi herself be removed from Peking.

Yüan Shih K'ai did not relish the task of executing Jung Lu. Although a member of the Reform Party, he had little faith in such a rapid succession of edicts. He knew that if they were to be carried out without compromise thousands of scholars who had spent years in preparing themselves for official positions and who, in many cases, had been financed by family syndicates, would lose all they had. He knew, too, that provincial governors, prefects, magistrates of all descriptions, would share the same fate. It was obvious to him that, if reform was needed, it must come more gradually, unless the country was to be plunged into chaos.

He, therefore, went to see Jung Lu and showed him the order of execution, saying: "My lips refuse to utter the words." Jung Lu, so it is reported, read the paper and, giving it back to Yüan, said: "You must obey your Emperor's orders." "That is so," replied Yüan, "but before you are beheaded, perhaps you have some

private affairs to settle. I will come back the day after to-morrow." Jung Lu understood. He went immediately to see the Empress. She acted with promptitude and energy. While the Emperor was reading in his room, shortly before dawn, he was seized by a band of eunuchs and taken to an island on one of the lakes within the Imperial grounds. There he remained a prisoner.

The reformers were condemned to be lynched or beheaded. Six of them were executed forthwith, but K'ang Yu Wei and Liang Ch'i Ch'ao escaped. Sun Yat Sen was not in China at the time.

(c) The Boxer Rising

The sequel to this reactionary *coup d'état* is too well known to be emphasised here. Tzŭ Hsi had triumphed for the time being, and two years later the Boxer rebellion took place.

There is little doubt that the Boxers were acting with the knowledge and approval of the Empress, if against the better judgment of Jung Lu. Hundreds of foreigners and thousands of Chinese Christians were murdered, the whole of the B.M.S. Shansi staff on the field at the time perishing in Tai Yüan Fu and Hsin Chow. For fifty-four days the foreign legations in Peking were besieged, until a foreign expedition set them free on August 14th, 1900. Tzŭ Hsi fled from the capital amid "forests of rifles and showers of shells," as she said, to far Shensi, exposed "to cold and hunger, being scantily dressed in plain cotton garments, and not always able to get even a dish of lentil soup."

The reaction of 1900 was short-lived. Already a number of the provincial governors had realised the folly of thus setting the civilised world against China,

and instead of obeying the order to kill the foreigners, had actually helped them to escape.

When Tzŭ Hsi returned, she seemed to be a changed woman. She protested against the assumption that she had been antagonistic to reform. In fact, she said she was fully aware of the need of changes in China, and, in order to prove her good faith, she re-issued, in a slightly altered form, several of the edicts previously issued by the Emperor. Moreover, she went out of her way to show kindness to the foreign ladies of Peking. She wept when she spoke to them of the terrible sufferings they had undergone during the siege of the legations. She set herself to learn English, urging the young princesses and ladies of the Court to do the same.

(d) The Revolution of 1911

But it was too late. Few people were deceived by the changed attitude of the Empress. It was clear to all reformers that China would never take her proper place among modern nations as long as the Manchus were in power, for even if the conversion of Tzŭ Hsi herself was genuine, there was no evidence that the Manchu Court had changed its mind.

Only three years after the death of Tzŭ Hsi and of Kuang Hsü, which took place in 1908, with only one short interval between, the Revolution broke out. It was on October 10th—the "Double Tenth"—1911. The actual outbreak on that date, in the city of Wu Ch'ang, came as a surprise to most people, not least to Sun Yat Sen himself who was abroad at the time. And yet the Revolutionary Party had been preparing for some time. Plans had been laid in advance, and the line of action to be followed in each capital city settled beforehand. This is one of the reasons why this greatest

of all Chinese revolutions was accomplished, comparatively speaking, with little bloodshed.

In Tai Yüan Fu, for example, we were kept informed from time to time of coming events by one of our own Christians, who told us exactly when to collect together in one place all the foreigners then in the city. On the morning following the actual outbreak, Mr. Stonelake and I left the mission house for a tour of inspection in the city, and we were surprised to meet on one of the main streets hundreds of students from the University, arranged in companies, armed with rifles and bayonets, and in brand new uniforms—an indication, surely, of the preparation that had been made beforehand.

The Manchu Court, unable to fight, and unwilling to spend its financial resources, ceased all opposition. The Emperor vacated the throne, rather than abdicated, on February 12th, 1912. In September of the same year, the dispossessed Court went even so far as to give a banquet, in the house of one of the princes in Peking, to Sun Yat Sen on the occasion of his visit to the capital. Surely a unique occurrence in the history of the world!

Meanwhile Sun Yat Sen had been appointed Provisional President of the Republic on December 30th, 1911, a position he vacated a little later in favour of Yüan Shih K'ai.

2. Some of the Prominent Manchu and Chinese Statesmen at the time and their Attitude to Reform

Before endeavouring to deal with the part Timothy Richard played in the great awakening of China, it may be useful to describe the attitude of some of the leading Chinese statesmen of the day to the movement of Reform, and also to introduce some of the principal reformers themselves.

(a) Prince Kung

The greatest Manchu statesman during this eventful period in the history of China was, without doubt, Prince Kung, the brother of the late Emperor Hsien Feng. While it would be hardly correct to include his name among the Reformers, yet it cannot be denied that, if the Empress Tzŭ Hsi personified the reactionary forces of China, Prince Kung was the most powerful opponent who stood in her way.

His purpose was not, of course, to overthrow the Dynasty, but his intelligence, as well as his contact with representatives of the Western Powers, and his knowledge of affairs, persuaded him that reform must come. It was he who successfully extricated the Dynasty from the difficulties following upon the foreign wars. It was he who founded the Tsung Li Yamen—the first Foreign Office in China—of which he was the first president. It was he who reorganised the fleet and the army, and who tried to rid the Court of the most objectionable of the eunuchs.

In fact, had the counsels of Prince Kung always prevailed in Chinese affairs at the time, it is doubtful whether the Revolution would have taken place as early as it did.

There were other men, too, among Chinese officials, who, while desiring to save the Dynasty and opposing men like Kang Yu Wei and Sun Yat Sen, yet saw the need for reform and, in different ways, prepared the ground for it.

(b) Tseng Kuo Fan

Tseng Kuo Fan, for example, stood out consistently for peaceful relations with Western Powers, while, in his incorruptibility as an official in a degenerate Court,

he set an example in a land where official position was considered to be the high road to wealth.

(c) Li Hung Chang

Li Hung Chang, who had so much to do with Timothy Richard, was responsible for starting the "China Merchant Steamship Company," which has rendered such great service to China. He became well known in the West, not only for his share in overthrowing the T'ai Ping Rebellion and for what he accomplished against heavy odds during the war with Japan, but chiefly because of his extensive travels in the West, where he was given great receptions in several of the European capitals.

(d) Chang Chih Tung

In contrast with Li Hung Chang, stood an equally great man, Viceroy Chang Chih Tung. He is described by one who knew him well, as being "as remarkable for his small frail figure as Li Hung Chang for his height and gallant bearing." In his younger days he had met Timothy Richard in Shansi, and the friendship formed at the time went a long way to colour all his subsequent relations with Christians and to mitigate his intense hatred of Europeans. In spite of this unreasoning attitude to foreigners, Chang Chih Tung was a supporter of the work of the Christian Literature Society, to which he made valuable financial subscriptions; also he was one of the first Chinese to employ largely Western engineers in his own works, cotton mills and colleges. It was he who first introduced European teaching and industries in China. In Nanking and Wuchang he built roads, introduced carriages and other modern improvements borrowed from the West. He fought valiantly against foot-binding of women, and laboured in favour of their education. Although he had been Viceroy in

three of the most important parts of China, disposing of large sums of public money, yet he died poor.

(e) Yüan Shih K'ai

Of Yüan Shih K'ai much might be written, were this the place to do so. An able general, as well as a politician, he had acted with promptitude and energy during the Corean revolution of 1884, when he was the Commander of the Chinese garrison at Seoul. His attitude to the Manchu Dynasty was a curious one. On the one hand, he had joined the "Reform Society," although he betrayed the trust of his Emperor bent on reform, as we have seen. And on the other hand, he was regarded as the one great defender of the Dynasty. His attitude, however, is not difficult to understand. He knew the need for reform, but he had no sympathy with revolutionary activities, and still less with the idea of a republican form of Government for China. What he tried to do was to bring about the necessary changes without at the same time changing the form of government of the country. In 1900 he saved the lives of the foreign missionaries in Shantung, where he was governor, and, after that, his power and influence in the affairs of China became very great. Many foreigners saw in him the one hope of China, and it was therefore with dismay that they learned of his dismissal after the death of Tzŭ Hsi and of Kuang Hsü. He was sent into retirement because he "was suffering from his leg" said the Imperial Edict, but those who saw him leave Peking noticed how he seemed to have no difficulty in walking.

After the initial successes of the revolution, the Court of Peking humbly called him back, as the one and only man who could save the Dynasty. But Yüan did not respond readily to the call. He knew that, the longer he tarried, the greater would be his power in the future.

When he at last yielded to pressure, he took command of the situation at once. But, although he posed as the champion of the Dynasty, yet careful observers were never sure whether or not he was for or against the Revolution, and after the abdication of the Emperor, he was appointed as President of the newly-formed Republic.

Unfortunately for him and for China, his ambition over-reached itself, and in 1915 he brought about his own election as Emperor of China, an honour which he accepted with apparent reluctance. For eighty-three days, at the beginning of 1916, he acted as the Emperor of the country, under the dynastic name of Hung Hsien. This ill-advised attempt wrought his downfall. In June of the same year, he died in the midst of the new revolution he himself had brought about.

Yüan Shih K'ai, in spite of his leanings towards reform, was a Chinese of the old school. With him, says Cordier, "the unity of the Empire disappeared; greedy warlords, without patriotism or scruples, fought against one another for power, without the least regard for the interests of the people who were sacrificed to the love of money, to the jealousy, to the personal vanity and ambition of these men."

3. The Chinese Leaders of the Reform Movement and of the Revolution

But a more inspiring story can be told about the real leaders in the reform movement of China, men like Kang Yu Wei, Liang Ch'i Ch'ao, Sun Yat Sen and others.

We have seen how six of these leaders were executed without trial after the 1898 *coup d'état* which resulted in the kidnapping of the Emperor. One of them, T'an Ssŭ T'ung, only thirty-three years of age, the son of an

ex-provincial Governor, was allowed to speak before being executed. He said that he knew how, in all lands, the first reformers had often suffered death; if his own death would contribute to the salvation of China, he had no regrets. Then he warned his judges that for every head cut off that day, a thousand men would rise to carry on the work of reform.

Among the men who had been condemned for their share in the Reform movement there was an old man, a member of the Hanlin Academy, named Hsü Chih Ching. He was condemned to life imprisonment for the sole crime of having recommended K'ang Yu Wei. His son, Hsü Ying Chi, also a Hanlin and Chancellor of Education in the Province of Hunan, was degraded for life. He sent at once a memorial to the Court begging to be allowed to take his father's place in imprisonment for life.

But the chief leaders of the Reform Movement and of the coming revolution had either escaped or were not in China at the time. These men were: K'ang Yu Wei, Liang Ch'i Ch'ao and Sun Yat Sen. All of them knew Timothy Richard well, and no one can say how deep an influence he had had over their lives.

(a) K'ang Yu Wei

K'ang Yu Wei, known as the "Modern Sage" of China, was a Cantonese, a scholar of repute who had secured the highest degree in the public examinations. For a time, like many other Chinese scholars, he had been anti-foreign in his outlook. But a visit to Hong Kong, Shanghai and Peking had opened his mind. He had found out that, in the cities where foreigners had any authority, cleanliness prevailed and that the population lived a more comfortable life than in the capital of the Empire.

He threw himself, heart and soul, into the movement for reform and became, as we have seen, the guide of the Emperor Kuang Hsü. Unfortunately, to his ideas of reform, he added a deep hatred against the Empress and Jung Lu who stood in the way of the movement.

His name was, of course, among those of the men to be executed when the Empress asserted her authority, but Kuang Hsü had managed to warn him in time. "I have a great sorrow in my heart," the Emperor had written to his tutor, "which cannot be described with brush and ink. You must at once proceed abroad and devise means to save me." K'ang Yu Wei fled to Tientsin and later found his way to Europe. He never was in favour of a Republican Government for China, and, after the triumph of the Revolution, refused to accept office.

(b) Liang Ch'i Ch'ao

Liang Ch'i Ch'ao also was a southern Chinese. It was he who had organised a memorial to the Emperor signed by some 1,200 candidates for the degree of Doctor of Literature from many different parts of the Empire. He had also acted as the editor of *Chinese Progress*, the influential organ of the Reform Movement. As one of the best known disciples of K'ang Yu Wei, he was condemned to death, after the failure of the Reform movement, but managed to escape to Japan. For a time, Liang Ch'i Ch'ao was a member of the Chinese staff of the Christian Literature Society in Shanghai. After the revolution, he accepted office as head of the Department of Justice.

(c) Sun Yat Sen

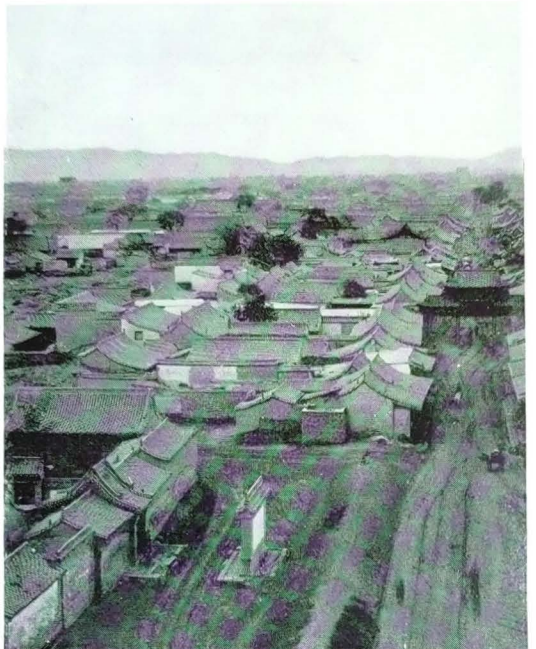
In contrast with these two reformers, stood Sun Yat Sen, all out for a revolution. The story of this restless man, in his wanderings over the world, is an epic in

itself. He was a "son of the manse," his father being in charge of one of the Christian churches connected with the London Missionary Society.

In the Introduction to his French translation of the *San Min Chu I*, Father Pascal M. D'Elia, S.J., gives a charmingly written and well documented biography of Sun Yat Sen. Here we are told that young Sun was not like other children. He was a "rebel" from the very start. One day, in the village school opened by his uncle, he suddenly protested against being compelled to repeat a hundred times the words of the *Three Character Classic*, with which every Chinese child began his education. "I don't understand a word of it," he cried out to his astonished teacher. "What is the good of my learning what I don't understand?" The old teacher applied the cane, but young Sun insisted; "Why should I shout all day long at the top of my voice words which mean nothing to me? Why don't you explain the meaning to us?" He pestered his mother with all manner of questions: "Why is it that the Emperor of China is not Chinese? What is the sky made of? What is there after death?"

In the village, he would talk to people about things that seemed wrong to him: the selling of little children, infanticide, the binding of women's feet, the worship of idols. "It has always been so," was the invariable reply he received, but which failed to satisfy him.

While still a young boy, he went to Honolulu where his older brother was in business. Here he learned English at the Methodist Episcopal School. On his return to China, he scandalised the villagers by speaking openly against the Government and against the worship of idols. "What is the Emperor doing for us in our village?" he cried. "Nothing at all. It is you yourselves who manage your schools and mend your roads.



A VIEW OF TAI YÜAN FU

YÜAN SHIH K'AI

The Manchus leave you to grope in ignorance. Oh! it isn't you that I blame. It is the 'Son of heaven!'"

One day he went with a crowd of young men to one of the local temples, and, standing by one of the idols, broke off one of its fingers. "Look," he said, "what sort of god you worship. I have just broken off his finger, and yet he goes on grinning as before. Do you call that a god?"

Such incidents as these well show the manner of boy he was. In 1887, he entered the Hong Kong Medical College as a student, and came under the influence of Sir James Cantlie, who, a few years later, was to save his life in London.

But his mind was bent on revolution rather than on medicine. Nevertheless, he took his degree, and, soon after, began his wanderings in the interest of revolution in China. He became the founder of revolutionary associations which eventually developed into the Kuomintang or Nationalistic Party of China. Wherever there were colonies of Chinese—in Honolulu, in Japan, in America and in Great Britain—this earnest apostle of the revolution travelled, preached, established societies and collected funds. He was, of course, considered as a very dangerous man by the Chinese Government who put a heavy price on his head—one million *tael*. The story of his being kidnapped in the Chinese Legation in London, and of his escape by the help of his old teacher, Sir James Cantlie, is too well known to be repeated here. Sun Yat Sen himself attributed his deliverance to his "constant prayers, day and night," during the six or seven days of his captivity.

Up to 1900, his efforts had not, on the whole, been encouraging. But after the Boxer outbreak and the consequent humiliation of China at the hands of the Western Powers, his reputation among his own people,

both abroad and in China, began to rise until it became greater than that of any living Chinese.

When news of the revolution reached him, he was in America. He longed to return at once and lead the revolutionary army himself, but he decided that a wiser course would be to try and enlist the sympathy of Foreign Powers towards the new movement. According to him, the Western Powers interested in Far Eastern affairs were: France, the U.S.A., Germany, Russia, Great Britain and Japan. Public opinion in the U.S.A. and in France had already shown itself to be favourable, while in Germany and Russia it was adverse. Great Britain had not made any pronouncement, while in Japan the people were sympathetic but the Government opposed. Sun Yat Sen determined to try to win Great Britain to his cause, and came to England where he placed before the Government three requests. First, he asked that the British loan of 200,000,000 dollars, made to the Manchu Dynasty, be cancelled; secondly, that any help from Japan in favour of the Dynasty be opposed; and thirdly, that the orders by which he himself was forbidden to land on certain British territories be repealed. These requests were granted, whereupon he started on his way to China, arriving at Shanghai in time for Christmas, 1911.

We are not concerned here with the aftermath of the Chinese Revolution. As everyone knows, China fell into the hands of bandit chiefs and war lords, and the people endured so much suffering that many longed for the comparatively peaceful days of the Empire. Nevertheless, Sun Yat Sen remained the idol of modern China, the father of the people. He was not a statesman and he lacked constructive ability. But his sincere love for his country and his utter devotion to the task of setting her free, have given him a permanent place in the heart

of Modern China. His last words were, "peace—struggle—salvation for China!"

Thus the revolution became an accomplished fact, and we may proceed to the part which Timothy Richard played in the preparation for the far reaching event.

4. Timothy Richard's Part in Preparation

In a "Foreword" to Professor Soothill's Biography of Dr. Timothy Richard, Sir John Jordan, for many years British Minister to China, says that "Dr. Timothy Richard . . . was for over forty years an outstanding personality in China, and gained the respect and esteem of the Chinese people in a degree which it has been given to few foreigners to attain."

How true that is, all who knew him, or all who have taken the trouble to study his life and work, know very well.

Wherein lay his secret? What was the dominating motive of his life? What methods did he follow? Such are the questions which we must try to answer.

(a) His Personality

Much has been written, which need not be repeated here, concerning his utter selflessness, his generosity, his kindness, the magnetism of his personality. The first time I met him was in London, a year or two before I went to China in 1906. He had been speaking, in Regent's Park College, to a gathering of theological students about the work of Christian Literature to which he had given his life. After the meeting, E. F. Borst-Smith and I waited for him outside the college grounds and introduced ourselves. He put his arms on our shoulders, and spoke to us for a long time as we walked along the lighted streets. I don't remember a word of

what he said, but I can still feel the thrill of his arm on my shoulder. Little did I think then that, more than twenty years later, I would sit in his chair, at his own desk, in Shanghai, trying to carry on the work he had loved so well!

I give two instances to show the manner of man he was in private life.

Soon after he left Shansi in 1891, with a heavy heart, truly not knowing whither he went, Mrs. Richard was taken seriously ill. One day, she was reading the Gospel narrative about the healing of the woman by the touch of the hem of the Saviour's garment. This is what she wrote in her diary: "I could not touch His garment, but I might touch one of the most Christlike of His followers." "An eloquent testimony," writes Professor Soothill, "from one who knew him best."

The next instance is taken from a letter he wrote in 1889 to his daughters at home. He had been engaged in famine relief work in the Yellow River district, while Mrs. Richard and two of her daughters were in Tientsin. Typhus fever, which had spared him earlier in his famine relief work in Shansi, had laid him low. "For some days," he wrote, "the temperature of my body ranged between 104 and 105, which is considered very dangerous if it lasts long—few are able to recover from it. But I am thankful to say that all the fever has left me now and I am gaining strength rapidly. In about a week I hope to be strong enough to travel to the coast to your mother. She has not known of my illness; I am writing to her to-day. If she had known, the weather was too hot, the distance too great, and travelling in mule carts would be only to endanger her life. Now, however, all is well again. Let God be thanked for His mercy."

(b) His Motive

(i) *To work for the coming of the Kingdom of God*

Like other great men, Timothy Richard was often misunderstood, especially by those who did not appreciate his motive, or who did not share his understanding of the meaning of the Gospel of Christ and of the Providence of God in the world.

The one dominating motive of his life, whether he distributed famine relief in Shansi, sought out "the worthy" in their homes, wrote books on history, or advised the Government on matters of reform, was the missionary motive. Again and again he had opportunities of what some people might have regarded as wider spheres of influence, outside the ranks of the missionary fellowship, but every time he refused.

Soon after leaving Shansi, and facing an uncertain future for himself and his family, he was offered a post in Tientsin, under the Chinese Government, at a salary more than double the missionary allowance. It was a tempting offer, not only because it would have solved a financial problem, but also because it would have given him an opportunity to translate Western books into Chinese. He refused on the ground that it was as a missionary of Jesus Christ that he had come to China. Later on, when his name became well known in official circles, he was offered another post in the service of the Chinese Government, but again he refused on the ground that, if he accepted, he would be "too busy to prosecute missionary work for which I came to China." For the same reason, he refused three times the offer to become President of the newly formed Peking University, an institution which the Chinese Government had founded in response to the demand for reform. Later still, while negotiating for the establishment of the Shansi Imperial

University, after 1900, he absolutely refused to agree to the suggestion of the Chinese authorities that the teaching of Christianity in any form be forbidden in the Institution. As he said himself at the time, "To agree to such a course, would have meant that what the missionaries and Chinese Christians who had lost their lives for their faith had done, was not worthy of the University."

Most of the reports of the Christian Literature Society, penned by himself, are full of the evidence of this all dominating missionary motive. "It is of the utmost importance," he writes in 1896, "both to China and the West, that Western learning and Western civilisation be introduced as what in deed and truth they are, the fruit of Christianity, and as having a distinctly Christian character."

Referring later to the particular task of the Christian Literature Society, he says, "We regard the branch of our work just as truly Christian and benevolent as the zeal and self sacrifice of any medical missionary; it is the application of the healing powers of the Gospel to the social miseries of a great nation; it is a benevolent work, exemplifying the love of Christ on the grandest scale, because it deals not only with a few individuals, but with the misery and poverty of a whole nation, with the inner springs of life of one-fourth of our human race." "Right Christian teaching," he added, "is needed so as to underlie all our relations, political and commercial as well as religious, for this highest teaching is that mysterious and all-pervading force which gives sound health and eternal youth to all other institutions."

In his biography of Dr. Richard, Mr. Reeve calls him with truth, *China Missionary, Statesman and Reformer*, but of these titles, Timothy Richard would have chosen the first.

But let him speak himself. As he realised the vastness of the Christian task of evangelising China, he did not think only of the conversion of individuals, but of the creation of a Christian Society as well. "It was to preach the Kingdom of God," he said, "that our Lord sent forth his Apostles. It was that the Kingdom of God should come and His will be done in earth as it is in Heaven, that He commanded us to pray. His Kingdom will necessarily contain all that is good in the kingdoms of this world, and something more. It will not allow a submerged tenth in all lands to be pressed as at present by diabolical armaments, land laws and trusts. It is a kingdom of peace on earth and good will to men. It is a kingdom of righteousness. It is a kingdom of salvation of the poor and needy, even in this world. It is the year of Jubilee of all mankind, when the hereditary rights of the poor, as well as of the rich, will be restored."

(ii) His idea of the Kingdom of God

It is because Timothy Richard accepted all the consequences of this idea that he has been sometimes misunderstood. It is easy to see, from his own words, that, for him, the Gospel meant Good news for all, and for the whole of every man, body, mind and spirit. That is why, while refusing Government posts, he yet gave himself to famine relief and to the reform of the political and social conditions of China, without thinking that, thereby, he was unfaithful to his missionary call. After describing the utter misery of the people which he found in Nanking, when he visited the city at the invitation of Viceroy Chang Chih Tung, he cries out: "Who will call a Government, which will tolerate such poverty and wretchedness at its very doors, civilised and fit to be

put on a par with Christian nations? Such misery of tens of thousands in these mat sheds should melt hearts of stone to do something to save them."

He loved to dwell on the fact that the Gospel means good news for the whole man! "When China suffered from famines," he wrote in 1906, "the missionaries advised the Chinese authorities to open railways, mines and manufactures which would avert and ameliorate future famines. When China suffered from defeats from foreign nations, the missionaries advised China to educate the people in order to know how to avert poverty and further disasters. When China was helpless before many nations, they advised her to engage a few foreign experts to introduce the best methods of the West for the material, social, intellectual and religious benefit of China; thus proving themselves to be far better friends of China than their own statesmen."

He also held that God, in His Providence, had revealed Himself in many ways. While never for a moment placing Buddhism or Taoism or Confucianism on the same level as Christianity, he yet respected the good that might be found in these systems. A sincere follower of Buddhism might be answering the voice of Eli that would lead him to hear the call of God.

(c) His Attitude to the Chinese People

In one important point, he differed from many foreigners in his attitude to the Chinese. He loved the people, but was not blind to their faults. No one, like Timothy Richard, could speak to his Chinese friends with greater frankness than he did about their shortcomings.

Those of us who have lived in China for many years have noticed how easy it is for foreigners to see nothing

but good or nothing but bad in things Chinese, I remember Miss Mildred Cable saying once that, in her intercourse with Western nations, China had usually been either bullied or petted.

Timothy Richard was guilty of neither fault. His love for the land of his adoption, his admiration for all her achievements could not be doubted; and yet, when occasion required it, he could thunder against her shortcomings just as Micah or Isaiah thundered against the sin of the Chosen Race. On one occasion he visited the Prime Minister, Weng T'ung Ho, and denounced in no uncertain terms the attitude of the Government to Christian missionaries and to Christians. He laid before his host proof after proof, till the Prime Minister cried out laughing: "You have lived too long in China," and gave up questioning the truth of his charges. "China needs wise men," Timothy Richard used to say, "to see the faults of the Chinese as well as those of foreigners." Had such wise men been forthcoming, and had they had the courage to speak, China might have been saved a good deal of sorrow.

(d) His Method of Work

(*i*) *Preaching*

What methods did Timothy Richard follow in his work? He began, like most missionaries, by preaching every day in street chapels and on market places to the crowds, but soon became dissatisfied with the results. In his early experience at Chefoo, he discovered that the local business people had taken an oath never to enter a foreign chapel, with the result that his only hearers were people from the country who happened to be visiting the town.

(ii) Seeking out the "Worthy"

It was at about this time that he read a missionary sermon preached by Edward Irving in 1824 before the L.M.S., on the subject *Missionaries after the Apostolic School.* "I know of no book," he wrote several years later, "dealing with the fundamental principles of Christian missionaries so applicable to all times and circumstances . . . with a few modifications it stands out alone among missionary addresses like the sun among the stars, having a marvellous, unique and most blessed effect on most of those who read it devoutly."

The sermon, in fact, set forth the conclusions of an independent study of our Lord's missionary charter as it is found in Matthew X. A new light broke into the young missionary's mind. In the Gospel itself, he found indicated what was to him a new method of approach—to seek out "the worthy," who were the good ground in which to sow the seed. He put in practice at once his newly discovered plan. Hearing of a devout man living some eight miles from Chefoo, he sent a messenger to ask whether he might call, with the result that the two men spent a happy day together "sharing"—as Oxford Groupers would say to-day—their religious experiences. The man, a merchant, was so impressed by his conversation with Timothy Richard that he insisted on accompanying him back to Chefoo.

During the whole of his life, Timothy Richard continued to seek out "the worthy," remembering, perhaps, the saying that "he who seeks God has already found Him." Not that the scope of his endeavours was limited to a few individuals. Far from it. He was always reaching out to the vast multitudes of China. He talked about "conversion by the million." That was his dream and his purpose. But his "millions" were made up of

individual souls, each of whom must come into personal contact with the Saviour. There is nothing in his life and teaching to suggest that what he was after was a spectacular, wholesale, indiscriminate ingathering of people into the Christian Church.

(iii) Working from the "top" to the "bottom"

This idea of working upon the individual that the individual might work upon his fellows, led him to adopt the method which has become so intimately associated with his name, viz., that of working, as it were, from the top to the bottom, from the officials and scholars to the common folk.

One can easily discover good reasons why he should have adopted this line of action. He knew, for one thing, that, if China was to be won for Christ, it must be done, in the end, through Chinese people rather than through foreign missionaries. He knew, too, that the most effective way of reaching the people was through their leaders. If the scholars of China were to accept the Gospel, he argued, the people would be disposed to follow. "I am after the leaders," he said, "if you get the leaders you get all the rest." It was in pursuance of this policy that he visited examination centres at the times set for the examinations for degrees, and, as we shall see, had thousands of Christian books distributed each year among them.

But there was another reason why Timothy Richard endeavoured persistently and in a variety of ways, to influence the officials and the scholars of China. It was that, in his judgment, one of the chief hindrances to a widespread acceptance of the Christian message was to be found in the attitude of the officials and scholars. They were hostile to everything from the West, including religion, and their hostility must be removed if the

Gospel was to have free course in the land. This hostility, Timothy Richard knew was due to pride of race, prejudice and ignorance both of the physical world and of the course of history. These things held the minds of the scholars of China, and through them, the minds of the people, in captivity. How could this pride of race, this prejudice and this ignorance be removed, except through personal enlightenment? Here then we have the reason why Timothy Richard spent so much of his time in China in interviewing officials, in fostering education; and in working through the printed page.

To interview officials was the first necessity, for they alone could remove many of the hindrances to the free preaching of the Gospel; nation-wide education on sound lines must be established as a necessary groundwork—and as a means of removing prejudice and ignorance both in the scholar and in the peasant; and Christian literature must be spread far and wide to achieve that end on the largest possible scale, and to supply necessary food for growing churches and for seekers after truth.

We must spend a little time in considering the work of Timothy Richard under these various aspects, bearing in mind the far-reaching effects that his method had in bringing about the "Awakening of China."

(*iv*) *Interviews with Officials*

No missionary, either before or after him, ever had so many interviews with high officials as Timothy Richard had. This was not because he delighted in the society of the great as against that of the common people, but rather, as we have seen, because he knew that, as long as the attitude of the officials and of the scholars remained hostile, the work of Christian missionaries would remain without much effect.

Humble minded as he was, Timothy Richard was yet eminently fitted for the task. His knowledge and appreciation of all that was noble in the literature and civilisation of China, together with his charming personality, stood him in good stead. He never failed to give the impression that he came as a friend, and as a learner as well as a teacher. Always persuasive and never dogmatic, he started from the place where his hearer found himself, that he might lead him on to higher things. And yet, as we shall see, while he could accept without retort personal humiliation, he never hid the truth, or compromised the finality of his message.

As far back as the famine relief days in Shansi, he tried to influence the officials so as to improve the conditions of the people and to prepare the ground for the establishment of the Kingdom of God.

He was then working with J. J. Turner, then of the China Inland Mission, and with David Hill, of the Wesleyan Mission. Someone wrote: "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."

But it was only after leaving Shansi that his intercourse with the highest dignitaries in the Chinese Government may be said to begin.

1. *Chang Chih Tung and Li Hung Chang*

During the latter part of the nineteenth century, a number of Chinese books, hostile to Christianity, had been issued and were widely circulated. When the great Missionary Conference met in Shanghai in 1890, a new

and cheap edition was in the press. These books were full of tales concerning the supposed horrible deeds of Christian missionaries. Timothy Richard decided to go to Nanking to interview the Viceroy, Chang Chih Tung, in order to have these books withdrawn. Failing in his purpose, he went to Tientsin, hoping to induce the great Li Hung Chang to take action. He, too, refused—probably knowing that any step along the lines suggested by Timothy Richard would be regarded in Peking as an anti-patriotic act.

In spite of his failure with Chang Chih Tung, Timothy Richard called again three times on the Viceroy in the early months of 1894. This time he had a truly amazing suggestion to make. It was nothing less than that China should invite a Foreign Power to come to the help of China in settling her Foreign Affairs, in introducing reforms and in developing the resources of the land! It needed a Timothy Richard to have the courage to make such a suggestion, and yet Chang Chih Tung must have been impressed, for it was in response to a telephonic call from him that the missionary made the second call. In fact, the Viceroy seemed well disposed to a foreign alliance for a definite number of years, but it was more than his position—perhaps his life—was worth to make any such proposals to the Court of Peking.

2. *Li Hung Chang, the Prime Minister and Prince Kung*

During the latter part of 1895, a series of momentous interviews took place between Timothy Richard on the one hand, and Li Hung Chang, Weng T'ung Ho, and Prince Kung on the other. Li Hung Chang, though in "disgrace" on account of the defeat of China at the hand of Japan, for which he was held primarily responsible, was still enjoying a great influence. Weng T'ung Ho was, at the time, Prime Minister, and, according to

an American foreign adviser, was to all intents and purposes the Emperor of China; while Prince Kung—a man "as hard as stone," as Li Hung Chang remarked to Timothy Richard—was still the right-hand man of the Empress Tzŭ Hsi.

The occasion for the interviews was the rising tide of anti-foreign feeling that had been spreading over the whole country during the last few years, chiefly owing to the widespread circulation of the books already mentioned. As a result of this propaganda, riots had taken place, and had reached their climax in the murder of eleven missionaries of the Church Missionary Society in the province of Fukien.

Timothy Richard, always ahead of his time, had foreseen these calamities. As a result of his representations, the Shanghai Conference of 1890 had appointed him, with influential representatives of other missions, to draw up and present to the Chinese Government a Memorial intended to induce the Government to put an end to these anti-foreign activities. It was not, however, until five years later, after the Fukien massacres, that Timothy Richard was able to do very much in the matter.

His first step was to see Li Hung Chang. The ex-Viceroy received him with much kindness, and, in a long interview which must have impressed itself deeply on the mind of the missionary, spoke with great frankness about the sorry plight of his country, and gave some valuable advice and help in the matter of preparing for the interviews with the Prime Minister and with Prince Kung.

According to Li Hung Chang, the Emperor had no mind of his own, while the officials in power knew nothing about foreign affairs and spoke of Western education as mere "Devil's learning." He suggested that the real trouble was not with the Manchus, who had no power,

but with a clique of anti-foreign old men, most of them Manchus, opposed to all reform. He advised Timothy Richard to send copies of his books to Prince Kung, and himself revised the letter to the Prime Minister asking for an interview, adding that the best way to deal with him was first of all to praise him, then " to run a thousand needles into him," and then to emphasise the responsibility that rested on him for good or evil.

In reading the accounts of these interviews, as given in Timothy Richard's own words, my mind travelled back unbidden to the Book of the Acts, to another missionary who stood before Governor Festus and King Agrippa, and presented his defence. The same forbearance, the same courtesy, the same firmness did the missionary from Wales exhibit before the rulers of China.

The interview with the Prime Minister, which took place on October 26th, 1895, was the opening battle of the campaign. " Now that the time has come," Timothy Richard wrote to his wife, " I feel almost overpowered with my own weakness. Oh, that I had the wisdom of a Joseph, or a Daniel, to help these people to go in the way that God would have them go ! "

Weng T'ung Ho took Richard to a private room, allowing only his chief assistant to be present. There Timothy Richard spoke of the persecution recently undergone by Christians and of the fact that these persecutions were countenanced by the Government. The Prime Minister pretended that this was not the case, whereupon Timothy Richard showed him copies of the books which proved both his points beyond a shadow of doubt. But let Timothy Richard himself speak : " The first book by Wei stated that Christians scooped out the eyes of the Chinese and mixed them with lead to produce silver. The other book stated that missionaries made bewitching medicine which demented women and pro-

duced photographs that stole away the souls of those photographed. I pointed out to the Prime Minister that these calumnies were invented to create anti-Christian riots. He asked me who were the miscreants responsible, and I replied that they were Chinese officials. He remarked that this could not possibly be true. In reply, I took up one of the bundles, opened it at the place where the false charges were made, and then showed the Preface to the first volume by Tso Tsung T'ang, the great Viceroy who had won back Ili from the Russians, and said: 'You must own that this man was an eminent official!' Then I took up the other bundle, folded the page containing the false accusations, and, turning to the first volume, showed that it was inscribed with the name of Wang Wen Shao, viceroy of Yunnan and Kweichow. 'You will own that this man was also a high Chinese official,' and I added: 'You must be well aware that these books have lately been re-published, like the *Blue Book of China*, in a cheap form for wide distribution throughout the Empire. When the common people read these calumnies, published in a popular form, with the names and sanction of the highest officials in the land, we cannot wonder that they are incited to stir up riots and massacre the Christians."

At the end of the interview, Timothy Richard said to the Prime Minister: "What the Christians ask of the Chinese Government is only to be let alone." "If that is all," was the reply, "I can easily promise it."

Very different was the interview with Prince Kung, a few days later. Timothy Richard was treated as no guest is treated by a Chinese gentleman. He was given a seat next to the door, an insult which only those who are acquainted with the rules of Chinese politeness can appreciate. But Richard was not there to resent personal insults. He listened patiently to the angry words

of the Prince and then asked leave to speak. In truly Pauline fashion, he said that he was sure that, if the Prince knew the real facts of the case, his sense of justice would soon cause him to put an end to the sufferings of Christians, but how could he know the facts, since he was living in Peking and could only rely on one-sided reports? "If we are guilty of crimes," he said, "we do not wish to avoid just punishment, but if we are innocent, I feel convinced that you will see that justice is done to us, and the same liberty granted to Christianity as to other religions in China."

This interview had taken place in the Tsungli Yamen, the Chinese Foreign Office, in the presence of its members. When the Prince had departed, one of the members said to Timothy Richard, "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."

3. *Other leaders in Peking*

Towards the end of 1895 and at the beginning of the following year, Richard visited two other Chinese leaders in Peking.

The first was an enlightened man who had been Chinese Minister to the U.S.A., while the latter was a Manchu, a Grand Councillor of the Empire, who later joined in the reaction that led to the Boxer madness.

The ex-minister was not optimistic as to Chinese affairs. He said that authority was at a discount, owing to the readiness of the Censors to criticise everything; and that most of the officials were mere dummies, ignorant of all foreign affairs.

The Grand Councillor, whose name was Kang Yi, had met Richard in Shansi, where he had been Provincial

Governor. He was friendly to the missionary, but not helpful in the matter of suppressing the reaction that was growing apace. In vain did Timothy Richard try to impress on him the danger to China of taking no notice of the methods of other nations. In vain did he suggest that the Grand Councillor should persuade the Empress to invite two foreign ladies to the palace as her tutors, and to appoint two foreign tutors for the young Emperor. Kang Yi said he could do nothing, but he showed his appreciation of the talks he had had with Timothy Richard by calling on him at his house the day before Richard left Peking, and by sending him gifts.

4. *Officials, after* 1900

After the Boxer Rebellion of 1900, Timothy Richard had a number of interviews with high officials on the subject of establishing the Shansi Imperial University, but, as we are to deal with this particular topic later on, when we shall speak of Richard's interest in education, there is no need to say anything about them here.

In 1902, while Timothy Richard was in Peking on his way back to Shanghai after visiting Tai Yüan Fu, he was surprised to receive an invitation to call on the great Manchu Viceroy, Jung Lu, who, it will be remembered, was never in favour of the Boxer movement. Jung Lu, whom Richard regarded as having been equal to Li Hung Chang in ability, suggested to him an interview with the most anti-foreign member of the Grand Council, Lu Ch'uan Lin. Lu told Richard that China was going from bad to worse, whereupon the missionary said to him, " Is it wise, in the circumstances, to persevere in the old policy that has proved so disastrous to the Empire ? " " What would you do in my place ? " asked his host.

There, indeed, was the kind of opportunity for which

Richard was waiting. He then spoke at length of the suggestions he had already made with a view to reform, and explained them in detail to his prejudiced hearer.

In an appendix to the Christian Literature Society Annual Report for 1908, there is an interesting statement in which Dr. Richard recorded one of his trips to North China. In the course of this statement, he speaks of various interviews he had in Nanking, Wuchang and Peking always with the same purpose in view, viz.: to show to the officials the folly of a reactionary policy on the part of the Chinese Government. As a preparation for these interviews he had drawn up a long statement outlining a twelve years' programme " for the material, social, intellectual and spiritual welfare of China," making it clear that, according to him, the spiritual development came first, for without it, " there could be no stability in any other department." He took with him on this trip 500 copies of this programme to be distributed with care.

He called first on the Viceroy of Nanking, who received him in a most friendly manner, and invited the leading officials of the city to hear him. At Wuchang, he found the Viceroy there deeply concerned for the welfare of China, " especially with the lack of competent rulers." In Peking, he met two princes and a number of leading statesmen. " I was depressed," he says, " by the pessimistic feeling of all." These men, several of whom were in favour of reform, complained that they could do very little because of the obstruction of reactionary officials who persisted in closing their minds to anything that seemed to go counter to the China of their own youth. Even those who were in favour of reform, he remarked, were " hampered by the old national conceit," and were " without world knowledge and experience."

5. *Visit to Tai Yüan Fu*

From Peking, he went to T'ai Yüan Fu, where I met him. Well do I remember the welcome he received in the city where thirty years before, with J. J. Turner and David Hill, he had worked so hard for the relief of the famine stricken province. Interviews with officials and meetings with students were arranged on an unprecedented scale. One meeting had to be held in a great square, because there was no building large enough to accommodate the multitude of students and officials who had come to hear him. Dr. Richard addressed the crowd from a balcony. It was a great sight to see his kindly figure there, surrounded by high officials, university professors and leading representatives of the gentry. When he left, although it was ten o'clock at night, the officials were at the station of the newly-opened railway, in full robes and official hats, to bid him good-bye.

Thus did Timothy Richard try to make " the rough places plain " for the Christ of the China Road, by bringing about a change of mind—a " metanoia " in the leaders of the people.

(*v*) *Education*

Convinced as he was that prejudice and ignorance were among the greatest hindrances in China to the progress of the Gospel among the people, Timothy Richard emphasised throughout his missionary career the need for education. For one thing, his conception of what the Kingdom of God meant impelled him to work for the uplift of the whole man, body, mind and spirit—and for another, he knew that as long as the minds of the official classes, and of the people, were closed to all modern progress by prejudice and ignorance, the preaching of the Gospel would never be given a fair chance.

Yet let it be remembered that, for him, education was not an end in itself. It was part of a greater message, not the whole of the message itself; it could be used to lead men to Jesus Christ, but was never intended to displace Him in the minds and hearts of men.

It may appear strange to speak of the ignorance of Chinese scholars, when we remember their ancient civilisation, and the magnificent literature which it produced, and which, in turn, made it what it became. The Chinese were far from ignorant in many things, but, as we have seen, they had neglected the study of physical science, while their national pride had prevented them from becoming acquainted with the history of other nations. Even in my time, many a high official in China would know less about ordinary scientific subjects than an English schoolboy. Once, while I was studying Chinese in Tsinanfu, the Rev. Frank Harmon invited our local magistrate to dinner. When he left, we accompanied him to the outer gate of the missionary compound. There was a bright moonlight, and, as we walked slowly along, the magistrate turned to us and, pointing to the moon, asked, "In your country is there also a moon like this one?"

1. *General Activities*

Timothy Richard began early in his career to emphasise the need for education. When I first went to Tai Yüan Fu in 1906, old people still used to talk about the lectures on astronomy, chemistry, mechanics, electricity, light, even medicine and surgery, which he had given in the city more than twenty years before. When we remember that he had not been trained in science, and had to learn everything from books, we marvel at his enterprise and courage. He and his wife lived in the simplest way that money might be saved to buy books aud instruments.

He said himself that between 1880 and 1884 he "spent nearly £1,000, including a legacy left by a relative, on books and instruments." Not all his friends approved of his methods, which might well have proved a snare to a smaller man. But Timothy Richard was a giant. Never did he speak of the wonders of nature without leading the thoughts of his hearers to the God who had created all things.

"In all the lectures," he writes, "I pointed out how God had provided infinite powers for man's use in the forces of nature, in ignorance of which men lived like drudges and slaves. 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 . . . and then show our gratitude for all His loving kindness by obeying His spiritual laws. . . . The great problem daily with me was how to lead these people from the study of these subjects in Nature up to Nature's God, using all we have as so many illustrations to show how wonderfully dependent on Him we are in all things—even of the body. How much more of the soul, which is most like unto God in its great powers and its great future. . . ."

One is struck, all the time, with this connection in Richard's mind, between the temporal and the eternal, the visible and the invisible, the material and the spiritual.

Soon after he left Shansi, he prepared a pamphlet on Modern Education, comparing the systems adopted by seven of the leading nations of the world, and suggesting that the Chinese Government should set apart a million *taels* a year to foster modern education in the country. Such ideas found favour with some of the leading officials, especially with Tseng Kuo Fan, who urged the missionary to circulate his pamphlet among Government officials.

So convinced was Timothy Richard of the necessity

of sound education along modern lines that he suggested to the Committee of the B.M.S., with the approval of the members of the Shantung Mission, the establishment of a College under his charge in Tsinanfu, the capital of the province, a proposal which did not prove feasible at the time.

2. The Shansi University

His great opportunity came after the Boxer Rising of 1900 and the consequent establishment of the Shansi Imperial University in the " martyr city " of Tai Yüan Fu.

The idea first arose, as everybody knows, in the settlement of the Boxer outbreak, when some 200 missionaries and 6,000 Chinese Christians were massacred. Instead of asking for financial indemnities for the lives of their missionaries, some of the Protestant Societies decided to take advantage of the circumstances to remove the ignorance so largely responsible for the outbreak, by asking the Chinese Government to provide an annual sum of about £6,000 to establish a College of Western Learning in Tai Yüan Fu. The proposal was accepted in 1901, and Timothy Richard was asked to take charge of the Western side of the Institution, as Chancellor, for a period of ten years. Difficulties arose over the question of freedom of religious teaching in the new University, Richard insisting that the religious liberty granted by treaties in the past should operate here.

What the Chinese feared was that the teaching of Christianity might be made compulsory. Nothing is more revealing, in this connection, than the remark of Viceroy Tso to Timothy Richard : " If you do not force our people to become Christians, we will not prevent them becoming Christians if they wish to." Richard

was too busy with his work in Shanghai to take personal charge of the University, and the Rev. Moir Duncan, M.A., was appointed as the first Principal.

Thus one of the visions of Timothy Richard was fulfilled. It must have been a great day for him when, in 1907, he saw twenty-five students, who had completed their course in Tai Yüan Fu, pass through Shanghai on their way to England for further study. "Good has come out of evil," said a high Chinese official at a farewell luncheon given for the occasion.

This is not the place to trace the subsequent history of the University, but it may not be out of place to remark that in 1922, Professor Roxby, of Liverpool University, who had made, on the spot, a careful study of the problem of Education in China, declared that, educationally, "Shansi was the furthest advanced province," and that, at the time, Shansi was known as "the model Province."

(*vi*) *The Printed Page*

But, in China, the name of Dr. Timothy Richard will always be connected first and foremost with the work of the Society he directed for nearly twenty-five years—the Christian Literature Society for China.

1. *The Need and the Opportunity*

Timothy Richard had himself received too much help from books not to be a staunch believer in the power of the printed page. Not only had he always been a great reader, but, as we have seen, it was by means of books that he had equipped himself, after his arrival in China, for the task of enlightening the minds of officials and scholars, a task which he considered to be so important a part of a missionary's work at the time. Moreover,

he knew that even if all the missionaries actually in China were to be engaged in that particular aspect of the work, they could only hope to cover a small part of the ground. On the other hand, where missionaries could not go, where churches and schools could not be established, there books might still find their way. He also realised the special need and the unique opportunity for Christian Literature at the time in a land like China.

The special need stared him in the face. Practically no other method was open to the missionary to reach the officials and leaders with his message. Officials and scholars simply would have nothing to do with the preaching of the Gospel. Even when they refrained from placing hindrances in the way of a foreign missionary opening a street chapel or a church in their district, they themselves would have considered it beneath their dignity to set foot in the place. Li Hung Chang once said to Timothy Richard, "There are no Christians among the educated classes of the land"—a statement which was all too true. If these men were to be reached, it must be through some method other than preaching, and Timothy Richard meant to try.

As for the opportunity, it was unique in two directions. First, there was the traditional respect paid by the Chinese to written characters, and behind this respect—which had become almost a superstition—there was the genuine appreciation of the Chinese scholar for anything written in acceptable style. It is true that this scholar was hard to please. He would toss on one side with contempt, after reading a sentence or two, a Chinese translation of the Bible, because he would miss there the classical flavour to which he was used and which cannot always be retained in such a complicated task as the translation of the Bible. But let him find a book written in good Chinese, and he would give to it careful

attention, even if the subject was a curious religion imported from the West

Secondly, the one written language was the same throughout the whole Empire. A book written and printed in Shanghai could be read by every official and scholar in the country. Sister Societies in India, and in Africa, have to translate and print their books in many languages before they are able to supply the needs of all readers in the areas they cover.

Again and again Timothy Richard refers to this greatness of the need, and to this uniqueness of the opportunity in his advocacy of the printed page.

Therefore when, in 1891, at a moment when his future was uncertain, he was invited to become the General Secretary of the Society, known later as the Christian Literature Society for China, he accepted with enthusiasm. Here was the door he must enter. Now at last was his path made clear!

We are not writing a biography of Timothy Richard, but this event in his life seems so indicative of the ways sometimes used by God in His Providence, that I cannot resist the temptation to call the reader's attention to it. Timothy Richard did not desire to leave his earlier mission field in Shansi. In fact, it was against his will that he did so, becoming for a time an "exile," as Professor Soothill puts it. But, behind all this, there was the leading hand of God. No work would have suited the man better, and no man could have undertaken the work with greater success. I have seen the same thing happen to others in China, for "God works in a mysterious way, His wonders to perform."

2. *The Christian Literature Society for China*

But what was this Society to which Timothy Richard went in 1891?

Missionaries in a foreign land soon find out that there are certain needs in their work that are best met by pooling resources. What one Society is unable to do alone may be done in co-operation with others. The supply of Christian Literature is one of these needs.

As early as 1877, a General Conference of Protestant Missionaries in China had agreed to set up a "Standing Committee on Literature," in order to develop this important aspect of missionary enterprise. One of the main purposes of this Committee was to secure the preparation of a series of suitable text-books for Mission Schools. Later the scope was enlarged, until, in 1887, Dr. Alexander Williamson organised in Shanghai a new society, under the somewhat uncouth name of the "Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge among the Chinese," and secured much support for this venture from the Scottish Churches. Such support, I may add, has continued ever since in a most generous manner. But, only four years later, Dr. Williamson died, and it was then that Timothy Richard was asked to take his place. The B.M.S. generously agreed to set him apart for this work, and to be responsible for his support. Later, the Society became known as the Christian Literature Society for China. This was the sphere to which Timothy Richard felt he could give all his powers. The work to be done was for the whole of China, for all denominations, as well as for non-Christian seekers after truth.

A glance at the early leaders in this work—"the Big Five" as we used to call them—is enough to indicate the nature and scope of the work undertaken.

There was Alexander Williamson, the founder, who was a Scotsman and a Presbyterian; there was Young Allen, an American and a Methodist; there was Ernst Faber, a German and a Lutheran; there was Timothy

Richard, a Welshman and a Baptist; and last, but not least, there was Ts'ai Erh K'ang, a Chinese and a Confucian scholar. What could have suited Timothy Richard better than to throw himself whole-heartedly into this work? This is what he did, emphasising, because of the needs of the times, the task of removing prejudice and ignorance among the ruling classes, so that the Gospel might have a free course.

His first statement, as General Secretary, revealed at once his line of action. He pointed out that the chief sources of China's disasters in her intercourse with the West was to be found in her ignorance of ways in which she could develop her own resources and benefit herself by international intercourse. The rising anti-foreign feeling, with its fatal consequences for missionary work, was a direct result of this ignorance. He proposed that, instead of working in a haphazard manner, the Society should concentrate on reaching at least a percentage of the rulers of the land by means of periodicals, of books and pamphlets, showing the bearing of Educational and Religious development on industries and trade as well as on every department of national progress, and by means of lectures, museums and reading rooms, and of the distribution of books to candidates for the degree examinations. "Some believe," he concluded, "in the supreme power of the moral and spiritual truths of Christianity to bring about general reformation, others feel the imperative need of direct enlightenment in regard to the material, social and political welfare of the people. Both are needed. The funds contributed will be applied to either or both according to the wishes of the subscribers."

3. *Some of the Books Published at the Time*

This is not the place to relate the history of the Christian Literature Society, but no one will understand

the share which Timothy Richard had, by means of the Society's work, in the awakening of that great land without some reference to a few of the publications which were among the most potent means to bring about that awakening.

There was, first of all, a great book by Dr. Ernst Faber, on *Civilisation, Chinese and Christian.* The book was divided into five parts, dealing with Humanity, Righteousness, Manners and Customs, Sciences, Arts and Commerce, Associations. There are seventy-three chapters, each of which could be read, and indeed was also published, as a separate monograph. The reader conversant with Chinese lore will at once see how the subjects indicated by the Chinese characters corresponding to the headings of the five parts would appeal to Chinese scholars. The general purpose of Dr. Faber was to show how in these five important spheres, the East and the West may help one another.

In the first part—*Humanity*—the author deals with the results brought forth by a spirit of benevolence and good feeling towards others: Charity to the poor, Provision for the sick, Care for the aged, Attention to orphans, Compassion for the insane, Lodgings for travellers, Mitigation of punishment, Humanity towards prisoners, Courtesy to strangers, Good feelings towards enemies, Kindness to animals. What a list of subjects through which to show what the Law of Christ demands of men in their intercourse one with another!

In the second part—*Righteousness*—we have another aspect of the same question: Reform in finances, Individual responsibility to the Law, Public safety, Easy communications by land and sea, Regulation of customs, Law of interest on money, Evils of luxury and of waste, Suppression of gambling, Answers to opium questions, Abolition of slavery, Increase of population, Prohibition

of infanticide, Toleration, The wrong of despotism, The training and duties of officials, International Law. Every one of these topics touched on a weak spot in Chinese public and private life.

In the third part—*Manners and Customs*—the same wealth of suggestions and possibilities is found: Truth in Worship: Moderation in Mourning: Temperance in the celebration of joyful events: Respect in social intercourse: Dignity in military display: The influence of music on good manners: The evil of superstition: Foot-binding: Geomancy: Personal Morality as the basis of family life: Reverence and love as the basis of filial piety: The cowardice of suicide: The evil of bad language: Cheating and deceitfulness: The value of purity and cleanliness.

In the fourth part—*Sciences, Arts and Commerce*—Dr. Faber points out the benefits derived mainly from the cultivation of knowledge: Science and Faith: Chinese classical learning and Western theology: The study of history: Mental philosophy: The science of language; Education: Methods of comprehensive learning: Newspapers and periodicials: Progress in agriculture: Advantages of the use of machines: Industrial art: A history of mining: The Five Arts and their applications: Trade and its development: Military science: Scientific methods in the art of healing: Some proofs of progress of Western Science.

In the Fifth part—*Associations*—the emphasis is on Co-operative work, at the basis of which is trustworthiness. In this part the author deals with Church organisations in Christian lands: Missionary societies: Bible societies: Religious Tract societies: Home missions: Societies for the observance of Sunday: Temperance missions: Workmen's associations: Ladies' benevolent societies: Divers associations.

The whole work ends with a chapter of practical suggestions whereby some of the institutions of Western civilisation might be adapted to the needs of China.

Can we wonder, as we glance through the titles of these monographs at the welcome they received at the hands of Chinese officials eager to know something about Western civilisation? Through the generosity of friends, the Christian Literature Society was able to place a copy of this work in the hands of every civil magistrate in the Chinese Empire.

Next there was Timothy Richard's own work on *The Historical Evidences of the Benefits of Christianity*. This book was written in direct answer to a question of Li Hung Chang. In one of his interviews, the great Viceroy had asked the missionary, "What good can Christianity do for a nation?" implying that, even if the Gospel could be of some advantage to a few individuals belonging to the lower classes, it could not be regarded as having any bearing on the welfare of a nation as a whole, especially of a nation like China. Timothy Richard, with a wealth of historical facts, shows how the privileges of the Gospel apply to nations as well as to individuals, and that a nation which willingly accepts these principles is bound to prosper even in a material sense.

Another book which created a tremendous impression and paved the way for reform is Timothy Richard's translation of Mackenzie's *History of Christian Civilisation in the Nineteenth Century*. It may be said in truth that few books have ever had a wider influence towards the "awakening" of China. From the very first it was a success. Leading officials, and the Emperor himself, studied it with care. The manager of the China Merchants Steamship Company secured a number of copies for distribution among the officials of the capital.

CHRISTIAN LITERATURE SOCIETY BUILDING, SHANGHAI

Edition after edition had to be printed. We read in one of the Society's Reports that, when the third edition was placed on the market, 4,000 copies were sold in two weeks.

In spite of the fact that, in the introduction, Timothy Richard roundly accused the Manchus of deliberately trying to prevent peaceable intercourse between the East and the West "by continual obstruction," and said that in so doing they were "not opposing foreigners so much as God in His universal ruling," both Chang Chih Tung and Li Hung Chang immediately asked him to come and see them.

The book was "pirated" several times, no fewer than six of these pirated editions being on sale in Hangchow! It has been calculated that altogether 1,000,000 of these "pirated" copies were in circulation in China!

Yet another book, published by the Society in 1895, must be regarded as another of the immediate forerunners of the great "awakening." This was *The History of the War between China and Japan*, written by Dr. Y. Allen. This book was intended to be more than the history of the war. It was a trumpet call to the nation, to awake out of sleep. The writer began with a discussion of the advantages of peace, and went on to examine the causes of the war in the light of the relations between China and Japan during the past 300 years. Here again the missionary writer wrote with utter frankness. He showed how the responsibility for the war did not rest with Japan alone. The charges made in the book were documented with official proclamations.

One of the volumes described the actual battles of the war, pointing out the reasons for the defeats of the Chinese fleets and armies, and suggesting the need for reform. There was also a translation into Chinese of articles written by such distinguished men as Admiral

Lang, Sir Thomas Wade, and Admiral Freemantle. "True civilisation," concluded Dr. Allen, "is the outcome of man's relation to God, to the world of nature and to his fellow men." In language that recalls that of the Prophets of Israel, he told Chinese officials that China herself had not been free from shortcomings.

This book at once captured the imagination of readers, and I have seen young Chinese scholars engrossed in the perusal of the copy kept in the library of the Christian Literature Society at Shanghai, when the events with which the book deals had long passed away. The *North China Daily News* of May 15th, 1896, says on the subject, "It is a worthy culmination of Dr. Allen's labour in a literary point of view. It is receiving a cordial and widespread welcome at the hands of Chinese scholars and others. The style in which it is written meets with approval, while the sentiments it contains are revolutionary in the best and noblest sense. Only let the principles and inculcations of these volumes obtain the needful currency—and they are certain to do—they will yield an abundant harvest in the whole of China's administration." Seldom has a leading daily newspaper uttered a truer prophecy. Even in the most anti-foreign province in China—Hunan—the book was in great demand. Indeed, the Provincial Examiner begged Dr. Allen's assistant, Mr. Ts'ai Erh Kang, to go to Hunan to teach the youth of the province, while an official of Kwantung requested Dr. Allen himself to go to his help.

Space does not allow the mention of other books which had a deep influence on the future of China, but our account would be incomplete if we said nothing about one of the periodicals published by the Christian Literature Society at the time, which must be regarded as one of the most potent means whereby the Chinese giant woke out of sleep. This was the *Review of the Times*, begun

as a private enterprise by Dr. Allen, and later published by the Christian Literature Society. It was a monthly paper, dealing with a great variety of subjects bearing on reform. There is scarcely one number of the early Reports of the Society's work which does not say something about the popularity and influence of this magazine throughout China.

At the Eighth Annual General Meeting of the Society, for example, in December, 1895, the Chairman, Mr. George Jamieson, Acting Consul-General for Great Britain in Shanghai, said, "A number of young literati, some of them belonging to the Hanlin College, have of their own accord commenced a literary society, on almost similar lines to our own. They have indeed started a magazine, and as imitation is the sincerest form of flattery, they have called it by the same name as ours. It seems to be a reprint of the articles we have published in Shanghai."

It would be wearisome to the readers if we gave even only a small part of the words of commendation by both Chinese and foreign leaders, of the books published by the Society at this time, and of their influence on the shaping of events in China. Suffice it to say that, by universal consent, these books were among the most effective means in bringing about, and in directing, the Chinese movement towards reform, as was well pointed out in a leading article of *The Times*:

"We have often referred to the excellent work done by that Society—The Christian Literature Society—whose guiding principle has always been that ignorance is the chief obstacle to the spread of Christianity in China. . . . The enormous demand for the Society's books was one of the most conspicuous features of the reform movement, nipped in the bud by the Empress Dowager's *coup d'état* in 1898. That the Society should

now have received generous encouragement to resume and extend its labours from Chang Chih Tung, the great Viceroy, is a significant indication of the new spirit which was gradually informing even the highest official classes. His Excellency Chang is not only a ruler of two large provinces, but also a profound thinker and a master of the classics. The example such a man sets by taking the Society's work publicly under his protection is of far greater importance than the mere money value of his not inconsiderable gift. China is pre-eminently a bureaucratic State, and that some of the ablest and most powerful representatives of the bureaucracy are actually turning to the missionaries for assistance in the task of educating the rising generation of Mandarins is strong testimony to the ethical value of missionary work."

Thus then, was the method of Timothy Richard, to remove by means of the printed page the prejudice and ignorance that stood in the way of the proclamation of the Gospel, amply justified.

(e) Timothy Richard, the Prophet and the Practical Man

It seems but fitting that, at this point, a word should be added to show how Timothy Richard combined the vision of the Prophet with the practical outlook of the Statesman.

Many people whose acquaintance with Timothy Richard and his work was somewhat superficial regarded him as a man of vision, but living in an unreal world. The reason for this is, perhaps, that he was far ahead of his times. He thought imperially. For him, no scheme for the welfare of mankind, especially of China, was too ambitious. In perusing the monographs and papers he left in Shanghai, and which Miss Hilda C. Bowser collected in a voluminous file, I stood amazed at the sheer

daring of the man. He used every means he could think of to hasten the coming of the Kingdom of God among men. He tried to enlist the co-operation of all sorts and conditions of men to bring about the four freedoms of which we have recently heard. It is true that some of his ideas could not be put into practice because they were far ahead of the times, but always his vision was direct and clear. His consuming passion was that the Kingdom of God might come.

Yet, with it all, he was a practical man, or else the Christian Literature Society would not have become a power for the "awakening" of China. Following on his vision, there was attention to details. Indeed, sometimes his caution seemed to contradict his vision. In his interviews with high officials he always carried with him documentary evidence of the points he tried to make. In presenting to the Board of Directors of the Society the needs of the official classes, for example, he came armed with lists of officials in various cities and towns which must have meant for him a great deal of detailed work of a practical nature.

Indeed, it is a feature of the Reports of the Christian Literature Society, penned by himself, to find this combination of a prophet's vision with a statesman's outlook. In his appeals, he wanted level-headed business managers for the distribution of books as much as he wanted inspired writers.

Once, I had the privilege, in Shanghai, to meet Dr. Kagawa. What struck me most, in the course of the afternoon we spent together, was this same combination. Like Timothy Richard, Kagawa seemed to live in a world far removed from the present, and yet, like Timothy Richard, he had mastered details, and never failed to relate his ideas to them.

(f) His Success

The results of the work done by Timothy Richard for the Kingdom of God in China cannot be measured. As Dr. Richard Glover said, " it is granted to few to see a change so immense and so blessed in the thought of a great nation, and to still fewer to have had such an important part in producing it." All who are acquainted with his life and work would agree.

(i) *Li Ti Mo T'ai*

Timothy Richard endeared himself to the Chinese to such an extent that his Chinese name, Li Ti Mo T'ai was known everywhere, from the mud hut of the Shansi and Shantung peasants to the Imperial Palace in the Forbidden City of Peking.

" Wherever the missionaries went in Shansi," said one of his former colleagues in that province, " people asked affectionately after Li Ti Mo T'ai." On one occasion, as I was giving a talk in a Shansi village on the subject of the labours of the Apostle Paul, and mentioned his relationship with young Timothy, an old man shook his head and remarked, 'Ah ! Li Ti Mo T'ai, I knew, he distributed food to our hungry people ; but the other man, Paul, I never met.' "

But he was equally loved and respected by the scholars of China with whom he had so much to do. Perhaps nothing is more indicative of the impression he made on their mind than an incident which happened after the failure of the 1898 Reform movement. One of the reformers was a man named Wang Chao who had been condemned to death, but who had managed to make good his escape to Japan. A year or two later a Buddhist priest called at Richard's house. He refused to give

his name, but on being shown to the missionary's study, and finding himself alone with him, took up a brush and traced on his hand the two characters "Wang Chao." This man, on becoming a priest, was supposed to have left behind him all his past, even to have forgotten his own name, but he could not forget his friend Li Ti Mo T'ai.

And when Richard died, a Chinese poet wrote these lines :—

> "Richard, the modern sage, I love :
> That worthy man, to end all wars
> Wrote many books, his views to prove.
> Past is the war, gone are our fears,
> The Altar of great Peace is built,
> Our friend, alas ! his life is done !
> Lamenting all the blood that's spilt,
> I sigh for him and mourn alone.
> My land ! My land ! alas ! "

(*ii*) *Enlisting the Good Will of Foreign Officials and Merchants*

Timothy Richard's influence over foreigners in China who knew him, was equally marked. Perhaps no missionary has ever been able to enlist the co-operation and goodwill of diplomatic and consular officials as well as of foreign merchants as Timothy Richard did. Sir Robert Hart and Sir Thomas Hanbury, Sir Havilland de Sausmarez, and many others, helped the Society he directed with their gifts as well as with their counsels. It is well known that Sir Thomas Hanbury made large gifts of money, including the amount needed for the purchase of a site for the erection of the Society's headquarters in Shanghai, and the greater part of the money needed for the building itself

(*iii*) *Esteem of both Protestant and Roman Catholic Leaders*

Among the missionary community, in spite of the fact that some failed to understand his ideas of the way in which God works among men, he was regarded as a giant. I remember being present at a meeting in Shanghai when an Anglican Bishop was making his farewell speech before returning home. His first words were to the effect that his career in China had been largely influenced by a man whom he had met soon after his arrival in the Far East, Timothy Richard.

Even Roman Catholic missionaries came under the spell of his personality. He himself relates how, in 1886, as he was travelling to China on the French steamer *Oxus*, he had eighteen Roman Catholic priests and sisters as fellow travellers, and how he discussed with one of them the chief faults, as he saw them, of Roman Catholic teaching. "Eleven years later," he writes, "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 I was ushered in, I recognised my old fellow passenger of the *Oxus*. My frank speech had not alienated his friendship."

Later still, while visiting the Roman Catholic establishment at Siccawei, he saw a photograph of Père Simon, who had died soon after having been made a bishop. "That is Bishop Simon," he said to the priest who was showing him round. "He was a very good man." "Yes," replied the priest, and then added with a smile, "Do you remember the little talk you had on the s.s. *Oxus*, nearly twenty years ago? He told me all about it, and we have been watching you ever since."

(iv) Honours Conferred upon Him

The services that Timothy Richard rendered to China were not left unrecognised. In 1902 he was appointed as adviser to the Government in matters concerning the Christian religion. The Imperial Edict, under date July 4th, is worth quoting:

> "We have received a memorial from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs concerning the two different religions of the West—Roman Catholicism and Protestantism. The representative of the Protestant Conference, Dr. Timothy Richard, is a man of noble scholarship and high attainments, possessed of a right public spirit, and worthy of all admiration; we, therefore, command the said Ministry of Foreign Affairs, who have drawn up a scheme for the furtherance of harmonious relations between Christians and the populace generally, to consult Dr. Richard in the matter, sincerely hoping that, with his valuable assistance, the objects in view may be attained, and the masses may be able to live at peace with their neighbours, the Christians."

In 1903 he was given one of the highest orders of the Chinese Empire, the "First Red Button Grade"; and later, the Chinese Government raised his ancestors for three generations to equal rank! In 1907, he received the Order of the "Double Dragon." But the recognition which touched him most deeply, filling him with humble pride, was the conferring on him of the Degree of Doctor of Laws and Logic by the University of Wales.

Having thus endeavoured to outline the movement which led to the Chinese Revolution of 1911, and given

some idea of Timothy Richard's share in the course of events, we must now turn to the difficult task of speaking of the China of to-day, and its debt to Timothy Richard, attempting to discuss how far the New China is likely to draw its inspiration from the Gospel he proclaimed with so much vision and faithfulness.

SECTION III

THE CHINA OF TO-DAY AND ITS DEBT TO TIMOTHY RICHARD

(A discussion of how far the New China is likely to draw its inspiration from such ancient faiths as Confucianism or Buddhism, or from such a system as Communism, or from the Gospel as preached by Timothy Richard and others)

I. CHINA TO-DAY—A CONTRAST

- (a) Importance of the Revolution
- (b) An appreciation of the change involved
  - (i) The Revolution not the indication of a mere superficial change
  - (ii) The old " scholar " and the new
  - (iii) Change, as illustrated during the war with Japan
  - (iv) Change, as illustrated in the Chinese Renaissance
  - (v) Change, as illustrated in the position of women

II. WHAT ARE THE SIGNS ?

- (a) The realisation on the part of the Chinese that China is at the parting of the ways
- (b) Major " religious " forces at work in China
- (c) Confucianism
  - (i) Revival of Confucianism
  - (ii) The value of Confucianism
  - (iii) The true contribution that Confucianism may make to New China
- (d) Buddhism
  - (i) Revival of Buddhism
  - (ii) Its failure in practice
- (e) Communism
  - (i) Earnestness of its advocates
  - (ii) Influence of the movement in China
  - (iii) Its chances of success

(f) Christianity
  (i) Various attitudes of Chinese to Christianity
  (ii) Recent interest of Chinese in Christianity
    1. Before the war with Japan
    2. During the present war
  (iii) The kind of Christianity that will make the greatest appeal to China

III. Conclusion

SECTION III

THE CHINA OF TO-DAY AND ITS DEBT TO TIMOTHY RICHARD

I. China To-day—a Contrast

We are now to venture upon a discussion of how far the new China is likely to draw its inspiration from such ancient faiths as Confucianism and Buddhism, or from such modern systems as Communism, or from the Gospel as proclaimed by Timothy Richard and others.

The task is a heavy one, requiring a certain amount of courage, for anyone who is acquainted with Chinese affairs knows the danger of prophesying what China will do. It is, therefore, not in a spirit of dogmatic certainty that I approach this topic, but as an observer of events, of causes and effects, and as a well-wisher for and believer in the future of the Chinese race.

(a) Importance of the Revolution

First of all it is necessary to emphasise the importance of the Revolution, for good or ill, as an historical event, and for this purpose I can do no better than to quote what the French historian, Henri Cordier, has to say in his volumes on the History of China.

"The Revolution," he writes, "which brought about the downfall of the Manchu Dynasty and the Proclamation of the Republic of China, now commemorated on the 10th October, is one of the most far reaching events, not only in the history of that ancient country, but also in the history of the world. Foreign nations will need to follow with the greatest care a movement

which is bound to have sooner or later its repercussions upon the political life of the whole world. There are to-day many topics of interest in Europe and in America, but for the observer and the philosopher, as well as for the politician, there is not one which is as important for the future as well as for the present as that of the Far East. It is not a matter of little moment to witness the political and social transformation of a nation which represents one third of the population of the globe. I believe in the future of this great people, whose history, unique in the world, unfolds itself without interruption during a period of over forty centuries. China has played a great part in the Far East; she will also play a great part in the whole world."

(b) An Appreciation of the Change Involved

But to realise this importance is not enough. We must also try to understand the true nature of the change that is taking place. The Revolution of 1911 is not the first revolution that China has experienced; nor is the Manchu Dynasty the first that has fallen. Yet, in the history of China, revolutions and Dynastic changes did not mean that the Chinese people themselves were changing. These things merely meant that patience had been exhausted, or that envy or lust of power in some individual or clan had been roused. Blood had been shed, and then the people had returned to their ordinary affairs, unchanged in their outlook on life, absorbing the foreign invader, when there had been one.

(i) *The Revolution not the Indication of a merely Superficial Change*

The Revolution of 1911, as many see it, has a deeper significance. It does not simply involve a readjustment of relations to foreign powers, dictated by the necessity

of circumstances. It involves a change in the Chinese people themselves. It has come out of a re-examination of values, a re-orientation of life which may bring with it the repudiation of an ancient tradition. This is one of the reasons why the Chinese Revolution of 1911 has a deeper historical meaning than the Japanese Revolution of 1868. The Japanese were then doing no more than bringing to an end the power of those who had kept the country in isolation from the outside world. They made internal and external readjustments which did not overthrow their empire or get rid of their emperors. Moreover, they were not faced with the alternative of clinging to or turning their back on an ancient tradition that had made their country great, as is the case with the Chinese.

Now the question is whether it is really true that the Chinese Revolution of 1911 does mean that a change in the Chinese people themselves is taking place instead of a change in outward circumstances only. The question is not as simple as it may appear, and time alone will yield the answer.

Meanwhile, it must be clear to all observers of Chinese affairs that the Chinese Revolution is not merely a superficial change such as had happened on many occasions in the long history of China. The familiar simile of a giant asleep for centuries, now waking out of sleep, is not an accurate description of what is happening. China is not like an old man, suddenly awakened. She is like a young giant refreshed. Nothing would be more misleading than to think of China only as an ancient country. She has a long past behind her, that is true, but to-day she is essentially a nation of young people, full of the ardour, enthusiasm, hope, and also the inexperience, of youth.

(ii) The Old "Scholar" and the New

This is realised by anyone who has known, for example, a Chinese scholar of the old type and a young student of to-day. In theory, they both belong to the same class. Both represent the ancient tradition of China in its respect for learning. Both belong to the "scholar" class, the first in dignity in Chinese civilisation, which gives the last place to the trader.

And yet, how different they are! One can hardly see anything in common between them as far as their attitude to China is concerned The former dwells on the past, the latter on the future. The former thinks of what China has been; the latter not so much of what she is to-day, as of what she will be in the days yet to come.

(iii) Change, as illustrated during the War with Japan

The change is exemplified in a variety of ways, especially in the attitude of the people during the war against Japan, in spite of the war weariness which, after eight years of struggle, seems to be getting hold of many.

A great story of achievement will have to be written about these things when the war is over. How 60,000,000 people migrated from various parts of the country to the Far West that they might still be free; how they transported there their industrial plants and their universities; how they tackled with vigour, in spite of military operations, the problem of illiteracy; how they experimented with industrial co-operative societies; how, under the stress of circumstances, scholars and common people were thrown together as never before, learning to know one another better with mutual advantage; and, how, in spite of rifts still existing, a larger measure of national unity than ever before was achieved.

I was in Shanghai at the outbreak of hostilities between China and Japan, and ordinary conversations among

CHINESE DAILY NEWSPAPERS WHICH REPRODUCED ARTICLES FROM C.L.S. PUBLICATIONS

foreign residents clearly indicated what they thought would happen. How long would China be able to resist? Even her best friends hardly dared to suggest that it would be longer than a few months. The unexpected resistance is an indication of the change that the revolution had brought about. To begin with, there was the fact that the Chinese immediately set their hands to the obvious task of caring for the wounded and the homeless. In this task, as we shall see later, Christians took a leading part. Then there is the remarkable spirit of determination and courage which has descended upon the people, men and women, young and old, scholars and peasants.

According to old standards, the able general in China was the one who made a successful escape out of the north gate of the city while his enemy came in by the south gate. How deep a change has taken place in this direction, I realised in Shanghai during the struggle of the Japanese to take the city. Night after night, a Chinese colleague of mine and I watched from the roof of our Christian Literature Society building the struggle round the North Station, a mile or so away. Whenever a flash of light from the guns showed the Chinese flag still waving over the battered building, he would pull my coat and say excitedly, "Look, there it is—still waving!"

Readers may have heard of the epic resistance of a few hundred Chinese soldiers—"the lone Battalion"—cut off by a vastly superior force of Japanese on three sides and by the river on the other. One night during this hopeless struggle, a Chinese girl managed to take to them a large Chinese flag, which was seen next day waving over the building in which they were besieged.

There is also the resistance put up by thousands of Chinese behind the lines. When we speak of "occupied"

China, we must not think of it as we do, or did, of the countries occupied by the Germans in Europe. Even now, the Japanese occupation is complete only in the zones along railway lines and rivers, or in the vicinity of large cities. In the extensive countryside beyond, the " occupation " is anything but effective. There the people are still keeping some sort of connection, by subterranean means, possible only in a land like China, with the Government at Chungking.

(iv) Change, as illustrated in the Chinese Renaissance

But, even before the war, evidences of a deep change were to be seen in the very structure of Chinese society and life.

Everyone has heard something, at least, of the Chinese renaissance, with the raising of the spoken language of the people to the dignity of a literature. What Dante did for Italian with his *Divine Comedy*, and Luther did for German with his translation of the Bible into the vernacular, and, to a certain extent, what Calvin did for French with his *Institutions*, a host of modern Chinese writers have done, or rather, are still doing, for Chinese. It is no longer bad taste for a Chinese scholar to write in what is now called the National Language. Most of the early books published by the Christian Literature Society were written in the literary style. The first Chinese translation of the Bible was made in the same language. But the time came when we could not sell any of our early publications, and when a translation of the Bible had to be made in the language of the common people. I was amazed, a few years ago, to find in a *Chinese Anthology of Modern Prose*, two or three chapters from the Gospels, reprinted from that translation, and offered to the public as examples of good modern style.

This process in the evolution of modern Chinese is

most important as one indication of the changed attitude brought about by the Revolution. At one extreme there are writers who still cling as close as they dare to the ancient classical style; at the other extreme there are writers who, in their endeavour to move away from it, write in a style which is wholly foreign to Chinese mentality, trying to follow the pattern of a western language. The result suggests either French or German or English or Russian, according to the foreign language with which the writer is acquainted—written in Chinese characters, and is more obscure for the average reader than the classical style could ever be. Between these two extremes there is an ever increasing number of people, men and women, who are using the spoken language, with a varying degree of success, for the literary expression of thought.

(v) Change, as illustrated in the position of women

But, perhaps, the most striking evidence of the change is to be seen in the position of woman in modern China. With the disappearance of bound feet, she has developed a new physique. Moreover, she is no longer little more than a child-bearer to her lord. She has become his equal, his friend and companion, his partner, often his inspiration and guide—for good or evil. No one who has not witnessed the change is in a position to appreciate its depth.

It is difficult not to see, in all these changes, something more vital than a mere revolution to overthrow a foreign Dynasty. There are in it the elements of a re-orientation of ideas, of a re-birth. Indeed, one may see, in many aspects of it, the fruit of such work as Timothy Richard endeavoured to do, unrecognised though it may be on the surface.

2. What are the Signs?

Now, the great question, fraught with incalculable consequences, both for China and for the world, is as to whether the re-orientation is going to lead China nearer to or farther from the Kingdom of God as Timothy Richard understood it. Are there definite signs, pointing one way or the other, and, if there are, what are they?

(a) The Realisation on the part of the Chinese that China is at the Parting of the Ways

Perhaps the most encouraging initial sign which, while not giving any indication as to direction, yet is of the greatest importance, is that the Chinese themselves realise that they are at the parting of the ways. They know that the Revolution, born out of the Reform movement, is only a beginning. They know that a new door has been opened before them, and that the future of China cannot be as the past has been. For good or ill, they are now within the fellowship of nations and have a contribution to make to it.

This is clear from the discussions, in private and public, and from the numberless speeches, articles and books of the post-revolution era. The main question, either on the surface or below it, is inevitably as to how much or how little of the past should be conserved, and, if necessary, adapted; and also how much or how little of Western civilisation should be embodied in the life of New China.

Dr. Sun Yat Sen himself has a great deal to say on this subject in his book—the *San Min Chu I*—which may almost be called the Bible of the Nationalist Party in China. In writing about the new spirit of nationalism, he says that it must be guided along three lines—first, a return to ancient Chinese morality, based on loyalty, filial piety, charity, faithfulness, justice and love of

peace; secondly, a return to ancient Chinese wisdom, based on the teaching of *The Great Learning*, to the effect that in order to manage well the affairs of State, it is necessary to "regulate the family," "to cultivate one's person," to "rectify one's heart," to be "sincere in one's thinking," and to "extend one's knowledge to the utmost;" and thirdly, on the cultivation of Western science. Other modern writers are facing the same issue, both in its general and in its specific aspects.

One of the most inspiring writers of modern China, Mr. Hsiao Ch'ien, now London correspondent of the Chinese Daily, the *Ta Kung Pao*, in dealing with the general aspect of the issue, urges his people not to allow the "machine" to kill the "soul." *The Dragon's Beard* of Mr. Hsiao Ch'ien's most recent book in English, stands for ancient Chinese writing, so closely connected with ancient Chinese civilisation; while his *Blue Prints* stands for modern progress along the lines of the machine of industry. Can the two be harmonised?

At this point, I cannot but call attention to the prophetic insight of Timothy Richard. He was all out for progress in the material sphere, as preceding pages show, and yet he always maintained that no material progress is either abiding or ultimately profitable for individuals and for nations, unless it is the outcome of right relationship between man and God. For Timothy Richard the material was never an end in itself. Always it was one of the means to lead man to a fuller understanding of the ways and of the power of God, and to a more complete enjoyment of His goodness. Always there was this imperial idea of the Gospel of redemption, that it was for all men, without distinction of race, and for the whole of every man—body, mind and spirit.

To many Chinese to-day, especially among the young, the same issue, in its more specific aspect of whether

China must become a militaristic nation if it is to survive, presents itself with insistence. They feel, indeed, that they are at the parting of the ways, especially in view of their struggle against Japan.

I well remember a long conversation I had with a young Chinese, the son of a late Governor of Shansi. We were talking, as we often did, about national ideals and the future of China. "Ask me to believe anything you like," he said, "but don't ask me to believe that war, as you Westerners understand it, is a sign of superior civilisation." And yet he was a staunch supporter of the resistance which China is putting up against Japan, and I said to myself, "I wonder whether my friend will, in the end, come to accept military power as a *sine qua non* to greatness in a nation?"

Many young students had told me before, "We don't believe in war, but if the language of guns is the only one that the world can understand to-day, we are going to learn it and, with the resources of our country, and with the man power at our disposal, we can learn to speak it more convincingly than anyone else!"

There is, as may be easily seen, in this attitude—so common in China—the evidence that the people realise that, although many changes have already taken place, China is still, in a sense, at the parting of the ways; and that, in the shaping of the future of the country, the backward look may be as necessary as the forward one.

(b) Major "Religious" Forces at Work in China

From the religious point of view, which is the one that interests us in this book, there are three major forces at work in China—Confucianism, Buddhism and Christianity. In addition, there is Communism, which, while not professing to be a religion at all, yet directs its appeals

to what it considers to be the best in every man for the benefit of all.

Which of these forces is likely to have the deepest influence in shaping the future of the Chinese people?

It is not our purpose, of course, to analyse these various creeds, or to trace their history, except in so far as it may help us to answer the question just asked. We shall therefore try, in the case of each, to discover what are the signs of the time, and to discuss briefly their possible meaning.

(c) Confucianism

(*i*) *Revival of Confucianism*

There is ample evidence to-day that many Chinese are looking to Confucianism for help and guidance. Before the war with Japan, a revival of Confucianism had begun to be felt. The ancient Chinese Classics, which had sadly fallen in disrepute immediately after the revolution, were coming back into favour. New editions were being published, with and without notes and comments. Articles and pamphlets were written; lectures were given; and meetings were held. Even among Christians the moral teaching of Confucius was held to be an inheritance that must on no account be lost, as witnessed, e.g., by the "New Life Movement," with its cardinal virtues of ancient Chinese life, *Li*, or "Good Manners"; *I*, or "Righteousness"; *Lien*, or "Frugality"; and *Ch'ih*, or "A sense of shame."

Students of Chinese history feel that a China without Confucianism would be China no longer. Some of them, who have no sympathy with Christianity, or are even hostile to its teaching, believe that, in the teaching handed down by the "Master," there is all that China needs for her moral and spiritual development; while others, who have come under the influence of Christianity, look upon Confucianism very much as some Christians

in the West looked upon the teachings of Plato and Aristotle. It can render, they think, an invaluable service to a Chinese interpretation of Christianity, and to the development of a type of Christian theology which would appeal more strongly to the Chinese mind than dogmas imported from the West.

Among the common people, on the other hand, there are many who feel, instinctively, that there are treasures in their ancient classics which are more precious than the material wealth and the political power associated with western civilisation.

(ii) The Value of Confucianism

It is easy, I think, to sympathise in a general way with this position. No one who is at all conversant with Chinese literature can be blind to the wealth of high moral teaching embodied in its ancient writings. The spoken language itself abounds in gems from that source.

Where could we find a better description of what a "princely man" or a "gentleman" ought to be than in some of the sayings of Confucius himself, or than in the *Li Ki*? "The gentleman does not care for empty words, but emphasises actual deeds." "The gentleman is humble and considerate." "The gentleman is cheerful." "The gentleman, when asked if it is right to repay injury by injury, forbids revenge." He "makes humanity, or love, the first of the cardinal virtues in his moral system"; "he is not a mere tool"; "he is moderate in appearance"; he "does not fear death"; "trustworthiness and sincerity are his jewels"; the sight of money does not "endanger his righteousness"; "even under the rule of a cruel government he does not alter his behaviour."

And what of such sayings as the following, by Chu Hsi, one of the expounders of Confucianism? "Goodness

that is done in order to be seen of men is not true goodness." One might almost expect to find such words in the Gospel rather than in the writings of a pagan philosopher.

The four words chosen as the pivots of the New Life Movement, too, are indicative of high moral ideals. Li, which means good manners, in a very deep sense. In fact, the Chinese definition of the word is " the external exemplification of eternal principles." " I "—right conduct in our dealings with others, but arising out of a sense of duty to our fellows, and involving loyalty and faithfulness. " Lien "—frugality, in the sense of moderation in all things. " Ch'ih "—" a sense of shame " arising out of the consideration that, when we have done our best, there is still much that we could have done and have left undone.

(*iii*) *The true contribution that Confucianism may make to New China*

Surely there is nothing in all this that is alien to the teaching of Jesus Christ. I, for one, have never succeeded yet in seeing in Confucianism a rival to Christianity, unless it is made an end in itself, and unless it prevents its followers from having an open mind to something nobler still.

I remember a conversation with an old friend, a Confuican scholar. We had learned, after a long time, to know one another well enough to speak freely without fear of giving or taking offence. This is what he said to me: " I find it difficult to understand you western missionaries. You come out to China at great expense, you labour for years to learn our language, you live away from your kith and kin, apparently only that you might come and tell us—sometimes in rather clumsy Chinese—things that we know better than you do. All the fine doctrines about love and duty to man and God, about righteousness, are doctrines we have always known

to be true. We learn them from our classical books, where they are written in a language which appeals to us, and not in a style that sometimes offends our taste, as they are written in your translation of the Bible. Moreover, your righteousness comes to us with the sound of guns and the glitter of gold. Some of us suspect even that, if the guns and the gold disappeared, there wouldn't be much of the righteousness left."

Unconsciously, my friend was supplying me with the answer to the question before us now. He was right in emphasising the high moral ideals of Confucianism, but he was wrong in stopping there. It was easy for me to point out to him that, although China had been in possession of these high ideals for centuries, yet it had not saved her from untold misery. "The very dogs in the streets," I told him, "poor mangy creatures wandering about feeding on refuse, are an evidence that China needs something that Confucianism had not been able to give."

The truth is that Confucianism, as it is to-day, is little more than a system of ethics without dynamic to enable the man who learns its teaching to put it into practice. In ancient times, what came to be called later Confucianism was doubtless a real religion, with the creator of the world as its centre, but it had virtually ceased to be a religion at all. In any case it was a religion without a Saviour, and that is why it can never be placed in the same category as the religion of Jesus Christ. With a living Saviour at the centre, all the dead mass of fine teaching could become, as it were, alive, but, without Him, it remains no more than one of the vain efforts of unaided man to find God. "If only Confucius had known God a little better," wrote one of my Chinese colleagues in the Christian Literature Society, "the history of China would have been totally different." This same friend pleads for a revival of Confucianism, but he adds

that it would be useless if it were to hinder the " ascendancy of the Christian religion in China."

We see then, in Confucianism, something that China can ill afford to lose ; but we see in it, also, a danger to the future of that great land, if it remains an end in itself and prevents the Chinese from turning to the only power that can enable mankind to fulfil the purpose for which it was created.

Here again we find Timothy Richard. No one was filled with greater admiration than he was for all that is great and true in Confucianism. *All* truth, he used to say, is from God ; but no one was more convinced that no truth that is not apprehended as from God, and received as a gift from Him, is complete. The light of the stars may guide a man in the night, but daylight comes only when the sun appears.

(d) Buddhism

(i) Revival of Buddhism

And what of Buddhism ? In spite of the fact that it is an imported religion, it has also had a very great influence upon the Chinese. There are today many Chinese who see in a regenerated, purified Buddhism, the great need of China for her future. It is true that, outwardly, Budddism has been on the decline. After the 1911 Revolution, in many places temples and monasteries were turned into schools or used by the soldiers as camping grounds. Temple fields and revenues were confiscated. And yet, to a careful observer, these signs are but superficial. In reality, Buddhism is far from dead or dying in China. One of the chief evidences of this fact is that a remarkable revival has taken place, in which individual lay people have taken a prominent part. A number of societies, brotherhoods and sisterhoods have been started. Outstanding leaders have

been forthcoming. One of them, T'ai Hsü, visited Europe a few years ago in the interests of a world-wide propagation of Buddhism. Another one, Yin Kuang, has had a remarkable number of followers all over China. The former sees in Buddhism an all-inclusive system, wider and deeper than either Confucianism or Christianity, to both of which he is prepared to give a place; the latter stands for orthodox Buddhism, purified from its dross. Both have been voluminous writers and are beloved and honoured by their disciples. Moreover, the Chinese Buddhist Association is working towards bringing together the Buddhists of China, to whatever school they may belong, and uniting them more closely with Buddhists all over the world.

Scholarships have been established to enable promising young monks to go to Tibet to study the teaching of their religion, or to Ceylon to learn the stern discipline practised there. Outstanding Buddhist leaders have been invited to lecture in some of the national universities. As late as 1939 a goodwill mission, led by the Abbot T'ai Hsü, travelled to Burma, Malaya, Ceylon and India, to exchange views with Buddhists of other lands.

Last, but not least, Chinese Buddhists have imitated Christians in the work of war relief. In some of their temples they opened free schools, clinics and orphanages; while during the battle for Shanghai and the bombing of Chungking, many Buddhist monks acted as stretcher bearers and helped in other ways to relieve suffering.

We cannot wonder, therefore, that many Chinese, anxious to preserve a religious foundation for life, and finding Confucianism unable to satisfy their longing for worship and their desire for discovering spiritual truth, and regarding Christianity as too narrow in its outlook, are turning to Buddhism as the means of bringing salvation to China.

I met in Shanghai one of these men, and it was impossible while in his company not to be impressed with the peace of mind and soul which he possessed. He took me to his " prayer room," in a quiet spot in the very heart of the crowded Chinese city. There, he told me, he spends a definite time each day in meditation and prayer. Incidentally, there is hardly a Committee for the relief of the poor or for other charitable purposes of which he is not a member ; and, as he is a man of means, he is known everywhere for his liberality.

(*ii*) *Its failures in Practice*

But, in spite of this revival of Buddhism, I am unable to see in that religion the spiritual force to which China, as a nation, will ultimately turn for salvation. The Chinese are a shrewd and practical people. They have seen too much suffering and misery, unrelieved in the past, when Buddhism was at the height of its influence, to think that what it failed to do in the past, it will be able to accomplish in the future.

This once more brings us back to Timothy Richard. He was, as everyone knows, a devoted and sympathetic student of Buddhism. He even found in it, to the surprise of many, and the scandal of a few, striking points of agreement with Christianity. But never for one moment did he think or say that Buddhism could do for China what the Gospel can do. On the contrary, after attending a meeting in New York, in which Mrs. Besant said that Theosophy—a form of Buddhism—removed " the causes of suffering in the world," Timothy Richard wrote, " I told her that we were missionaries in the chief land of the Buddhists," and that they " did not remove the causes of misery in China." " The Kingdom of Heaven, not Buddhism," he went on, " deals with these in actual life."

(e) Communism

Communism presents to us a different problem. At the back of both Confucianism and Buddhism, there lies something more than a purely materialistic view of life. Communism, as preached in China, on the other hand, does not concern itself with spiritual values. Its one purpose is the material welfare of man in this world. It professes to be against religion altogether, which it considers as " a dope."

(i) Earnestness of its Advocates

And yet it is easy to discover an apostolic fervour in many of its advocates in China. I shall never forget two young Communists who tried to convert me. One I met on a steamer bound for Hong Kong. Every evening he would preach his gospel to me with an earnestness that made me ashamed of the too often leisurely way in which we Christians try to lead men to Christ. To my amazement he appeared absolutely convinced that once a man joined the party, all human selfishness would depart from him. He did not argue, he preached the truth, a truth that, for him, had only to be stated clearly in order to be accepted by all honest people. Outside Communism, he knew, there was no salvation, either for China or for the world. As for Christianity, it was irrelevant, since it dealt with hypothetical truths. It was dangerous since it cultivated the blind eye to injustice and oppression in high places.

The other man was a prisoner under sentence of death. I visited him several times in his cell, but he would listen to nothing I had to say. On the contrary, he stormed against capitalism, exploitation, injustice against the poor, speaking in a loud voice so that other prisoners nearby might hear him. I knew it was to them, as well

as to me, that he was preaching, because from time to time he would turn now to this and now to that wall of his cell, as if to pierce through the concrete and see the men on the other side and make sure that they heard him. Death seemed to him of little account in comparison with this overwhelming urge to propagate the Gospel in which he believed.

It would perhaps be too much to claim for all members of the Communist Party in China the same conviction and the same earnestness, and yet these two young men are fair samples of many of their fellow-believers, and this is one of the reasons why I see in Communism a greater challenge to Christianity than either in Confucianism or in Buddhism.

That Communism cannot rightly be called a religion because it denies God may be an accurate statement, but it does not alter the fact that its followers act as if they were filled with religious conviction.

Can it be that, after all, Communism *is* a religion? Once I took away the breath of a class of young Chinese and Japanese students by putting to them the simple question: "If Lenin was truly a man without religion, as he professed to be, why did he kneel and weep at the grave of Karl Marx in Highgate Cemetery in London? What was the sense of those tears?"

(ii) Influence of the Movement in China

This is, of course, not the place to relate the history of Communism in China, except to note the fact that it has taken root in the land, and that many Chinese see in it the one hope for the future of their country. To be convinced that this is the case it is only necessary to remember the struggles of the party against the government, the epic march of the Red Army from South Kiansi to distant Shensi, and the present power it wields.

One thing is certain, Communism represents one of the great forces from which China may draw its inspiration for the future. I was surprised one day in Shanghai to receive a visit from a leading French Jesuit. He had come to the Christian Literature Society to suggest that it was high time that all Christian forces, Roman Catholic and Protestant, should join in an effort to counteract the influence of Communism. "This is not the time," he said, "to allow our differences to prevent us from presenting a united front. It is not Roman Catholicism or Protestantism that is at stake, but religion itself."

(*iii*) *Its chances of success*

What are the chances of success for Communism? The question is easy to propound, but difficult—perhaps impossible at this stage—to answer. The answer seems to be conditioned by the answer to two other questions, "Has the teaching of Dr. Sun Yat Sen, definitely against Communism as a suitable system for China, a sufficiently firm hold on the people?" And, "Is Christianity going to limit itself entirely to the welfare of the human soul after death, without taking any part in the struggle against injustice, misery and oppression in this world, or is it going to preach that the Gospel is intended to be 'Good News' for all men and for the whole of every man—body, mind and spirit?"

In the *San Min Chu I*, Sun Yat Sen deals at length with Communism. The greater part of the lecture which he delivered on August 3rd, 1924, and which now forms the first chapter in Part III of that book, is given to an exhaustive examination and criticism of the teaching of Karl Marx. He condemns the system on the ground that it is based on materialism, that the facts of the economic life of the world are in contra-

diction to it, that its theory as to the value of work is unsound, and that the predictions of Karl Marx have not been fulfilled.

In January, 1923, Sun Yat Sen and A. A. Joffe—at the time Moscow's special envoy to China—issued a joint statement in which the following point occurs: "Dr. Sun holds that the Communistic order or even the Soviet system cannot actually be introduced into China because there do not exist here the conditions for the successful establishment of Communism or Sovietism. This view is shared by Dr. Joffe, who thinks that China's greatest need is to achieve unity."

Dr. Sun never altered this view, in spite of the fact that in 1924 Communist members were allowed to join the Nationalist Party, "in order to bolster the strength of the revolutionary elements in the country." These Communist members were, however, soon expelled on the ground that the Communist Party in China engaged in activities contrary to the principles of the *San Min Chu I*, and that they worked in underground ways against the government.

Now, it would seem fair to say that, the more faithfully the Chinese stand by the teaching of Sun Yat Sen, the less chance is there for Communism to prevail. And yet it would appear that the Communists themselves do not regard Sun Yat Sen as an opponent, for Mr. Hsiao Chi'en reproduces in his book, *China but not Cathay*, a photograph of Communist leaders in council, and on the wall, immediately beneath two flags, there is a handsome portrait of the revolutionary leader, one of the very few ornaments in the scantily furnished room.

(f) Christianity

The second question bearing on the main topic before us relates to Christianity. Should the Chinese decide not to turn to Communism as their inspiration for the

building up of new China, what are the chances of Christianity?

(*i*) *Various attitudes of Chinese to Christianity*

Here the signs of the times are plentiful—some favourable and some not. Beginning with the latter, we must recognise that a large number of Chinese simply do not care one way or the other for Christianity. They are completely indifferent to it. They may be impressed by some Christian institutions, such as schools and hospitals, but they are quite uninterested in it as a power bearing on everyday life. Others, especially among the scholars of the old school, are filled with contempt for it. Like Li Hung Chang, they say that it finds its followers mainly among the ignorant and the poor, and they ask, "What is the good of it?" Those of them who have a slight acquaintance with it find it inadequate as a philosophy of life. As Mr. Y. K. Woo well puts it, they "believe that Christianity is crude in thinking, superstitious in form, artificial in method, and barren in result, and is therefore not worth their study and attention."

Others still, especially among younger students, are either critical or antagonistic. A knowledge of science and of the writings of some of our Western scientists and philosophers leads them to discard everything that cannot be proved by the light of reason. Many a time have I been asked by some young student, "How can you ask me, a young man of the China of to-day, to believe in God? Have you read any science? Is your thinking up-to-date? And as for a God of justice and love, how can you believe that He exists when the world is what it is? What about injustice among men? What of floods, famines, earthquakes? And what about war? Even if you could prove to me that a God does exist, what difference would it make when all these

things are happening in our times? You speak of the power of Christ to heal diseases and to help men; well, what has happened to that power?"

Moreover, many of these young students are openly antagonistic to Christianity because they find in it an historical connection with Imperialism—the *bête noire* of young China to-day. They find a contradiction between the doctrines professed by Christians and the attitude of many people from Christian lands to the Chinese people. The anti-Christian movements through which some of us have passed, in 1925 and 1927, were largely born out of this mistaken conception of Christianity. They saw in us missionaries people who had come to deceive them, so that China might fall an easy prey to the imperialism of Western countries. "You come with the Gospel of Matthew in one hand, and a sword in the other," was their cry.

(*ii*) *Recent interest of Chinese in Christianity*

(1.) *Before the war with Japan*

But this is only one side of the picture, not the most important side, happily.

Already, before the Revolution, evidences were plentiful of a new interest taken in Christianity by Chinese officials and leaders. Their interest, it is true, was more along the lines of discovering the secret whereby China might free herself from her weakness before Western nations, than along the lines of finding a divine message for individual men. Nevertheless, it led them to read Christian books and also to ponder over the history and the teaching of the religion of Jesus Christ.

One interesting evidence of this fact is found in an argument between Chang Chih Tung and some of the literati favourably inclined towards reform. At the end of the Boxer Rebellion, the great Viceroy had

published a pamphlet against those he regarded as ill-advised reformers, and had urged them not to "Jew our China," that is, not to bring about the downfall of China, as the Jews had brought about the destruction of their nation.

The reply of these reformers is striking, and is a clear evidence that these men had read Western and Jewish history. "Does your Excellency," they asked, "really know how Judea was lost? The Jews murdered Jesus who gave His life to save the people. The lower among them were goaded on by their rulers to create enmity with the nations who afterwards became Christian nations, thus calling forth the righteous indignation of all Europe. This is how Judea came to be lost. And your Excellency has but to reflect on the attitude of China's ruling powers, especially their share in the Boxer rebellion, their persecutions of Christians, and the creation of enmity with powerful nations, to find that in every case they followed the example of ancient Judea. Who, then, is 'Jewing' our China to-day, the persecuted patriots or the persecuting reactionaries?"

Another clear evidence of this interest in Christianity as a possible source of salvation for China is to be found in the eagerness with which these Chinese leaders read the writings of Timothy Richard. At the time, the great missionary statesman frequently contributed articles on the subject of Christianity to the *North China Daily News*, the leading foreign daily in the Far East. A translation of these articles invariably appeared the next day in the Chinese Press. Again, at the Triennial Examinations for degrees, in 1902, missionaries were surprised to discover that some of the questions set had reference to the best attitude to be adopted by Chinese towards the Christian Church in China. It is unnecessary to say that, after this, the books published by the

Christian Literature Society were in great demand among candidates for the next examinations.

After the Revolution, the attitude of many Chinese to the religion of Jesus Christ varied from distant respect to complete acceptance. Indeed, I venture to say that, at the present time, Christianity is looked upon with greater favour in China than it has ever been throughout the history of the country, except, perhaps, in the days of Ricci and of Kang Hsi. I even think that the position to-day is more favourable than it was then, for it rests on a more solid foundation. In the seventeenth century, Christianity was patronised by the Court chiefly on account of the scientific work of the Jesuit Fathers. But it is doubtful whether it made an impression on the people because of its message. In our times, on the other hand, it is not only people in authority who are favourably inclined towards the religion of Jesus Christ because of the work of a few individual missionaries in the realm of science or of political economy, but the people themselves, in all parts of the country, because they have seen what Christianity can do.

During my last few years in China, I had the privilege of being associated with a young Chinese, a son of the manse, who, for a time had been the editor of one of the most popular Chinese illustrated magazines. During an illness that brought him to death's door, he underwent a new experience of the grace and power of God, and on his recovery he asked to join us in Shanghai in the work of Christian literature. One of the first books he published reflected his experience. It was a warm appeal for surrender to God as to " the standard of all truth, the source of all life, the goal of all endeavour," as Professor Adams Brown puts it in his *Outline of Christian Theology*.

That book found its way into the minds and hearts of

many Chinese seekers after truth. One of them, a young officer in the Chinese Air Force, wrote to the author, " Your book came to me like a ray of sunshine in a black night. I suddenly understood what was wrong with me. . . . Being an officer in the Air Force, I may be called upon at any time to lay down my life for my country ; I don't want to die to no purpose ; or indeed to live to no purpose, and I am glad that, through reading the book you kindly sent, I have now a purpose in life."

Here is an extract from another reader, a young girl in college. She wrote, " Just at the time when I received your book, I was having some trouble with a friend, and, after reading your book, my anger and worry left me. I had decided upon revenge, but now I have given up the idea. But I have a few questions to ask you : How can I permanently rid myself of the desire for revenge ? How can I drive away my fear ? How can I find God ? Your book tells about God, but I cannot imagine what He is like. Did anyone ever actually receive help from God ? Will you be so kind as to answer me ? "

Was there ever a clearer cry of a modern " man from Macedonia " than this ?

And here is one more testimony to the same purpose, from a young Post Office clerk. " Friend," he wrote, " blessed are you who are blessing your country with such beautiful and inspiring works ! " To which the writer replied, " I am merely the messenger, and deserve no thanks."

Surely such signs as these are significant.

But it is still more recently that many Chinese are turning to Jesus Christ for help. China has passed in our own days through a long period of tribulation and the Christian Church has come to the help of all in need. During the years of unrest following upon the Revolution, there was a common saying among the Chinese that the country suffered from three kinds of " plagues "—

floods, droughts and war lords. Individual Christians, missionaries and churches were always among the first to help in these calamities, and the people began to turn to Christianity in consequence.

(2) *During the present war*

Then came the Japanese war. While fighting was taking place in Shanghai, churches became places of refuge, dressing stations and schools. Christian ministers and lay people were foremost in relief work. A Roman Catholic Father even succeeded in securing a " neutral " zone in the Chinese section of the city. Many Christians took a prominent part in the great epic of the Chinese migration to the West, and in the work of reconstruction in Free China. They constitute a leading element there to-day, so much so that even the Communists have been impressed.

The Japanese used to boast that they would " bring China to her knees." They have succeeded in an unexpected sense, for, in their misery many Chinese have turned to God. I never preached in a more crowded church, filled with people representing all classes of society, than I did on the last Sunday I spent in Shanghai, in the midst of war. Planes were roaring overhead, yet the people in the church were quiet and reverent. In West China to-day the Christian Church is hard at work, not only for the needs of the present, but also for future extension. I know of a university—not a Christian institution—where a hundred Christian students have banded themselves together for prayer and the study of the Word of God. It is also a well known fact that, among the leaders of modern China, both in Government circles and outside, there are to-day many professing Christians. Is not this a direct evidence of the sound policy adopted by Timothy Richard ?

(iii) *The kind of Christianity that will make the greatest appeal to the Chinese*

All these are encouraging signs. They afford some ground for hoping that China may find in Christianity her inspiration for the future. But there is one condition which I have already mentioned. The Christianity which will make its greatest appeal to the Chinese people is the Christianity that will be understood as "good news" for all, and for the whole of every man—body, mind and spirit.

Its standard of conduct must not be inferior to that demanded of the best follower of Confucius; its spirit of worship must surpass that of the most devout Buddhist; while its devotion to an ideal must not fall short of that of the most ardent follower of Karl Marx.

An easy going Christianity, indifferent to the material welfare of mankind, or afraid of the discoveries of modern science, or divided against itself, or even devoted exclusively to the salvation of the soul after death, without apparent concern for the practice of righteousness in this world, will not be the religion to which the Chinese will turn for the building up of the nation.

If there is any truth in this, how clear sighted a prophet Timothy Richard was! And can we wonder that the name of "Li Ti Mo T'ai" is still honoured to-day even by people who never met him.

Towards the end of his book, Professor Soothill remarks that, if Timothy Richard had died in China, he would have been given one of the grandest funerals ever seen. We can well believe it.

To few people has the chance been given to do a greater work than Timothy Richard accomplished in and for China. Even I can feel the thrill of having witnessed the re-birth of a mighty nation. What must have been the feelings of the Welsh missionary, as he

approached his last hour, at the thought that he himself, by the help of God, had taken such an important share in that awakening ?

3. Conclusion

The hope of China for the future is not to be found in the extent of her territory, or in the numbers of her population, or in the resources of the land. It is in her young men and women and in the inspiration that will guide their lives. They have the qualities as well as the defects of youth ; hope, courage, but also inexperience and perhaps impatience. They are eager to accomplish in one day what can only be achieved through years of struggle and disappointment. It is of supreme importance, not for China alone, but for the whole world, in which direction they will turn for inspiration and help. Should they place their faith exclusively in civilisation, especially in that civilisation that finds its chief expression in the " machine," neither Confucianism, Buddhism, nor Communism will save them. They will do no more than add one competitor on the world's markets, with all the possibilities for future wars that this would involve, and they will lose also much that has been of value in their ancient culture and civilisation.

If, on the other hand, without rejecting all that they have learned from the West, they will do what Timothy Richard asked them to do, namely, to relate their national as well as their individual life to God, using and enjoying all His gifts, both material and spiritual, there is that in them which will help the West as well as the East.

If they but take their inspiration from the religion of Jesus Christ, the " machine " which is threatening to kill the soul of the West will not kill the soul of China ; and it is primarily to save the soul of China that Li Ti Mo T'ai thought, and preached, and wrote, and lived, and died.

INDEX