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FORTY-FIVE YEARS IN CHINA

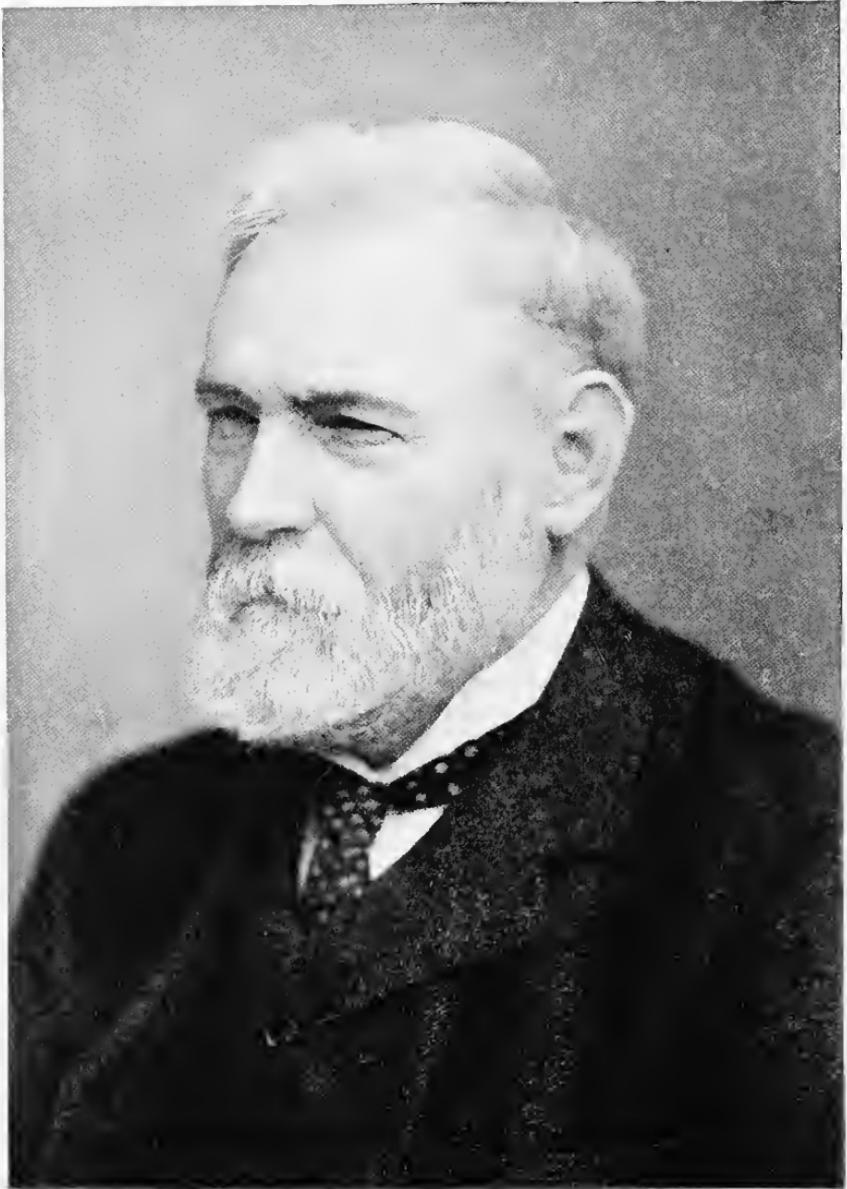


Photo by]

TIMOTHY RICHARD AT 60.

[Elliott & Fry.

Frontispiece.

FORTY-FIVE YEARS IN
CHINA REMINISCENCES BY
TIMOTHY RICHARD, D.D., LITT.D.

WITH 18 ILLUSTRATIONS

LONDON
T. FISHER UNWIN LTD.
ADELPHI TERRACE

First published in 1916

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DEDICATION

To the Baptist Missionary Society, London,
in whose service I have been since 1869 :

To the Christian Literature Societies of
Scotland, England, and China, under whose
auspices I have engaged in special literary
work since 1891 :

To the many individual friends in England,
America, and China who have generously
aided me in all my life :

This volume, which is mainly a record
of efforts to establish the Kingdom of God
among a fourth of the human race, is grate-
fully and affectionately dedicated by

THE AUTHOR.

INTRODUCTION

THE problem before the missionary in China, as I found it forty-five years ago, was not only how to save the souls of a fourth of the human race, but also how to save their bodies from perishing at the rate of four millions per annum, and to free their minds, more crippled than the feet of their women, from a philosophy and custom which had lasted for many centuries and left them at the mercy of any nation which might attack their country. But, if the nation were liberated from the bonds of ignorance and harmful custom, and were to receive the light of education—scientific, industrial, religious—it might become one of the most powerful nations on earth. It was glad tidings of great joy that the missionary brought to its political and religious leaders. Many of these, after some years of hesitation and doubt, believed his message, but the majority were too full of ignorance and prejudice to take action till it was too late. Thus one of the greatest nations of antiquity or of modern times has become involved in revolution and anarchy from which it will take a long time to recover.

These reminiscences tell of sympathetic efforts made to guide the spiritual leaders of China to a vision of the Kingdom of God, with its promise of a hundredfold in this world, and in the world to come life everlasting. These efforts have meant the uplifting of China in various ways, through better religion, better science, better means of communication, better international commerce, the institution of modern schools and colleges, the founding of a modern Press, the establishment of new industries and manufactures over a country as large as the whole

of Europe. In all these departments I have taken some share, as will be seen in these reminiscences.

I should like to record my thanks to those who have given me so much help in this work :—

To my daughter Eleanor, for writing at my dictation, and putting the manuscript into shape for the Press ; to Miss Hilda C. Bowser, for the trouble she took to obtain some of the photographs, and for typing the whole ; and lastly to the Rev. W. Y. Fullerton, Home Secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society, at whose request I have written these reminiscences, for revising the work for publication.

TIMOTHY RICHARD.

SHANGHAI,

January 1916.

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FORTY-FIVE YEARS IN CHINA

CHAPTER I

EARLY YEARS

I. BIRTHPLACE AND FAMILY.

I WAS born in 1845 in Ffaldybrenin, a small village of Caermarthenshire in Wales. Its name means King's Fold, and there was a tradition that Llewellyn, last of the Welsh princes, hid there from King Edward's pursuit. Four miles away, between Punsaint and Caio, was a spot where the Romans had worked gold-mines, and an old Roman road passed within two miles of Tanyresgair, my father's farm. My ancestors, though of humble origin, were highly respected. Being the youngest of nine, the son of parents who were both the youngest in their respective families, I never saw my grandparents. My paternal grandfather, Richard, son of David Jones, was a blacksmith, as was also my father, Timothy Richard, in the early part of his life, but in later years he came into possession of a farm. One of his brothers, Jedadaiah, had some literary gift, and published a book in the Welsh language. He was the means of the conversion, in Caermarthenshire, of the first wife of Dr. Griffith John of China. A nephew of my father, Joshua Lewis, was the most famous of the family, and became a well-known preacher in the oldest Church in Pembrokeshire, the mother of most of the Independent Churches in that country.

My father had the reputation of being one of the most entertaining men in the district round. Rowland Williams, one of the writers in "Essays and Reviews," when professor at St. David's College, Lampeter, five

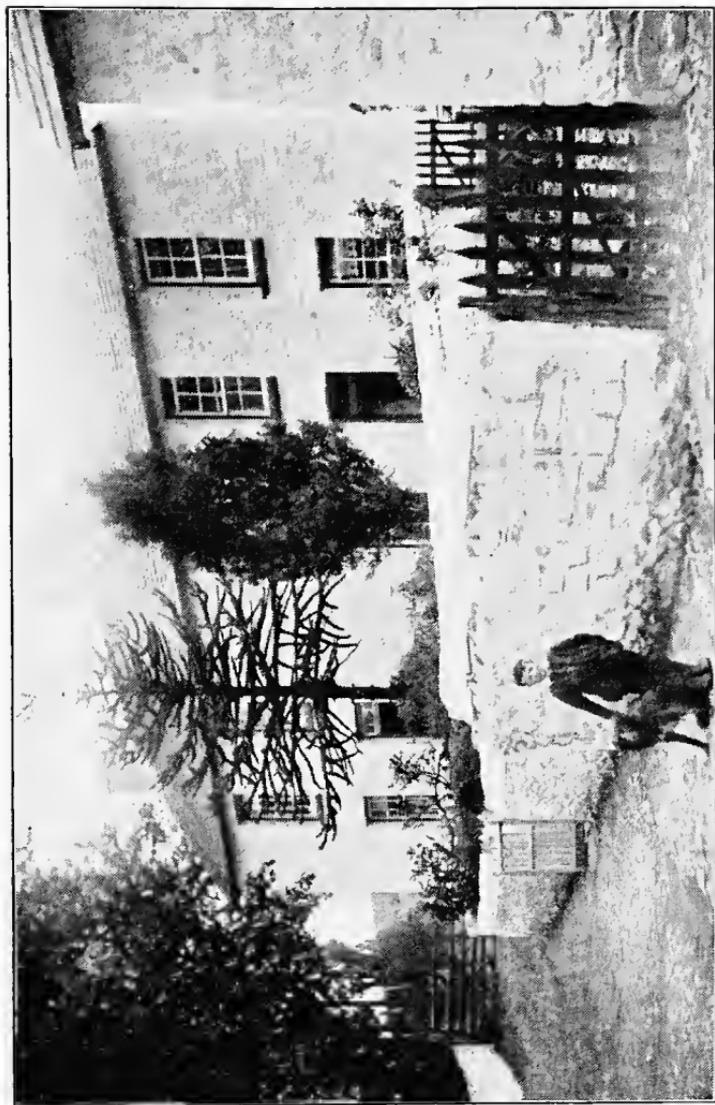
miles away, used often to ride out to see and talk with him. He was secretary and deacon of the Baptist Churches of Bethel and Salem, and was often in demand as a peacemaker between contending parties.

My maternal grandfather was a farmer at Llethercoch, and was deacon in a Baptist Church at Aberduar, near Llanybyther. Of my mother, Eleanor Llethercoch, the celebrated Welsh preacher Kilsby Jones wrote, in "Welsh Worthies," that he never met her equal for guilelessness and sweetness of disposition, nor her match in the making of pancakes. I often remembered her saying of any one who had done her a wrong or said an ill word against her, "Well, it is worse for them than for me."

2. ACCIDENTS.

My childhood, passed on the farm, though in the main uneventful, was not without the accidents that usually befall boys of a more or less adventurous spirit. One of the first I remember was putting my shoulder out of its socket. It was arranged that I should be driven to see the doctor, who lived five miles away. When the gig was being brought round, I was so excited by the prospect of the drive and the interview with the doctor, that I ran to the door. But the floor was very uneven, and I stumbled and fell with a crash to the ground. The others were alarmed, thinking I had made matters worse, but I jumped up and laughed, and they discovered that the fall had put my shoulder back into the socket. I was keenly disappointed, however, to find I had done myself out of the ride and the visit to the doctor.

Between my eyebrows there is a scar I have carried all my life, that has branded me with the letter T, which might stand for my name, Timothy. People have often asked how I got it. When I was about four years old, I was one day in a field with one of my cousins, who was ploughing. After a time, he left the plough to fetch something. I thought it a fine opportunity and took hold of the plough, calling out to the horses. Off they started, and on they went till the plough grated



TANYRESGAIR FARM, FFALDYBRENIN.

The home of Timothy Richard's boyhood.

(*Fleck kindly lent by Messrs S. W. Partridge & Co.*)

To face p. 20.

against a stone which turned up and struck me between the eyebrows. Another time, when I was about eight years old, I was keeping watch over my father's horse, which was grazing near the hedge, in order to prevent him from eating any of the corn. The field was about ten feet above the level of the road on the other side of the hedge. I attempted at the same time to learn my school task for the next day, and when the horse began to take a mouthful of corn, I gave him a blow with my grammar book ; instantly he gave me a kick which sent me flying right through the hedge and down into the ditch of the road below. Happily there was no further damage than a good deal of bleeding and a permanent scar.

On another occasion, when I was about twelve, my brother Joshua had gone with a cart and two horses to bring coal from the coal-pits, over twenty miles away. I was sent with an extra horse to meet him, as there was a steep hill to climb. After attaching the third horse, I was allowed to drive them up the hill, while my brother talked with other carters who had been to fetch coal with him. With a fresh horse I soon gained upon other carts ahead of us, and drove up the steep hill for more than a mile. The road then turned suddenly down on the other side. Instead of waiting for my brother to come up, I went boldly on. But in going downhill, the fresh horse began to pull, and made it difficult for the shaft horses to keep back the ton load. I went up to the fresh horse to check him, and then I was obliged to go back to the others, but no sooner had I left the front horse than he began pulling again. Thus the horses went from walking to trotting, and I knew that trotting down a steep hill with a heavy load behind was most dangerous. Seeing a tree in the hedge, and finding that I would not be able to keep up with the horses and guide them, I jumped into the hedge, caught hold of the tree, and let the horses rush past me. Now at the bottom of the hill was a river, and about a quarter of a mile beyond there was a village whence the people could

see the horses tearing down the hill at a terrible rate. They expected some dreadful accident to happen both to cart and beasts. But to the astonishment of all, the fresh horse, in a marvellous way, got loose at the river and ran on and on with the traces dangling about him till he was stopped by the villagers, while the other two horses stood quietly in the river with the cart. Nothing was wrong, one lump of coal only having been thrown out.

3. BAPTISM.

During the great revival which swept almost like a prairie fire over America, North Ireland, Wales, Scotland, Norway, and Sweden in 1858-60, the most godless men suddenly breaking down and becoming converted, I was among a number who confessed their faith in Christ, and was baptized in the river near my home. Shortly after this, I had my first impulse towards missionary work from a sermon not particularly missionary in character. I well remember the text, "Obedience is better than sacrifice." On my way home from Salem Chapel, I told my brother Joshua, who was four years my senior, how during the whole sermon I had felt as if a voice had been commanding me to go abroad as a missionary. He wondered at it, for no such idea had been conveyed to his mind.

4. SCHOOLING.

The first school I attended was in connection with a Congregational chapel, built in one of the fields belonging to my father's farm at Tanyresgair, and there I had lessons till I was fourteen years of age. When I was fifteen, my father wished me to help on the farm with my brother Joshua, but my mother and brothers thought I should continue my education. I told my father that if I were supported for one year at school, I would never ask for further help. So I was sent to a school kept by a cousin, at a place called Cross Inn, some twenty miles off. Besides the usual lessons, I was given extra studies with the pupil teachers, and I also learned music in the Tonic Sol-fa

notation. At the end of my year, an application was made to the schoolmaster for a teacher for the school at Penygroes, and I was sent. This was a mining place, and in addition to the day school for children, I had a night school, attended by miners, some of them old enough to be my father. With the money, I received here I was able to pay for my tuition at a grammar school in Llanybyther. Here, when the schoolmaster had any occasion to be absent, he always put the pupils in my charge, and I may be pardoned for remembering that the neighbours used to say that they always knew who was teaching, as the boys were kept in far better order, and were much quieter with me than with the master. So when the schoolmaster at New Inn, a place a few miles farther south, suddenly closed the school there without giving any notice, and left for another post, I was asked to go at once to New Inn as temporary schoolmaster, the children having been told that afternoon that school would open as usual the next morning, but with a new master. After leaving New Inn I was able to support myself at the Normal School in Swansea.

I did not stay there long, as my brother Joshua, who had been at home on the farm, wished to go to school during the winter, and asked me to take his place at the farm. I was familiar with all kinds of farm work, from ploughing and mowing down to digging trenches, trimming hedges, and thatching haystacks. When the neighbours saw me come back to the farm, they remarked, what a pity it was that after I had received so much schooling, I had nothing better than farming to do.

5. TEACHING SCHOOL.

One day, however, my eldest brother David brought me a paper containing an advertisement for a schoolmaster in an endowed school at Conwil Elvet. My brother Joshua was quite willing, if I obtained the position, to return to the farm. In answer to my application came a reply that sixty applicants had written before me. A week later there came another letter

to say that only two satisfactory applications were being considered out of sixty, that of the son of the Baptist minister of the place and my own. A few days later I received a letter announcing that the appointment was mine. It was no small surprise to me as I knew no one in the neighbourhood. But the mystery was solved when I arrived. The son of one of the churchwardens of the place, who was on the School Committee, had been one of my classmates in Swansea. There was considerable feeling that the minister's son had not received the appointment, and many parents took away their children, so that I commenced my work with only twenty-one pupils. But after eighteen months three small village schools were compelled to close as they could not get pupils, while I had 120 scholars in mine. While there I had some interesting experiences.

One day there came a knock at the door. On opening it, I found some strangers who were bringing their children to school. Seeing a youth of about eighteen before them, they asked him if they could see the schoolmaster. I replied that I was the master. They looked astonished and seemed not a little doubtful of my ability to manage a school.

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

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

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

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

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

From that time the boy's character seemed to have completely changed. He became one of the most cheerful and lovable boys in the school, and if ever I wished a boy to go on a message, his hand would always be first put up to volunteer.

I arranged to hold a Bible Class for the senior form once a week in the evening, giving them lessons on the life of Paul. They enjoyed the class so much that they begged it might be held every evening. I did not consent to this, but it was held very frequently. Within a year after I left the place every one of the class had joined the Church.

6. HAVERFORDWEST THEOLOGICAL COLLEGE, 1865-9.

I next became a student at Haverfordwest Theological College in Pembrokeshire. When there I introduced the Tonic Sol-fa system to the college, and to the Baptist Church and other Churches in Pembrokeshire. During my stay a revolution was made in the curriculum. The students joined together to beg that living languages should be substituted for the dead ones of Greece and Rome, and that universal history, covering such lands as Egypt, Babylon, India, and China, should be studied instead of solely European history; they regarded science with its modern applications as more useful than barren metaphysical and theological studies. I joined most heartily in the demand for reform in the curriculum, and

was prepared along with others to be expelled from the college rather than submit to a course of antiquated studies two hundred years behind the times. To our surprise and gratification the authorities, instead of calling together a committee to discuss the seriousness of the revolt, agreed to modify the curriculum to a large extent. They stipulated, however, that all theological students should pass a stiff examination in Hebrew, and in this I won the prize. Fifteen years later, when I paid a return visit to the college, I found that the new studies had been abandoned in favour of the old once more. I mention this incident because in all my after missionary life I endeavoured to seek the methods most productive of results, rather than adhere to old ones not adjusted to the changing needs of the times.

When I preached my first sermon before my fellow-students, I was charged with having cribbed it from Horace Bushnell. It was the rule for the students to criticize in turn from the juniors to the seniors. Now, I was lodging with one of the senior students, and when his turn came for remarks, he said that he considered the charge of plagiarism highly complimentary to me because he knew for a certainty that I had never set eyes on any book of Bushnell's. My second sermon, however, received a different fate. It was so severely criticized by the professor that for two or three days afterwards I felt I could scarcely face my fellow-students.

During the latter two or three years of my college life at Haverfordwest, we were fortunate in having as our classical professor Dr. G. H. Rouse, a gold medallist of the London University, who had been out in India as a missionary, but whose health had broken down. In the President, Dr. Davies, we had one of the ablest theologians in Wales, whilst in Dr. Rouse we had the best classical master. The friendship I formed with him when at college continued after my departure to China and lasted after his return to mission work in India, and throughout the remainder of his life. One of the pamphlets he prepared for use amongst the Indian students, "How to pass the Great Examination," was translated into

Chinese by my wife, and distributed at the Triennial Examinations in T'ai-yuan fu.

A fellow-student in Haverfordwest, named Chivers, generally had his name bracketed with mine in the examination results. The future development of our respective lines of work resulted in an unexpected meeting in 1897, nearly thirty years after we had parted at the close of our college course. I was passing through New York on my way back to China, and hearing of a Baptist minister's fraternal to be held in one of the churches, I went there, a perfect stranger, to listen to the reports of work. After opening the meeting, the chairman said: "I am glad to see Dr. Chivers back amongst us; we shall be glad to hear from him how his work is progressing in Chicago." With that, a man who sat right in front of me rose and went to the platform. He told us of his endeavour, by means of a periodical he was conducting, to unite the young people of the Northern and Southern States into one national Baptist body, instead of having two independent Baptist societies in one country. After he returned to his seat, I put my hand on his shoulder and asked, "Do you remember Timothy Richard?" After the first glance of recognition, he instantly rose and informed the chairman that a fellow-student of his from Wales, who had been nearly thirty years in China, was present, and he felt sure the meeting would be glad to hear a few words from me. So I went to the platform and briefly told my audience how I had been greatly struck with the remarkable fact that two students from a far-away corner in little Wales should have been called in God's providence to lead in work amongst students—Dr. Chivers influencing the young Baptist people of the great American republic, and I working amongst the students in the vast Empire of China. The lesson to be learnt was that the day of small things was not to be despised, for if God led, great results would follow.

Before I finished my college course, I was asked by a Church to take monthly services regularly, and before leaving for China I received two pastoral calls, one from

a Church in Pembrokeshire and the other from one in Glamorganshire.

7. STARTING OF CHINA INLAND MISSION.

In 1866 there had occurred a missionary movement in regard to China which was destined to have far-reaching effects on mission work. It was the sailing of the first party of the China Inland Mission. At that time Mr. Hudson Taylor published what were called "Occasional Papers." In these he explained the principles of his Mission—faith in God to provide all necessaries for support; trust in specific guidance in answer to prayer rather than in special training in education before going out; readiness to go into the interior, put on native dress, live in native houses, feed on Chinese food, and generally to be prepared for a life of self-sacrifice instead of a life of luxury at the ports, in which other missionaries were supposed to indulge.

This movement created much sensation in the Baptist Missionary Society, under whose auspices Mr. Taylor had offered previously to go to China. Dr. Landels, of Regent's Park Baptist Church, and Dr. Underhill, the Secretary of the Society, studied the new movement, the former regarding its methods as an improvement on those of the Baptist Missionary Society. Dr. Underhill was also so strongly in favour of it that at the annual meeting in 1868 he seconded Dr. Landel's motion in favour of a new policy for the Baptist Missionary Society similar to that laid down by the C.I.M. These speeches caused a great stir in the Society. The Indian missionaries protested against the suggestion as to their want of devotion, and maintained that the principles of the B.M.S. were much sounder than the new ones. Others who had spent their lives in great consecration in trying climates were much distressed. After more than forty years of the experience of the "Principles and Practices" of the China Inland Mission, in which there are many devoted and able men and women, and in whose work the whole Church of Christ rejoices, it must in fairness be said that their results

have not proved more successful than those of other societies ; indeed, in China nearly all the other societies have a far larger number of converts per missionary.

8. APPLICATION TO BAPTIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

In 1868 I heard Mrs. Grattan Guinness plead the cause of the China Inland Mission field.

The heroic and self-sacrificing programme of the China Inland Mission appealed to me, and towards the end of my college career in Haverfordwest I offered myself to join them. But as I was a Baptist, they recommended me to apply to the Baptist Missionary Society. I did so, desiring to be sent to North China. On being asked by the committee why I wished to go to North China, I replied that as the Chinese were the most civilized of non-Christian nations, they would, when converted, help to carry the gospel to less advanced nations, and that by working in the north temperate zone Europeans could stand the climate, while the natives of North China, after becoming Christians, could convert their fellow-countrymen all over the Empire. At the last moment before sailing, I was asked if I would pledge myself to remain ten years unmarried. This question took me by surprise, as I had not thought much of that subject, but had merely considered it would be risky to take a wife into the interior, then as little known as the wilds of Africa. I replied that whether I would marry in ten days or ten years would depend on what was best for the work. It fell out that I did not marry for nine years.

In the spring of 1869 I was accepted for China by the Baptist Missionary Society. In the Pembrokeshire church where I had often preached was a man named Rees who used to drive me the fifteen miles back from church into Haverfordwest. He and his wife, intimate friends, were very impressed on hearing I was going to China. Our friendship had been so real that they pledged themselves that so long as they had any money to spare they would share it with me. Our parting took place in silence and tears.

CHAPTER II

EARLY YEARS IN CHINA. STUDYING LANGUAGE AND CIVILIZATION

I. LAST DAYS IN ENGLAND.

ON November 17, 1869, I was to sail on the *Achilles* of the Blue Funnel Holtz Line. My father had come to Liverpool to see me off. But as he was unused to travelling, I was uneasy about his being left alone in a strange place, and I insisted on seeing him off in the train back to Wales before I myself left in the steamer. At the little hotel where we stayed was a man who was emigrating to America. He was in great distress, for he was short of money. He had written home for a money-order, but he found that it would arrive only after the steamer had left next day. He appealed to the guests at table to advance him the money, and open his letter and cash the order. I offered to lend him the money, but in the hurry of the moment omitted to take down the name of the sender of the order. The money-order arrived next day, as he had said, and I presented it at the post-office. But as I could not give the name of the sender, the money was confiscated for the benefit of the British Government.

A loan which I made to a doctor on board, who ran short of money before the end of the voyage, proved more fortunate. It was promptly refunded after our arrival at Shanghai.

2. VOYAGE.

The very day we left Liverpool the Suez Canal was declared open, but as it was not sufficiently deep for

vessels of a large tonnage to pass through, we had to travel round the Cape of Good Hope.

At Mauritius the captain was astonished to find that as the result of an earthquake an island had sprung up where during his last visit there had been deep water in the harbour. At one time Mauritius was considered the most unhealthy place in the world for European troops, as the death rate was extremely high. However, during our call there we heard that conditions had entirely changed, and that the death rate was very low. On inquiry into the cause of the change, we found that the former barracks had been built on low-lying ground, but in re-building them a site had been chosen at the top of a hill. There the soldiers were free from the malaria that had formerly thinned their ranks—malaria which we now know is engendered by mosquitoes on the swampy ground.

3. ARRIVAL IN CHINA.

At Hongkong the Rev. George Moule, who afterwards became Bishop, came on board, returning after his first furlough in England, and travelled up to Shanghai with us. Nothing could exceed the kindness with which he welcomed me to China. I told him I had been advised not to attempt the Chinese language on the way out, as the pronunciation varied so much in different parts, and asked his opinion of the advice. He fully approved, but added that I could learn the radicals. So I set to work on the 212 radicals which form the keys to the hieroglyphic puzzles that constitute the written Chinese language, and before arriving in Shanghai Mr. Moule examined me in them.

I reached Shanghai on February 12, 1870. Mr. Thomas, originally of the London Mission and afterwards pastor of Union Church, finding me at an hotel, insisted on my removing to his house, and there I stayed till on February 24th I left for Chefoo, where I arrived on February 27th and was warmly welcomed by my colleague, Mr. Laughton.

4. EARLY TRIALS OF B.M.S. IN CHINA.

Chefoo, Tientsin, and Newchwang were first made open ports in 1860, when the various foreign legations were established in Peking. Several missionaries who were living in Shanghai and Ningpo then removed north, partly because the climate would suit them better, and partly to be nearer the centre of authority. Before this, there had been an Evangelization Society at work in Central China with Shanghai as its chief centre, but owing to failure of its funds several members of it applied to join the English Baptist Mission. Amongst these Dr. Hall, and a Dutch missionary, Mr. Kloekers, (father of Mrs. Holman Bentley of the Congo) were among the first to be received, and the Baptist Mission decided in 1860 to open a station at Chefoo, where Dr. Hall and Mr. Kloekers were accordingly sent. Mr. Hudson Taylor, a former member of the Evangelization Society, also applied to join the Baptist Mission, on condition of having, I believe, five fellow-workers. But this arrangement fell through, and Mr. Taylor decided to found the China Inland Mission, to which reference has been made in the preceding chapter. Up to the time of my arrival in China the Baptist Mission had suffered severe losses. Dr. Hall had died of cholera, contracted while attending cholera patients, within twelve months of his arrival in Chefoo, and Mr. Kloekers soon left for England, while two others, Mr. McMechan and Mr. Kingdon, were obliged to return after a year or two. At the time I was accepted by the Baptist Missionary Society (1869) Mr. Laughton, who had been seven years in China, was its sole representative. He was a man of rare natural ability and devotion. Unfortunately, I was soon to lose the benefit of his advice and valuable experience, for he was taken ill with typhus fever and died in the June of that year.

5. FELLOW-MISSIONARIES IN CHEFOO.

When I arrived in Chefoo, there were several remarkably able men there. The Rev. Alexander

Williamson, LL.D., had begun his missionary career in the London Mission, coming out in the same sailing ship as the Rev. Griffith John in 1865, and had first settled in Shanghai. He studied Chinese so efficiently that within a twelvemonth he had written a book on botany in Chinese. But he paid dearly for his excessive toil, for he broke down in health and was obliged to go home. He returned later, however, as the agent of the National Bible Society of Scotland, and settling in Chefoo when that port was opened, travelled extensively in North China, and published two volumes of his travels, for which the Glasgow University conferred on him the degree of LL.D. He was a gigantic man, physically, intellectually, and spiritually. Later he published his "Natural Theology" ("Ke Wu Tan Yuen") and his "Life of Christ," both remarkable books. Towards the end of his life he founded the Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge among the Chinese, and in 1891 I succeeded him as its Secretary.

The Rev. John L. Nevius, of the American Presbyterian Mission, a most genial companion, had spent some years in Ningpo and Hangchow before going to the newly opened port of Chefoo. In 1890 he was elected American Chairman of the China Missionary Conference in Shanghai, the Rev. David Hill being the British Chairman.

The Rev. Hunter Corbett, of the American Presbyterian Mission, had sailed up from Shanghai in the same vessel with Dr. Williamson and was shipwrecked on the Shantung Promontory. One of them in describing the adventure unconsciously perpetrated a bull and wrote that they "landed in the sea." Mr. Corbett was an untiring evangelist, travelling all over the Eastern portion of Shantung. On one of his later visits to the United States on furlough, he was made Moderator of the Presbyterian Synod. He married three times and had several children. His third wife later used to tell the following story against herself. On one occasion her son grieved her very much by not gaining a prize at the end of the school year, and she reproached him for being the first Corbett who had ever failed to get

a prize. "But oh! mamma," he cried, looking at her reproachfully, "the others had such clever mothers."

The Rev. Calvin Mateer, of the American Presbyterian Mission, was the great pioneer of scientific education in missionary work in China. He visited Chefoo and delivered a very interesting lecture on Chemistry, bringing with him a large supply of apparatus. I assisted him as demonstrator. It has been said that if the American Presbyterian Mission had only sent out these three men—Nevius, Corbett, and Mateer—they would have been more than justified in ten times the amount of expenditure on them.

The Rev. J. B. Hartwell, of the American Baptist Mission, had great charm of manner, and early won the affection and confidence of the Chinese. When the Taiping rebels visited Teng Chow fu, where he was then living, the city gates were closed, leaving some of the leading citizens outside. No one but Mr. Hartwell could successfully persuade the city authorities to open the gates again to let them in.

Mr. Robert Lilley, assistant agent with Dr. Williamson of the Bible Society of Scotland, was the wittiest foreigner in China until the advent of the Rev. Arthur Smith. He went some years later to New York, where he helped in the production of the Century Dictionary. When passing through New York I called at the office there, hoping to see him. I was told by a bright, silver-haired lady that he had left, and was helping to finish a Cyclopædia by Appleton. "We tried hard to make him a Republican while he was here," she remarked, "but he always maintained that a limited monarchy was much better." He died in 1914.

6. TIENTSIN MASSACRE.

On the day of Mr. Laughton's funeral, before the service was over at the cemetery, we were all startled by a gun fired from a steamer that had just arrived. We hastened to the Settlement to inquire what it meant. The captain had brought the terrible news of the massacre in Tientsin of the French Consul and his wife,



TIMOTHY RICHARD AT 24.

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and twenty-one Sisters of Mercy. The rumour spread that there was to be a rising against all foreigners at every port. Consequently a volunteer force, in which I took part, for defence was at once organized, and for some days we kept watch lest the Chinese from the native town should attack the Settlement.

After my colleague's death, I set to work with greater energy than before on the language so as to acquire it as soon as possible, for all the responsibility of the Baptist Mission work rested on me, its sole representative. Left entirely alone, my various experiences formed my only guide, and from them I learned what courses to follow and what mistakes to avoid in the future.

7. FIRST CONVERT. 1870.

When catechizing my first convert before admitting him into the Church, I asked him, "Are not all men sinners in the sight of God?"

The man replied in distress, "I do not know about other people, but I know I am a great sinner."

I was much struck by the sincerity of the answer and the foolishness of the question, and felt that the man was a true Christian in spirit. Never again did I repeat that question. The history of this man is interesting. Years after, Mr. Robertson, of the Presbyterian Mission, Manchuria, was opening a new station belonging to his Mission in the vicinity of the Amur. A man from the surrounding district came one day into the chapel and told the pastor he was a Christian.

"To what Church do you belong?"

"The Baptist Church."

"Who admitted you into the Church?"

"Li Ti Mo Tai in Chefoo," giving my Chinese name.

"How many years have you been in this country?"

"Nineteen years."

"Are there any other Christians in your village?"

"No; I and my family are the only ones."

Mr. Robertson was inclined to doubt his Christianity, for he thought it impossible that a man could still continue to be a Christian in the midst of non-Christian

neighbours, with no pastor or evangelist to visit and help him. The native pastor suggested that the man should be asked to pray, so that from his prayer they might easily judge whether he was a Christian. The man engaged in prayer, and all their doubts vanished. His fervent petition was a proof of daily communion with his Master.

I was very fortunate in having a splendid native assistant in a former secretary to the Taiping rebels, Mr. Ch'ing, who had been theologically trained by Mr. Laughton. During my early years in Chefoo, he was supported by Grosvenor Baptist Church, Manchester.

8. ARRIVAL OF DR. BROWN.

Dr. William Brown, a medical missionary from Edinburgh, came out in December to join me. I was greatly delighted to have such an able and devoted man as my colleague, and I vividly recall one incident of our common experiences. Soon after his arrival, Dr. Brown and I went on horseback to visit a city twenty miles inland from the port of Chefoo. At one place where we had halted a little while, Dr. Brown's horse ran away with saddle and bridle on. I urged my horse to a gallop in order to overtake it. Soon alongside, I stretched over to catch the reins of the runaway horse, but in doing it I overbalanced myself, so that my feet were on the back of one horse, and my hands on the neck of the other. As both were galloping as fast as they could, it was a most perilous position. Happily, there was a broad canal ahead at which the horses stopped, and I was enabled to right myself and secure the runaway.

9. SELLING GOSPELS IN SHANTUNG PROMONTORY.

I was desirous to see for myself the country round, so in December, in company with Mr. Robert Lilley of the National Bible Society of Scotland, I travelled about distributing portions of Scripture. We visited the chief towns and market-places in the Shantung Promontory, making a tour of about one hundred and

fifty miles. On my return, I laid before our little Church in Chefoo the fact that there was no missionary work done in the promontory, and suggested that they should select one of their number and send him forth as their missionary. They took the proposal up most heartily and undertook to support him, the first missionary of our native Church.

10. TRIP TO MANCHURIA SELLING GOSPELS.

During 1871 I made five trips, four of which were short ones, in the neighbourhood of Chefoo, the fifth, however, taking us six hundred miles away through Manchuria to Korea. Again my companion was Mr. Robert Lilley. Korea was at that time but little known to foreigners, every attempt to enter it having resulted in the massacre of travellers. We had an adventurous journey, and narrowly escaped capture in Korea.

(a) *Threatened Shipwreck.*

The first adventure was in connection with a threatened shipwreck. We were running from Chefoo to Newchwang, then the only open port of Manchuria, in a German sailing vessel, before a strong gale from the south. At dawn next morning we were suddenly thrown out of our bunks by the grounding of the ship. We found ourselves in shallow water, and as each high wave passed the vessel bumped with great force against the bottom. The large mirror in the saloon was thrown down on the floor and shivered into a thousand pieces. The captain laid the chart on the table, and holding the compass in his trembling hand, said, "I lost her two masts last year, and now she goes altogether. We are here," pointing to a place south of the mouth of the river. We suggested that he had probably been carried by the strong gale faster than his reckoning, and that we must be in shallow water beyond the river's mouth, so that if we tacked south-west we would soon be in deep water. This he did, and we got safely to Newchwang with only a little damage to the copper sheathing of the ship.

(b) *Sunstroke.*

My next adventure was caused by our ignorance of the climate. The rainy season is the months of July and August, and the roads were impassable because of the floods and mud. We were forced to wait a fortnight before we could engage any carts to venture on the journey to Moukden, although our route was along the chief highway connecting with the Manchurian capital. At last we got three carts with two mules each, loaded with Gospels and tracts, with room for ourselves and two Chinese servants. On the day we were to start I had a severe headache, and Dr. Watson, one of about half a dozen Europeans in Newchwang, urged me to wait another day, as he feared I had a slight sunstroke. But having been delayed a fortnight waiting for carts, I determined to push on at once. My head grew worse and worse. I could not ride in the bumping carts, nor could I open my eyes, for rays of light pierced them as with lancet thrusts. My friend Lilley made me take his arm, and together we trudged along that day for about thirty li (a li is about a third of a mile), arriving in the evening at the Chinese town of Newchwang, after which the port had been called. As the day's journey had made my head worse, we decided that I should take a dose of laudanum to send me to sleep. We had a small medicine-chest with us, but unfortunately we had left the dose-book behind. We differed in our recollection of how many drops the dose should be. Lilley advised the larger dose, and being the medical man *pro tem.*, administered it. I was soon fast asleep and woke up without a trace of headache. Very many years after, I read in the *Lancet* that the best cure for sunstroke was a stiff dose of laudanum. Thus we had stumbled on the best remedy.

In order to prevent a recurrence of sunstroke, I fastened a pillow on my head, because it was a fine non-conductor of heat, and thus proceeded on our journey. According to European notions I must have presented a comical sight. However, the Chinese took no notice of my

headgear, but were, on the contrary, highly diverted by Lilley's helmet. "Look at the man with the wash-hand basin on his head!" they cried.

(c) *Robbers.*

The next danger in Manchuria arose from the misgovernment of the country. After leaving Moukden and going eastward, we were told there were bands of robbers infesting the country. One midnight there was loud knocking at the door of our inn. Some carters were calling upon the innkeeper to open the doors and let them in. A band of robbers had descended on the inn ahead of us where they had been staying, and in fright they had taken their mules and escaped, leaving their carts and goods at the mercy of the brigands.

Next day our Chinese servants, hearing this tale, were so afraid that they wanted to return to Chefoo, but finding we were determined to go on, their sense of honour would not let them leave us, though we offered them their expenses to return. We then decided to divide our money, so that if some of us were robbed the others would have something left. This was not an easy process, as Chinese silver is generally current in large ingots, each about the size of one's fist, and weighing about fifty Chinese ounces or sixty-six English ounces. This lump had to be taken to the smithy, heated red hot, beaten into thin slabs, and then cut into square bits of about an ounce or two in weight. These square pieces were then sewn in different parts of our clothes. Having prepared against attack, we started rather late in the day.

Every man we met on the road was armed with a pike or an old matchlock across his shoulder. We were travelling up a valley along a road on the right side of a little river, and keeping a sharp look-out. All at once the cry arose, "There they are!" We saw ahead of us on the left bank some tents, and we counted eleven horsemen moving upwards towards the inn for which we were making. We saw that they would intercept us before we could reach the inn. We therefore turned round and

made for a farmyard we had just passed. At the gate we were met by an elderly woman of about sixty, and we asked her if we might drive our carts into the yard until the robbers had passed. She was one of the noblest, and invited us to enter at once. "I have reapers in the fields; I will send my daughters to call them in to protect you. I did not know that you spoke our language, or I would have asked you in as you passed before." We drove the three carts inside and the farm gate was shut.

The country was covered with a fine harvest of tall millet, and the roads wound in and out among the fields. We could not see the mounted robbers approaching, as the millet was too tall, but we could hear the patter of the ponies' feet as they came nearer. We were dressed in European costume and stood inside the gate. The riders could not see us until they turned a corner within ten yards of us. At the sudden sight of two Europeans before them they were greatly startled and cried out, "*Ai yah! Liao puh teh!*" ("This is awful!"). Instantly they turned their ponies and galloped away, firing a shot as a signal to their companions. We then counted eleven more horsemen coming from the tents to help their comrades.

Meanwhile we discussed whether we should make use of our revolvers, for our friends in Chefoo had insisted that while travelling through a perilous country we should take revolvers with us in self-defence. Neither of us relished the idea of shooting the Chinese whom we had come to save. We finally decided that if the worst came to the worst, we would give the farmer who had offered to protect us the benefit of our revolvers. So we thrust them into a heap of straw in the barn and went out again to the gate unarmed.

When the horsemen came up the second time, they turned the corner cautiously and rode up to the gate armed with rifles and gingalls. There was a dead silence for a few moments when they stopped. Then one spoke to the man who appeared to be the leader, "What shall we do? They cannot understand us." We replied

that we could understand a little, and they asked where we came from, where we were going, and what was our business. We told them we were selling books.

They asked, "What books?" Lilley, who was something of a wag, replied, "Books to exhort people to do good."

"You do not mean to say that your carts are full of books?"

"Yes, indeed," we replied. "We will bring some of them to show you." We then went to the carts; each brought an armful out, and opening the gate went outside to the horsemen to present them with our books. Then we saw that their firearms were cocked, but their hands were trembling with fear. They declined the books, as they could not read. We urged them to take the books for their friends. No, the friends were ignorant fellows; they did not want anything from us. They had heard there were foreigners travelling through the country, and as they had never seen any before, they had merely come to look at us. Begging us not to tell the official where they were, they turned their ponies round and left us, firing three shots as another signal to their party. Thus this danger passed without injury to any.

(d) *Sa Ur Hu.*

Scarcely had we escaped this danger than we were in the midst of a greater one. The day was spent, and we were nearing Sa Ur Hu, an important town in our route. Lilley went on with the carts to secure an inn, while I remained behind at a village to sell some books. To my astonishment, the place was like a city of the dead. There were houses, but not a soul stirring. I went on to some of the cross-streets, but they were also empty. I noticed that all the doors and windows had been filled up with loose bricks, a most unusual sight. Through one of the openings between the bricks, however, I caught sight of people moving inside, and on listening I heard them whispering. Not suspecting any harm, I called out that I had books to sell. After a while, out of a side street there came a man walking

very cautiously. I showed him the books, and he examined them. He was soon convinced by my imperfect Chinese that I was a foreigner, that I was alone, and that he had nothing to fear. He called out to others to come out. A crowd soon gathered and I had a fair sale of my books. But I was still at a loss to know why the people had barricaded their doors and windows.

As I proceeded to the market town, I found at every few yards on the road sentries with weapons in their hands. On reaching the town I saw a crowd gathered outside the inn where my friend proved to be. The whole town seemed to be alive with persons fully armed. We had our evening meal in peace, and before retiring went to look at our carts. But no sooner had we got outside the door than a shot whizzed past us. We could not tell where it came from. The carters said the place was very dangerous and they were anxious to pass on.

We then decided that we must keep watch in turn that night. Never before had I found my knowledge of Euclid serve me so well. I went over in memory the first book, proposition by proposition, and was thus able to keep awake.

In the early hours of the morning, through the loose curtain that hung between our door and the public room of the inn, I saw a mule pass, apparently from the back-yard through the general room to the front door to the street. After a few seconds another mule passed, and another, and another. I cried out to Lilley, "Wake up at once, they are taking our mules away!" We rushed into the general room and discovered a single mule grinding corn. Each time he came to the light near our room, he appeared as if going out to the front. Thus it was the same mule that had passed and repassed. We had a hearty laugh at my expense.

When we rose, however, we asked the innkeeper why all the people of the town were armed. He replied by asking: "Do you not know? It was rumoured that the robbers had put on European dress. So when you appeared you were supposed to be robbers."

(e) *Ling Kai.*

Having met the robbers, and the people defending themselves from the robbers, we went on with lighter hearts, feeling we knew the cause of the hostile attitude towards us. False rumours, however, have a way of travelling faster than true reports. When we arrived at our next resting-place, Ling Kai, we could find room at none of the inns, the keepers being afraid of foreign robbers. Finally, to the east of the town we found a little inn where we foreigners did not show ourselves, but sent one of the servants to inquire for lodging. There was room for us, the gate was thrown open, and the three carts drove into the courtyard. But no sooner were we seen than the innkeeper cried out that there was no room. He was so terrified that he got into the chief room of the inn, where a number of guests and servants gathered round him ready for any attack we might make upon them. They all seemed in a great fright, and the innkeeper protested that he had not a single room left. I explained that we had tried all the inns of the town with no success. But if he really had no room, we would sleep in our carts.

With that we walked out and doubled ourselves in the cart, intending to spend the night there, though we soon found it very cold. Fortunately, one of the guests came to us not long after and said: "You cannot stay in the cart; it is too cold. Take my room, and I will join the others." We followed him gladly to his room, where it was delightfully warm, with a fire burning in the k'ang—the brick bed to be found in every sleeping-room. We then set about getting our suppers. Before we had finished there was a cry outside that the "lao-yeh" had come. He was a small military official in full dress, with boots on and a white button on his cap. He had come at the request of the innkeeper to say he had secured a place for us elsewhere. We thanked him for his kindness, but said that a gentleman had courteously given up his room to us, and we could not think of changing. There we rested in peace for the night.

(f) *Lao Ch'eng, the Old Manchu Capital.*

Our next stopping-place was at Lao Ch'eng (the Old City), one of the ancestral fortresses in the home of the Manchus. It was built on a rock rising perpendicularly on three sides from the bed of a river, and accessible only on the fourth side. Thus it was a natural fortress of very great strength. The inn where we spent the night had evidently been a jail, for attached to the top beam of the k'ang, and opposite the bed of each guest, were strong iron links to which the queues or handcuffs of the prisoners must have been fastened.

Next morning we went out to sell books, one to the east side of the city, the other to the west. A crowd gathered round each, greatly curious to see the foreigner in their midst and to examine his books. As I was explaining their meaning, there appeared a ruffianly man with a greasy dress and a savage look, holding a stout horsewhip in his hand. He flung this out among the crowd, telling them not to press round, and so made a wide circle round me. Not a soul dared come near because of his fierce attitude. Seeing this, I expostulated with him. "What are you doing? Who are you to interfere with my work? I have an edict from the Emperor authorizing me to sell these books. How dare you prevent the people from coming if they wish to buy?" At this the man looked apparently over my head, and so did all the crowd. Turning round, I discovered an official standing close behind me in a magnificent dress and with a blue button on his hat. Hearing that I had an Imperial edict allowing the sale of the books, he became very civil, and I was able to sell some of them to the people. At the end of the day I found that my friend had had a similar experience with a mandarin wearing a red button.

That night the two mandarins must have consulted, for next morning the superior sent us his card to say that as we were strangers in a strange land and might get into difficulties from the hands of ignorant people, he had appointed six mounted soldiers to accompany

us all along the way. To our delight, these soldiers were most friendly, and at every place we stopped helped us to sell our books. When we came to the end of their official's jurisdiction they expressed a wish to go with us the whole way back to Shantung, their home.

(g) *Extraordinary Currency.*

On arriving at Kien Ch'ang, on the border between Manchuria and Korea, there was a most extraordinary confusion of coinage. We had to reconstruct our calculations, for we found that straightforward arithmetic would have ruined us. In that region sixteen cash counted as a hundred, and 160 as a thousand. The reason for this was that there had been once a general whose payment to his soldiers had been far in arrears. In parting from them, he could only pay them sixteen cash for every hundred, and from that day that reckoning held good. Bad as this reckoning was, matters were worse when we came to banknotes. We exchanged our ounces of silver into cash, and were given bills to the amount of fourteen thousand cash for each ounce, but when we came to exchange these bills for cash, we could never get the face value of them, but only ten thousand cash. In this way the poor people in the far-off mountains of Manchuria were absolutely at the mercy of distant officials or local capitalists.

(h) *Some Features of Interest in Manchuria.*

During these days we came to a most extraordinary geological formation, as if all the roads had been turned edgeways like the leaves of a book, a spot that would have delighted the heart of any geologist. We had come through lands of rich soil yielding magnificent harvests, and later we reached the banks of the Yalu, where the soft grass under our feet reminded us of meadow-land at home. In another place we passed through a superb avenue of tall trees, with wild grapes hanging in rich clusters from the branches overhead. Pears were rotting on the ground, without even pigs to eat them. At the same time we learnt that only

thirty miles away there was a famine in Korea, and mothers were selling their children in order to buy food to keep body and soul together. All this distress arose from ignorance of the value of roads and communications.

(i) *Adventure at Korean Gate.*

Outside Feng Hwang Ch'ing, the last city before reaching the border of Manchuria, was the Korean Gate, which marked the boundary, and was built on the plain, but with no wall on either side of it. Beyond it was a neutral strip of country varying in width from ten to fifty miles, within which neither Chinese nor Koreans were supposed to live. This was to prevent strife between the two nationalities. How primitive their notions! When we reached Feng Hwang Ch'ing we found about a thousand soldiers en route for this neutral strip. The officers told us that they had orders to capture a certain Liu King K'ai who was at large in this piece of country. He was a rebel who had been usurping the powers of government as if he had been an official, and had about six hundred followers with him.

As the troops were in no hurry to leave Feng Hwang Ch'ing, and we could not wait to travel in their company, we took the opportunity of entering the Korean Gate ourselves. We went some distance over the hill and down to a valley beyond, where flowed a stream of limpid water, on the banks of which was a carpet of fine grass. Here we stopped our carts, ate some food, and drank the clear water of the stream. While we were thus refreshing ourselves, a Chinaman suddenly appeared, and pointing to a hill beyond which we could see two horsemen dressed in a peculiar costume, said, "Those two are the scouts of Liu King K'ai. They bode no good for you. You had better go back, for he has six hundred followers in the next valley." At this we mounted our carts and told the men to drive back as fast as the mules could go. On getting back to Feng Hwang Ch'ing, we heard more of the exploits of Liu King K'ai. In that part of Manchuria the magistrates were as far apart as five hundred li. Conse-

quently, if trouble arose in any village the dispute could not be settled until people had travelled a good part of that distance to see the magistrate. To save time and trouble, this Liu King K'ai had often acted as arbitrator, and had given such satisfaction that the people always went to him, and thus his fame and influence had rapidly spread. He was regarded by them not as a rebel, but as a benefactor.

(j) *Bad Government.*

In Manchuria the roads were frozen like iron during the winter, and hundreds of farmers' carts passed up and down the high-road to Newchwang. But beyond the one or two great highways, the numerous valleys were practically without any roads. The carters therefore used the dry beds of rivers, which, though flooded during the rainy season, ran dry after the water flowed down to the sea. They drove their carts over the rough stone beds, which frequently had big boulders in the way. To overcome these difficulties the carters travelled in company with several others, so that when the mule of one cart could not pull it out of a deep hole or over a big boulder, five or ten mules from other carts were hitched on, and so progress was possible. As the cities where the district magistrate resided to administer justice, the bankers exchanged silver and paper money, and the farmers could sell or buy produce, were often situated five hundred li apart, life was very hard to bear.

Seeing the Government so regardless of the security of the people, it was no wonder that the farmers found it to their interest to pay the robbers every winter a sort of insurance money, which enabled them to travel without fear of being robbed. The insured carts would carry flags which the robbers recognized, and they would sometimes escort the farmers safely through dangerous parts.

As for the accommodation in the inns, beyond the cheering fact that there was fire under the k'angs, there was little to rejoice in. In one place we slept on a large k'ang with thirty-seven other travellers, one of

whom was a woman. Seeing how the people suffered from lack of proper government, and that the very man who was improving matters was regarded by the Government as a rebel, we felt that the dark places of the earth were indeed full of the habitations of cruelty. As we turned our steps back toward Newchang, we wondered when the day would come when this land, which in so many respects might be said to be "flowing with milk and honey," would be properly governed, and the people be happy and prosperous.

11. STREET PREACHING NOT PRODUCTIVE OF SATISFACTORY RESULTS.

When at home at Chefoo in 1872, I went to the chapel to preach every day, as was the custom of all the missionaries in those days. I did not find the preaching very productive of good results, and was consequently considerably discouraged. I learnt that many of the native business houses had taken an oath together never to countenance the foreign preaching by entering a chapel. Those who attended the services, therefore, were for the most part stray visitors from the country passing by, who came out of curiosity to see the foreigner and his barbarous costume.

In my evangelistic work during the first two years in Chefoo I had tried street-chapel preaching without any success worth mentioning. I then began to follow the plan of "seeking the worthy," as our Lord commanded, for I found that they constituted the "good ground" in which to sow the seed.

12. VISIT TO SALT MANUFACTURER, PERHAPS A LOST NESTORIAN.

Hearing of a devout man living some eight miles from Chefoo, I sent word asking if I might call on him. He replied that he would be glad to see me. He was a manufacturer of salt, obtaining it from the sea by evaporating the water in shallow beds. He was perhaps sixty years of age. I took with me some Gospels, a few tracts, and a hymn-book, and he received

me with great kindness, and insisted on my having a meal with him whilst we talked of religion. After a time he took me into an inner room, spotlessly clean, and said to me, "This is the place where I worship daily."

On my showing the hymn-book to him, he picked out one of the hymns which spoke of the fleeting character of this world and said, "This hymn is ours."

I opened my eyes in astonishment and asked what he meant. He replied that his religious sect used it regularly in their worship. He told me various other things about his religion. As this was the first time I had met a man of his stamp, I was dumb, and felt that his religious experience was not only much earlier than mine, but possessed a depth which astonished me. After a long, happy day together, he insisted on accompanying me back to Chefoo over the hills, and though several times on the road I begged him to go back, he came with me the whole way to the door of the hospital where I was living. I never saw him again, but have always felt that he, if not a Christian, was at any rate not far from the Kingdom of God. My knowledge of the Chinese language and history of religion was too imperfect at that time for me to take advantage of that most rare opportunity.

13. FAIR AT HWUI LUNG SAN.

I decided to go to the country with a native evangelist and see what would be the result of preaching to large gatherings. I learnt that in the springtime there were great fairs in various places, attended by crowds of people from the neighbouring districts. These were held every year at some famous temple. People from scores of villages came up in procession with flying banners and drums, and cymbals, and went into the temple to worship. By noon the worship of the various processions would be over, and all would join the fair, where horses, mules and donkeys, and cattle, together with all sorts of agricultural implements, were on sale.

One of the most celebrated fairs in the east of

the Shantung Promontory was at Hwui Lung San, a mountain on which was a noted temple, near the market town of Sung Tsun.

Thither I went on horseback, followed by two mules, one ridden by my assistant, the other laden with two boxes of Gospels, tracts, and books. Arriving at the place ahead of the mules, I went to an inn, but was told there was no room. On receiving the same answer at the only other inn in the place, I suspected that the reason for it was that the innkeepers had no wish to harbour the foreigner. I was not distressed about the matter, feeling sure that if I had been called to work there God would somehow open up a way. I took my pony to a big stone in the middle of the street, where I alighted and sat, holding the pony's reins in my hand. A crowd soon gathered.

"Do you not want your horse fed?" asked one.

"Certainly," I replied. "But where?"

"Give him to me and I will see to him," and he took the horse and walked into the first inn, while I remained sitting on the stone.

Within ten minutes every one in the little market town knew all about me and my intentions.

Presently, a cook with a greasy apron came up and said: "My master has heard that the inns are afraid of taking you in. He has an empty house, and if you like to stay there, you are welcome."

I went with him, and found the empty house much more comfortable than either of the inns. My host was the chief man in the place. His great-grandfather had been a Governor of one of the provinces. As the fair was not to begin for a fortnight, he offered me the use of the house until then. He had two sons, about my age, who were studying to take their Sui-ts'ai (often spoken of as equivalent to our B.A. degree). They were very intelligent and anxious to hear about the world outside, of which they could gather no knowledge from their books. All the schoolmasters from the villages round about came to see me, and we held long talks on foreign civilization and religion, I on my

part getting as much information as I could as to their religion and civilization. When not besieged by visitors I studied Chinese literature.

A day or two before the fair commenced, I proposed to visit the temple on the mountain. One of my host's sons accompanied me. It was a fine temple, in charge of some Buddhist priests. I asked if I might speak to the crowd at the fair. No objection was made. The young man asked where I would like to stand. Looking round the place, I noticed a tower between two courtyards, commanding a good view of both, and chose it as the spot from which I would address the people. The young man ordered the priest to put up a ladder there so that I could easily mount to the tower.

On the day of the fair I went to the top of the hill, and found innumerable crowds of people thronging the place and selling all sorts of requirements needed by the farmers. They gathered round me, pressing from all sides to have a peep at the foreigner, as they had never seen one before. I was literally carried off my feet, but I steered for the temple, and in time arrived there. I found the ladder ready, and mounted to the tower. From this vantage-point I had a good view of everything that took place. The morning was taken up by a series of processions, with music and banners and drums, from scores of villages round, each one in turn going to the temple to burn incense and bow before the idols. The music was an interminable din, caused by drums, gongs, and cymbals. By noon the last village had paid its respects to the gods, and there was a lull in the noise.

I took advantage of this opportunity, and spoke for a long time as well as I could to the people in both courtyards, who manifested great patience in listening to the foreigner addressing them in imperfect Chinese. When I saw how attentively they were listening, I might have been tempted to say, as did another missionary once, that "thousands were hanging on my lips." However, discounting the interest of a good many as curiosity, I was inclined to think that some were genuinely anxious

to hear more about the countries of the West and their religion, for at the close several came up to me and invited me to visit their villages.

This was my most memorable attempt at preaching to a vast crowd. I had not then learned that it was not the most effective way of doing missionary work. The friendship commenced with the chief man of Sung Tsun and his son continued for many years, and whenever they were in Chefoo they came to call on me.

14. ATTEMPT TO SETTLE IN NINGHAI. 1872.

From the beginning of my work in Chefoo, I felt that there was no need for a number of missionaries to live together at the ports while the interior was unoccupied. I therefore took trips inland to inspect the country and find suitable conditions for missionary work.

The first place that attracted my attention was the city of Ninghai, only twenty miles from Chefoo, and I thought I might rent a house there and settle down to work. But I was doomed to disappointment. The man I sent to rent a house was successful; but no sooner had the news spread that a foreigner was to live there than trouble arose. The landlord was arrested, beaten, and put in jail. In this predicament he sent me a letter relating his trouble and begging me to save him.

I went to see the British Consul in Chefoo, who said we must put the matter through, and gave me a letter for the Ninghai magistrate. But neither the Consul nor I knew the true attitude of the Chinese Government and the people towards foreigners at that time. Armed with the Consul's letter, I arrived in the city and called on the official. He immediately put on his official robes and received me in grand style, appearing exceedingly friendly. This was the first interview I ever had with a Chinese official. I returned to my inn, hoping things would soon be satisfactorily arranged.

Within half an hour the magistrate returned my call at the inn where I was staying. While he was with me a dozen of the elders of the city entered and fell on their knees before the official, begging that no houses

should be rented to foreigners. The magistrate replied that the power to refuse rested not with him, but lay with me. Then they turned on me, and on their knees implored me not to insist on renting the house. As I was then inexperienced in Chinese matters, all I said was that the matter had been arranged by the Consul and that I had no power to change his decision. As my action was quite within the bounds of the treaties between England and China, I asked that the landlord be set at liberty, and not persecuted. But the interview proved fruitless.

Thinking I had a right to the house, I took possession of it. The Chinese, who had some experience with foreigners in Chefoo, expressed their sentiments in a doggerel that ran thus :—

If you wish to be destroyed,
Be by foreigners employed.

This verse, repeated everywhere in Ninghai, fanned the anti-foreign feeling into a blaze, and my action roused much indignation. When I went for a walk, crowds of children and grown-up ruffians followed me, shouting "Foreign devil!" and all manner of evil epithets after me, and throwing gravel and dirt at me, while at night they came in the dark, plastering my door with all kinds of filth. My native assistant urged me strongly to complain of my treatment to the official, but even then, as stated in my report of the year to the Baptist Missionary Society, it was my principle never to call for official aid unless absolutely necessary.

Then it was that I sought to find what our Lord would have counselled. Two thoughts presented themselves to my mind. One was that if God had really called me to be a missionary, He would at the same time have prepared some of the Chinese to hear my message. There seemed no one in Ninghai prepared to receive it. Further, the words of our Lord were, "If they persecute you in one place, flee to another." So I decided to leave, feeling persuaded that God had

prepared some other place where the people would be willing to hear me. I left the city without saying a word either to officials or elders.

15. VISIT TO A DEVOUT SEEKER AFTER TRUTH.

Among the cities I next visited was Lai Yang, eighty miles to the south of Chefoo. Here I stayed a fortnight. After preaching in the street, I had a talk with two intelligent Buddhist priests, who freely discussed the merits of Christianity and Buddhism. A scholar named Wang followed me to the inn, and put two striking questions to me, "What must one do to be accepted of God?" and "Why was there need for Christ to die for mankind?"

Another man named Liu had the reputation of being a seeker after truth, and my visit to him taught me an important lesson, which it would be well for every intending missionary to learn before coming out. I quote from a letter at that time:—

"We entered a long, narrow room, or rather a barn, for there was straw piled up on both sides, leaving but a narrow path up the middle. At the end of this path was a table, where Liu sat facing us. To his right was the only window of the room. Before him were three books, one Confucian, one Taoist (the Book of Changes), and the third Christian. On my inquiring which of the three books was true, he answered that they were all true, that each of them must have come from Heaven. And this was not a casual remark, but his firm conviction. I took the New Testament which was before him and put a few questions to ascertain how far he understood it. There were others present, two very much interested, one lying down on the straw making occasional remarks, the other standing like a statue in the narrow passage during the whole conversation. At the door others chatted and cracked jokes, caring little about the foreigner's visit. Liu came to me for another conversation before I left the city."

Though I never saw these men again, my interviews with them were not without result, as the sequel will show.

This visit to Mr. Liu in Lai Yang brought before my mind the necessity of devising means to free the Chinese philosophers from the chains of superstition by which they were bound in the theory of Yin Yang and the five elements through which they explained all the mysterious wonders of heaven and earth. One means of dispelling their ignorance was to give a few lectures with experiments on physics and chemistry, and this I did to my Chinese assistants when I returned to Chefoo by ocular demonstrations, giving them true conceptions of the laws of natural philosophy.

16. STRIKING ESSAY ON JESUS CHRIST BY A NON-CHRISTIAN.

In the spring of 1872 a new method of missionary work was started, which I have made use of from time to time ever since, as it has shown wonderful possibilities in reaching thinking men in their homes.

A Shanghai newspaper (probably Dr. Allen's publication) offered a prize for the best Chinese essay in answer to the question, "Whom say ye that I am?"

In 1873 a Sui-ts'ai (B.A.) brought his son to Chefoo to have his eyes attended to by Dr. Brown, and while he stayed in the hospital he read our Christian books, among them the Gospel of St. John, and our newspapers. In one of them he found a notice of the competition referred to above, and wrote a most striking essay, which I translated and sent to the Baptist Mission. The following extracts are from his essay:—

"I am like the salt taste in the sea. Seek it, and you cannot find it. I am like the fragrance of the flower. Seize it, but it eludes your grasp. Men think that I dwell where there is form, but they do not seek me where there is no form. Should they by chance meet me they would not know me, but before my face mistake me. He who recognizes me must be a true believer in me."

"That which can be scattered, shaped, and killed is matter, but I am that which is complete, all-penetrating, and without form. You seek me above and

look up, but forget that I am below as well. You ask for me before you, and hasten after me, but forget that I am also behind."

"Of all things mysterious under the sun the greatest mystery is the Reality which remains for ever."

"I am matter, matter is I. I existed, and matter and I were two. I am the Word, the Word is I. I existed, and the Word and I were two. I am the Father, the Father is in me. I existed, and I and the Father were not in each other."

"I am neither rest nor action. Those who truly believe in me will have the principle of life. Those who love the living God shall become living spirits. Those who do not believe in me are walking corpses."

Though the Chinese mystic wrote in a spirit worthy of Pulsford, the Missionary Committee were probably right in considering the views enunciated by him not sufficiently edifying to the Christian public at home, and the translation, interesting in itself, was not therefore published.

17. FIRST VISIT TO CHI-NAN FU. 1873.

In the autumn of 1873, in company with my friend Mr. Lilley and Mr. McIntyre of the United Presbyterian Mission in Chefoo, I visited Chi-nan fu, the capital of Shantung province, a place over three hundred miles from Chefoo. There we were able to see at work perhaps one of the most remarkable educational systems on the face of the earth. At that time Chinese scholars were examined once a year in each of the fourteen hundred counties of the Empire by Government inspectors for their matriculation. The Sui-ts'ai degree was conferred once in three years simultaneously over the Empire, and later the Sui-ts'ai met in their respective provincial capitals as candidates for their Chū-ren degree, the equivalent of our M.A. We found some twelve thousand scholars already assembled, although only the best ninety-five were to be entitled to the degree. Immediately after the civil examination took place a military

one was held, attended by some thousand candidates. We saw but few of the civil candidates, as disturbances against foreigners had been created by similar scholars in Hangchow, and we had to exercise caution on meeting them, but we mixed freely with the military students.

Mr. McIntyre and Mr. Lilley returned to Chefoo soon after the examination had taken place, but I remained for five months.

18. BAPTISM OF MILITARY OFFICER IN CHI-NAN FU.

At this time I met a very interesting lieutenant from the province of Honan, who frequently came to see me at my inn and wanted to become a Christian. In the end I baptized him by immersion in the beautiful lake of the city, the first baptism of the kind ever witnessed there. The sight of two men walking into the clear waters of the lake immediately attracted a large number of spectators in the south-west suburb. Directly after the ceremony the lieutenant, on landing, while his clothes were still dripping, addressed the crowd and explained the meaning of the rite in a most interesting manner.

Curiously enough, on that very day, Mr. Ch'ing, the pastor I had left behind in Chefoo, baptized two converts there, one of whom had been sent to him for teaching by Mr. Wang, the other being Mr. Liu, of Lai Yang, mentioned above.

19. MOHAMMEDANS IN CHI-NAN FU.

Whilst at Chi-nan fu I was interested to find two large Mohammedan mosques attended by a considerable following. I tried to find if the Koran had been translated into Chinese, but was told no such translation had been made, though there were two works in Chinese (not for sale) which gave the substance of the Mohammedan faith. I also learned that, though the Mohammedans devoted much time to the study of Arabic and Persian, they were, as a rule, lamentably ignorant of Chinese literature.

20. MCLLVAIN, THE FIRST PROTESTANT MISSIONARY
IN CHI-NAN FU.

Up to that time no missionary in China had written any Christian books for use among Mohammedans ; but there lived in Chi-nan fu an American Presbyterian missionary, the Rev. Mr. McIlvaine, who had removed there from Peking about a year before my visit. He was the most promising of young missionaries, and had been associated with the seniors of his mission in publishing the Presbyterian standards in Chinese. He was then studying Mohammedanism with a view to writing a tract for the use of its adherents. It is now forty years since he prepared this tract, and I regret to say that to this day nothing of importance has since been published in Chinese on the subject by any missionary.

Another remarkable man in Chi-nan fu was Mr. Crossett, who was a great favourite with the Chinese and very devoted in his work. Yet both these men got into a most dangerous mental condition ; the main difficulty was a rigidity of view and a want of adaptation to Chinese conditions.

This latter point was manifest even in matters of dress in Mr. McIlvaine's case. For instance, as the Chinese houses and inns had no fires in them, our foreign dress was utterly inadequate for warmth. So Mr. McIlvaine had a fur dress made for himself, not after the Chinese pattern—a long gown with a short jacket over it—but like a long foreign overcoat, lined with sheepskin, with a kind of cape covering the shoulders and breast, but stitched down the back.

The first day he appeared on the street wearing this new garment the people were thrown into convulsions of laughter. "What a stupid wife the foreign devil must have!" they cried out. "She does not know how to make a coat. You look at him from the front and side and he has a jacket on ; but when he is past and you look at him from behind he wears no jacket. Did you ever see such absurd figures as these devils?"

When I told McIlvaine that I could not stand this constant ridicule and cursing every day, his reply, however unpractical, was beautiful. "We must live it down," he said. But it soon proved more than even his human nature could stand. One evening he came to my inn (for in those days none dared rent houses to foreigners). He was greatly depressed, and said :—

"Richard, I want you to do me a favour."

"Willingly. What is it?"

"I have come to the conclusion that I have made a great mistake in thinking God has called me to be a missionary. If He had, surely He would have permitted me converts before now. But I have none. Therefore I am determined to leave the Mission and let the Board give the money for the support of one who has been truly called of God. I will go to one of the ports and do what I can to prepare school-books in Chinese and thus earn a living. I have a clock which my mother gave me. I cannot part with that. I want you to keep it for me till I am settled in my new work."

"Of course I will take charge of your clock," I answered. "But do you not think you have made your resolution too hurriedly?"

We had a long talk over the matter. At parting I said to him, "Pray over it again, and let us have another talk before you finally decide."

Some days after he came to see me again, and at once said :—

"I have come to the conclusion that, whatever our theories about life and religion and Missions may be, there is one course that appears to me absolutely sound, the value of which will never change, and that is to do good."

I got up and shook hands with him, saying: "That is a rock. Stand on that and your trouble will soon be over."

From that day he was a happier man and a most efficient worker. He died in 1878, his health having been impaired by his mental troubles.

21. CROSSETT, HIS COLLEAGUE.

Mr. Crossett was a different type of man, but equally devoted to what he considered to be his duty. After a time he became heart-broken at the small results of his years of labour, and came to the conclusion that he did not pray enough. He then prayed and prayed for hours at a time in agony of spirit. After a while a complete mental breakdown resulted, and he was sent to Peking, and later home to the United States.

During his stay there he visited and studied, in search of light, every kind of erratic religious sect to be found in America. But his longing to work in China was as strong as ever. As the Board was not prepared to send him out then, he went to the coast and worked his passage as a common sailor on a vessel to the Holy Land. On his way from Joppa to Jerusalem, whom should he meet but the Roman Catholic Bishop of Chi-nan fu. Crossett literally fell on his neck and wept for joy, and his longing for China was all the more intensified by the meeting. He visited strange religious communities in the Holy Land, then went to Egypt, where he engaged himself on a ship for Bombay. At this port he visited that saintly man Bowen, whom the Hindus almost worshipped, and, after imbibing his special teaching, sailed once more before the mast for China.

During his period of absence from China he read many of the strange writers on Christianity amongst the early Fathers, the mediæval writers, down to the mystics of the present day. He had come to believe in various curious doctrines—for instance, that the pores of the skin were open doors through which innumerable evil spirits passed in and out of the body.

On arriving in Chefoo he called on his old missionary friends. They were greatly shocked to see him in ragged clothes, and offered him money to procure new ones. But he refused to take any. They surreptitiously slipped some pieces of silver into his wallet, but when he found them he gave them away to the first beggar he met. He walked all the way to Chi-nan fu, healing

the sick. When the few native Christians in Chi-nan fu saw him, they were also greatly shocked at his appearance; but his return so delighted them that they declared they would share their last morsel with him.

After a time he was again sent to Peking. Here he devoted himself to the beggars of the city, and neither Francis of Assisi nor any ascetic was ever more devoted to the poor. During one of my visits to Peking we were both staying in Dr. Dudgeon's house in the London Mission, the doctor being away. I slept in a foreign bedroom, while Crossett slept with the patients in the hospital. Every morning at dawn of day he used to come to my room, lie down on the floor, and we would discuss the religious beliefs of early and mediæval days, with which he was saturated. Later in 1889, when we were living in Peking, we often invited him to a meal with us; but he usually came with a Chinese cake up his sleeve, and partook of that simple fare in preference to our food. When we asked him to spend the night with us, sometimes he accepted the invitation; but he would never sleep in a bed; he used to lie on the floor in front of the fire and spend the night there.

He had kept a careful diary of all his thoughts and experiences since he first left Chi-nan fu. Extracts from it were occasionally published in the Peking newspapers by Mr. Michie, who had a great admiration of his devotion. Once Crossett gave me the diary, asking me to edit it for publication. Finding he was gradually recovering from his strange vagaries, I gave it back to him, telling him to wait some time before publishing it.

A year or two later he went to Shanghai, walking all the way from Peking to Hankow, and thence by boat. He stayed with Dr. Fryer at the Arsenal, where the servants all became extraordinarily devoted to him. Mrs. Fryer told me that one morning he came to breakfast with his face full of joy.

"I have now triumphed over my last enemy," he announced.

"And what is that?" she asked.

"My diary was my pride. I have just burnt it."

This was a tragedy indeed !

The same summer his strength began to fail. He thought that if he could get to Mongolia, he would regain his health. So he started for Tientsin in the *Eldorado*. Captain Payne, a very good man, gave up his cabin to the sick man. But on the arrival of the boat at Tientsin he was dead. I happened to be away at the time, but my wife, hearing what had happened, went straight to the steamer and arranged for his burial. Later I had a simple stone put up to mark where his mortal remains were laid.

These tragedies of McIlvaine and Crossett, and some Roman Catholic priests whom I knew, were largely due to false theology, mistaken application of Christianity, and an imperfect knowledge of the conditions of success in missionary effort.

22. CHINESE PHILANTHROPIST INTRODUCING VACCINATION.

In 1874, on the way back to Chefoo from Chi-nan fu, I stayed a day in Wei-hsien with my friend the Rev. Mr. McIntyre, of the United Presbyterian Mission of Scotland. Whilst there I learned two very important factors in connection with Mission work in China, one the intense hostility of the officials, the other that even amongst the non-Christians in China, as elsewhere in the world, some of the most devout people were to be found.

Wei-hsien was one of the great commercial centres of Shantung and was the home of many wealthy people who had members of their families holding official rank in different parts of the Empire. Thus the city was an official as well as a commercial centre.

When Mr. McIntyre rented a small house as a beginning to his mission work, the whole city rose up like a nest of hornets in opposition, and there was as great an uproar about this little matter as if an arch-rebel or violent robber had come into their midst. They threatened all sorts of violence unless the foreigner cleared out of their midst at once. Then suddenly there

called on Mr. McIntyre one of the gentry of the place, a veritable Cornelius, a devout man, full of good works, who told him that he need not be alarmed at the threatening of the people, as they were ignorant and knew not what they were doing. He would personally explain to them their great mistake.

This gentleman, some years previously, had heard of the arrival of a foreigner in Peking (Dr. Lockhart, of the London Mission) who knew how to prevent small-pox. At that time it was so terrible a scourge that in many places half the population of small towns and villages perished. He was so rejoiced to hear of a preventive of smallpox that he travelled ten days to Peking to see Dr. Lockhart, who showed him how to vaccinate. He then engaged two women to bring their inoculated children and travel with him to Wei-hsien. On arrival there, he began to vaccinate his friends and neighbours direct from the children. In time the people learned the value of vaccination, and for many years, indeed, up to the time when McIntyre arrived in Wei-hsien, this Chinese gentleman had continued vaccinating people daily for nothing. In return, a fine tablet was put up in gratitude to him over his door.

When the people now found him visiting the foreigner, they became very angry, saying that they had not put up a tablet to him in order that he might be friendly with the hated and dangerous foreigner. They would therefore pull it down. He replied: "I did not inoculate you in order to get a tablet from you. You are quite welcome to take it down. I wish to tell you that you are mistaken about the foreigners. Whatever good I have been able to do in the prevention of smallpox I learnt from the kindness of Dr. Lockhart the missionary. And I know that this missionary also has no other motive than to do good. Therefore I must do all in my power to befriend him."

While I was stopping a day or two at the inn, Mr. McIntyre asked this Chinese friend if he might bring me with him to call. He said he would be glad to see any of his friends, so I went. I was anxious to

know what impression our New Testament would produce on a good Chinaman at the first reading. I found that he had read it through three times and I asked him, "What impressed you most when you read?"

He considered a few seconds before replying and then said, "Perhaps the most wonderful thought was this—that man might become the temple of the Holy Ghost."

23. UNIQUE MEDICAL TOUR WITH DR. BROWN.

In the beginning of 1874 I returned to Chefoo, after an absence of nearly five months in Chi-nan fu. I found that Dr. Brown was making rapid progress with the language, and, assisted by Pastor Ch'ing, was translating an important medical work, and was training four natives as medical students and assistants.

Not long after my return, Mr. Margary, of the Consular Service, came to dine with Dr. Brown. Mr. Lilley, of the Bible Society of Scotland, was also there that evening and made our sides ache with laughing at his funny tales, all told with a most solemn face. Margary left Hankow in September of that year to begin his ill-fated expedition to Burmah. He was murdered in February 1875 at Manwyne, by treacherous Chinese.

In the early part of the year Dr. Brown and I planned a tour of the counties in the promontory which was situated in the eastern part of the province, staying at each country town and chief market town, he to heal the sick and I to preach in the waiting-room, admitting the patients to Dr. Brown's room one by one. To ensure peace and order, as foreigners were a great curiosity in those days, we sent in our cards to the chief magistrate on arriving at the county town, telling him what we intended to do, and asking him to appoint two of his police to assist in keeping order. The magistrates were invariably very civil, readily agreeing to our request, and not infrequently members of the Yamen came as patients.

From early in the morning Dr. Brown worked very hard, seeing patients without intermission. Fearing that his health would break down under such a severe strain, I tried to persuade him not to work so many hours, but

he would not listen. The cry of a patient was to him an imperative call. Knowing that his strength was not equal to such a tax on it, I took him one evening by main force in my arms and carried him off to his bedroom.

Some of his treatments produced instant relief, which appeared no less than miraculous to the patients. For instance, a man came in one day suffering from intense pain in the stomach, being doubled up in agony. Dr. Brown gave him a single draught, and in ten minutes the man stood up straight, opened his eyes, and, all amazed at his sudden recovery, cried out, "I am cured! I am cured! The pain is all gone!" His dramatic declaration made the other patients laugh at first, but then, realizing he was truly cured, they were all most anxious to get medicine to ensure their own instant relief.

Another morning, a leprous man entered, full of joy, bringing presents to testify his gratitude. He said that for years his hands and feet had been numb, without any feeling, but that after taking the medicine which Dr. Brown had given him the day before, both hands and feet were tingling with sensation.

In the course of our trip we chanced to stay for the night at an inn not far from Sung t'sun, the market town where I had spent a fortnight the previous year before attending the great fair at Hui-Lung-San. We were travelling in what is called a shen-tze, a covered hammock slung between two mules, one in front and one behind. We had with us one of Dr. Brown's assistants who helped him in dispensing, so what with men and mules, our cortège practically filled the little village inn. On asking the innkeeper next morning for our bill, he refused to charge us anything, saying, "You have come here, giving medicine gratis to our people; it would be wrong for me to charge you for the night's lodging. Besides, do you not remember me?"

I could not recall him, so he explained that he had visited me a few times the previous year in Sung t'sun and obtained valuable information from me about the

outside world and about religion, for which he had been most grateful. I pressed him again for his bill, thinking it was only a courteous way of expressing his pleasure at seeing me again, but he positively refused to charge us anything, saying that he himself would like to have a share in doing good to people.

Thus we proceeded on our tour round the promontory, gaining through Dr. Brown's ministrations the goodwill of the people wherever we went.

Alas! that, at the time when our Mission was striking out in a new line of work with such success, the connection between the Society and my colleagues should have been severed, owing to the imperfection of human appreciation and foresight. To the great grief of all our missionary associates of every denomination, both English and American, in Chefoo, Dr. Brown left in April 1874 and went to Dunedin, New Zealand, where, both as professor in the University and practitioner in the city, he became most eminent. When after many years he retired, the Mayor, in the name of the town, presented him with a handsome testimonial in recognition of his many services during his thirty years of residence there.

Thus I was left once more alone in charge of the English Baptist Mission work in China.

24. DEMON POSSESSION.

In the early 'seventies no steamers ran from Shanghai to Chefoo during the winter, Chefoo harbour being impassable owing to the ice. As business was at a standstill, the small foreign community formed clubs and societies whereby they might spend their time happily and profitably together.

In connection with a literary society I was asked one winter to read a paper on "Demoniacal Possession in China." The subject proved very attractive, and missionaries and merchants, Jews and Gentiles, Catholics and Protestants, believers and sceptics, all came and it was the largest gathering we had had. Beginning with the cases of demon possession cured by our Lord, I then referred to similar cases in China. Men were possessed

by evil spirits to such a degree that the afflicted ones would personify different individuals. One day the unfortunate victim would say his name was Li, from a locality some distance off, and would weave a history of that personality, whereas in reality his name might be Chang. When in his right mind he would speak of his home and the Chang family with perfect clearness and in a natural voice, while when possessed he would talk in quite a different voice, speaking of himself as Li. At other times houses would be haunted and the residents would be so terrified that they would leave their homes, and houses were known to be left untenanted for twenty years or more, because people believed they were haunted by evil spirits.

The philosophy of the matter seemed to be that men and women of weak will were like reeds shaken by every breeze that passed; every rumour of evil spirits and haunted houses took possession of their wills, and swayed them hither and thither. When Christians approached them, and told of an Almighty God, to whom the evil demons were subjected, and whose Holy Spirit would come and dwell in the hearts of all who were willing to obey Him, it was glad tidings of great joy to them. Their wills received tonic and strength, and in this way were able to resist common reports. Thus the weak became strong, and those who had lost their reason became restored to their right minds.

The discussion which followed my paper proved intensely interesting. Dr. Williamson described the use of the planchette in China, especially in the temple of Lu Tsu, to obtain prescriptions for the sick. The planchette consisted of a string attached to a bean, and ending in a pen hanging over some sand in a tray.

Dr. Corbett described a house believed for years to be haunted, so that nobody would rent it. At last his native evangelist lived in it, and the supposed ghost removed to the next house, where it gave no peace to the occupants. They then begged him to go over and exorcise it. He took the New Testament with him, and called on the neighbours to join him in prayer that

God would protect them from all harm, and peace was restored to that house too. Dr. Corbett was followed by a Jew, who remarked that the idea of demon possession was brought to Palestine from Persia. A medical man next rose and scouted the theory of demon possession altogether, saying that the victims were suffering from hysteria, and that the explanation was physical. After him spoke Mr. Fergusson, the head of the firm of Fergusson & Co., originally a Jesuit priest, one of the best educated men present. Though married, he entertained all the Roman Catholic bishops as they passed through inland, and he was as devout as ever. He remarked that he believed in the theory of demon possession, and that he had as much ground for his belief as the medical man for his view. He gave a number of striking instances, attested by various bishops, how even ordinary Christians had the power to restore afflicted men to their right mind.

My paper of that evening was published in the *Celestial Empire*, and Mr. Christopher Gardner, the British Consul, quoted largely from it in an interesting article to one of the home papers on "The Bogey in China." After this memorable evening, Dr. Nevius began to collect evidences of demon possession and demon exorcism from all parts of China, and gathered them into an exhaustive work, "Demon Possession," which was published after his death.

25. BLACK AND WHITE SHEEP.

A Chinese proverb says, "If you sow beans, you gather beans; if you plant sweet potatoes, you reap sweet potatoes." But the wonderful thing in human character is that the same treatment meted out to two individuals so often ends in different results.

There was in Tengchow, near Chefoo, a Mrs. Holmes, widow of an American Baptist missionary who had been murdered by the Taiping rebels in the 'sixties. She had a little son whom she herself taught. In the goodness of her heart, she thought that if she brought up with him two poor Chinese boys of about the same

age as her son, and gave them the same teaching, she would be doing good missionary work. The Chinese boys' names were Sei-kse and Joe. They learnt English very well. At that time English-speaking clerks were in great demand by foreign shopkeepers, as they could be paid twenty dollars a month, while a foreign assistant would demand at least four times that sum.

Joe, the younger of the two boys, when about sixteen, was, unknown to Mrs. Holmes, offered a situation in the Russian store in Chefoo with a salary of twenty dollars a month. This seemed a fortune to his poor parents, who had regarded five dollars a month as the average wage to those in their station. They urged their son to accept the offer, so one day he ran away.

Mrs. Holmes was greatly distressed at this, and, to prevent the other boy leaving her, she decided to send him to a school in America, where her son was finishing his education. After a few years in the United States, Sei-kse returned to China, and obtained a good situation in the Customs under Sir Robert Hart. When he was passing through Chefoo, Mrs. Holmes asked me to receive him as my guest. I found him unusually bright. But, alas! within three months of his entrance into the Customs, he decided he could easily better his position if he were to head a rebellion and make himself Emperor. His position in the Customs enabled him surreptitiously to pass a quantity of foreign arms and ammunition into Chinkiang. But the conspiracy leaked out, and his head was demanded by the Government. A missionary friend of Mrs. Holmes helped him to get away to the United States. After arrival in America, forgetting that all the advantages he had received, including the saving of his life, had been through the kindness of missionaries, he travelled about the United States lecturing on China, and trying to prove the superiority of Confucianism to Christianity.

Joe, on the other hand, was offered a position in Tientsin, under Jardine and Matheson, to provide and superintend coolies for the loading and unloading of

their ships. He was most resourceful in difficulties, and was often consulted by other companies.

About twenty years passed, and Mrs. Holmes fell on evil times. Her son, who had become a medical man, had turned out badly. Mrs. Holmes was poor, and her health not good. For her livelihood she had to teach in a school, to which daily she had to walk a long distance. In her distress she wrote to Joe of her troubles. He at once went to Jardine and Matheson's agent in Tientsin and told him of Mrs. Holmes's sad letter. "You have put by to my credit a sum of a thousand dollars," he added. "Please draw it out for me, as I wish to send it to Mrs. Holmes." The agent promised to do so. About a week later, not having received the money, Joe went again to the agent to remind him of his promise. The agent said he had not forgotten, but he had feared Joe had not realized the many years it had taken him to save the money, and he had delayed in order that Joe might consider the matter carefully. Joe replied that he had fully made up his mind. "Mrs. Holmes did far more for me than my own mother. If it were not for her, I might have been like one of the coolies under my charge, getting a few hundred cash a day. Let me have the money without delay, for I cannot think of Mrs. Holmes suffering from want while I have enough and to spare." On hearing the story, a clerk in the bank remarked: "It does one good to hear such fine results. I will give him the best exchange I possibly can."

In 1891, when I was leaving Tientsin for Shanghai, Joe undertook to remove my goods and furniture to the steamer. An army of coolies came in at the front door, swept through the house, each man seizing something and going out at the back, leaving "not a wrack behind." When we boarded the boat, not a single article was missing. Joe refused to take any payment for the work.

26. SECOND VISIT TO CHI-NAN FU.

I was anxious to get to Chi-nan fu, the provincial capital, at the earliest opportunity. Now, the rainy season

in Shantung occurs in the months of July and August. The rain is so heavy, and the country in many parts so flat, that communication is impossible, the roads being nothing but mud. All business is at a standstill till the rains are over.

It was therefore not till September that I could make the trip. I engaged one of the usual carts, drawn by two mules. I put a box of books and some Chinese clothing at the back of the cart, while at the bottom I spread the thick bedding which every traveller in China has to take with him everywhere, as none is provided in the inns. The cost of a cart at that time was about three shillings a day. Ten or twelve other carts started with us, for as the roads were not dry, there would be many pitfalls, and it would need the help of all the men to get the carts out of the mud. One day we were upset out of the cart no less than three times. When the road seemed to be deep with water and mud it was a great temptation to the carters to leave the main road, and as there are no hedges, to drive over the fields, which were usually on a higher level, and therefore dry. When crops were growing, the farmers would naturally come out and object to the invasion.

On one occasion we had serious trouble. The owners of the crops insisted that the carters should return to the road, while the drivers protested that they had not intended deliberately to trespass, but that the road was absolutely impassable. High words passed between the parties. People from the village came to the help of the farmers, bringing bamboo poles and other weapons to fight the intruders if necessary. The carters, seeing the villagers opposing them, became furious, flung off their coats and prepared for battle. Some blows were exchanged. On seeing this, and fearing grave consequences, I went up to two of the seniors of the village, and pointed out that unless they restrained their party, serious results would follow. "You see it is a sheer impossibility for us to go by the road. The wheel of one of the carts is already broken. Would you have all

our carts break their wheels? It will go hard with your village if others hear of it. Allow the carts to go on the dry land, and I, for my part, will take the load of the broken cart into mine."

The elders listened to reason, and called on the villagers to desist and let us pass. When we reached the next inn the carters were so grateful that they wished to pay my expenses for having got them out of their difficulties.

In Chi-nan fu I found Mr. McIlvaine in a great state of depression, almost in despair. I had not been long there before Dr. and Mrs. Williamson of the U.P. Mission, Chefoo, came through with a native, Mr. Li, who had been assistant to Dr. Henderson, the medical missionary in Chefoo, for some years. Besides distributing literature, Mr. Li gave away simple medicines, such as quinine and chlorodyne, to sufferers in need of them. On reaching Chi-nan fu, Mr. Li had high fever. After some ten days, Dr. and Mrs. Williamson went to Tai An, leaving him in my charge, expecting he would recover after a few days' rest. But the fever proved to be a case of malignant typhus. There was not a single foreigner in the city, so Mr. Li stayed in the same inn with me. Day by day his fever grew worse. I fed him with chicken soup, thinking it was the easiest diet to digest. After fifteen days his temperature rose exceedingly high. Having made up my mind to feed him with a few spoonfuls every hour, both day and night, I got into the habit of waking up at the end of every hour of the night just as regularly as if I had had an alarm clock in my brain.

About the twentieth day hæmorrhage began in such abundance that I began to fear for his recovery, as I could not believe a man could lose so much blood and yet survive. However, the next day, to my intense delight, he asked if he might have a little millet gruel. This he drank greedily, and asked for more. He improved rapidly after this in health, but not in temper. Nothing I did would please him, though I nursed him as if he were my own brother. Finally he became

homesick, and insisted on going back to Chefoo, even before he had fully recovered his strength. I engaged chair-bearers to carry him, sent my servant along with him to take care of him, and walked the first three miles with him. When I returned to my inn, I had a severe headache, and later discovered I was down with fever caught from my patient. As I was quite alone, I sent word to Mr. McIlvaine, who then lived two days' journey off, and he soon came to the city and nursed me back to health. This seizure rendered me immune from further attacks, when millions round me were suffering from famine typhus.

27. ROADS AND MODES OF TRAVEL IN NORTH CHINA.

The roads in China are most extraordinary. The plains of Shantung, Chihli, and Honan are composed of yellow soil brought down by the Yellow River; in Shansi there are strange formations of loess in which the country people dig cave dwellings, delightfully cool in summer and warm in winter. As the climate is very dry in these provinces, sometimes without a drop of rain for six months, the carts travel with ease along the dusty roads, for not a stone is to be seen for a hundred miles. But when the rainy season comes in June, July, and August the roads are drowned with water, which when mixed with the dust forms impassable sloughs of mud. All traffic ceases along these highways, and for three months there used to be a stoppage of trade, all capital being locked up during this time without any interest, involving enormous loss to China as a whole.

A similar stoppage of trade arose from the narrowness of the streets in larger cities. In Tientsin the streets were not wide enough to allow two carts to pass each other. This always involved great wrangling between the carters as to which should back his cart to the end of the street. Sometimes other carts came behind the first one, and there would be a block of some dozen or more carts, involving a delay of hours. The time wasted involved so much loss to the merchants

that it would have paid them to buy up a portion of the city and lay it out with wide streets. What sober officials and business men did not attempt, the Boxers did in one day. They burned the city down. In rebuilding the authorities laid out streets wide enough for carts and tramcars to pass, to the great gain of all.

In those days in North China officials used to travel in sedan-chairs, carried according to rank by four or eight bearers, at the rate of about twenty miles a day. Another mode of travel was the lighter shen-tze, an erection covered with matting and slung between two mules, one in front and one behind. Merchants as a rule travelled in a small covered cart at the rate of about thirty miles a day. They started on the day's journey about an hour before dawn, and travelled till about ten, when the carters stopped to feed the mules and have a midday meal. About noon they started again, and travelled till a little before dark, when they put up at an inn lest they should be attacked by robbers. There were, and are, regular inns on the great highways.

At the best inns all kinds of food can be procured, and excellently cooked chicken, fish, pork, and eggs, prepared in many different ways. The dish of fried pork and cabbage is as common as ham and eggs in England. The available vegetables comprise potatoes, sweet potatoes, yams, cabbages, turnips, carrots, egg-plants, beans, peas, plums, cucumber, while fruit of various kinds—cherries, pears, plums, peaches, apples, apricots, persimmons, melons, grapes—can be obtained at different seasons of the year, with nuts of different kinds—peanuts, chestnuts, water-chestnuts, and lotus-seeds. Alcohol made of the tall millet, a sherry-like yellow wine, rice wine, and wine made from small millet can be served, and is always drunk hot. The rule is to take the *table d'hôte* fare provided for all alike. The muleteers have the same food as their masters, but sit at a different table. The noon meal usually costs two hundred cash, the evening meal about three hundred cash, which includes the night's lodging, and ten per cent. is paid in tips to the waiters. Altogether the

noonday meal costs about sixpence and the evening meal about ninepence.

Besides the above quick mode of travelling in North China there is the much slower but commoner one of the barrow. This vehicle is peculiar to China, and unlike any in Europe or America. In the centre is a stout wheel, about three feet high, as strong as a cartwheel. On it is fixed a framework, carrying a seat on each side of the wheel. The traveller sits on one side, while his goods balance him on the other. The barrow is pushed from behind by a coolie, and pulled in front by another coolie or by a mule or donkey. The load which these barrows carry is enormous, sometimes half a ton, involving an enormous strain on the man pushing it. The converging shafts are so arranged that the greatest strain is thrown on the wheel. These barrows travel at the rate of about twenty miles a day. The inns at which they stay are much inferior in accommodation to those frequented by carters and muleteers. The k'ang is often only a foot high from the ground, and therefore damp, while the food is coarse, consisting of millet and maize, with salted vegetables, but no meat. In summer the barrow is covered with a blue awning, and one can read or lie down and sleep while the mule pulls the barrow along at a good pace. In Shantung it is a common sight to see sails fitted to the barrows when there is a good breeze. The sails of a dozen of these heavy-laden barrows travelling along a deep-cut road have the appearance of a fleet of boats scudding along before the wind down some unseen creek in the country.

I once travelled with these slow barrowmen near the coast of Shantung, where the ground was white with deposits of soda exuding everywhere. I was warned of the difficulty of getting fresh water, as every well was saturated with soda. When we attempted to make tea, the soda in the water made the infusion very strong and bitter. Happily, I found a good remedy. I provided myself with a bagful of cucumbers, and when I suffered from thirst after the bitter tea the cucumbers tasted as sweet as apples.

CHAPTER III

SETTLING IN CH'ING-CHOW FU

1. FIRST CONNECTION WITH LI HUNG-CHANG.

LI HUNG-CHANG was a native of Anhui province, and had been one of the chief generals under Tsêng Kwoh Fan in crushing the Taiping rebellion. It was to assist Li, when he was Governor of Soochow, that General Gordon was lent by the British Government.

My first connection with Li Hung-chang was in 1875, when he was at Chefoo signing the Chefoo Convention. I was then in charge of our Mission hospital, with a native assistant. Finding that a large number of Li Hung-chang's soldiers were coming to the hospital suffering from ague and dysentery, I sent a present of quinine and chlorodyne to the General for distribution amongst his retinue and escort. For this he sent me a letter of thanks.

2. JOURNEY TO CH'ING-CHOW FU.

After my return to Chefoo, I pondered much over the question of where to settle in the interior. On inquiry I found that at a place in the neighbourhood of Ch'ing-chow fu, two hundred miles away, about eight days' journey from Chefoo, there were several native sects, with a large number of followers seeking after higher truth than was to be found in the three great religions of China. I came to the conclusion that this was a place prepared to receive my message, so I decided in January 1875 to go to Ch'ing-chow fu. There was a young lad of about fourteen years of age in Chefoo, son of a sea captain, who could not continue

his lessons there, as there was no school at that time. It was decided that he should travel with me and that I should superintend his studies every evening.

On the journey we encountered considerable difficulties through the inclemency of the weather. It was winter-time and there was heavy snow on the ground. There were only three carts going together. The first day we made only ten miles. After toiling all the second day it was midnight before we reached our inn, having made only five miles. It was a hilly part of the country, and the wind had blown the snow off the high places, so that the roads were covered with snowdrifts and it was impossible to tell how deep they were. The fields lay in terraces up the sides of the hills, rising in ledges of two, three, or four feet high. Forced to leave the roads because of the snowdrifts, we had to drive over the fields, and in some instances had to dig away some hedges in order to get over them. This lengthened our journey considerably.

One night the carters lost their way and engaged a guide. He led us over some fields sown with wheat. The villagers came out, protesting. The carters, being tired out with the long day, answered roughly, and high words passed between the parties. People from the village ran to the help of the farmers, and it seemed as if we were to have a repetition of the trouble we had experienced the previous autumn after the rains. Again I had to intervene with the elders of the village, and after hearing me, they turned on the guide, whom they knew, and abused him roundly for leading us over the fields. Finally they turned to me and said: "We will let you pass this time, as you are a stranger. We have ordered the guide to take you to the nearest inn, but as a punishment for his misdeeds, you are not to pay him anything."

When we were within two days of Ch'ing-chow fu we were beset by a terrible blizzard. The wind was high, and the snow, though not deep, was driven before it in such a density of minute particles that everything was obliterated. We could see neither the tracks on

the road nor the sun, and as the sun is the compass on the plains of China as on the ocean, we could not find our bearings. In some places there were deep snowdrifts, preventing us from following the road where it was visible. When we came to such spots, we were forced to leave the main roads and go into the fields, where we wandered and wandered in search of the main road, not knowing the direction we had to go. However, after about five hours' travel in the blinding blizzard and the bitter cold, to our intense relief we finally reached an inn. The innkeeper feared that other travellers had failed in finding their way. And so it proved. The following morning it was found that two carts had lost their way, and some of the men had been frozen to death.

Ch'ing-chow fu is a prefectural city with eleven counties under it. At one time, in a former dynasty, it was the capital city of one of the princes. In those days it occupied a very large area. Even now it covers an area twice as large as the average city, and the city wall is one of the finest in Shantung.

Having arrived at Ch'ing-chow fu, we stayed at an inn, making no effort to rent a place. I studied Chinese general literature and religions, while the boy went on with his lessons. We were a great curiosity to the people. We used to go out for a short walk every afternoon, and as we were dressed in European costume the whole city used to turn out to look at us as we passed along the streets, while some of the most inquisitive and courageous would come to the inn to see us. I tried to receive them as kindly as I could, though I was often interrupted far more than I liked.

3. MEDICAL WORK IN CH'ING-CHOW FU.

In the autumn of 1875, after the rainy season, there was an immense amount of suffering from ague. I had a good supply of quinine and gave it out freely. To the people around it seemed nothing short of miraculous, as a single dose of from eight to ten grains

was usually enough to stop the distressing ague at once. Then they came for medicine for other diseases, but I told them I was not a medical man. Still, I had some valuable specifics.

Chlorodyne I found most useful. In the summer cholera was very dangerous, carrying people off suddenly. I was fortunate by using spirits of camphor in being able to save many lives. One day the superintendent of police called on me to say that his wife was dying of cholera. Would I go and see her? I went with him, and found her laid out on matting in the open courtyard, her people evidently expecting her to pass away very shortly. I gave her a few drops of spirits of camphor on sugar every five minutes, and within a quarter of an hour she turned round of her own accord and said she felt much better. This was one of many similar cases. The report went forth that, though it was very difficult to get me to give medicine, when I did I could cure people like a god.

4. PREFECTURAL TREASURER.

Amongst the applicants for medicine came a remarkable man who was Treasurer of the Prefecture, all the Government taxes having to pass through his hands. He was about fifty years of age, and was without a son. He was very anxious to have one, so took a secondary wife, but without success. His friends told him that this childlessness was due to his being a heavy opium-smoker. He therefore came to me and asked if I would help him to break off the opium habit. I advised him to give up the opium by diminishing the quantity from day to day. He asked if he might sit with me every day. "I do not want to interrupt you in your studies, nor do I wish you to spend your time talking to me. All I wish is to avoid my companion opium-smokers. They will not come to smoke here."

So he came daily about ten o'clock to sit with me while I worked. He used to take out his tobacco-pipe, with a stem of about a yard long. Having loaded this, it was amusing to watch him light it. He always

brought incense-sticks with him about a foot long, and having first lighted an incense-stick, his arm would be long enough then to light the pipe. He was a very intelligent man, full of good nature. It was always a pleasure to see him, and his daily visits resulted in talks on many matters. He marvelled at the foreigner's knowledge of wonders that were utterly inexplicable to the Chinese.

5. CHANGE OF COSTUME.

Pondering the question of costume, I wondered if I would have more visitors of the better class if I wore Chinese dress. So one day I put on the native dress, shaved my head, and wore an artificial queue. As I went out of the inn for my usual walk I met a little boy selling cakes who was in the habit of haunting the inn. He came carrying his cakes in a tray on his head. At sight of me in Chinese dress he was so startled that he jumped, and the trayful of cakes scattered on the ground, to the great amusement of the passers-by. As I walked down the street it seemed as if a telephone message had been sent to every house, for men, women, and children all came out to stare at the spectacle. I overheard one man say to another, "Ah! he looks like a man now." That very afternoon I was invited into a house to drink tea. I understood now that there had been a sound reason for not asking me before. Being in foreign dress, the sight would have been so strange that if I were inside a house all sorts of onlookers would have come to the paper windows. Each would have wet the tip of his finger noiselessly and made a hole in the paper and applied an eye to it. Every visit to the house would have thus involved the mending of the window-pane. On the other hand, when the foreigner put on Chinese dress, he was like an ordinary Chinaman and not worth looking at.

6. ACTING AS MASTER OF FENG-SHUI.

Shortly after this a great calamity befell the Empire. The Emperor Tung Chih died. According to the custom of the country, in token of deep mourning, no

one was to shave his head. It was a strange sight to see a whole community thus unshaven. Having put on Chinese costume, I adopted the same custom, and remained unshaven like the rest.

At that time I was studying a book by Dr. Eitel on "Feng-shui" (the spirits of wind and water). This Chinese superstition has immense influence over the people. Neither railways nor telegraphs could be constructed, as it was believed they would greatly interfere with the feng-shui of different places. People could not build a wall nor choose a cemetery; dig a grave nor change the course of a river or road without seriously affecting the feng-shui of the place. For instance, if the graveyard or road or streams on the land of a family that had produced eminent scholars and officials were interfered with, it was believed that the family would produce no more scholars nor officials, but be doomed to obscurity and poverty and even sterility.

One day the Treasurer said he wanted to select a piece of ground as a burial-place and would have to consult feng-shui professors. He asked me to go out to his native village in the country and select a site for the burying-ground. When the day arrived, we started walking together, as the distance was not great. On the way through the street of the town he bought tea and cakes. When we arrived at the farm, the water was boiled and we had refreshments, and then we went forth to look at the land. Having surveyed the prospect, I selected a likely place, and said, "If we foreigners wished to choose a place with good feng-shui, we would select such a spot as this." He placed bricks on the ground to mark the site, and we returned to the city, well pleased with the day's work.

7. HOW I GOT A HOUSE.

After a month or so of daily intercourse with me at the inn, he said one day: "You are a busy man and should not be subject to constant interruptions from any idler that chooses to come to the inn. Why do you not get a house of your own?"

I replied: "I would be very glad to have a house of my own, but I cannot rent one without some one guaranteeing me as an honest, peaceable man and becoming security for me. I am a foreigner. No one knows me. People think foreigners are all bad."

He answered, "Oh, is that your only reason?" And no more was said about the matter.

Next day, however, he told me of a house which I could get, and he was willing to become security for me. So I went with him to see the house. It was adjoining the Yamen of the city magistrate. A rent of nine dollars (about thirty shillings) a month was asked for it. In three days I took possession of it in perfect peace.

My house was built round a little courtyard facing south, about twenty yards long and ten yards broad. My landlord was fond of flowers, and he kept the yard well filled with plants in pot and with flowering shrubs, which he tended daily. On the north side were the chief apartments, which I occupied. They were three rooms, the central and largest one serving as a meeting-house at first. The side room, towards the west, was fitted with a stone floor, with flues under it, and a fire to heat it could be lit from the outside. This I found most comfortable in winter. I made it my bedroom and study, and no other stove was needed. The floors of the other rooms were of clay or mud. Behind the chief apartments was an orchard of about half an acre in size, filled with mulberry-trees, the leaves of which were used to feed silkworms. The rent for the house and grounds, together with a little furniture, cost me about four and a half Mexican dollars a month, about £6 a year. (China still counts her time in moons, and not in months.) I paid nothing to the landlord for being my gardener. It was a labour of love with him.

My food was very simple. Breakfast consisted of millet gruel, much like oatmeal gruel, which my servant obtained outside in the street. It was usually covered with a thick layer of brown sugar, which in winter kept the gruel underneath warm for an hour. A basinful

of this cost five cash. I usually took with it a millet pancake, as thin as a sheet of paper, about the size of a Welsh cheese in circumference. This cost only three cash. But I was extravagant in one thing: I always used foreign butter with the pancake. My breakfast, including tea, never cost me more than ten cash, about a halfpenny at the current rate of exchange. My midday meal was also bought on the street by my servant. It consisted of four rice dumplings, each wrapped in a broad leaf, sold by hawkers in the street, and altogether cost less than a penny.

My evening meal was luxurious. Instead of taking it at home I usually went to a restaurant. There I would order one evening chi-p'ien (a course of the white meat of a chicken boiled into soup and nicely flavoured), and the next evening ii-p'ien (a dish of good fish with well-flavoured soup). After this meat or fish course I would order four little steamed loaves of bread, the size and shape of a small glass tumbler. With these I drank as much native tea as I liked, and the whole meal cost the extravagant sum of not more than one hundred and twenty cash, or sixpence.

In winter I used to begin my evening meal with two ounces of hot yellow rice-wine, costing about six cash, which in a few minutes would cause my cold feet to tingle with a delightful glow.

After dining I would enter into conversation with other visitors in order to practise my Chinese and to learn the news of the day.

By way of change I used to go to a Mohammedan restaurant, which had the reputation of being cleaner than the usual Chinese eating-house. There they served me with roast beef or roast mutton, deliciously flavoured.

During the time of the great famine in Shansi cooking was reduced to its simplest elements. No meat or vegetable of any kind was to be got. There was an excellent substitute, however, in what the natives called gu p'i (orange-peel). On arrival at an inn at noon or night all that was necessary was to order this dish. The innkeeper would then take some flour, add

water, knead it into dough, and flatten it out into a large pancake. Then he would take the thin dough between his thumb and finger, snap it off piece by piece, and throw it into a pot of boiling water. After a few minutes these snippets were sufficiently cooked to be ladled into a basin, with some water which made the soup. Into the basin were then added a few drops of vinegar and a pinch of salt. The "orange-peel" was then ready for consumption. It was always most wholesome and very quickly made.

8. ANTI-FOREIGN EX-MAGISTRATE.

A retired ex-magistrate who lived in the city and had a violent prejudice against foreigners called on the superintendent of police, who was my landlord, and rated him soundly for daring to rent his house to a foreign devil. Now, this superintendent was a very smart man, more than equal to the occasion. He replied that the Tao-tai (who ruled over three prefectures, of which Ch'ing-chow fu was one) had lately issued a proclamation warning the people generally not to abuse foreigners and stir up international complications. What could he do? If he refused to rent his house to the foreigner, he would get into trouble with the Tao-tai. And there was the Prefectural Treasurer to reckon with. He had become security for the foreigner.

The ex-magistrate was nonplussed. Very angry in failing to carry his point with the superintendent, his former subordinate, he went to the city magistrate, and complained to him that wherever foreigners went they caused trouble, and begged him not to let me remain in the city. The magistrate replied that inasmuch as his superior, the Prefect, who ruled ten counties, lived in the city, he had better interview him, and if he ordered it the magistrate could take action.

So the ex-magistrate next interviewed the Prefect, a Manchu. But the answer he received was: "There are many foreigners living in Peking, and there is no trouble there. I hear that this man gives away medicine and does a lot of good to the poor. Therefore it

would be a pity to make trouble without cause. If, however, you hear of him doing any wrong, let me know, and I shall attend to the matter."

In China nothing is done in secret. The whole city soon knew of the discomfiture of the ex-magistrate, and none were sorry that his fussiness had been checked by the officials in authority. After this no one of a less rank dared interfere with me, and I was allowed to live in peace.

Once again the ex-magistrate tried to stir up trouble against me. During the famine-time I established an orphanage for children whose parents had died of starvation. One day one of my writers, a Chinese B.A., was going along the streets with a child whom he was taking to the orphanage. He met this ex-magistrate, who said to him, "Do you mean to say that you, a scholar, are assisting the foreigner to kidnap children?"

This was more than my writer could stand, and he retorted, "Who dares to say that I am kidnapping children?" And he gave the ex-official such a piece of his mind there and then in the middle of the street that all the onlookers were lost in astonishment.

The ex-magistrate was furious at being thus publicly insulted, and went straight to the Prefect to report that we were kidnapping children. My landlord, the superintendent of police, who had been friendly to me from the first, told me of the affair. In order to nip the trouble in the bud, I wrote to the Prefect complaining that there were mischief-makers trying to stir up public opinion against me, and begged him to put a check on these evildoers.

Next morning a proclamation from the Prefect appeared on the city wall, saying that any one who took charge of orphans whose parents had died of famine was a public benefactor, to whom all the people should be grateful, and any evil-minded men found circulating false reports would be severely dealt with. Thus the final attempt of the ex-magistrate against me failed, and public opinion sided against him in favour of the orphanage.

9. STUDY OF NATIVE RELIGIOUS BOOKS.

Having settled in my own house, I was able to go on with my studies without interruption. Previous to this I had studied the Confucian Classics translated by Dr. Legge. I now began on popular religious books which were used by the devout sects. The most important of these was the "King Shin Lu" ("Record of Devout Faith"), a collection of the most popular Confucian and Taoist tracts in the language. On inquiry after the chief book on Buddhism, I was told of the "Diamond Classic," and a Chinese friend presented me with a beautiful little copy in two volumes, all written by hand. It was so neatly got up and the calligraphy so beautiful that I thought I could not do better than make it my copybook. So I spent about an hour every day studying and copying the Classics. After each section of the text followed a short explanation of terms.

This practice, together with the study of "King Shin Lu," gave a vocabulary of religious terms that was intelligible to the Chinese, differing in many respects from that adopted in the translation of the Bible. After absorbing the religious thought, as well as the vocabulary, of these books, I prepared a catechism in Chinese, avoiding foreign names as much as possible, as the Chinese hated foreign things, and adopting our Lord's method of appeals to conscience rather than appealing to an authority the Chinese did not recognize. I translated "The Philosophy of the Plan of Salvation" at this time, a Religious Tract Society book, also the first part of Jeremy Taylor's "Holy Living" and Francis de Sales's "Devout Life."

10. INTERCOURSE WITH MOHAMMEDANS.

Another epoch-making step in my life was taken at this time. From Edward Irving's remarkable missionary sermon I had learned that the right method was to visit the leaders of thought. Now, there were in Ch'ing-chow fu two Mohammedan mosques, belonging to different sects of the faith of Islam. There was also

a theological college for the training of Mohammedan teachers, and in the country round were scores of mosques, with pastors over each.

I sent a messenger to the chief Mullah of the leading Mohammedan mosque at Ch'ing-chow fu, asking if I might call on him. He sent a very civil reply, appointing a certain day and hour. At the time fixed I called, and found he had invited the professors of the college and the leading teachers of the country mosques to be present on the occasion. I was received by the chief, who, after introducing me to the chancel, placed me in the seat of honour there. Biscuits were laid out on the table before me, and he made tea with his own hand. While we drank tea general remarks were made about Arabia, Egypt, Europe, how I came to China round Africa, and such topics. The good gentleman then began a very carefully prepared sermon, lasting for about twenty minutes, on the importance and value of the Mohammedan faith, quoting frequently many wonderful miracles as proofs of the Divine origin of the religion. After referring with respect to the patriarchs and prophets amongst the Jews, and also to Christ and His Apostles, he finished by dwelling on the higher merits of Mohammed.

On the wall beside him hung a diagram of what might be called a religious genealogical tree, beginning with Adam and branching off with the names of the noted patriarchs, prophets, and apostles; but the top-most branch of all bore an apple, representing Mohammed.

I could not but admire the great earnestness with which my host spoke and the great care with which he had arranged his arguments. When he finished I thanked him for all his kind attention, and said that I would think over all he had said and that on some future occasion we would have further talk on the matter. So saying, I took leave of them all.

When I returned home and thought over the evidence of Islam put forward by the pastor, I realized that the evidence with which I was then prepared to advocate

Christianity would be useless to bring forward to the Mohammedans. For every prophecy I could quote they would match it with a similar one of their own, and for every miracle I could mention they could produce a hundred. Thus if ever I was able to win Mohammedans over to Christianity it would be necessary for me to adopt a different line of argument altogether. I therefore began to study every book I had on Mohammedanism, together with Sale's and Rodwell's translations of the Koran. I examined the views of Carlyle and others, who regarded Mohammedanism as not unlike a Unitarian form of Christianity and who considered it had rendered great service in the uplifting of the Arabs from idolatry and superstition to the monotheism taught by the Jews and Christians.

I then prepared an address to deliver to the head pastor in support of the Christian faith. The Principal and about a dozen students of the theological college took advantage of a holiday to call on me. The Principal on this day had also prepared a sermon, which, after the preliminary civilities, he proceeded to deliver. Much of it was of the same nature as that given by the chief pastor. At the close I thanked him, and asked if he would like to hear what I had to say on Christianity. He expressed his wish to listen, and I delivered my address, during which the students more than once broke out into remarks of appreciation. Perhaps I went too far in my home thrusts, but certain it was that the Principal never brought his students again to see me, lest I should undermine their faith. Still, there was one old pastor who often came alone to visit me. In his case I had to make another new departure in tactics, which, though very bold, proved a success.

Whenever he came he was full of his faith, and used to quote both Arabian and Persian authorities in support of his views in opposition to mine. One day I said to him, "Never quote these authorities again." In astonishment he asked, "Why not?" To which I replied: "They were men more learned, it is true,

than the people of their day, but their knowledge is surpassed to-day. I have travelled through countries they never knew, and am intimate with the minute details of the life, customs, manners and thought of various races, and have studied their various systems of religion."

He was not taken aback by this, but added, "They wrote, however, under the guidance of the Spirit of God, which cannot err."

I replied: "And I, too, write under the guidance of God, and I would not have been here in China to-day but that the Spirit of God sent me here, a later Teacher than any you have in Islam."

After a silence he rose and made a deep obeisance to me, saying solemnly, "I grieve that I have not listened to the messenger of God."

On leaving he requested that he might often come and sit quietly in my room while I worked, for he found himself always strengthened after his visits to me. And so he frequently came to see me as long as I remained in Ch'ing-chow fu. He was one of those devout souls whose delight it was to seek God.

II. VISIT TO LEADER OF RELIGIOUS SECT.

My next move was to reach the head of one of the most popular native sects in the district, who lived some twenty miles off in the mountains. I sent two messengers to visit him and ask him to call on me when he came into the city. He replied that he rarely came to Ch'ing-chow fu, but that if I went his way he would be very glad to see me at his house. I therefore made a special journey to see him.

I determined to carry out on this trip the instructions of our Lord to His disciples in the tenth chapter of Matthew. It was in the month of July, and I made the journey on foot.

On arrival at my destination I met with one of the most hostile receptions I ever received, not from my host but from one of his evangelists, a most fanatical character, who happened to be staying over the night in the same house. During the evening meal, and after,

far into the night, he continued denouncing the Christian religion as being cruel and inhuman. His chief proof of its inhumanity lay in the works of a medical missionary, in which there were illustrations of human anatomy and surgery. Ignorant of the humane object of surgery, he regarded operations as proof of the cruelty of Christians. He was so virulent in his attack on Christianity that he refused to listen to any word of explanation. I saw it was useless to attempt any reasonable conversation.

Next morning I called my host aside, and told him that God had sent me from the other side of the world with a special message to him and to men like him who were among the best people on earth, but after what had passed the night before I judged he was not prepared to receive it, and I therefore proposed to go my way at once. Immediately upon hearing this he apologized for the conduct of his evangelist, who, he said, would be leaving at once, and begged me to remain another day so that I might explain my message. I did so, and we had a hallowed time together, when we truly felt that God was present with us.

On taking my leave the following day to visit others who were seeking after the highest truth my host sent one of his servants to show me the way over the mountains and put me on the main road in the direction I wished to go. Bidding farewell to this man, I told him that in showing me the way and thus helping to bring together men who sought after the highest he was co-operating with God.

12. KINDNESS OF COUNTRY PEOPLE.

I travelled alone on my way until it was getting near noon. The sun was high, and the heat was great. In spite of the Chinese straw hat on my head, with a brim almost as large as a parasol, I was very hot, and seeing a big tree by the roadside with thick branches, and abundance of leaves fluttering in the breeze, I sat down in its shade to cool myself. Presently, labourers passed by with hoes on their shoulders on their way

from the fields to their noonday meal, and I greeted them one by one. Then I overheard two of them who had just passed saying, "Think of that. He has passed him without a word!" Scarcely had they spoken, when I saw a man ahead of them wheel round and come back to me. He asked where I was going, and when he heard, he said: "You cannot possibly go there now. There is a great flood in the river. Come with me and wait till the water subsides."

I gladly went with him to the village, where he took me to a school, usually one of the best buildings in a hamlet. There I was given my dinner with the school-master, and I remained talking until about five o'clock, when a man came in to say that the river was less swollen and could be crossed.

Half a dozen men out of the village came with me to the river, which was about a hundred yards wide, with a powerful current. There was no bridge, and the only way was to strip ourselves and ford it. One man made my clothes into a bundle, which he carried on his head, and led the way side by side with a second man. I had a man on each side of me, and two more followed close behind. As we proceeded, the river became deeper and deeper, till we were breast high in the water. The current was so strong that I felt big stones rolling under my feet. Whenever I stumbled the men around me at once steadied me until we safely reached the farther side. When I saw how dangerous the river had been, and that I would probably have been drowned had I attempted to ford it alone, I was greatly moved by the kindness of all these men to me, a perfect stranger, and told them I was utterly at a loss how to thank them for their goodness.

"Oh," they cried, "do not talk like that. Do you not remember us? We know you. At New Year time we visited a famous temple near Ch'ing-chow fu to worship there. Hearing of the foreigner in the city, we called at the inn where you were staying. You received us courteously, answered all our questions, and gave us tea. This is the first opportunity we have

had of returning your kindness." They then pointed out the way I was to go for my next appointment, and we parted, wishing each other well.

I reached my destination in another mountain village before the sun set. The friend I purposed to see was an intelligent man, who had often called on me in Ch'ing-chow fu, and had held long conversations with me. He gave me a most hearty welcome, and, as in the other village, took me to the school and introduced me to the teacher, a fine old man of about sixty years of age. It was not a primary school, but an advanced one with about twenty students, ranging from seventeen to twenty-five years of age. To these I was introduced.

As it was hot, they decided to have their evening meal out in the open courtyard. There we had a most happy time, discussing many points of contrast between the East and West. After supper the students came round me, each bringing a fan, and asking me to write something on it. This is a very general custom in China, and people are very proud of showing the handwriting of noted personages on their fans. I made a bargain with the students, that if I wrote in English on one side of their fans, they would write the translations in Chinese on the other side. So I wrote a verse of a hymn on each fan. Thus we became friendly, and they asked me to visit them again, and tell them more about the new doctrine referred to in the hymns. On parting, I was told I would pass through a market town where one of their annual Taoist festivals was to be held.

13. MIDNIGHT GATHERING OF WOMEN AT TAOIST TEMPLE.

When I arrived at the town, I called on an inn-keeper who had visited me more than once in Ch'ing-chow fu. He made me very welcome, and gave me particulars about the religious gathering. It was a remarkable one, attended, not by men, but by women, and these for the most part of forty years of age and upwards. They were there chiefly to pray for a good harvest, but some had come to petition for sons.

During the day numberless parties of women, some in twos and threes, some half a dozen in number, some a dozen together, arrived in the town, and hearing of a foreigner in the place, were curious to see me. The little inn all day long was filled with women coming in turns, and putting all sorts of questions to me about farming and harvest in my country, about parents and children, and about religion, which gave me opportunities of explaining Christianity.

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

The following day all departed in groups to their respective homes, and I returned to Ch'ing-chow fu, having found the devout always ready to welcome and hear me, and give me every hospitality, thus proving the soundness of the principles laid down by our Lord in the tenth chapter of St. Matthew.

14. VISIT TO HERMIT.

About this time I visited a cave in the mountains where lived a Taoist hermit, searching after true religion. I arrived at the nearest village one evening, and at the inn I learned more about the hermit, and was told how

to reach the cave. At dawn of day next morning I found my way there, and began to talk to him about religion. He then told me that after I had visited the head of the native sects in these mountains, the latter had called together his disciples from the various villages and had described my visit. The hermit, having gone with the other disciples, had received books that I had left with the leader, which he was now carefully studying. Having realized who I was, he was very respectful, and insisted on my sharing his breakfast. It consisted mainly of millet gruel, which is as wholesome a diet as oatmeal porridge. Then he told me of the deepest truths which he was studying in Taoism, and I endeavoured to point out to him that Christianity explained those problems of his more fully and clearly.

Two or three years after there were many little Christian churches in the villages, the result of the inhabitants sending for Christian teachers from our station at Ch'ing-chow fu.

15. FIRST CONVERTS.

In order to meet the need of the native sects, I collected all the catechisms in English and Welsh that I could lay hands on, and out of these selected what was best, adding questions and answers that would appeal to the consciences of the Chinese. I also made use of the most popular native sheet tracts, leaving out what was idolatrous, and inserting clauses on the worship of the one true God.

Whilst I was preparing the new Catechism, a devout man, by trade a weaver of silk bands and cord, used to visit me and talk about religion. He begged for a copy of the catechism to read and commit to memory, it being a custom amongst the devout Chinese to commit sacred portions to memory. He took it home with great joy and read it every day, learning it page by page. One day, while he was thus engaged, his wife began weeping bitterly. He asked what was distressing her.

"You are going to heaven, and I shall be left behind," she replied, weeping still more bitterly.

"But you can also learn about this religion and get to heaven," he said.

"No, how can I learn the book when I cannot read a single character?" she cried.

"I will teach you."

"But I am so stupid. I cannot learn the characters."

"If you learn only one character a day, it will not be difficult. In ten days you will know ten characters, in one hundred days one hundred characters. It will not be long before you know all the characters in the book, if you persevere."

"I will persevere," she replied, "if you will teach me."

So they learnt the catechism together.

Besides the catechism I had made a selection of about thirty hymns, which would appeal to the non-Christians without need of explanation. These the weaver and his wife learnt by heart when they had finished the catechism. Their two children, a boy of seven and a girl of five, hearing them reciting the hymns every day, learnt them even more quickly than their parents. When they had committed all to memory, the weaver and his wife begged for baptism. Now, as baptism by immersion was a most unusual rite in China, I did not know how the non-Christians would regard it, so I took the two outside the West Gate of Ch'ing-chow fu, where there was a river of beautifully clear water, and no houses but a Buddhist temple near. I called on the priest and explained to him the meaning of the ceremony, asking if he would lend a room or two in the temple for our use. He readily consented, and I took the couple out in the river and baptized them, after which we changed our garments in the temple.

At the end of 1875 I had occasion to go to Chefoo on business. I had been ten months in the interior, having seen foreigners only twice. By that time only three men had become Christians, one the weaver, the second my teacher. Early the next year, however, I

had some fifteen to baptize.¹ For this occasion, I had a baptistery made in my own courtyard, and to prevent any evil reports spreading amongst the non-Christians about this unusual rite, I asked my old friend the Treasurer of the Prefecture if he would like to be present. He consented, and his presence there was sufficient guarantee to the public outside that everything done was right and proper.

¹ According to statistics at the end of 1876 we had in all 62 communicants, of whom over 40 belonged to the Church in Chefoo. (See Conference Records, 1877.)

CHAPTER IV

FAMINE RELIEF IN SHANTUNG

I. FAILURE OF CROPS.

THE south of China is often subject to floods, while the north is subject to drought owing to the rain having been already precipitated in the south. The years 1876-8 were in North China almost rainless. More than ten provinces were said to be suffering from drought at this time, the chief centre of distress being the southern half of Shansi province, with a radius of nearly a thousand miles. The suffering in all the northern provinces was so terrible that it was said that in all history, even in that of China, the distress had never been equalled. It struck terror into the hearts of all.

In the spring of 1876, when the rain did not come after the farmers had sown their crops, the officials and people were much distressed and visited the various temples praying for it. The city magistrate in Ch'ing-chow fu issued a proclamation calling on the people to fast from eating any meat, especially beef, and on a certain day he put chains round his own neck, wrists, and feet, and walked through the city to the chief temple to pray for rain. This was an unusual sight, as Chinese officials always ride in chairs. Immense crowds of country people followed in his train, wearing chaplets of willow twigs and leaves. Whilst the magistrate prostrated himself before the idols in the temple, the people prostrated themselves in the courtyards outside, most importunately petitioning for rain.

2. POSTERS EXHORTING PEOPLE TO PRAY TO GOD.

While they were all thus praying to the idols everywhere I prepared some yellow placards with only a few

words on each, saying that if the people wanted rain, the best way was to turn from dead idols to the living God and pray unto Him and obey His laws and conditions of life. I then rode on horseback and visited the eleven county towns of the prefecture of Ch'ing-chow fu and pasted the placards on the city gates. The result was very striking. On going into each town, I would stay for refreshment at one of the principal inns. Before I had finished my meal, deputations of elderly men would come to the inn, go down on their knees, and beg me to tell them how to worship and pray to the living God. Later on some women with tiny feet travelled some twenty miles over the mountains to visit me in Ch'ing-chow fu to inquire about the same object. Years after these became the nucleus of a Christian Church in those mountains.

3. DISTURBANCES OWING TO FAMINE.

On the ninth day of the fifth moon I wrote in my diary: "No less than nineteen cases of robbery reported. Even a boy of twelve stabbed a man who remonstrated against his robbing."

At the end of May, as there was still no rain, the people became very alarmed and disorderly.

A band of women marched to a rich man's house, took possession of it, cooked a meal there, and then marched to the next house for the next meal. Men, seeing the success of this plan, organized a band of five hundred, pillaging from village to village. Hearing of these disorders, the Governor of the Province deprived the Ch'ing-chow fu magistrate and prefect of their buttons, and sent word that if they could not keep order they would be replaced by better men. Then the magistrate, driven to desperation, had men beheaded or exposed in wooden cases in which they could neither stand upright nor sit, and died slowly of starvation. The place of execution was adjoining my back court. After these terrible punishments, which took place daily, order was restored and the officials regained their buttons.

The poor people, however, if not robbed by their

neighbours, had to endure the pangs of hunger. Visiting a village on the tenth day of the fifth moon, I found a number of little boys carrying baskets full of thistles and of vegetables, which they had gathered in the fields, and some leaves they had stripped from the trees. They sat down under a tree near the inn, where I was having some cakes for my midday meal, and began to eat their leaves. I asked if they would not exchange some of their food for mine. They were overjoyed to get a taste of flour. I noticed one of them with a very red face, so swollen that his eyes were almost buried. On asking the reason of his swollen face, I was told that he had eaten the leaves of the "hwai" tree, which to some are poisonous, while others find them harmless.

On the same day a minor military officer was beheaded for violent robbery. On the eleventh day of the fifth moon a young man of thirty was put in a cage. Finding that the price of grain was so high, the Governor issued a proclamation that the officials in the famine-stricken districts were to remove the taxes on the import of grain and buy grain from Kiangsu and Manchuria in large quantities and sell it to the people under cost price, the Government bearing the expense of the difference.

I had an interview at this time with the Prefect of Ch'ing-chow fu and suggested that the Government in Peking should be memorialized to make arrangements with Korea and Japan for free trade in cereals and thus lower the price.

In the district of Lo-ngan there lived a man named Chiu who, towards the end of the Taiping rebellion in the 'sixties, had been chosen head of forty villages to resist the rebels. These villages now wanted Chiu to head a rebellion against the Government, as the people were perishing for want of food. He refused and fled to Ch'ing-chow fu. The villagers were so incensed at his action that they went to his house and killed all his family, six in number.

A few days before this a young woman of about twenty years of age arrived in the city, carrying her baby, four months old, and sat all day in front of the Yamen

with a wisp of straw round the child's body to mark that it was for sale. My diary of that time furnishes the following particulars :—

June 27th.—“ This morning another woman is reported to have had a severe struggle with herself in crossing a river on the way to the city. She thought that if she threw her child into the river, she herself might survive. But her maternal instinct triumphed and she brought the baby into the city and is now sitting in the street hoping some one will have pity on them both.”

4. ASKED TO HEAD A REBELLION.

On June 30th two scholars, both Sui-ts'ai (B.A. degree) men, between thirty and forty years of age, one from Shiukwang, the other from the north of Itu, came to see me, but as I was too busy, they called the next day by appointment. On entering, they prostrated themselves and asked to be accepted as my disciples. After some talk I discovered they were a deputation from a number of people who desired me to head a rebellion as the authorities were not providing food for the perishing people. They had already rented a house, and a large number of men were ready to execute my commands. I told the deputation that I could not dream of any such action, as it would only increase the suffering of the people. Once begun, no one knew where such a revolt would end, but it would certainly entail great bloodshed. I advised them to devise constructive instead of destructive methods for improving the condition of the people.

July 2nd (Sunday).—“ The people have been circulating reports that a certain chin-tze (a Doctor of Literature) had risen from the dead, prophesying that this year one-third of the people will die. If one man tells it to ten, and each one of these tells the news to other ten, who will in their turn inform other ten, in a very short time the whole land will be aware of their danger. I took advantage of this rumour to preach on the attitude of Abraham towards Sodom and that of Jonah towards Nineveh, and exhorted my hearers to repent of their sins and turn to

God, so that He might have pity on them. The mandarins do not realize that it is their own sin of ignorance which causes the people to perish. A woman stood at my door and seeing my landlord, sat down exhausted with her baby in her arms and asked him to pluck a few leaves from a tree near by. He did so, and she ate them eagerly, saying, 'Now I feel better.' It is most pathetic to see the quiet patience on the pale faces of the starving. At the sight of so much distress I could not help but distribute something in relief every few days."

5. METHODS OF DISTRIBUTING MONEY.

It was difficult to devise a satisfactory way of giving money to all and at the same time ensuring that the same applicant did not return for more. One plan which occurred to me was to stand at the end of a long narrow lane in the poorest quarter of the city, and have the applicants pass me in a long queue. As each was given a small dole of money, I marked his dirty palm with aniline ink, knowing it was not easily rubbed off. After sufficient time had elapsed for some to run round to the other end of the lane and take up new positions in the queue, when suspiciously clean palms were proffered, we guessed that the owners must have received their doles before and had vigorously scoured the ink off. We therefore continued distributing to the remaining few who had dirty palms.

Another man attempted to give relief by throwing cash from the city walls to the poor outside. A mere scramble resulted.

In my diary I find also these two sentences: "The Prefect, who ruled eleven counties, memorialized the Throne to report that seven counties were suffering from famine." "Mr. Wang, principal of the prefectural college, spent two days in praying to the good Ching Hwang for rain."

At the beginning of July a report came that in a place called Yei Yuen, in the adjoining county of Ling Ku, a man who possessed five hundred mow of land wished to

sell his property so as to get money for food. But he could get no higher offer than two dollars and a half a mow for it, though the land was worth from fifty to a hundred dollars per mow. He was so distressed at this low price, that he put some arsenic in the food which he and his family were about to take, and they ended their troubles by dying together.

I felt that I could not desert the place to save myself, nor could I keep any money while the poor, to whom God had sent me, were starving. But there was a great difficulty attending the giving of any private relief. For example, the owner of a grain shop at one time decided to give away all the grain in his possession. Thousands gathered, and in the crush for dear life one little girl was killed and people were trampled on, and many only escaped with broken bones. After this the magistrate issued a proclamation forbidding any private distribution again, and the starving people went in despair about the streets.

July 3rd.—"In the course of our morning worship I read the passage about our Lord feeding the multitudes, where He made them sit down. Like a flash of lightning, the secret of sitting down was revealed. A sitting crowd cannot crush. I called a dozen men to bid the starving crowd go to a large threshing floor opposite my house, and bid them sit down in rows. Men as well as women with babies in their arms sat down. I appeared and told them that I had very little money, but that all I had I would gladly give if they would remain sitting quietly. I would only distribute a small sum at first, and then a second and a third. The men commenced their distribution and not a soul stirred from his place. They were as quiet as if at a Communion Service. The magistrate's Yamen was across the street, and in a few minutes several yamen runners and one or two secretaries looked on the wonderfully quiet scene with amazement. When the last cash and the last dole had been given, I told them that I had no more, and that even the Government could not save them, unless there came heavy rain. For that we must pray to God. I called on them all to kneel down and I would pray

to God to look down in pity on them. So thousands of poor sufferers received the little help with gratitude and joined in prayer as far as they knew."

6. SECOND REQUEST TO HEAD REBELLION.

On the evening of July 3rd a man from Feng Hwang Tien, about eight miles east of Ch'ing-chow fu, called on me to say that the people there were ready to rise in rebellion if I would go back with him and lead them. I replied that I could not consider such an action. He continued to press me, and I was becoming very uneasy about the dangerous conversation, when a carter came in. I engaged a cart from him to start for Chi-nan fu next day, and told my visitor that on arrival there I would interview the Governor and try to induce him to render more service to the people. Before the man left, my boy came in to say that a number of people had gathered outside waiting for this man to take me with him. He went away saying he would visit me again on my return from Chi-nan fu. I gave him a large poster which I had been distributing through the city in the afternoon, consisting of the Lord's Prayer with explanations and exhortations.

Owing to the frequent small donations I was distributing to the needy, some women early next morning began to make comparisons between my attitude and that of the officials, saying that the latter cared nothing for the poor. Realizing that if such talk were continued the officials would believe any reports about my stirring rebellion, I decided to leave the city at once. Before starting I paid my landlord three months' rent in advance. The monthly rent was less than five Mexican dollars.

About fifty li from Ch'ing-chow fu I discovered a boy of about eleven years of age sitting on the back of my cart. His father was a tailor in Ch'ing-chow fu, who had a brother, also a tailor, in Chi-nan fu, to whom the boy wished to go. Fearing that mischievous people might circulate rumours that I had kidnapped the boy, I engaged a man to take him back to his father.

7. PROPOSALS TO GOVERNOR TO AVERT FUTURE FAMINE.

The Governor of Chi-nan fu was Ting Pao Ch'en, a native of Kweichow. On July 7th I arrived in his city and had an interview with him. He was a strong man, and noted as having been one of the leading officials who suppressed the Taiping rebellion. The rebels had already got possession of thirteen of the eighteen provinces of China, when Ting opposed them with the troops and prevented them from marching on to Peking. I suggested to him that arrangements should be made to import grain from Korea and Japan as well as from Manchuria, and that railways and mines should be opened to give employment to the poor. He listened very sympathetically, and said he was in favour of such reforms being carried out. But unfortunately for Shantung, he was soon promoted to the Viceroyalty of Szechuen and had no further opportunity of benefiting Shantung. His son, Ting T'i Ch'ang, I met afterwards as Taotai in Shansi, and as I had known the father, the son continued friendly to me in Taiyuenfu. He was afterwards promoted to be one of the leading provincial mandarins in Canton.

On returning to Ch'ing-chow fu I found that evil-minded persons had spread a report that I had carried a boy off to Chi-nan fu. I at once saw the tailor, the boy's father, and took him with me to the yamen, where in the presence of the magistrate's men-shang (secretary), and other clerks of the Yamen, besides a score of underlings, he testified that his son had run from home and had followed my cart, but that I had sent him back, that the parents were most grateful for my action, and that the boy was now at home.

8. DONATIONS FROM CHEFOO.

On the eleventh day of the sixth moon I took a small sum that had been collected by my friend Dr. Carmichael in Chefoo, on behalf of the famine-stricken people, and gave it to the Chi-hsien (city magistrate)

to distribute, saying that I hoped he would not despise the smallness of the gift. He seemed very pleased, and said he would let the people know from whence the money came. I told him that the information was unnecessary, as all I desired was that some of the poor should be rescued from starvation. At the time I wrote: "The price of the land is reduced to one-third of what it was, and even then it is difficult to find a purchaser. People sell their vessels of copper and zinc for one-third of their value. The pawnshops in the spring gave five hundred cash for clothing, later the price was reduced to four hundred, then three hundred, and now only one hundred cash is given for the same articles. Indeed, they want to refuse receiving them, but the officials will not permit it, so the things are exchanged at only nominal prices.

"This evening two men were beheaded and one was put in the cage."

9. INCREASE OF INQUIRIES.

Meanwhile, not only were the small posters displayed directing the people to pray to God for rain, but the Christianized sheet-tracts were circulating far and wide, bringing from time to time numbers of devout persons to Ch'ing-chow fu to see me about religion.

The knowledge that I was distributing relief to the famine sufferers was a convincing proof to the multitude that my religion was good. To all inquirers I gave the catechism and hymn-books, but only on condition that they would commit them to memory. On returning to their homes, they would talk of their books to their neighbours, with the result that in a number of centres there were many inquirers. Each centre in time became the nucleus of a Church. When the leaders had committed the catechism and hymn-book to memory, they came to me for more literature.

By this time, I had, as I have already noted, translated part of Jeremy Taylor's "Holy Living." The first part dealt with the practice of the Presence of God, which induced the readers to turn direct to God for His inspira-

tion and guidance, instead of relying solely on the foreign missionary for teaching and advice. I also made selections from the Psalms and passages of the New Testament for the leaders to commit to memory, so as to be ahead of their followers. In order that they might learn to pray, I ordered copies of the Church of England prayers, and instructed the leaders to use these in their worship for the time being.

As the inquirers increased rapidly in number, and I was the only foreign missionary, I invited the leaders from various villages far and near, some at a distance of forty miles, to come on stated occasions to me in Ch'ing-chow fu to recite their passages of Scripture and receive further instruction. It was most interesting to note the effect of certain portions of the New Testament on the inquirers. Those who had committed Ephesians to memory all became strong Calvinists, sure of their election to do great work for God. Others who had committed the Gospel according to John to memory became lovable mystics.

The largest number of leaders who at one time came to stay a few days with me in Ch'ing-chow fu was sixty. I gave them empty rooms to lodge in, and they brought their bedding and food. Besides this gathering of men, I had another meeting of women leaders, to whom I gave instructions, and appointed portions to be committed to memory. In every centre there sprang up spontaneously Sunday Schools where the Christians taught the inquirers themselves and heard them recite the catechism and hymns, and where they met for worship together; so that within a year there were over two thousand inquirers meeting regularly for worship at some scores of centres, north, south, east, and west.

10. MY MISSION POLICY ADOPTED BY DR. NEVIUS.

Dr. Nevius, of the American Presbyterian Mission in Chefoo, used to make two long evangelistic tours into the interior of Shantung every year, one in the spring and one in the autumn. Ch'ing-chow fu, eight hundred li from Chefoo, was his farthest point, and he generally

stayed there with me for a day or two, when we talked together about our various mission methods.

I had noticed that the Chinese had a method of their own in carrying on education and the propagation of their religious doctrines. Their societies were self-supporting and self-managing. It occurred to me that the best way to make Christianity indigenous was to adopt Chinese methods of propagation. The main problem was to present Christianity in such a way that it would commend itself to the conscience of the Chinese as superior to anything they themselves possessed. I had already commenced this kind of work, with the result that several natives volunteered to carry on Christian work on these lines, when Dr. Nevius heard of it. He visited some of the stations with me to see the result of my method, and was so greatly struck with it that he decided to adopt it in the main as his new policy of mission work. In my house he wrote a number of pamphlets and regulations to develop the method, and copied them out with my hectograph. He followed this method most successfully for some years, and afterwards wrote a series of articles on the subject which first appeared in the *Chinese Recorder*, and were then published in pamphlet form. This pamphlet was circulated by some of the Mission Boards in America and England, and was known as "Dr. Nevius' Missionary Method," a method by which the natives were to take the lead rather than the foreign missionary. I was considerably interested when my own Missionary Society reprinted the pamphlet, and sent it out to me, not knowing that the method had really begun with me. It was only when the fundamental principle underlying it was lost sight of in future years that it ceased to prosper.

II. INCIDENTS IN FAMINE RELIEF.

Having explained to the district magistrate that I had sufficient funds to distribute relief to some of the greater sufferers, it was my custom, before distributing relief, to send men to a number of villages to take down carefully the names of those in the greatest want,

and give them tickets to receive relief. A day was then fixed for the distribution, when all ticket-holders were to come to a central spot. On one occasion this was a small market town. When we arrived, we found between double and treble the number of those who had received tickets assembled, pleading for relief, their mules, donkeys, and cows having been sold or eaten up. If we gave to them all, the relief afforded would be too small. But how was it possible to give only to those with tickets? The crowd at the gates pressed on all sides. We tried in vain to reason with them. Their sense of hunger stifled all other considerations.

After attempting various plans for about two hours, I said to my assistants: "I will go outside the city, cross the river, and walk up the hill on the other side. Those who have no tickets will probably follow me. When we are a good distance away, then you can begin distributing to those whose names are on your register."

As I expected, those who had no tickets followed me begging for alms. I walked slowly away, so that even the women with small feet could keep up with me. When I reached the top of the hill on the other side of the river, I stopped, and the people began to fall on their knees around me, imploring me for money. I then told them a parable:—

"On a summer's day a traveller, who had become very hot and thirsty, begged at a house for a drink of cold water. The woman of the house gave him the little water that she had, and he drank it all. Before he had finished, another man, in like manner, very thirsty and warm, came in and clamoured for water. The woman replied, 'I have no more in the house, but if you wait a little while, I will go to the well and fetch you some more.' The relief money in hand to-day is only a small supply, and only sufficient to satisfy the wants of those who have tickets. I am grieved that you are in such dire distress. But if you will wait patiently, I will write to the foreigners at the coast about your sufferings, and when more money arrives I will gladly distribute it to you."

At this an elderly woman who had been kneeling close to me and listening very attentively suddenly rose and told the crowd I had been speaking to them in a parable. She repeated my words and explained my meaning very clearly. The crowd, instead of becoming angry, began to disperse, perfectly satisfied with the explanation and the reasonableness of my request. Meanwhile my helpers had been busy in the town. I did not go back at once, as I wished to give those in charge of the distribution ample time to finish their work. When I did return, I learned that the ticket-holders had been admitted by one gate and had left by another, and that there had been perfect order.

12. SUBSCRIPTIONS FROM PORTS.

In the early summer of 1876 I had written to my friend the Rev. James Thomas, of the Union Church in Shanghai, describing the distressing conditions in Shantung, and suggesting that my account should be published in the foreign papers in Shanghai. I had already gathered orphans together, and I appealed for funds to help them, pointing out that four dollars would support one orphan for three months, while four hundred dollars would keep a hundred orphans for that time. Subscriptions soon began to come in. Mrs. N. P. Anderson (then Miss Lai Soon) raised two hundred dollars, and forwarded it through Mr. Thomas. The Chefoo foreign community subscribed five hundred dollars, and the Chinese there sent two hundred. Relief committees began to be formed in the various ports, and funds were forwarded to me in Ch'ing-chow fu. With this money I was able to establish Orphanages of a hundred boys each in five different centres and to distribute general relief to the suffering.

One of these Orphanages was in the city of Ch'ing-chow fu itself, in a house with large grounds. It had been long vacant because it was rumoured to be haunted, and hence no one would venture to live there. I rented it, and slept in it the first night. Two teachers volunteered to pass the night there with me. How-

ever, there were such weird rustlings and scamperings during the night that the men fled, thinking the evil spirits were about to descend on them. Realizing that the noises were caused by rats, I went to sleep again. The next morning my assistants, seeing that no harm had befallen me, decided to remove to the house. Not having a staff to teach the orphans any new trades or industries, we had to fall back on old occupations, so that the boys, who ranged from twelve to eighteen years of age, could earn their living. They were taught smith-work, carpentering, silk-weaving, cord-making. I ordered various kinds of foreign lathes, small ones and powerful hand lathes, with the necessary tools to introduce a new kind of carpentering to the orphans. This involved a workshop with many appliances, which I procured in a modest way.

A time-table which I drew up for my use in Ch'ing-chow fu at that time might be of some interest to my readers :—

7.30-8	a.m.	Breakfast.
8-8.30		Worship.
8.30-10		Translation of English into Chinese.
10-12.30		Teaching of inquirers or preaching.
12.30-2	p.m.	Overseeing of orphans, teaching Sol-fa music, etc.
2-5		Translation into Chinese.
5-7		Miscellaneous work, walk, and dinner.
7-8		Church history in English.
8-8.20		Chinese worship.
8.20-9		"Bacon's Essays" and Butler.
9-10		Conversation with teachers.

13. RIOT AT CH'ANG LO.

Famine was reported to be very severe in the county of Ch'ang Lo, adjoining I Tu on the east. In distributing relief work in the city of Ch'ang Lo, I narrowly escaped with my life. As our funds were limited and we could only make arrangements to the extent of the money in hand, I decided first to relieve the Sui-ts'ais of the county of Ch'ang Lo.

These graduates are sometimes from amongst the very poorest; a family will often make great sacrifices to

educate one of their sons so as to gain distinction for their name. At this period the greatest opponents to Christianity were the scholar classes, and in order to convince them of the value of Christianity by practice rather than by theory, I decided to make a grant of a dollar each to all the Sui-ts'ais of Ch'ang Lo.

Later on, when more money came to hand, I decided to give relief to some of the most distressed villages, and sent men to draw up registers of the poor in those villages. After they were made and a day appointed when I would distribute relief to the villagers, I went to the city of Wei-hsien and exchanged the silver I had into cash. To convey it all I had three large carts, each pulled by three mules. In order to get to the suffering villages I had to pass through the city of Ch'ang Lo.

Now, the magistrate of Ch'ang Lo, to whom I had no time to explain matters, began to suspect my motives. He thought that by giving relief to the Sui-ts'ais I had been bribing the leaders of the county, and by now offering relief to the neediest villages I was inciting the people to rebellion. So when he heard that I was bringing three large cartloads of cash through the city he cried: "What does this foreigner mean by coming and meddling with our affairs? If he is robbed of his money, it is no affair of mine." The people took the hint and prepared to act on it.

I arrived in the south suburb of the city at noon, and had a meal in an inn there. When I had finished I ordered the carts to start for the villages. I had scarcely gone twenty yards from the inn before a large and threatening crowd gathered round and began helping themselves to the cash from the carts. Realizing the seriousness of the situation, I ordered the carters to turn round and go back into the inn. There I consulted with my native assistants, who said it was impossible for me under the circumstances to arrive at the villages to distribute relief, as they were several miles away. So I left the three carts at the inn under the charge of my assistant, and rode on horseback to the central village to explain matters.

It was far from easy. There were some thousands of people gathered from all the district round waiting patiently for relief the whole day, many of them with children in their arms. I did not know but that the people might be very angry with me and do me violence. On the other hand, if I told the whole truth, that it was the magistrate who had prevented my bringing the relief, the men in their fury might have marched to the city and made it dangerous for him. I consulted with my assistants there, and decided to put a notice outside the door to say that owing to unforeseen circumstances I regretted I was unable to bring relief on that day as I had promised, but that I advised the people to return to their respective villages as soon as possible, lest they should suffer more from the cold, and that two or three elders from each village should remain behind and I would arrange with them how to send money to their villages at an early date. To my great relief, within ten minutes all the people dispersed in perfect quietness, and I fixed a day when the elders should come to Ch'ing-chow fu, where I would give bills to them for the distribution of relief in their respective villages.

The next day I returned to Ch'ang Lo. It was late in the afternoon when I arrived at the inn. As I approached the suburbs of the city people rushed out of their houses, tied up their belts, as they always do before a fight, and cried out, "Lai-le! Lai-le!" ("He's come! He's come!")

I inquired of my assistants how they had passed the night. They replied that they had never spent such a dangerous one in their lives. The people had tried to burst open the door of the inn, and, not succeeding in that, they had thrown showers of stones and bricks over the wall, so that the assistants could not move from one to another without risk of their lives.

Shortly after my arrival a military officer sent in his card, wishing to see me, and made certain suggestions to me, which I suspected to be treacherous, and then departed. The crowd outside the inn was

rapidly increasing and growing very threatening. In a few minutes I decided what to do to avoid the mischief evidently intended. I told my assistant to remain in the inn in charge of the carts for twenty minutes longer, and then he was to take five strings of cash with him and leave the inn and the carts without a word to anybody, go to a place some six li off on the way to Ch'ing-chow fu, and wait there for me.

14. INTERVIEW WITH OFFICIAL.

I then threw open the gates of the inn and walked rapidly to the city gate. The whole crowd followed after me with a great rush. I entered the city and made straight for the Yamen, the people crying out, "He is going to the Yamen! He is going to the Yamen!" At the gate I met one of the magistrate's personal servants, whom I asked if the official was in. He tried to parley with me, asking my business. But I had no time to talk with him, so I brushed him aside and went straight through to the residential part of the Yamen and entered an inner room. There I found the military officer who had visited me talking with one whom I supposed to be the magistrate. At my sudden appearance both of them were startled and seemed afraid that I would be violent.

I then addressed the magistrate. "You know the circumstances in the south suburb, where the carts of cash are lying at the inn. I told my servant in charge there to wait twenty minutes." Here I pulled out my watch. "After that time he is to leave without a word of explanation to any one. Now, as there are hundreds of people already crowded about the inn and threatening violence, I inform you that whatever happens after my man leaves the responsibility of it will rest entirely upon you. There is ample time for you to send men to the inn before he leaves and see that order is maintained and the carts secured."

"Oh, your money is no concern of mine!" cried the magistrate.

"But the peace of the place is your concern," I

replied. "I have merely come to inform you so that you can prevent trouble." With that I left him, and walked rapidly through the courtyard as before.

The official was so alarmed that he sent men at once to the inn, and my man was able to put the carts into their charge.

The crowd, seeing me come out of the Yamen, cried out, "He is going back to the inn!" With that they turned round and rushed ahead of me as fast as their legs could carry them. Coming to a cross street, they all turned down to the south gate; but I went straight on to the west gate through a part of the city that was almost empty.

By this time it was dark. Outside the west gate I found two barrowmen resting and eating their supper of thick wheat-cakes. I asked where they were bound for, and they replied for Yao-kou. That was in the very direction I was going, so I asked them to take me with them. They were only too glad of a fare, and I mounted the barrow, one of them pulling while the other pushed. On they went at a good pace, and I was thankful to be at last rid of the riotous mob.

But we had not gone far before we heard loud, excited voices behind. The voices came nearer and nearer, and when we reached a village half a dozen men overtook us and laid hold of me, insisting I should go back to the inn at Ch'ang Lo and distribute the money there and then.

After a long time and a great deal of difficulty I persuaded them to return. The people of the village immediately gathered round, and, following universal Chinese custom, I appealed to a third party, explained the situation to the elders of the village, and asked them what I should do.

15. PURSUIT AND RESCUE.

The presence of half a dozen violent men made their fear stronger than their sense of justice, and they advised me to return with the men.

In this strait I asked them to come to a threshing-

floor near by. Then I appealed to the self-interest of the six men, saying: "If I go back with you, as soon as the news of my return spreads through the city there will be thousands of men coming for the cash, and the crush will be dreadful. Many will be wounded and their limbs will be broken, and some will be killed. Are you sure that your own friends will not be amongst the sufferers, or even yourselves? I have another plan to suggest to you. I told my assistant to meet me at an inn a few li ahead. He will have five thousand cash with him. If you go with me, I will divide the strings of cash amongst you, and you will thus get your money without any danger of broken limbs. Do you not think it would be much better to come with me?"

One of the six men cried out, "Yes, let us go with him!" and they told me to mount the barrow, and off we went, up hill and down dale and across streams at a great pace. Just before reaching the inn, where the lights were burning, I called to them to stop, and said, "You wait here and I will go on to the inn and fetch the money for you."

I brought the money back and put it down on the ground before them. One of the men said, "Is this all we get?"

I answered: "This is all I possess. I have not even a cash left, and will have to take my supper on credit." Then I took off my jacket, and said, "If you think the money not enough, take my jacket and pawn it."

At this another man cried out to the first, "You ought to be ashamed of yourself to ask for more when he has given us all!" With that they thanked me and went on their way back, while I returned to the nearest inn for food.

Before I had finished my meal a most wonderful and grateful scene of a very different kind began to unfold itself. The inhabitants of Yao-kou, a village about five miles from Ch'ang Lo, where I had distributed relief in the earlier part of the year, had heard that I was in trouble and were coming to my rescue. Some

had clubs, some had pitchforks, some had still more dangerous weapons, while others were riding on mules, carrying lanterns. Finding that I was safe and sound, they made me ride one of the mules, and the procession turned round. As we went along we met others coming to meet us, and they, in turn, faced about and escorted me, so that by the time we reached Yao-kou there was a large, motley procession, full of joy and gladness. The elders of the village had not been idle. They had prepared a special feast in a big pawnshop, which was the chief building of the place, and at midnight we sat down to celebrate my deliverance.

The following day I returned to Ch'ing-chow fu, and called upon the Prefect. I related to him the whole story of the Ch'ang Lo magistrate's mismanagement, and explained to him that the money in the carts was not my own, but had been subscribed by a Relief Committee at the coast. It was necessary for me to account for the money. Would he be good enough to obtain a receipt for it from the Ch'ang Lo magistrate? As for the money, he was to distribute it among the poor old men and women of the city. The Prefect was most obliging, and within two days I had the Ch'ang Lo magistrate's receipt in my hands.

But the unfortunate man's troubles did not end there. His perversity led him into a bad scrape with the city people.

16. DISHONEST OFFICIAL THREATENED BY WOMEN.

When the poor of the city heard that the money was to be distributed among them, they went to the magistrate to ask for it. He put them off under some pretext or other, saying he would distribute it later. They went again a second time, and a second time they were refused. Then a most amusing scene took place, showing how the despotism of China breaks down under democracy and is powerless before the rule of women.

A hundred women one day, each carrying her kitchen cleaver and board, went to the Yamen and sat down in the courtyard. The underlings asked them their

business. They said they wished to speak to the magistrate. The magistrate felt that he must go out and hear what they had to say. As soon as he appeared one of the women chosen as spokesman cried out: "The magistrate who steals the money of the poor instead of giving it when they are dying of starvation deserves to be chopped in pieces like this!" Then the hundred choppers beat a refrain on the boards, and all the women chanted in chorus, "He who steals the money of the poor deserves to be chopped in pieces like this!" The official now realized that his last card had been played, and he promised to distribute the money the following day at noon, which he did.

Immediately after this I wrote a letter to an American in China summarizing what I had recently seen and done, little dreaming I would ever hear of it again. But it was sent to America, where it was published in one of the papers. A large number of other papers copied it, and eventually it found its way across the Atlantic to England, and appeared in the *Saturday Review* or the *Pall Mall Budget*, I forget which, under the heading "Missionary Vagaries." The editor omitted to suggest, however, how missionary work could be better conducted under the circumstances.

17. DISTRESS IN WINTER.

In the autumn of 1876 more money was subscribed than I was able satisfactorily to distribute. Dr. Nevius, with whom I had made a geographical division of the field, found that within his district there was a great deal of suffering, and he came up also to distribute famine relief. Simultaneously with the work of famine relief religious services were conducted at many centres every Sunday, and thus material and spiritual relief were afforded hand in hand.

As the winter drew near the distress became more acute. Reports came in of villages where previously there had been forty inhabitants reduced to ten survivors. The price of grain rose rapidly to three and four times its usual rate. Many people, hearing that grain was

cheap in Manchuria, migrated across the Gulf of Pechihli. Those who could not afford to travel were forced to pull down their houses and sell every inch of woodwork in them, whether doors, windows, frames, or rafters, as firewood, and so get money to buy millet. When this source of revenue was exhausted, they took the rotten kao-liang stalks that had been used to thatch the roof and boiled them with grass-seed and millet chaff to try and keep body and soul together.

In order to keep warm in the depth of winter the poor wretches dug deep pits underground, where twenty, thirty, and even fifty persons would live together. Here the vitiated atmosphere, as well as the lack of food, caused a large number of deaths. At first the survivors could not afford to dig a separate grave for each, so they made two large holes, one for men, the other for women, into which the dead were thrown. Afterwards the dead were left where they fell, sometimes in their homes, sometimes in the villages, sometimes on the roads, where they were devoured by wild dogs, wolves, and vultures.

Hearing of this terrible state of affairs, I paid a visit to the worst region, and found owners of land selling acres for a dollar or two. Husbands and wives agreed to separate in order that each should get a living. I spent one night in a village inn among the mountains south-east of Ch'ing-chow fu, where a market for the sale of women was going on, attended by men who had come from the Far East to buy. I slept little that night because of the great commotion and distress. The women who had not been bought were imploring to be taken away anyhow, even for nothing, rather than be left to perish of starvation.

Happily, the Chinese Government metes out rough justice now and again. The following year, when the great distress in Shantung had passed away, the Governor of the province issued a proclamation declaring that all sales of land and women during the previous year were to be considered null and void. Consequently there was a period of restitution, a veritable jubilee for many families.

18. DISTRIBUTION OF RELIEF WITH OFFICIALS AND GENTRY.

After reading a letter I had sent to Chefoo describing the terrible situation, some of my friends—Mr. Ferguson, the Dutch Minister ; Mr. George Jamieson, the British Consul at Chefoo ; Mr. Holwell, of the Customs ; and the community doctor, Dr. Carmichael—met together and decided to send it to the *Daily News* in Shanghai, while Mr. Holwell translated it into Chinese for publication in the *Shen Pao*. Immediately after this, Famine Relief Committees were formed in every part of China, from Peking to Canton. From Shanghai alone I received £100 for relief. The city magistrate, a Kiangsu man, started a fund in his own province, and officials and gentry from Kiangsu came to assist in the distribution.

To avoid overlapping of the local official relief, the Kiangsu relief, and the foreign relief, and to prevent any possibility of the people discriminating between those who gave away large sums and those who gave away smaller sums, which might cause disturbances among the sufferers, I consulted with the Prefect who ruled the eleven counties, and the magistrate of I Tu Hsien, the chief county, as to the best way of organizing relief distribution. It was arranged that the county of I Tu should be divided into districts, the Kiangsu gentry relieving certain villages and I visiting others, while to prevent dissatisfaction amongst the relief recipients the amount distributed to each was to be the same throughout.

When the distributors of the Kiangsu relief came, they also opened an Orphanage in the city. But from the beginning their efforts in this direction were dogged with misfortune. An epidemic of smallpox carried off a large number of their orphans, so that the people feared to send any more to their care, declaring that the "feng-shui" of the place was bad. On the other hand, not a single child in our Orphanage suffered any illness, and more were sent to us than we were able to take in.

The Governor of Shantung memorialized the Throne on behalf of the seven counties where suffering was greatest. The centre of the worst famine was the county of I Tu, where Ch'ing-chow fu was situated. The city magistrate, a Kiangsu man, did his best for the people. He induced the leading gentry to subscribe sums for relief in addition to the grants made by the Government, and some fifty thousand people were daily given in the city one good meal of gruel. He also established similar soup-kitchens in eight other centres.

A minor Chinese official in Nanking, reading a report of what was being done in Shantung, sent me a hundred taels (about £30), though he was a perfect stranger to me.

I cannot leave this part of the subject without yielding a tribute to the native bankers in Shantung with whom I had to deal. The bank where we changed our silver was an unusually large pawnshop in Ch'ing-chow fu having business transactions with several counties. When we wished to distribute cash at any town or village, all that was necessary was to hand the silver over to this pawnshop and they undertook the safe delivery of the cash, which was sent in batches of ten or a dozen wheelbarrows to the place of distribution. They never failed to deliver the money promptly and safely, and because they were grateful to us for the help we rendered their people they always gave us good exchange for the silver.

19. ARRIVAL OF COLLEAGUE, MR. A. G. JONES.

Before the end of November 1876, Mr. Alfred G. Jones arrived in Chefoo as my new colleague in the Baptist Mission. He had had a business of his own at New Ross, Ireland, but had felt a personal call to the mission-field which he could not delegate to another. He therefore put the business in the hands of his manager and came to China.

I went to Chefoo to meet him. He arrived on a Saturday, and commenced the study of Chinese on the Monday. During one of our walks by the seashore I



REV. A. G. JONES.

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well remember having a long talk with him about Edward Irving's famous missionary sermon. He drank in the spirit of that address as the dry earth absorbs the rain. But suddenly he stopped on the sands and cried, "Stop, stop! I cannot stand any more!" He was charged to the full with that spirit of devotion and self-sacrifice which never left him so long as he lived.

After providing him with a Chinese teacher and spending a short time with him in Chefoo, I returned to Ch'ing-chow fu, where he volunteered to join me in March 1877 and keep the accounts of the famine funds.

My journey back to Ch'ing-chow fu took twelve days because of the snowdrifts.

20. PROPOSALS TO LOCAL OFFICIALS TO AVERT FAMINE.

When the winter was over and the spring crops began to appear, I proposed to the Prefect and city magistrate that measures should be adopted to avert future famines. I asked them to visit my Orphanages, and proposed that if the authorities granted land and houses, and bore half the expenses of the institutions, I would undertake the charge of them and establish schools like those in Peking, Shanghai, and Foochow. These schools should be for the most intelligent of the orphans, where the pupils would be taught Western learning and English, while the less intelligent of the orphans would be instructed in new industries so as to avoid increasing the number of competitors in the old industries. When the orphans had completed their training, they would be in a position to render immense service to their fellow-countrymen. I urged the officials to bear in mind that the honour paid to the ancient sages of China was due to the fact that they devised *new schemes* for the good of the people: Shin Nung introduced agriculture and Ts'ang Kieh invented writing. Therefore, in the present age of international intercourse, the mandarins should adopt new methods for their people's welfare.

My hearers were not ready then to take up this idea. But nearly twenty years later a son of this city magistrate,

Hsi, became one of the Reformers in Peking, and later, when the Empress-Dowager took up the reins of government and set her face against Reform, he had to flee for his life. It was only after the suppression of the Boxer rising that the Chinese Government realized the imperative necessity of Western learning, and ordered the whole Empire to adopt it.

21. CHURCH WORK.

On February 18, 1877, I preached on the Parable of the Talents, and showed that we had to trade with our Master's gifts, and that we should be rewarded according to our deeds.

I urged my hearers that in addition to the ordinary worship, those who joined the Church should henceforth make vows as to the particular way they proposed to serve God :—

1. By subscribing money to print and circulate Christian books.
2. By devoting a certain part of their time to preach the gospel.
3. By visiting and healing the sick.
4. By comforting the afflicted.
5. By giving alms and distributing warm clothes in winter to the deserving poor.
6. By rendering help in burying the dead of the poor.
7. By distributing medicines gratis.
8. By care of the aged, widows, and orphans.

At that time the Old Testament had not been translated into Mandarin, but only the book "Line Upon Line," which gave the substance of it. So the leaders of the Church were instructed to use "Line Upon Line," and in this way they became familiar with the Old Testament heroes and saints. I also projected a series of addresses on the answers to prayer, for children by Abraham, for rain by Elijah, for life to the dead by Elisha, for protection by Daniel, for victory by Moses, for the cessation of pestilence by David, and other instances.

Old women of sixty and seventy, who could never read a word before, were now committing our books to memory, and on Sundays travelled as many as ten miles on their

crippled feet to attend Christian services. One of the inquirers led the representatives of thirty villages to pray to God for rain. Another time a woman led six of her neighbours to do the same, and it is my joy to record the fact that, despite the sneers of the sceptics, rain did fall in both instances.

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

1. That the Chinese Christians should set apart some of their money for the support of widows and orphans, the unfortunate, and the sick.
2. That patient endurance of suffering from the Christian community as well as from the non-Christians be considered evidence of Christian love.
3. That there should be the offering of talents in God's service as well as money.
4. That the Christians should aim at the salvation of others as well as themselves.
5. That no member of the Church should go to law without having first consulted his native pastor.

When numbers of inquirers came to learn about the Christian religion, I got them to organize themselves into bands. The men chose their own leaders and the women elected theirs. Those chosen were to be of good report and peacemakers, prepared to devote much of their time to save their fellow-men from sin and lead them to God. Prizes were given for the best Christian tracts and hymns. Music was to be taught. The learners were exhorted to be hospitable and liberal to those who were spending time in teaching them.

Among the religious problems I had to contend with was the superstition of feng-shui. No one dared build a house, or put up a fence, or dig a well, without having first consulted the teachers of feng-shui. It occurred to me that the best way to remove this superstition was to teach the natural sciences, such as astronomy, physics, chemistry. I maintain that the study of science ought to be held in as much reverence as religion, for it deals with the laws of God. I therefore drafted a

scheme for a series of science textbooks to be prepared for the Chinese.

22. LETTER TO THE BAPTIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

About this time I wrote a letter to the Baptist Missionary Society, calling their attention to the great suffering in Shantung and pointing out that God was giving the English Churches a rare opportunity of showing to the Chinese what true Christianity meant, a blessing to the nation as a whole as well as to the individual. China could be helped in four ways :—

1. By immediate famine relief.
2. By teaching the people the true principles of Christian civilization, including medicine, chemistry, mineralogy, history.
3. By the introduction of new industries.
4. By the teaching of spiritual truths and the relation of progress to the worship of the true God.

I appealed to the Society on behalf of Mr. Jones and myself for £1,000 to be used in famine relief, in putting the Chinese in possession of right principles for deliverance from famine, for the salvation of their country, and for its permanent prosperity.

I ventured to point out to them that if they compared the expense of the work at present conducted with that of the work in the past, and with the expenses of other societies, English or American, they would find that we were the most economical, and could make the best use of the money.

It is with great pleasure that I record the liberal spirit of the Society, shown by the immediate granting of £500.

CHAPTER V

FAMINE RELIEF IN SHANSI

1. DECISION TO DISTRIBUTE RELIEF IN SHANSI.

IN the autumn of 1877 news reached the coast of a famine in Shansi, far greater than any we had experienced in Shantung. Dr. Muirhead, of the London Missionary Society, wrote at the request of the Famine Relief Committee in Shanghai that they were pleased at the way relief had been distributed in Shantung, and asked if I would go up to Shansi and distribute relief there.

At that time Alfred Jones, who had joined our Mission, as I have recorded, about a year before, had moved from Chefoo to Ch'ing-chow fu and was helping me with the accounts, at which he was an expert. On receiving the letter from Shanghai, Mr. Jones and I, after praying over the matter, felt convinced it was a direct leading from God to open up the interior of China. The Chinese might not receive written evidences of the truth of Christianity, but help rendered to them in distress would afford unanswerable evidence of the motives of religion.

Mr. Jones was willing, with the help of our pastor, Mr. Ch'ing, to look after the young Church in Ch'ing-chow fu with its seven hundred members and between one thousand and two thousand inquirers. This Pastor Ch'ing was one of the finest Christians ever found in China, and as a colleague was equal to any two or three average foreign missionaries. Originally he had been a secretary to the Taiping rebels. His faith in Christianity never failed, and during his life he baptized over two thousand converts. With our Church under the care of these two, I felt free, with

my seven years' practical knowledge of the Chinese and my recent practical experience in famine relief in Shantung, to proceed to Shansi and begin Christian work there. At the close of our prayer and talk I was so profoundly impressed with the deep feeling that God was giving us an opportunity of exercising influence over many millions of people, that a powerful physical thrill affected me so that I could hardly walk back across the courtyard to my own room.

When it was known that I was going to Shansi, quite a number of men and women belonging to the native Church asked to go with me. But I thought it best to leave them in Shantung to help the spread of the gospel there. I started, accompanied only, by a Christian farmer and a Christian servant. I had not gone more than twenty li, when I noticed a strange bundle of bedding at the back of my cart. I asked whose it was. My servant smiled, and at first would not tell me. Then I discovered that it belonged to one of our native evangelists, who was determined to go with me. It was with great reluctance that he obeyed me, and went back to continue the missionary work only just commenced at Ch'ing-chow fu.

2. JOURNEY TO T'AI-YUAN FU.

When we reached the mountains it was difficult to travel in carts because of the roughness of the rocky path, so I rode a mule. It was the month of November. The weather was bitterly cold, and in going over a mountain pass one of my heels got frostbitten. In these mountainous districts the inns are built in caves dug out of the loess formation. In the summer these are exceedingly cool, as the sun's rays do not penetrate them; but in winter, on the other hand, these cave inns are very warm, and when there was fire under the k'ang it was most comforting after a day's ride in the intense cold to reach one of them.

T'ai-yuan fu, the capital of Shansi, is situated at the north end of a plateau extending some one hundred miles from north to south; about thirty miles wide,

and about three thousand feet above sea-level. Ch'ing-chow fu in Shantung, which I had left, is only about two hundred feet above sea-level. The winter in Shansi therefore was far severer. Fortunately, the province has abundant coal, both anthracite and bituminous.

I arrived in T'ai-yuan fu with only a small sum of about two thousand taels in hand. I had secured a passport from Li Hung-chang, then Viceroy of Chihli, in case there should be opposition to my travelling so far into the interior. In the interval we began to see some terrible sights, dead bodies, torn by dogs and wolves, lying by the roadside. These dreadful sights, together with the terrible cold, such as they had not experienced before, quite unnerved my two companions. Seeing that their hearts had turned back to their homes, I gave them leave to go back to Shantung. On their return, however, the people were very angry with them for abandoning me. "To think that you, being Chinese, and accustomed to the climate of your country, should leave a foreigner, unused to it, to face all the cold and perils and privation alone! Shame on you! It is a disgrace!" they cried. The two men, for very shame after such a reception, determined to return to me in Shansi, and after many weeks' absence rejoined me in T'ai-yuan fu.

In those days there were no Protestant missionaries living in the province, but there was a Roman Catholic Bishop and about a dozen priests throughout Shansi, carrying on work that had been at first commenced during the time of the Jesuit ascendance in Peking, more than two hundred years before.

3. INTERVIEW WITH THE GOVERNOR OF SHANSI.

The Governor of Shansi was Tsêng Kwoh Ch'uen, brother of the famous Tsêng Kwoh Fan, and uncle of Marquis Tsêng, who was then Chinese Minister in London. I called upon him at once after arrival in order to make the reason of my coming clearly understood. One of his secretaries, whom I had to see first, told me that the Governor was very angry at my appearance there. Rebellions in China frequently took

place during times of famine, when the people were dissatisfied with the Government, and he thought I was there simply to steal the hearts of the people away from the Government. Though I explained to the Governor, when I saw him, that I had come to distribute two thousand taels to the famine-stricken, and showed my passport, still he was not pleased, and to circumvent any action of mine and plunge me into difficulties at the outset bethought himself of an ingenious plan.

His brother, Tsêng Kwoh Fan, the most eminent statesman in China during the Taiping rebellion, had already presented his views on Roman Catholicism and Protestantism to the Government, to the effect that these two parties hated each other so much that they would counteract each other's influence and thus save the Chinese Government any aggressive action against either. When I asked the Governor's advice as to how I should best dispose of the sums I might in future receive for famine relief, he replied, with a twinkle in his eye: "There is a Roman Catholic missionary in this city who applied a few days ago for some grain for an Orphanage in his charge. You had better hand over your two thousand taels to him."

I thanked him for his suggestion, and replied that I would call on the Bishop to discuss the matter with him. I did so, telling him what had passed in my interview with the Governor, and added I would be quite willing to hand the money to him for the maintenance of the orphans, on condition that he would let one of my men co-operate with him in distributing the relief, as the money was not my own, but subscribed by generous friends in Shanghai and elsewhere. The Bishop, however, would not for a moment agree to my proposal. I told him I would have to report on the matter to the Governor, and he was quite willing for me to do so. I drew up a report of our interview, and sent a copy to the Bishop, asking if he considered it a true account of the interview. He returned it saying it was perfectly correct. I then sent the report to the Governor, asking him at the same time for another

plan of distributing relief to the sufferers. As he delayed, and still delayed considering the matter, I took advantage of the interval to visit the south of the province, where the suffering was worst, to see for myself the extent of the distress.

4. CIRCULARS TO ROMAN CATHOLICS.

Before setting out, I had prepared a dozen questions which I sent to the Roman Catholic Bishop, asking him if he would be good enough to forward them to his priests throughout the province, and return them to me, with the replies, as soon as possible. These questions were about the average price of grain in ordinary years, and the price at famine time, the percentage of people who had already died of starvation, the percentage of people who had migrated elsewhere, the proportion of cattle that remained uneaten, and the proportion of women left.

The Bishop gladly acceded to my request, and sent my circular to various of his priests scattered through the province, and by the time I returned from my trip their detailed information was awaiting me. I added a summary of their reports to a diary that I had kept on my trip, carefully recounting all I saw and heard, and sent it to friends in Shanghai.

I started on my trip with a servant, as it was not safe to travel alone, for many of the starving had become cannibals.

5. EXTRACTS FROM MY DIARY. SHANSI, 1878.

January 28, 1878.

Started on a journey south through the centre of the province to discover the severity of the famine. I rode on a mule, and had a servant with me, also on a mule.

Before leaving the city we could not go straight to the south gate, as there was a man lying in the street

about to die of starvation, and a crowd had gathered round.

January 29th. 140 li south.

Passed four dead men on the road and another moving on his hands and knees, having no strength to stand up. Met a funeral, consisting of a mother carrying on her shoulder a dead boy of ten years old. She was the only bearer, priest, and mourner, and she laid him in the snow outside the city wall.

January 30th. 270 li south.

Passed two men apparently just dead. One had good clothes on, but had died of hunger. A few li farther there was a man of about forty walking in front of us, with unsteady steps like a drunken man. A puff of wind blew him over to rise no more.

January 30th. 290 li south.

Saw fourteen dead on the roadside. One had only a stocking on. His corpse was being dragged by a dog, so light it was. Two of the dead were women. They had had a burial, but it had consisted only in turning the faces to the ground. The passers-by had dealt more kindly with one, for they had left her her clothes. A third corpse was a feast to a score of screaming crows and magpies. There were fat pheasants, rabbits, foxes, and wolves, but men and women had no means of living. One old man beside whom I slowly climbed a hill said most pathetically: "Our mules and donkeys are all eaten up. Our labourers are dead. What crime have we committed, that God should punish us thus?"

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

to death at once. The result was a wonderful absence of crime. The only tears I saw shed by the patient sufferers were those of the mother burying her boy.

February 1st. 450 li south.

Saw six dead bodies in half a day, and four of them were women : one in an open shed, naked but for a string round her waist ; another in a stream ; one in the water, half exposed above the ice at the mercy of wild dogs ; another half clad in rags in one of the open caves at the roadside ; another half eaten, torn by birds and beasts of prey. Met two youths of about eighteen years of age, tottering on their feet, and leaning on sticks as if ninety years of age. Met another young man carrying his mother on his shoulders as her strength had failed. Seeing me looking at them closely, the young man begged for help. This is the only one who has begged since I left T'ai-yuan fu.

Saw men grinding soft stones, somewhat like those from which stone pencils are made, into powder, which was sold for from two to three cash per catty ($1\frac{1}{8}$ lb.) to be mixed with any grain, or grass seed, or roots and made into cakes. I tried some of these cakes, and they tasted like what most of them were—clay. Many died of constipation in consequence of eating them.

Three brothers who were colliers died one after the other, the first twenty days ago. For burial he was placed in two large jars, one enclosing the upper part of the body, the other the lower. Seven days later another brother died, but there were no more jars, and the corpse was left on the floor. The third brother was so weak that when I gave him some money to help bury the dead, he could not leave his k'ang. Soon a number who heard of my relief came to me to say that they had unburied dead in every house.

Saw another woman trying to rise. She had had strength to lift one leg, but no strength to stand up. Farther on I saw two heads in one cage, a warning to those who would attempt violence.

February 2nd. 530 li south.

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

Outside the north gate of Hengtung there were three dead, a boy and, apparently, his father and grandfather, side by side. Snow had fallen the night before. On the snow there were the marks of what had been a struggle between two men, and blood was mingled with the snow—a sign that it was not safe to travel alone, although there were two human heads hung in cages on two separate trees as a warning to evildoers. For many miles in this district the trees were all white, stripped clean for ten or twenty feet high of their bark, which was being used for food. We passed many houses without doors and window-frames, which had been sold as firewood. Inside were kitchen utensils left untouched only because they could not be turned into money. The owners had gone away and died.

February 3rd. 600 li south.

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

February 4th. 630 li south.

Stopped at Siang Liu. Met forty carts from Pu Chow

fu going north for grain. Here were straw effigies of men on one side of the street. On the opposite side of the street were written two big characters, "Poor people," mute appeals to all who passed by. Heard stories at the inn that night of parents exchanging their children as they could not eat their own, that men dared not go to the pits for coal as mules, donkeys, and their owners were liable to be killed and eaten.

Having gone so far, and seeing such terrible sights, I decided to return to T'ai-yuan fu, as I had sufficient proofs of the horrors of famine to move even hearts of stone.

Even the wolves were becoming fearless. Seeing a wolf by the roadside one day, I yelled at him, expecting him to flee in terror. On the contrary, he stood and stared at me, as if wondering at my boldness in facing him.

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

The many refugees I met coming from Pu Chow fu, the extreme south of the province, had the same tale to tell. When I asked them the percentage of dead and of those who had migrated, in no instance did they say that less than fifty had disappeared. In many places only twenty or thirty remained. I heard from other eye-witnesses that they had seen 270 dead on the roadside in three days. In every city there were carts going about, carrying some thirty or forty daily, to be buried in pits.

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

and subsequent appeals many of their lives would be saved.

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

6. DIFFICULTIES OF TRANSPORT.

The distance from Tientsin to Pu Chow fu in the south of Shansi was eight hundred miles. Grain was being transported at Government expense all this distance. That meant that there was no grain nearer, and that the minimum of the famine radius was eighty miles. Private persons could not engage mules to carry grain, as the animals were all eaten. The roads over the mountains were inconceivably bad, so that a team of six or seven mules found it difficult to take more than about half a ton weight over them.

Again, the roads were so narrow in the mountain passes that carts and camels could not pass each other without enormous delay. To obviate this difficulty, it was arranged that all the camels, of which there were droves of a hundred together, should travel at night, and only carts and mules by day.

Hearing of this difficulty of transporting grain from the coast, I carried with me a pocket aneroid and took observations of the elevations and depressions along the road, and after arriving in T'ai-yuan fu, I made a map of the road with a diagram of these elevations and depressions.

That winter, too, was the coldest for years. The Yellow River was frozen so that carts could cross over the ice, an event which had not happened before for over thirty years.

When the Great Famine during 1876-9 was over, the greatest on record in history, during which half the eighteen provinces of China suffered more or less, there can be no doubt that between fifteen and twenty millions of people had perished—a number equal to the population of a whole European kingdom. These millions could have been saved if the Chinese officials

had not been so full of pride, saying that they, alone were civilized, that they had nothing to learn from the barbarians from the West. One mandarin actually issued a proclamation forbidding emigration to Manchuria, where grain was so much cheaper, and this at a time when land could be sold for only a tenth of its value. Some of the officials in the neighbouring provinces actually forbade export of grain to Shansi, and thus aggravated the famine conditions.

On my return to T'ai-yuan fu I sent my diary, together with the replies I had received from the Roman Catholic priests, down to Shanghai, via Tientsin, by special messenger.

7. C.I.M. MISSIONARIES, JAMES AND TURNER.

Meanwhile, God had raised up other Christian helpers for China in her great need. Messrs. Turner and James, of the China Inland Mission, had arrived in Shansi in the early part of 1877, and had preached and distributed Scriptures and tracts throughout the summer and autumn to the famine-stricken people. But both of them caught famine fever, and Mr. James was so weakened by it that he was obliged to leave, and Mr. Turner had to accompany the sick man to the coast. They left T'ai-yuan fu in November, just two days before my arrival there. Their reports of the awful distress awakened much sympathy.

Further, the Rev. Arnold Foster, of the London Mission in Hankow, had gone to Tientsin to make inquiries about the state of suffering in Shansi. After travelling across Chihli and a day or two inside the province of Shansi, he saw enough with his own eyes to cause him to decide to go to England as soon as possible, and there raise money for famine relief. He too left Shansi just two days before I entered it. When he arrived in England the British Minister for China, Sir Thomas Wade, was in London, and Mr. Foster laid the matter before him, asking that a Relief Fund should be opened in England. But the public wished fuller details of the extent of the famine. My journal and the

report from the Roman Catholic priests were sent on from Shanghai to London, and arrived just at the time when details were needed of the terrible suffering in Shansi.

8. CO-OPERATION WITH CHINESE OFFICIALS IN RELIEF.

Having sent away my information, I was now at liberty to give relief where it was needed as the money came in. But the Governor still delayed in answering me. As I felt I was not justified in keeping the money in hand while such numbers were starving to death, I sent word to him that, having waited so long without receiving any definite plan from him, I proposed to distribute relief in some of the most needy villages within five days. This move on my part brought him to action. He at once sent the city magistrate with assistant magistrates to confer with me. They had registers of all the families in the villages, and were distributing relief at so much per family. They proposed to set apart some of the villages for me to relieve, and would send officials and gentry to help me to accomplish the work without disturbance. I replied that I was perfectly satisfied. Thus relief was begun with complete understanding with the Chinese officials, and continued so to the end.

The Government arranged for distribution of gruel in the cities and chief market towns. In T'ai-yuan fu there was a place where twenty thousand went daily for a pot of millet gruel. In the country villages registers of those who were to receive relief were drawn up, and a hundred cash per month per individual was given, or three cash per day. At that time twenty cash were equal to the English penny.

9. PROPOSALS TO GOVERNOR.

It was fortunate that Tsêng Kwoh Ch'uen, who had been a military commander, was Governor of Shansi at that time, for the situation demanded drastic measures. He issued strict orders, as I have already said, that if

any of the people attempted violence or robbery the magistrates of the towns and leaders of the villages should execute them without consulting him. Having found that one of the officials had appropriated famine relief funds for his own private ends, he ordered his instant execution, a summary act which struck terror into the hearts of the rest. In this way he saved the officials from corruption and the villages from disorder.

Shortly after my return to T'ai-yuan fu I recommended three measures to the Governor :—

1. Emigration on a large scale to Manchuria and other places where cheap grain was to be got.
2. The commencement of public works, such as railways, which, besides giving immediate occupation to people who had to earn a living, would be of permanent value, preventing famine in future.
3. A famine relief tax to be imposed on the provinces not suffering from famine.

A number of the leading expectant tao-tais discussed my scheme by order of the Governor, and concluded that while a railway would be advantageous to the people, the number of foreigners that it would be necessary to engage would be so considerable as to form a constant source of trouble. Therefore in the best interest of the province it would not be well to build a railway.

10. SUGGESTION TO B.M.S.

About this time, January 26, 1878, I wrote to our secretary, Mr. A. H. Baynes, pointing out that when the first high officials from China visited England and America they were shown theatres and places of amusement, but were never taken to see any churches or listen to preachers. I therefore begged him to devise means by which the best Christian gentry in England should take special interest in the new Chinese Ambassador Kwoh, the highest Chinese official who had ever been sent as Ambassador to England, and let him see the best of our Western civilization, so that he might under-

stand the benefits conferred by Christian missionaries on civilization from the earliest times to the present. It would be a great spiritual work done by friends at home, which would be reported by the Ambassador to the Central Government in Peking, and would be of immense service to the Mission cause in China. I asked Mr. Baynes, if the idea commended itself to his judgment, to make the suggestion to other missionary societies.

Not only did I try to persuade the Christian gentry at home to work through the Chinese Ambassador in London, but I wrote a pamphlet for the leading Chinese gentry, pointing out how their ancient sages of China used to blame the Emperors for any public calamity that befell the Empire, but that in the present time it was a common remark of all officials that the famine could not be averted because it was the will of Heaven, meaning thereby that they could do nothing in the matter. But famines could be averted if the officials bestirred themselves to do their duty and learn how other countries were preventing famines. The pride of the Confucianist, the idleness of the Buddhist priests, the superstitions of the Taoist priests and feng-shui teachers were actual sins which brought on such a state of affairs that millions were perishing. Many plans had been discussed for famine relief, but the best was united action on the part of East and West. I appealed, therefore, that the best Chinese and foreigners should meet together and co-operate for the good of China.

II. LETTER TO PROTESTANT MISSIONS PROPOSING ORGANIZATION AND CO-OPERATION.

On February 7, 1878, I wrote a letter to the Protestant Missions in China, pointing out that our missionary efforts were very inefficient for want of proper organization and co-operation. Each Mission worked independently and often with opposition schools, opposition hospitals, and evangelistic methods overlapping each other in the same districts, while there were vast tracts without any workers. "The mis-

sionaries seem like ships sailing on the ocean without chart or compass, without captain or mate."

But there was no response in those days. The missionary body were not ready for co-operation. It was only thirty years later, at the Centenary Conference of 1907, that the matter was brought forward as worthy of serious consideration.

12. ARRIVAL OF HILL, TURNER, AND WHITING, AND DEATH OF WHITING.

By the first steamer after the opening of the river at Tientsin in March, 1878, there arrived for famine relief work David Hill, of the Wesleyan Mission; Albert Whiting, of the American Presbyterian Mission; and Joshua Turner, of the China Inland Mission, with a large supply of silver, about thirty thousand taels, from the Famine Relief Committee in Shanghai. Some of their friends had much anxiety about them on account of the terribly infectious famine fever, which had carried away some of the best missionaries in Tientsin. But these three were prepared to face the consequences. They could not have money in their hands without themselves going to distribute it to their dying brethren, whatever the risk might be. On arriving at T'ai-yuan fu Mr. Whiting fell a victim to fever, and died on April 25th.

13. DISTRIBUTION OF MANSION HOUSE FAMINE RELIEF FUND. 1878.

By this time the diary of my tour in Shansi had reached London. It so enforced the appeals of the Rev. Arnold Foster that Sir Thomas Wade and the Archbishop of Canterbury, in conjunction with the Lord Mayor, opened a Famine Relief Fund at the Mansion House. The money subscribed was transmitted by cable to Shanghai. But as there were no telegraphs in China then, the silver was shipped in ingots of fifty taels each, and packed in boxes of one or two thousand. These boxes of silver were forwarded from the coast by Li Hung-chang, who sent military officials, with escorts

of soldiers, in charge of the money to me in T'ai-yuan fu. So ignorant was one of these officials about foreigners that on delivering the silver he addressed me all the time as Kwei-tze Ta Ren (His Excellency the Devil). I refrained from correcting him lest he should be confounded with shame in my presence.

When more money for relief arrived, we found that the suffering in Ping Yang fu was greater than that about T'ai-yuan fu, so we went with officials, appointed by the Governor, to that prefecture and worked at distribution there for several months.

In the prefecture of Ping Yang fu and the counties of Ling Fen Heng Tung and Wen-Hsi we distributed relief in 145 villages, with populations ranging from 63 to 1,267. The average number in each family was 3.1.

One of the Government relief agents told me that in the county of Hung Tung Hsien there had been a population of 250,000, of whom 150,000 had died. The extent of the suffering was not only seen in the reduction of the population, but also in the disappearance of beasts, mules, and donkeys. For instance, in a village of 320 persons, possessing a good deal of land to be cultivated, there were only three beasts remaining, the others having been eaten.

The officials and people prayed to every god said to be efficacious for rain, but in vain. In their dire extremity they had heard that in a certain well in the province of Chihli there was an iron tablet possessing wonderful properties. Consequently the Governor, Tsêng Kwoh Chuen, sent to Chihli to borrow the tablet so that it might be used in the prayers for rain. The Roman Catholics and Protestants in their respective churches also continued their prayers for rain, till finally there was a great downpour over the whole province, and the people were grateful beyond measure, each part believing in the efficacy of the same gods as before.

14. ARRIVAL OF C.I.M. LADIES.

Having found that, instead of meeting with hostility, we were received in a friendly manner by the officials

and were welcomed by the poor sufferers, we felt that the way was being opened for larger opportunities of service. I wrote to the China Inland Mission, describing the situation and inviting them to send more workers. We were much cheered to hear that Mrs. Taylor was coming out from England to commence work amongst the orphan children of Shansi. She was escorted from Tientsin by Mr. Baller, and arrived in T'ai-yuan fu in October 1878, bringing Miss Horne and Miss Crickney with her. These were the first ladies to travel so far inland. They occupied my house while I was away during the autumn. They were soon followed by Mr. and Mrs. James, also of the China Inland Mission.

15. MARRIAGE TO MISS MARTIN.

I had come to the conclusion that I could do more effective Mission work in this newly opened province if I were married. I had previously met in Chefoo an accomplished lady of the United Presbyterian Mission, Miss Martin, who had come out in 1878. From the first she was asked to lead in every undertaking. Besides having had much experience in education in the Merchant Company School in Edinburgh, she had been well trained in theology under Dr. Peddie, and could more than hold her own in discussion with such a theologian as Gilmour of Mongolia. She was also gifted in music, and always led in the musical part of religious services. We were married in Chefoo in October 1878, and returned to T'ai-yuan fu in November. Mrs. Taylor, the two single ladies, and Mr. Baller continued to live in our house until they were able to rent one of their own. My wife started an Orphanage for boys, while the C.I.M. ladies took orphan girls under their care.

16. FAMINE RELIEF DURING WINTER.

But as the winter came on and many were again suffering I obeyed the call of duty, and left my wife a month after our marriage, and worked for four months with my colleagues in Ping Yang fu. There Canon (now Bishop) Scott and Mr. Capel, of the S.P.G., who

were old friends of mine in Chefoo, were also distributing relief, at first from a separate fund, but later co-operating with us in distributing the Mansion House Relief Fund.

The total amount of money raised in the ports and in England was about Tls. 200,000, or £60,000, of which Tls. 120,000 were distributed by Hill, Turner, and myself, the rest being distributed in two sections, one by Taotai Sheng, of Tientsin (now Sheng Kung Pao), assisted by Mr. Budd, then of the Customs staff, and the other part by other Protestant missionaries in Chihli and Roman Catholics in North China.

We had not sufficient helpers to import grain and distribute it. Nor were there in that small district sufficient bankers to exchange our silver into cash. We therefore decided to give each family a certain weight of silver, some two or three ounces, which they could exchange into cash wherever they liked and buy grain to mix with their grass-seeds and husks. The process was not easy. We had registers of all the villagers who were to come to one centre for relief. For some days before the distribution we had a number of blacksmiths working in a courtyard, carefully watched. The ingots of silver of fifty taels each (sixty-six English ounces) were put in the fire, and when heated red hot were hammered into thin slabs and then cut into pieces of about one inch square and a quarter of an inch thick.

The currency question in China seems to destroy the solid foundations of mathematics. In one place eighty-two cash were counted equivalent to one hundred. In another fifty cash represented one hundred, whilst elsewhere sixteen cash were equivalent to a hundred. In Peking ten cash represented a hundred. The exchange from silver into cash was also full of anomaly. Sometimes a Chinese ounce of silver was exchanged for fifteen hundred cash, at other times only a thousand cash could be obtained for it. To make the problem still more bewildering the weights of silver varied in different districts. In Ping Yang fu the catty con-

tained sixteen ounces, while in the villages outside it contained twenty ounces.

On asking the origin of some of these extraordinary reckonings I was told how the eighty-two cash came to represent one hundred. A bright official once thought he had discovered a secret in coinage by which the wealth of the Empire could be immensely increased. He ordered that in every hundred cash eighteen were to be made of iron. In process of time, however, the eighteen iron cash became so rusty that the people could not use them, so they said, "Give us the eighty-two and we will count them as a hundred." Ever after they counted the eighty-two copper cash as equivalent to a hundred.

After working together at Fen Sui Hsien, Canon Scott and I parted, he to go home to be consecrated Bishop and I to finish the relief work. At last I became ill with dysentery from fatigue and exposure to the sun, and had to be carried on a litter to Ping Yang fu. After recovery there I returned to T'ai-yuan fu to begin more regular and settled Mission work, in which my dear wife always took a leading part.

17. GRATITUDE OF CHINESE FOR FOREIGN RELIEF.

When famine relief was over in Shantung the people in the districts where Dr. Nevius had worked presented him with a Wan-wan san inscribed with ten thousand names of grateful people. This is a red umbrella, which is usually carried in front of Government officials, high and low, in China and other places in the Orient in token of respect. I was told that the people who had received famine relief in my district intended to show their gratitude in the same way. But I sent word protesting against their doing any such thing, as it entailed using some of the relief money.

The people in Shansi showed their gratitude in various and contrary ways. The scholars in Ping Yang fu, who were absolutely perverted in their judgment by the traditional Government attitude towards foreigners, set up a stone tablet recording the help we had rendered,

concluding with the words: "What beneficence and grace does this display on the part of his august Majesty the Emperor of China, that men should come from the ends of the earth to succour and aid his people." On the other hand, a deputation of grateful people came to Hill, Turner, and myself, and asked for our photographs so that they might set them up in their temples as a perpetual monument of their gratitude. When I left in 1878 for Shantung to get married, Governor Tsêng sent me a very flattering letter, in which he not only thanked me in his own name, but in the name of the thousands of people of Shansi whom I had helped to save from starvation. This letter I destroyed for fear I might be tempted at some future time to make an improper use of it. Still, when memorials were sent by the Governor Tsêng and ex-Governor Yen of Shantung, co-commissioner with him in famine relief, asking honours by way of tablets or buttons of various grades to be conferred on those who had helped in relief work, the names of the foreigners who had brought the largest relief and had risked their lives for two years in the midst of raging typhus fever did not appear in the list. However, official rank was offered to us by Li Hung-chang, who had been approached by the Secretary of the Relief Committee in Shanghai without consulting any of us, but it was respectfully declined.

18. ROMAN CATHOLIC BOOKS IN CHINESE.

Looking forward to Mission work after the famine relief was over, I sent to Shanghai to get a complete set of the Roman Catholic Chinese books, so that we might have a set in Shansi as well as in Shantung, and I also procured from Peking a complete set of the Greek Church books in Chinese. The early Jesuits in China, more than two centuries before, had written Christian books which had brought them converts from amongst the highest circles in the land, and also a large number of followers from among the masses. On examining them I found that if the parts that were Popish and Roman were omitted the Christian teach-

ing was most excellent and could be used with great advantage. I had previously ordered the Breviary, translated into English by the Marquis of Bute, the "Lives of the Saints," and some of the standard works in Roman Catholicism, so as to be in possession of the two opposite points of view of the controversy between Romanism and Protestantism. At that time there were very few Protestant books for distribution. The chief were Dr. Faber's "Western Civilization" and "Commentary on Mark," Dr. Williamson's "Natural Theology," Allen's "Statesmen's Year Book," Dr. Martin's "Christian Evidences" and "Allegories," and a tract called "The Mirror of Conscience" by a Chinese convert. Outside these we had no suitable books for presenting to intelligent Chinese.

19. LACK OF ORGANIZATION IN PROTESTANT MISSION WORK.

My friends and I often talked of the want of organization of Protestant Missions, and in discussing various plans thought that we might with advantage follow the Romanist policy, who have Franciscans at work in one part of China, Jesuits in another, Lazarists in another, apportioning a different part of the field to each other. Different Protestant denominations might occupy different parts of the Empire, instead of fragments of each in the same parts.

Another plan we discussed was for the existing denominations to drop their denominational name and form united Chinese Churches in the various provinces. But financial difficulties stood in the way of redistribution of denominations, and want of Christian charity made it impossible at that time for the denominations to unite. It is only after thirty years that we have begun to form Union colleges and hospitals.

One evening, when Hill, Turner, and I were sitting at a Chinese meal, David Hill told us that after preaching for a number of years without the great success he expected to see he had restudied the New Testament, and discovered that instead of emphasizing the Kingdom

of God on earth, as our Lord did, he had been preaching another doctrine, and from that time he began to be more scriptural and less theological. He had discovered a gospel in the New Testament which made Chinese as well as Europeans glad—the gospel of the Kingdom of God wherein dwelleth righteousness, peace on earth, goodwill to men. We had come to China not to condemn, but to save; not to destroy, but to fulfil; not to sadden, but to gladden.

On hearing this I rose from the table, walked into my bedroom, and brought out a notebook in which I had written out my experiences. I read out my conclusions, which were precisely the same as Hill's. At which we had a hearty laugh.

20. MISSIONARY TRACTS ALIENATING NON-CHRISTIANS.

In those days there were two kinds of missionary tracts in circulation, one attacking idolatry, the other attacking ancestral worship.

They denounced many of the Chinese customs as sinful, without admitting that much of the reverence was praiseworthy. The result was that wherever these tracts were circulated anti-missionary riots broke out, not because of the wickedness of the Chinese, but because of the ignorance of the writers, who had not fully studied Chinese ideas and were charging the natives with sin where there was no sin. Thus a large number of Chinese became alienated and antagonistic to Christianity, and the tracts therefore were undoing the very work the writers wished to promote.

During my first year in China a missionary friend came to me in great triumph, bearing in his hand the ancestral tablet of one of his native Christians. He told me that as the man had become a Christian he was going to burn the tablet. I remarked, "When he burns his tablet, I suppose you will at the same time burn your parents' photographs?" This was a new thought to him. The ancestral tablet was never burned.

21. LOST CHRISTIANS.

Whilst in Shansi I learned that about a thousand years ago there lived a famous General named Kwoh Tze Yi, who led a Chinese army successfully against the Huns and the Turks in the north-west. He was a Christian, and his home was at Ping Yang fu. There were a large number of Christians in the south of Shansi at the time. After that period there arose numerous religious sects in South Shansi, stretching as far as Sian fu, in Shensi, to the south-west and east as far as Lo Yang, formerly the capital of Honan and once of the Chinese Empire.

At one time, it is said, there were no less than three thousand foreign missionaries, from India, Persia, Kabul, and Syria, not including Mohammedans and Jews, in Lo Yang. On hearing of the large number of foreign missionaries in China the Japanese Government sent an embassy of their most intellectual and devoted scholars in four ships to the capital of China. Kobo Daishi and Dengyo Daishi, the chief among these, carried back to Japan a form of religion, largely Christian, which possibly prevails over Japan to this day under the name of Higher Buddhism (Ta Cheng Kiao).

22. LU TUNG PIN.

About the same time, A.D. 755, there arose a man in China named Lu Tung Pin, who was originally a Confucianist scholar, who became a magistrate in Kiang at the home of the Taoist Pope. Having become interested in Taoism and in the spiritual truths taught by Nestorians and others, he became converted from the magic of the Taoists to the ethical and spiritual aspect of religion and wrote a commentary on Taoism which is a standard work to this day. Thus the introduction of foreign religions in the ancient capital of China resulted in this religious sect spreading widely over Shansi, Shensi, Honan, and Shantung, its tenets being even to this day followed more or less by hundreds of thousands of believers. Another account of Lu Tung Pin states that he was a teacher of religion from the West and had a

white, not a yellow, face. He had a large following, who, in time of sickness, used to go to a temple where they burnt incense to a god with a white face and prayed for prescriptions to heal the sick. A pencil hung from a beam in front of the god, and after the prayer was offered, it moved on a planchette where sand or grain had been scattered and traced what was considered a prescription. The practice of going to the temple of this god, which was probably found in most of the provinces of North China, continues to this day. Another way of procuring a prescription was, after kneeling and burning incense, to draw out a stick from a tube containing a bundle of them. On it was a certain number. All round the hall hung slips of yellow paper about eight inches long and two inches wide, each with a number above and a prescription printed below. The corresponding slip to his number was taken home by the worshipper.

When these religious sects sprang up in large numbers, there arose fierce persecution, from the Government sometimes favouring Buddhism and persecuting all other forms of religion, at other times favouring Taoism or Confucianism. Tradition says that the Christians were once proscribed and their followers condemned to be barbers with distinctive clothes. To this day neither actors nor barbers are allowed to go to Government examinations. A large number of barbers recognize Lu Tung Pin as the founder of their religion, and the Manchu dynasty not very long ago forbade the making of the god with the white face.

The story of the White Lily Sect is one that looms very largely in the history of the Manchu dynasty. What connection it had with the Lotus Scripture, the most popular of all the Buddhist writings, or with the Pill of Immortality Sect, is not yet fully known. But an interesting peep into the subject is given by Groot, writing on Sectarianism about the Lung Hwa Sect. We thus find a region in North China full of religious interest, a field for investigation which is likely to produce great religious consequences.

After completing our task in Famine Relief in 1879, we considered how best we could give the Chinese the Bread of Life. To do this we had to prepare Christian literature which would appeal to the Confucianists who ruled the country, to the Buddhists who filled the Empire with the best temples, to the Taoists who had been half awakened from superstitions, charms, and spells by the spiritual teaching of Lu Tung Pin, to the Mohammedans, and to all the secret sects which had some two hundred thousand followers in Shansi alone. David Hill, who wrote Chinese characters himself, a rare accomplishment among missionaries, began to prepare books and tracts. I felt I must study the Chinese characters more, and began to keep a diary in Chinese. I also made a feeble attempt at corresponding in Chinese with Hill, while he was away in Ping Yang fu with Mr. Turner. But I dictated tracts to my Chinese teacher, which he wrote out in literary style.

In the early summer of 1879 Mr. Hill removed to T'ai-yuan fu, where we worked together and were constantly thinking on parallel lines. Often it happened that we met on the street, he going to my house and I going to his, to discuss some new idea of work which had occurred to each independently and simultaneously. Our friendship was the closest, happiest, and sweetest, and lasted till his death.

23. DISTRIBUTION OF GOSPELS AND TRACTS IN 108 COUNTIES.

It was decided to distribute Gospels, pamphlets, and specially prepared tracts, carefully avoiding those of a destructive nature which had created riots in other provinces. It was a gigantic task, considering the fewness of our number. A great map of the counties of the province was laid before us, and volunteers were asked to undertake distribution in as many counties as they could. After a large number had been provided for, I undertook to distribute in the rest, and the task was accomplished within one year.

24. PRIZES FOR ESSAYS AT TRIENNIAL EXAMINATIONS.

In the year 1879 there was held one of the regular triennial examinations of some seven thousand B.A. students competing for the M.A. degree. Suitable pamphlets were chosen for distribution among them. One was a good tract prepared by a committee appointed by the Missionary Conference of 1877 in Shanghai. Another was an excellent pamphlet written by a Shanghai native Christian, "The Mirror of Conscience." Along with these were offered prizes for the best essays on moral subjects.

The money for these prizes was offered by Sir Robert Hart, in order to encourage Chinese students to study books on religion and civilization. Over a hundred essays were sent in.

25. PASTOR HSI.

Amongst the successful prizemen was a Mr. Hsi, who had formerly been the head of the Kin Tan Chiao (Immortality Sect, which greatly resembles Nestorianism) at Ping Yang fu, where he had first come under Mr. Hill's influence. As a result of a growing friendship with him, Hsi was led to the Christian faith. He was baptized by Mr. Turner, and finally became the pastor of the native Church, under the Inland Mission, which had decided to commence Mission work in Ping Yang fu, where most of the famine relief had been distributed.

26. VISIT TO PEKING. INTERVIEW WITH LI HUNG-CHANG.

In 1880 there was trouble between Russia and China, and hostilities threatened. Governor Tsêng was called to the coast to prepare an army to meet the Russians, but many of his men decamped on the way. Being convinced of the folly of the Chinese attempting war with any foreign nation, I wrote a pamphlet on Peace, entitled, "Ho I Lun." In August 1880 I left for Peking to memorialize the high officials on the matter, and I sent my pamphlet to all the Yamens in the capital. It aroused so much animosity on the part of the anti-foreign war

party that an edict was issued to say that any one advocating peace was a traitor, and would suffer the severest penalties.

In September 1880 I passed through Tientsin. Having heard I was in the city, Li Hung-chang sent word to the British Consul, Mr. Forrest, to say that he wished to see Jonathan Lees, of the London Mission, who had been distributing famine relief in Chihli, and myself. I thanked the Viceroy for his kindness in forwarding the silver to Shansi, and relieving me of all anxiety about its safety, and he thanked us both for what we had done to avert the sufferings of his people. Then followed some discussions between Mr. Lees and the Viceroy about Christian Missions, and the latter made a remark that caused me considerable thought afterwards. He said: "Your converts gather round you because they and their friends are in your service and have their living thereby. Withdraw the pay of these native agents and there will be no more Christians." He also pointed out that there were no Christians among the educated classes of the land. This made me consider more than ever the importance of influencing the leaders, and I returned to Shansi resolved to lecture to the officials and scholars.

27. ARRIVAL OF DR. SCHOFIELD AND OTHER C.I.M. WORKERS.

In November 1880 Dr. Harold Schofield, one of the most brilliant medical missionaries that ever came to China, arrived in T'ai-yuan fu for the Inland Mission. He was a delightful companion, always inspiring and appreciative. Not long after him came Mr. Landale, a lawyer from Edinburgh, and later Mr. Drake was transferred from Ping Yang fu and Mr. Piggott also joined the C.I.M. at T'ai-yuan fu. They greatly assisted in the distribution of Gospels and tracts.

In Shantung I had the happiest relationship with every Mission, English and American, and knew every missionary in the province personally. It was a great delight to meet them and compare notes as to our work. The territorial division of the field between the English

Baptists and the American Presbyterians was the happiest solution of a trouble that threatened us.

In Shansi I had invited the Inland Mission to join in work there, and later, in 1883, when the American Board sent the Oberlin Band, I suggested that instead of having three separate places of worship, one for each denomination, we should have one united Protestant Church in the capital of the province. I also proposed that we should not all go to the same counties to work, but divide the districts amongst us, as in Shantung, so as to avoid overlapping. This idea commended itself to all the members of the three Missions, and we worked together most harmoniously for some time.

28. A REGRETTABLE SEVERANCE.

Our relations with the members of the Inland Mission had been of the friendliest. Mrs. Richard used to take Miss Crickmay, Miss Horne, and Miss Lancaster with her to visit Chinese ladies. Once a week, before he was able to speak the language, I interpreted for Dr. Schofield at the dispensary. On Wednesday evenings a prayer-meeting was held at our house, all remaining for social intercourse afterwards, while on Sundays the English service was in our room also, and all the friends stayed for tea, and then the Chinese service in the evening, followed by hymn-singing. Mrs. Richard held a class on Wednesday evenings, teaching Sol-fa to those of our friends who wished to learn to read music. Mr. and Mrs. Landale were very musical, and were great additions to the little community. Mrs. Landale was a most devoted worker, but died an early and triumphant death.

But Mr. Hudson Taylor, of the Inland Mission, broke our harmony by ordering his members, in 1881, to have a separate place of worship, on the ground that I was not orthodox. This came as a great surprise to Dr. Schofield and Mr. Landale, who called on me at once with Mr. Taylor's letter. They assured me that they had always found my addresses most helpful; but, much against the wishes of most of them, the Inland Mission

in T'ai-yuan fu had their separate place of worship and opened a separate school.

I decided in November to go to Chefoo, taking over a month in going and coming, to see Mr. Taylor in person, in the hope of settling the matter more satisfactorily. I eventually offered to leave T'ai-yuan fu, where I had been working for several years with the vantage-ground in having taken part in famine relief, and move on to the provincial capital of Honan, from which his Mission had been driven out, on condition that he should not send any of his Mission there, but leave the field to English Baptists. To this suggestion he would not, however, agree.

Confronted with this impossible attitude, I returned to Shansi with a sad heart. I felt, however, that it would be disgraceful for us to have opposition schools in one city. On being told that the Inland Mission intended to carry on their school permanently, I suggested that they should take over Mrs. Richard's boys, so that there should be a good number in the school, and we could be set free to devote ourselves to some other good work. This was considered the best method of economizing forces, but it was with a heavy heart that Mrs. Richard handed over her sixty pupils, to whom after three years' teaching she had become much attached, and the first ten of whom had professed to be Christians in January 1880.

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

29. BIOGRAPHIES OF CHRISTIANS.

During 1880-1, it occurred to me that the biographies of notable Christians might be of great interest to the Chinese, and at the same time might show them what the aim of these great souls had been down the ages

and in all countries. I therefore procured the best Church histories, the lives of the saints, pre-Reformation and post-Reformation, and marked such passages as I thought would be most suitable for translation into Chinese. When, therefore, the city school had been handed over to the Inland Mission, my wife thought she could best employ her time in the translation of the lives of these eminent Christians. During my absence in Shantung and later in Peking, she continued her work till they accumulated at last in ten Chinese volumes. These were published in the 'nineties in Shanghai.

It was a joy to find that the able Chinese writer who assisted her in the translation became a Christian, and there is no brighter ornament in the Christian Church in Shansi to-day than our faithful friend Kao Ta Ling.

30. UNUSUAL MEASURES TO HELP THE SHANSI PEOPLE.

During the famine wolves became very bold, and often carried children off from their villages and devoured them. Remembering how one of the Saxon kings had rid England of wolves, I offered a reward for every wolf captured, dead or alive, and a few were brought me.

As I have already said, a feature of North China is the loess which covers the surface from hundreds to thousands of feet in depth. The heavy rains have cut wide and deep gullies in the loess, which in course of time have developed into impassable ravines, making progress across country wellnigh impossible. In considering better means of communication, I saw the great difficulties, on account of these deep ravines, in the way of railway engineering, and I thought that flying machines, if they could be invented, would be the best means of communication, and would be a great boon to the country. I therefore spent some time in studying the flight of birds and insects, noting the proportions between the weight of their bodies and the areas of their wings, and from the musical note of certain insects' flight, I calculated the number of vibrations made per

minute. I never had any doubt of the possibility of men being able to invent flying machines. As Chinese were more interested in kite-flying than any other nation, I thought it possible that some genius among them might invent a flying machine. This was the beginning of my interest in aircraft, which has not flagged till this hour ; but the progress of the new science has gone beyond my dreams.

One day, the Principal of one of the Confucian colleges came to me and said : " In some of our ancient books mention is made of a method by which the destruction of the tissues of the body can be arrested, resulting in suspended animation, a condition similar to that of creatures hibernating. Do you know of any such process in the West? If you do, and you could teach the starving people the secret, many might be saved from perishing."

I replied that I had only once read of an experiment in connection with arrest of the heart's action, in Huxley's " Elementary Lessons in Physiology,"¹ but that as my knowledge was insufficient, I could not risk any experiments.

A year or two after the great drought and famine there was a heavy fall of rain all over the province. When I was in the neighbourhood of Kwei Hwa Ch'ing, in the north of the province, I asked the farmers what kind of harvest they had had that year. The reply was : " Very bad ; it is too good. Everybody has plenty and there is no market. The expense of carting the grain to a district that needs it is so great, and labourers are so few and wages so high, that we farmers have no alternative but to leave the crops rotting in the fields." This lamentable state of affairs was one of the strong arguments that I used when urging the authorities to build railways, so as to secure cheap transport for grain both in time of need and in time of plenty.

¹ " If the lungs be distended, the mouth and nose stopped, and a strong expiratory effort made, the heart's action may be stopped altogether. There is a danger in attempting this experiment " (p. 97).

CHAPTER VI

WORK AMONGST OFFICIALS AND SCHOLARS.

1881-4

1. ATTITUDE OF OFFICIALS TO FOREIGNERS.

IN the Han dynasty, which was contemporaneous with the beginning of the Christian era, and the T'ang dynasty, which lasted from the seventh to the tenth century, the Chinese Government welcomed the arrival and settlement of foreigners in their midst, whether Hindus, Jews, Parthians, Christians, or Mohammedans. But shortly after the beginning of the Manchu dynasty there was a complete change in policy.

The situation was well illustrated by the following incident, which took place near Ch'ing-chow fu, Shantung, in 1875. At dawn of day, I was riding out of a Chinese village. The street was empty, save for a solitary man who was finishing his dressing by putting on his jacket. As I came up to him, he looked at me with keenest eyes and asked whence I came.

"From Ch'ing-chow fu," I replied.

"But," he said, "you are not a Chinaman; you are a foreigner."

"Yes," I replied, "I am from England."

"England!" he exclaimed. "That is the country that rebelled against us" (referring to England's first war with China in 1837).

"She could never rebel," I said, "because she never belonged to China."

"But she did," he retorted. "Before that time she was one of the nations that paid tribute to China." (The presents brought by Lord Macartney and other embassies

to China were recorded by Chinese historians as tribute from England.) "When England revolted, it was the greatest rebellion since the world began."

These words, which he spoke with great indignation, indicated exactly the attitude of the Chinese Government.

When the brilliant Jesuit Fathers Matteo Ricci, Adam Schæel, and Verbiest came to China, they were received with the highest honours by Emperors Wan Lieh and K'ang Hi. But the Dominicans who followed denounced the policy of the Jesuits, and dissensions arose. When the Papal Legate M. de Tournon arrived, taking sides with the Dominicans, and declaring that the Jesuit term for God was not correct, K'ang Hi is said to have asked a Dominican priest accompanying the Legate to read some Chinese characters hung up in the Hall of Audience. As the priest could not read them, the Emperor told the Legate that he had better take all these ignorant priests out of China. The Emperor declared that he knew his own language better than they. The Jesuits he wished to retain in Peking. But as for the Pope, he should look after his own subjects, and the Emperor would rule his own.

Later on, the news of England's conquest of India came to the knowledge of Peking. This, in addition to the Pope's assumption that he was the sole ruler of the whole earth, who had given the East to Portugal and America to Spain, made the Manchu Government fear political aggression from the West. They in turn assumed that the Son of Heaven was the sole ruler of the world, and when the East India Company came to Canton, edicts were issued to Lord Napier as to a Chinese subject, commanding him to obey in fear and trembling. It was this conflict of two similar assumptions, and not any of the side issues, that brought about the first war with China.

Later on, the Taiping rebellion made the Chinese fear religious propaganda as a dangerous political movement. Consequently, even after treaties of religious toleration had been signed, the Chinese Government gave instructions to its officials, high and low, that they were

to do their utmost to prevent missionaries settling in the interior, lest they should steal the hearts of the people. One man in Kiangsu, on whose person a letter from a foreigner was found, inquiring about a house to rent, was put to death. Landlords who rented houses to "foreign devils" were to be arrested and severely punished. This policy explains the fact that the opening of almost every Mission station in China was accompanied afterwards by a riot, originated by the officials and gentry.

2. PREPARATION FOR BETTER MISSION WORK.

When the famine in Shansi was over, and I began to consider the reason of it, and of the poverty of the people, I felt I must study the cause of human suffering, not only in China but in all the world. In pondering Western civilization, I felt that its advantage over Chinese civilization was due to the fact that it sought to discover the workings of God in Nature, and to apply the laws of Nature for the service of mankind. This was in obedience to God's command to Adam to have dominion over all things. In applying the laws of science to the needs of man, Western nations had made marvellous inventions that were little less wonderful than miracles. I was convinced that if I could lecture to the officials and scholars and interest them in these miracles of science, I would be able to point out to them ways in which they could utilize the forces of God in Nature for the benefit of their fellow-countrymen. In this way I could influence them to build railways, to open mines, to avert recurrences of famine, and save the people from their grinding poverty. Besides the officials of the province, and the students of the Chinese colleges, there were a few hundreds of expectant officials who, later, would be given posts in other parts of the Empire, and through whom beneficial results might accrue to other provinces.

But before I could talk or lecture satisfactorily I had to provide myself with many up-to-date books and apparatus. I stinted myself in all personal expenses,

living in a Chinese house, wearing Chinese clothes, and eating Chinese food, so that I might spend every penny I had on books and apparatus. For my dwelling, and for Church and school purposes, I took a large house of three courtyards, with ten rooms built round them. They were well furnished with beautiful Shansi cupboards decorated in gold with scenes of daily life. The best rooms were floored with brick, the others only with clay and mud. As the house had the reputation of being unlucky, it had stood vacant for some time, and only a low rental of twelve taels a moon was therefore charged for it. The foreign devil was supposed to fear no other devils, and later the house was reduced in rent if I promised never to leave it, and I paid only about £9 a year for it. Every room had a large k'ang, built of brick near the central paper window, which measured ten feet by fifteen. The k'ang was about two and a half feet in height, and was six feet in breadth. Underneath it were flues. A fire was lit at the side in a small hole over a foot deep, with the top level with the floor, and it was supplied with coal twice a day. This kept the temperature of the k'ang and the room wonderfully even night and day. The k'ang was covered with matting and felt rugs, which somewhat mitigated its hardness. The women sat all day by the window, tailor fashion, on the k'ang sewing.

During the years from 1880 to 1884 I spent nearly a thousand pounds, including a legacy left me by a relative, Joshua Lewis, on books and instruments. A list of my most important books may be of interest to my readers. They were:—

Standard theological books on Romanism and Protestantism—German, American, British, High Church, Low Church and Broad Church, and Nonconformist to guard myself against becoming a one-sided Christian; books on the Comparative Study of Religion, Church History, and biographies; a complete set of Max Müller's "Sacred Books of the East"; a complete set of the Buddhist Tripitaka (not translated from Sanskrit, but most accurately translated into Chinese)—this alone

cost £32 ; books on Astronomy, Electricity, Chemistry, Geology, Natural History, Engineering, Workshop Tools ; books on Medicine and various Industries ; standard Histories of various nations ; the Literature of Asia, " Encyclopædia Britannica " (in those days each volume was sent out in a tin case and cost thirty shillings), " Chambers's Encyclopædia," etc.

As regards educational and scientific apparatus I ordered :—

Telescope, microscope, spectroscope, hand dynamo, (costing £40), Wimshurst machine, induction coil, various galvanic batteries, galvanometer, Geissler tubes, voltmeter, electrometer, pocket sextant, pocket aneroids. I also had magic lanterns worked by oxy-hydrogen, spirits of wine, acetylene, with the latest set of astronomical slides, natural history slides on Australia, Africa, America, etc., botanical slides on tea, coffee, cocoa, india-rubber, sugar-cane, etc., and scientific slides. I also ordered a complete photographic outfit. This I afterwards gave to my Chinese schoolmaster who helped me in taking photographs, and later he became the best photographer in the province. I also procured a sewing-machine.

3. LECTURES TO OFFICIALS.

With the help of these books and apparatus I was able to lecture to the officials and scholars on the following subjects :—

1. The astronomical miracle discovered by Copernicus.
2. The miracles of chemistry.
3. The miracles of mechanics, such as the lathe and other tools, leading to the sewing-machine and bicycle, etc.
4. The miracles of steam, bringing incalculable blessings to every country that adopted them, as seen in railways and steamers and factories.
5. The miracles of electricity as seen in the dynamo, utilized for light and power transmission.
6. The miracles of light, as seen in the magic lantern and photography.
7. The miracles of medicine and surgery.

When a comet appeared in June 1881 I lectured on it, showing that its course was as regular as the changes



K'ANG YU-WEL.



TAN TZE-TUNG.
Pro-martyr of Reform.



LIANG CH'U-CH'AO.

in the moon, and boded no evil. For three years I delivered monthly lectures to the officials and scholars at their own request. To give an instance of their appreciation, when a quarrel arose between the Manchus and Chinese over a new theatre that had been built, a Prefect strongly urged the Governor to give the theatre to me for my lectures.

I was once most efficiently helped in these science lectures by Mr. Elliston, of the Inland Mission, who later became the first headmaster of the Chefoo School. He was then spending a holiday with me at T'ai-yuan fu. The officials considered that the magic of modern science far surpassed all other magic. For example, I had an electro-magnet and an anvil of 60 lb. weight at one end of my study, while I stood at a table at the other end with a switchboard like the face of a clock. I asked my audience to examine the electro-magnet carefully to see that there was neither hook nor glue on it. Yet the moment I touched a certain brass peg on the switchboard at one end of the room the electro-magnet at the other end would jump to the anvil with a click and cling to it.

"Now listen." The click was heard. "Now," I cried, "lift up the electro-magnet!" But as soon as this was attempted the heavy anvil was lifted too, clinging to the magnet, before the astonished gaze of the onlookers. "Now I shall stop pressing the brass peg, and the anvil will fall from the magnet. Take care of your feet." It was done, and the anvil fell with a great clang to the ground.

On another occasion I delivered a lecture on oxygen, showing how it supported combustion to such an extent that an iron wire would burn in it like a wisp of straw. The sight of this excited great admiration and astonishment. But the next experiment in hydrogen did not prove successful at first and created consternation. I had told them that hydrogen would burn like oil, and had some made before them. But as soon as I applied a match to the glass tube where I expected the jet of hydrogen to burn there was a great explosion like

the firing of a pistol, and the cork of the flask shot up through the paper ceiling and disappeared from view. Instantly all the audience rose up to their feet in panic, and said that they must go, as they had urgent matters on hand early the next morning. But I insisted on their listening to my explanation of the accident before leaving. They reluctantly remained while I explained how I had not waited long enough to let the air escape out of the flask before applying the match, and that as a mixture of hydrogen and air was most explosive there could have been no other result than that they had witnessed. In order to prove what I said was true I would this time wait until all the air had been expelled before applying the match. They sat down in fear and trembling. After I was satisfied that no air remained in the flask I applied a match, and the hydrogen burned like a candle flame to the great astonishment of all. I then let them go away, in full possession of their lives and in peace of mind.

In the lectures on electricity I gave experiments showing transmission of energy. By using the Wimshurst machine and an induction-coil combined I was able to send at least thirty thousand volts through my body. I also sent electric currents through Geissler tubes, holding them in my hands, and giving a magnificent display of light. This was many years before Tesla's sensational exhibitions in Europe. Another time I gave a magic-lantern lecture, illustrating the parables of the New Testament. As soon as I had exhibited a picture of the Parable of the Unfruitful Tree, for which the gardener pleaded that it might be let live another year, I overheard one official saying to another, "He is preaching at us already."

After these lectures it was a common occurrence for the most intelligent to remain behind and ask further questions on the subjects I had brought before them. But I had to be careful in selecting my audience, to avoid inviting those of different rank together. On one occasion I had inadvertently invited some tao-tais (rulers of about thirty counties), chi-fus (prefects who

rule about ten counties), and county magistrates, who have charge of only one. I noticed that one of these district magistrates, who usually put most intelligent questions, uttered not a single word the whole evening. Seeing him the next day, I asked him the reason of his silence. He replied that he had not dared to speak in the presence of so many of his superiors. Thereafter I was careful to invite only those of the same rank together in order that they might feel free and sociable.

In all the lectures 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. Many of the Government couriers, after riding with dispatches for long distances at the rate of two hundred miles a day, often died of fatigue, while the electric telegraph was able to transmit in a few minutes messages from all round the earth, causing no exhaustion to any one. The matter of supreme importance was that we should study all the laws of God in Nature, so as to gain the benefits that God intended to bestow upon us when He stored up all these forces for our use, and then show our gratitude for all His loving-kindness by obeying His spiritual laws.

After my lectures were commenced in T'ai-yuan fu the number of officials and students who came to see me was so large that I was obliged to rent an additional office in an adjoining street, where I could quietly pursue my studies and translation work without interruption from callers, who had a habit of staying for hours.

4. VISIT OF PREFECT WANG.

There was a Honan man named Wang, who had become a Prefect at Ning Wu fu, in Shansi, who, being very interested in foreign learning, had often come to see me when he was an expectant official in T'ai-yuan fu. A few months after he had entered into office he came to T'ai-yuan fu to see the Governor on business. During this visit he called on me. On my asking what reforms he had introduced in his prefecture he waxed eloquent

in describing a new school in which modern science was taught. He had examined the pupils, and rewarded the best. Two men had come to him to report that they had seen a veritable dragon in the clouds creeping over the high mountains of Ning Wu, and he had explained to them that it was but the lightning which had come out of the cloud in the form of a snake or dragon, and that it was caused by nothing else than electricity, which foreigners used in many ways; that the explosion of the lightning had set loose the water in the dark clouds to fall in rain. This was the scientific reason for the operations of the so-called god of rain worshipped for thousands of years.

After this we fell to talk of religion. He told me that he himself was not a Confucianist, but a Taoist, and was surprised that I, who seemed to know everything, should believe in heaven and hell like the Buddhists.

I replied: "You know that when you go to Shanghai you have to travel to Tientsin by cart, then you must take a steamer in order to travel by sea?"

"Yes, that is clear."

I had then hanging on the wall of my study a fine astronomical chart of the solar system, published by Johnstone. I pointed to the planets, and asked him if he knew that their strength of gravitation and pressure of atmosphere differed according to their sizes, and that if we were transferred to some we would be crushed to death by the atmospheric pressure, while if we were transferred to others we would burst. "Therefore if we ever travel from this planet to another we must change this body of ours to another fitted to live in our new home."

"Yes, I understand that it must be so."

"Now, why did you reward the best boys of your school?"

"To encourage them."

"Have you pulled down your jail?"

"No."

"Why not?"

“ Because there are incorrigible men in the world.”

“ That is true, and the only way to deal with them is to shut them up in jail to prevent them from doing harm to others. As a mandarin, therefore, you find the principle of rewards and punishments indispensable. Perhaps the Ruler of the Universe finds the same necessity.”

At this point he rose from his seat, came up to me and made a profound bow, and said : “ I see all you mean. Print this conversation, and no Confucianist, after reading it, will cavil at Christianity any more.”

5. CONFUCIAN SCHOLAR RESIDING IN COMPOUND.

The best literary man of the province, who had been selected by the Government to edit a new edition of the “ Topographical Cyclopædia ” of Shansi, expressed a wish to live in my compound, and paid a small rental for his apartment and remained there a few years. He spoke highly of the works of the Jesuit Matthew Ricci, especially of one of his books called “ Tien Chu Shih Yi ” (“ The True Purpose of God ”), which he considered ranked with the books of Chinese sages. He also much appreciated the works of Dr. Hobson, of the London Mission, at Canton, which had come into his hands, interesting him on account of their scientific knowledge. I asked him one day to procure some Confucianist hymns for me, but, after searching for some weeks, he informed me he could not find any popular ones. Their poetry consisted chiefly of complaint against the providence of Heaven. When this high scholar was appointed to an official position elsewhere he paid me a farewell visit, during which we had a long conversation on religion. In the midst of our talk he took up a book of the classics from the table and deliberately placed it on the floor.

“ There is not another man in all Shansi who would dare do that ! ” he cried, “ so great is their reverence for characters and printed pages. As for me, the outward form and symbols have no real value in themselves. It is the meaning they represent that I reverence. I

honour the truths contained in them. So, if you ask me to be baptized and become a Christian, I reply that the outward rite has no meaning for me. God will not respect me any more after a few drops of water in baptism or a plunge in the river. If I am truly sincere, baptism and outward conforming to your ceremonies cannot make me a better man."

"That is true," I replied; "but that is not the question. The point is whether you are willing to promote the Kingdom of God on earth, and help to uplift your fellow-men."

"Ah!" he cried, "I am with you there."

6. INTERVIEW WITH TSO TSUNG-T'ANG.

Besides these opportunities of influencing the high officials of T'ai-yuan fu I had, on one occasion, an important interview with Viceroy Tso Tsung-t'ang. He was, like Governor Tsêng Kwoh-ch'uen, a Hunan man, and had been sent by the Chinese Government to Ili to recover that province from the Russians, who had occupied it for some years. He solved the difficulty of transporting food for his army by ordering his soldiers to cultivate the land and raise the needed harvest on the spot. He took his time, but succeeded in his task.

After recovering the province he returned to Peking, and on his way back had to pass on the highway a place about thirty miles from T'ai-yuan fu. As he was the Viceroy of Shensi and Kansu, as well as the great pacificator of Ili, all the high officials of Shansi, from the Governor downwards, went to meet him. As I was on friendly terms with the T'ai-yuan fu officials, they advised me to go with them and meet the great man.

I had completed a historical chart of the world, after studying which a Chinaman in half an hour could obtain a better conception of the comparative history of the world than any of their best statesmen had ever had before. This I took as a present to the Viceroy. When I arrived at the inn where he was spending the night, he arranged that he would receive the Chinese officials

together in a group. After he had dismissed them he gave me a private audience, and kept me till late at night, as he was thoroughly interested. He first of all discussed the historical chart, which pleased him. Then he told me of the reforms he had started in Kansu, in putting up machinery for the woollen manufactures. He allowed me to inspect specimens, of which he was naturally proud, for the transport of the machinery overland had involved gigantic toil. After I had explained our work in famine relief he talked about religion, and said that as long as we missionaries exhorted people to do good the Chinese Government would have no objection, for they also did the same. He insisted that no real antagonism lay between Confucianism and Christianity.

It is worthy of note that later, when he became Viceroy of Nanking, though there had formerly for many years been feud there between the authorities and the missionaries, when Mr. Hart, of the Methodist Episcopal Mission, asked for permission to buy land and put up schools and hospitals the Viceroy commanded the district magistrates to see to the suitable establishment of Christian Missions in Nanking.

7. FRIENDLY INTERCOURSE.

During this time Mrs. Richard received frequent calls from the leading official ladies in the city and from the wives of the gentry, among whom were several Moham-medans. This was the beginning of social intercourse with the leading families. When some of them wished me to educate their sons, I asked, "Are you not afraid I shall influence them in favour of Western learning and religion?" They replied they could have no fear for what was good and useful. Other officials, on leaving the capital for their respective appointments, called to bid me farewell and thank me for the valuable instruction they had received, and told me that if any of my friends ever went to their districts I was to be sure to give them letters of introduction and they would be well looked after. This was not merely empty

promise. At the end of eight years' work in Shansi there were fifty missionaries from Europe and America, with many Mission stations, in the province, and not a single riot anywhere.

This was really the beginning of social relations between the Chinese and foreign missionaries. Since then many of the leading missionaries, especially those engaged in educational and medical work, have, in the various provincial capitals, cultivated the friendship of the Viceroys and Governors, with the happiest results.

8. CHINESE MUSIC.

I was told by the Confucianists that their religion was largely explained in a famous work of the Sung Dynasty, about a thousand years ago, "Li yo" (which might be translated "Ritual Rites and Music"). It was when studying the musical part of this that I came across the Chinese Tonic Sol-fa system similar to that which Europeans had fondly imagined to be the latest product of the nineteenth century. It was fully known in China so long ago. For further information on this subject the reader can turn to a pamphlet, "Chinese Music," published in 1898 by Mrs. Richard.

My wife and I prepared about the same time a work in ten volumes on the music of the world, nine of which remain still in manuscript, though one was published and used for several years in Shansi. These volumes contained the airs and words of the National Anthems of the various nations, showing the aspirations of the different races. To illustrate the ideals of the negroes some of the melodies of the Jubilee Singers were inserted.

In 1882 the new Governor of Shansi, Chang Chih-tung, who afterwards became the famous Viceroy, was bent on reviving the Confucian religion in the province. A new temple was built to the honour of Confucius, possessing a complete set of musical instruments of many kinds, the same as are in use in Shantung at the home of Confucius. A man in charge of the temple had the training of a number of Confucian students in

the art of music. On him I called one day, and we had a talk, during which he discovered that I knew something of music. On my asking if I might listen to them at their next performance he said, "We will have one now." Forthwith he called on some thirty Sui-ts'ais to perform. It was a pitiable display, for although the instruments were many and beautiful and new the man in charge did not know how to tune them, with the result that there ensued a fearful discordant noise, but no music.

I asked the principal why he did not put the instruments all in tune. This was a new art to him. He said he wished to know how. I then invited him to my house, saying that my wife understood music very well and she could explain to him. Thus we helped in putting Confucian music on a better footing in Shansi.

9. INTERCOURSE WITH BUDDHISTS.

In order to understand the Buddhists I went and lived a month in one of their chief temples, where the Abbot had come from a distance to hold an ordination of a hundred priests. I took my daily meals with him. He was a good man, over sixty years of age. Before every meal he used to pray with an unction that it would be difficult for any Christian to surpass. His grace consisted of four words—"San Pao Fa Sung" ("We live by the grace of the Precious Trinity").

The education of the priests, however, was most elementary. Besides reciting their morning and evening prayers, which they did with great regularity, their studies were chiefly directed to points of ritual. After only fifty days' study they received diplomas, stamped by the Abbot.

10. VISIT TO WU T'AI SHAN.

There is in Shansi one of the five mountains sacred to the Buddhist religion. This is Wu T'ai Shan, a few days' journey to the north of T'ai-yuan fu. In July 1880 I paid a visit to it. On the mountain were numbers of monasteries, with thousands of monks belonging to two

sects of Buddhism—the one the ordinary blue-robed Buddhists of China, the other the yellow and red robed Buddhists of Tibet and Mongolia, called Lamas. Once a year in midsummer there was held a great religious gathering at this mountain, similar in importance to the Day of Atonement among the Jews. It was also an opportunity for a great fair to which Mongols brought ponies and mules for sale.

The chief dignitary seemed to be the Abbot of the Central Lama monastery. In the hope of seeing him I had carefully prepared a large coloured map of the world, with the places written on it in Chinese characters. This I sent in to him with my card, asking for an interview. He appointed a time, and we had an interesting talk. I explained the meaning of the map, pointing out the various zones and the continents and countries, and showing that the map was drawn up to scale of so many li, from which he could judge of the relative sizes of the nations. It was the first map of the world that he had ever seen, and he was greatly pleased with it, ordering refreshments at once. I then explained that my object in visiting him was to know more about the Buddhist religion, and asked to be allowed to witness their worship on the following day. He granted this willingly.

On arriving next morning I found the place thronged with crowds of Chinese and Mongols, through which it was most difficult to make my way. As I approached the 108 steps which lead to the temple court a number of servants with whips in their hands were waiting for me, and on seeing me began at once to clear a passage through the mob with their whips. I was then led to a large courtyard and through another crowd to a platform, where sat a Chinese official, a Mongol official, and his wife, in red and yellow robes. I was invited to sit there with them.

The worship began by the beating of a great drum to the accompaniment of some music. Then prayers were recited in a very deep bass voice (out-Russianizing the Russian priests). Next followed a most unexpected

and surprising dance. A number of men appeared, wearing extraordinary masks on their heads, some like tigers, others like birds of prey, so that the assembly resembled what might have been a gathering of all the various animals of Egyptian mythology. After watching this religious dance I visited the chief temple of the Chinese Buddhists, where I witnessed a great contrast in their worship. Everything was most reverential and impressive.

The music strongly reminded me of the Gregorian chants and responsive singing of the ancient Church. The priests were divided into two bands, one on the right of the aisle, the other on the left. One band stood with the palms of the hands pressed together in front of their faces, and sang in unison a verse of four lines, whilst the other band prostrated themselves in silence. By the time the prostration was finished these in turn took up the second verse, singing it standing, while the first knelt silently and bowed themselves to the ground. The chant they used was so sweet that I took it down and used it afterwards in Christian worship. Here it is:—



I was not able to find any place in Shansi where Taoist priests were educated and ordained, but in 1881 I visited their college in Peking, which was patronized by the Government. I also wrote to the Taoist Pope in Kiangsi for textbooks of their modern teaching, but merely received in reply some charms which were considered as potent in warding off all evil as a cross blessed by the Roman Pope.

While studying Chinese religion and translating such foreign literature as I thought would be helpful I varied my work by lectures to the officials and gentry and evangelistic trips to the villages. A school of sixty orphan boys was also established in the city and superintended by my wife, who visited in addition some seven elementary schools in the villages of the district.

11. CHANG CHIH-TUNG.

Ever since Great Britain and France occupied Peking in 1860, Prince Kung, the greatest man in China, knew how futile it was to oppose foreign Powers. But about 1880 there had arisen three young, brilliant, anti-foreign Chinese, so full of the learning and past glory of China that they declared that China need only show a bold front to the insolent foreigners to make them retire.

Prince Kung's policy was too timid. A palace revolution was engendered that replaced Prince Kung by his anti-foreign brother, Prince Ch'un.

One of these brilliant young Chinese was Chang Chih-tung, who was rewarded by being sent to Shansi as Governor in 1882, the rule of keeping Peking officials always in the capital being broken in his case. The second young official was Chang Pei Lun, who was made Admiral at Foochow. He it was who reported that the forts were impregnable, a statement refuted by the French, who captured them within three days. I forget now the name of the third official. But all three lived to find out that the knowledge they possessed of the world was very elementary and insufficient.

From the beginning of his Governorship in Shansi, Chang Chih-tung was most energetic in devising means to enrich the people and to avert future famines. Finding in the archives of the Yamen in T'ai-yuan fu some suggestions of mine to the former Governor Tsêng Kwoh Ch'uen to build railways, open mines, commence manufactures and industries, and found a college for modern education, he called together the leading officials and laid the suggestions before them, and afterwards sent me a deputation of three officials, asking me to give up missionary work and enter the Chinese service for the purpose of carrying out my ideas. I replied that although I knew the value of those reforms, I was not an expert, and it would be necessary for a number of foreigners to be engaged who were experts in their respective lines of work before the reforms could be carried out satisfactorily. The officials replied that the Governor under-

stood that, but as I had the best interests of China at heart, he desired to find suitable men to carry out the various reforms under my direction. To this I replied that however important material advantages were, the missionary was engaged in work of still greater importance, and that I could not permanently leave the higher work for the lower. I therefore declined the honour and emolument.

As there was danger of the river flooding the city, the Governor asked me to take surveys of the land round T'ai-yuan fu and make suggestions for preventing future inundations. I asked Dr. Schofield to help me in taking levels and photographs, and we reported our views to the Governor. He also asked me to get estimates of proper mining machinery for him, which I did.

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

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

12. INTERCOURSE WITH ROMAN CATHOLICS.

From the first I felt it my duty to be as faithful and kind in regard to what I considered to be the mistaken views of the Roman Catholics as I was towards the non-Christian Chinese. In 1873, when going to Chinan fu for the first time, I asked the Roman Catholic priest in Chefoo, Angelini by name, who had been in New Zealand and spoke English well, if I could take

anything from him to the priests in the provincial capital. He gave me a parcel, and after arrival in Chi-nan fu, I called with it at the cathedral. The Bishop was not at home, but the priests were very friendly and invited me to dinner with them. When I returned to Chefoo, I reported my visit to Angelini. Some three years afterwards, happening to be in Chefoo, I heard that he was ill and called to see him. I found him in bed. After some talk, he asked if I would pray for him, which of course I was glad to do. When I was married, in 1878, Angelini, without invitation, attended my wedding.

When I went to Shansi, the Governor, as I have already said, referred me to the Roman Catholic Bishop to consult about co-operation in famine relief. There were two Bishops in T'ai-yuan fu at the time—one an elderly man, rather infirm, nearly seventy years of age, the other an Italian Franciscan, a few years my senior, in full vigour of life, whose Chinese name was Ngai. He tried at first to persuade me to return to Mother Church. I asked how he knew which was really the Mother Church. Thereupon we began a controversy which lasted three successive days, he defending his case, I telling him that as he knew only one side of the question he was not in a position to judge. He retaliated in the same way, but I assured him that I possessed all his standard works, while he was not allowed to read the Protestant standard books.

The first day their leading native priest was present, so we talked in Chinese, but the other days he was not asked to be present, so we discussed the religious experiences of Cardinal Newman and the various differences between the two Churches until each thoroughly understood the position of the other. We parted good friends.

When David Hill and Joshua Turner arrived, I took them to call on the Bishop, and thanked him for the evidence he had collected from his priests throughout the province regarding the extent of the famine. While we three were distributing relief, we learnt that the Bishop had offered public prayers on our behalf in the cathedral.

When I was again in T'ai-yuan fu, a rumour spread abroad among the people as to the baneful influence of the angel on the top of the cathedral. This figure, blowing a trumpet, served as a vane, and faced the direction whence the rain-bringing wind came. Consequently the Chinese declared that whenever wind began to blow from that quarter, the angel with the trumpet blew both wind and rain away. They therefore threatened to pull down the cathedral. The Governor, who was anxious to stir up trouble between us and the Roman Catholics, felt sure that if I disapproved of the figure I would not hesitate to say so when such an opportunity offered, and he sent his secretary to see me. I replied: "Tell the Governor that the people are completely mistaken. That angel on the steeple of the cathedral merely represents a quotation from our Scriptures, and has no magic influence such as the people think." He asked if I would show him the passage. I took a copy of the New Testament, folded down the leaf where the reference was, and told him to show it to the Governor. He went away much relieved, and the cathedral was saved.

After this, when in T'ai-yuan fu, the Bishop and I exchanged calls several times a year. At one of these visits he told me he had sent instructions to his priests that if I went anywhere near their churches they were to invite me to stay in their quarters, as I would find them cleaner than the inns. He also asked me to deliver my lecture on astronomy to his students, which I did.

When Leo XIII became Pope, he divided the Chinese Empire into five districts, each with centres where the Bishops could meet to consider mission problems. T'ai-yuan fu being the centre of one of these districts, a conference was held there, attended by the Bishops of Shantung, Shensi, Kansuh, and Mongolia. I was invited to meet them at dinner, and as we all spoke Chinese, we had no difficulty in understanding each other. I was also asked to attend their Conference, but as it was not to be conducted in Chinese, I thanked them for their courtesies, and declined. They continued friendly, sending us presents of tomatoes and some of their Shansi wine

from time to time. When the Bishop called, he was often accompanied by an Italian priest named Wei, the organist of the cathedral. We had a harmonium in our home, and when my wife played some of Rossini's music, Wei was delighted. My wife asked the Bishop if there were any European nuns in the province, as in Shantung and Chihli, but at that time there were none ; they did not then dare to send sisters so far into the interior, as the Chinese would have been sure to circulate all kinds of evil reports. Still, the priests had just commenced to educate some orphan girls, who were taught a few elementary books and sewing, to enable them to earn their living. Mrs. Richard suggested that they should be taught to use the sewing-machine. We ordered one for him, and in due course it arrived, and my wife went over to the school to show the girls how to use it.

13. JOURNEY TO SHANTUNG.

Returning now to chronological order again. In 1882, my colleague, Alfred Jones, who was in charge of the Church in Ch'ing-chow fu, Shantung, was obliged to go home, and begged me, in the interest of the young Church, to take his place during his absence. This I was rather loath to do, as I thought the native Christians might be able to cultivate independence if left a little while by themselves. Yielding, however, to the repeated request of Mr. Jones and two young colleagues just arrived, I went. The distance from T'ai-yuan fu to Ch'ing-chow fu was twenty-one days' journey, and it was the month of July, the hottest time of the year. So scorching was the heat that the carter one day cried out, "Ai ya Chin t'ien haia ho!" ("It's raining fire to-day!")

On the journey I was revising some Chinese MSS. which I intended to print immediately after arrival in Shantung. This revision took place night and morning, and at noon when the mules were fed. The last two days before reaching Chi-nan fu, and three days short of reaching Ch'ing-chow fu, I found myself falling asleep in the midst of my revision. Thinking I was not paying

sufficient attention to my work, I would walk about in order to wake myself up, not realizing that I was completely exhausted.

14. DYSENTERY AT CHI-NAN FU.

On arrival at Chi-nan fu, I put some of my books into the printer's hands. Before the day was over, however, I was down with dysentery, which grew worse day by day, till at last I thought my end was near. I wrote a farewell letter to my wife in T'ai-yuan fu, and sent a message to Jones and to my young colleagues—"Bury me in Ch'ing-chow fu."

On receiving this message, Mr. Kitts, our medical man, rode on horseback from Ch'ing-chow fu, a three days' journey, and arrived in Chi-nan fu in thirty-six hours. No sooner had he arrived than he, too, was down with dysentery. The following day Mr. Whitewright, my other colleague, arrived in Chi-nan fu after thirty-six hours' ride on horseback through the heat, and shared the same fate as Mr. Kitts. Mrs. Kitts, on hearing that her husband was down with dysentery, travelled from Ch'ing-chow fu in a chair, and happily she did not get ill. Thanks to her careful nursing, the three of us recovered.

Here I ought to mention the great kindness of the Governor of Shantung, who, on hearing of my illness, sent an official to my inn to attend to my wants and remain there till I was well. When we recovered, I went to thank the Governor for his kindness. He replied that it was his duty to look after strangers, and he insisted on sending four mounted soldiers to accompany us and see us safely to Ch'ing-chow fu.

15. HARVEST THANKSGIVING.

On the way to Ch'ing-chow fu from Chi-nan fu we spent a Sunday at an inn in a small town. I asked the keeper what kind of harvest they had had.

"A very good one," he said.

"Have you thanked God for it?"

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

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

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

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

Some forty or fifty people came at noon. I told them how all good things came from God, and that the least we could do was to show our gratitude in worshipping Him. After a general talk, I told them that if they knelt, I would kneel and speak to God on their behalf. Thus I offered prayer, and the people were as reverent as if they were in the habit of worshipping all the days of their lives. When my thanksgiving prayer was over, they asked me to teach them more of my religion. I promised to send an evangelist with books to instruct them. Thus we parted, having pledged each other to permanent friendship in the service of God.

In due course I arrived in Ch'ing-chow fu. After a conference of many days, A. G. Jones departed for home, and I took charge of his work.

16. NEW CHURCHES IN SHANTUNG.

During the autumn I visited the various Churches widely scattered over the counties, preaching and administering the Lord's Supper to them. It was difficult to keep those imperfectly acquainted with Christianity from misunderstanding our rites. A rumour spread abroad that I was giving so many ounces of silver to every Church member. On one of the Christians inquiring into this rumour, a non-Christian said he had been present at one of my addresses and heard me refer to the division of the silver. Then the Christian replied, "Ah, you do not know. The pastor was explaining the Parable of the Talents." Instead of using the foreign name denoting talents, I had referred to them as so many ounces of silver.

The most interesting thing of all to me on that trip was the discovery of the effect of the preaching of

one man with whom I had had only three or four interviews, five years previously. He had come to see me, saying that he wished to learn our doctrine. I had told him to commit to memory certain passages I had selected from Matthew, and passages at the beginning of Revelation, at intervals of four or five days apart.

The last day, I had seen him his face was beaming with unusual brightness, and he cried, "I have seen Him! I have seen Him, Jesus Christ my Saviour!"

"What was He like?"

He had given me practically what was the description of our Lord in Revelation.

"What did He say?"

"He told me to preach, 'Repent, for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand.'"

"And are you going to do it?"

"How dare I disobey my Lord?"

"Go then, and you will experience a joy in your heart that you never had before. The peace of God be with you!"

This had taken place five years previously, just before I left for Shansi. Now there were five new churches on the east of the river, which had sprung up during my absence. As I visited them, I asked who had established them. They replied: "A man named K'u. He returned from visiting you in Ch'ing-chow fu, and began preaching on the street, saying, 'Repent, for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand.' We became alarmed, thinking he was proposing a rebellion. So we ran into our houses, and bolted our doors for fear of compromising ourselves with him. But that made no difference to him. He walked slowly through the village preaching about the Kingdom of God and the Sermon on the Mount, and we, inside our doors, listened to his words."

This was the beginning of their interest in the Christian religion, and now there were five churches on the east of the river, all founded by him, showing clearly that the source of spiritual life is not to be found in human learning, but in communion with God.

17. WORK OF J. S. WHITEWRIGHT.

During this time there were only three missionaries in Ch'ing-chow fu, Mr. and Mrs. Kitts and Mr. Whitewright. I shared a room with the last-named. He was so enthusiastic a missionary that there was no end to the questions he put in regard to every aspect of the work. We usually talked till the small hours of the morning. After a time, both of us fell ill and we wondered what had caused it. When Kitts heard of it, he said: "It's clear what is wrong with you both. You work hard all day, and then talk hard all night. You do not get sufficient rest." After this, instead of sleeping in the same room, Whitewright and I had each a separate room, and when we retired at decent hours we soon regained our health.

Shortly after my departure from Shansi my enthusiastic friend, Whitewright, opened a museum in Ch'ing-chow fu in 1887, where he gave a course of lectures to students. In 1904 he removed to Chi-nan fu, the capital of Shantung, and built what he called the Chi-nan fu Institute, which has been called by others the Missionary Museum. It is very large, and is by far the most remarkable Institute in China, and is probably unique in the world. In it are two lecture-halls where lectures and addresses are given several times a day. From four hundred to over a thousand visit it every day, and during the last two years nearly two and a half million visitors have been through it. It has been described by observers as "an attempt to awaken and educate the minds of men and women to a sense of the greatness of the universe, the oneness of mankind, the relation of their own country to other countries, the proportionate wealth of different countries in physical products and the proportionate measures in which these resources are being utilized, the mental and moral status of the different races of the world, and a presentation of some of the causes which have operated for the uplift and degradation of mankind."

The value of lectures such as these impressed itself

on Dr. Wilson, of the C.I.M. in Szechuen, and he adopted the same method during the 'eighties and 'nineties. For the last few years, 1910-15, Professor Robertson has been set apart by the Y.M.C.A. to organize courses of lectures on a large scale with scientific apparatus up to date, and these are being delivered in a number of provinces.

18. DIFFICULTY WITH A MAGISTRATE.

About this time I met the most anti-foreign and mischievous official that I ever had the misfortune to come across, a man who did not seem to possess the slightest sense of fair play. I had rented a house in one of the good streets of the city without meeting any objection from the people, when just at that time there came to Ch'ing-chow fu a new magistrate, ruler of the head county of the district, and before I had actually taken possession of my house he called upon me. He was a man of about forty years of age, from the province of Chihli, a Doctor of Literature (Chin-sze), and exceedingly intelligent and well-informed. After talking on general topics for half an hour or so, he said that he had heard I had rented a house, but that the gentry in that street and some of my neighbours had begged him to ask me to give it up. He said that as he was a new-comer, he had not liked to refuse their first request, and he begged me, therefore, as a great favour to him, to be so kind as to return the contract for the house.

I told him I was greatly surprised at the attitude of the gentry, as there had been no objections raised by any during the whole month of negotiations. At this remark he became very agitated, and implored me to do this favour for him. Then I said, "If I give this house up, will you find me quarters elsewhere?"

"But," he replied, "you are well known in the city, and will doubtless find no difficulty in getting another house to suit your convenience, while I am a stranger."

"And what if there should be an objection to that house?" I asked.

"I will see to it that there will be no objection, since you have shown yourself so ready to accede to the people's wishes."

At this assurance I went to my room, took out the contract, and handed it over to him, for which he appeared most grateful.

A few days after this he was called to the provincial capital to see the Governor, and within a fortnight during his absence I rented a house in a quiet street where there were only three houses; mine being in the middle, I got my neighbours on the right and left to sign the contract as middlemen, so that this time there should be no complaint from neighbours. According to Chinese custom, after obtaining the friendly assent of my neighbours, I was entitled to peaceful occupancy of the house.

Some of my Chinese friends, who had doubted the straightforwardness of the magistrate's story, urged me to take possession of the house before his return, but I refused. "I gave up the other house openly to him, and I shall go openly into this one."

In another fortnight the magistrate returned. Within two days he called on me again. This time he informed me that the owner of this second house, a widow, had come to him in great distress, begging him to get me to give up the house. I replied that I could not well believe that, as the widow had been anxious to rent her house to me.

"But it is true," he said, "for she threatens to commit suicide if you come into the house. You are a good man, and would not wish to cause the death of any one. Besides, your neighbours object."

"That is impossible, for I have their names down on my agreement."

From this I inferred that no one was against me but the magistrate himself.

He then brought out another argument. "If you go into the house, mischievous persons might burn it down."

I was astonished at this threat and asked, "Did you

not assure me there would be no trouble in my getting another house?"

He admitted that he had said so. "But what can one do with a rowdy rabble who rule the city?"

"Who rules the city, the rabble or you?" I asked.

He repeated that he could not answer for the consequences if I took possession of the house, and once more asked me to give up the agreement for it.

I refused. "I cannot give it up this time. I agreed to your proposal the first time, but cannot see any reason for returning the lease now." Further, I added: "I have already delayed till your return before taking possession, and unless I am permitted to enter the house in peace under your protection, I will report the matter to my Consul. I give you until to-morrow to think it over. If you do not agree, then the next day I start for Chefoo to report the case in person."

Two days passed. I had engaged a cart, and was about to start when the magistrate arrived, apparently in great excitement, as if the whole city was about to rise up in riot, and once more asked me to return the contract.

"I know the people are perfectly quiet," I replied. "I can wait no longer."

With that I jumped into the cart and ordered the muleteer to start. I laid the matter before the Consul, who got the Taotai, who ruled about thirty counties, to issue a proclamation censuring the district magistrate for creating trouble, and saying that I had a perfect right to rent a house and reside there if I chose. None of the officials nor people were to molest me.

When I returned, I was astonished to receive a call, early the next morning, from the magistrate. The Taotai's proclamation had reached him some days before. His manner was such that, to all appearance, I might have been his best friend in the world.

He said that he had heard that I had a magic-lantern. Would I be good enough to let him see it? I told him I could exhibit it that night. So he came again in the evening, bringing a few of his secretaries, and was of

course greatly pleased, as they were the first lantern pictures he had ever seen. Before bedtime the whole city knew of his visit.

Next day a deputation of the gentry called on me to ask if I would exhibit the pictures to them also, which I was glad to do, as I had really never had any difficulty with the gentry of the place. Most of them were friends of mine. Thus the attempt of the official to stir up the city against me ended in creating strong sympathy with me, and indignation against his trickery.

When the harvest was over, and the winter came on, the farmers had nothing special to do, so I invited the leaders, both men and women, of the various Churches to come in to Ch'ing-chow fu to get special training. This, together with the superintendence of the Churches and evangelists, occupied all my time until the spring of 1883, when Mr. Huberty James, formerly of the China Inland Mission, who had, when at home in England, joined the Baptist Mission, came out to look after the Shantung Churches. I was then free to return to T'ai-yuan fu.

19. ROBBERY ON RETURN TO SHANSI.

On my way back, in Chihli, a band of robbers raided our inn just before the dawn of day one morning. I had two carts, and there were five or six other carts belonging to fellow-travellers. The robbers opened the boxes in all the carts, scattering clothing and papers all over the courtyard. When I got up, I found one poor fellow distracted at not being able to find a bill for 3,000 taels which he was carrying to his master in Peking. Happily, however, when daylight came, and he made a thorough search amongst all the strewn belongings, he found it trampled under foot in the courtyard, much to his joy. As for me, one of my cases had disappeared altogether from the cart. We traced the footsteps of the robbers outside to a place where they had escaped over a high wall. On the other side we found two deep footprints made by a man who

had evidently jumped down with my heavy case. In the dim light of the courtyard he must have seen something shining in that case, and thinking it was silver, he had carried it off as the greatest of his hauls. How great must have been his chagrin, after jumping from the wall and running away with the heavy case on his back, to find on opening it that it contained only tins of condensed milk!

With no other mishap on the road I reached T'ai-yuan fu, after nine months' absence, to find a little daughter six months old awaiting me.

20. DEATH OF DR. SCHOFIELD.

On August 1, 1883, our little community in T'ai-yuan fu suffered a great loss in the death of Dr. Schofield from typhus fever, caught from one of his patients. As I had had experience of the fever before, I helped Mrs. Schofield to nurse him, but all our loving care was of no avail. He was a man of great intellectual ability, possessing a most beautiful Christian character, and was beloved by all who knew him.

In 1884 Prince Kung was superseded by his brother, Prince Ch'un, and the war-like anti-foreign party thus gained the ascendance. Prince Kung's policy was considered by some members of the Government to be one of timidity, unworthy of a great nation like China.

21. EFFECT OF THE TAIPING REBELLION.

Although the Taiping rebellion had been crushed six years before my arrival in China, its baleful effect against the spread of Christianity continued so powerful a factor that it must be mentioned. The movement originated about 1851 with Hung Hsui Chuen, a Kwangsi man who, having come under the influence of Christians in Canton, founded a religious sect for the worship of the one true God. Unfortunately, Hung, like the Moslems, could not distinguish the use of art in pictures and sculptures from idolatry, and in obedience to the commandment of Moses, he denounced all respect for

these as idolatrous. The hostile attitude of his followers towards all temples developed into fanaticism, and as the membership rapidly increased, the authorities grew alarmed, seized Hung, and threw him into prison. His followers, believing him to be innocent, liberated him, and were declared rebels by the Government. From this time onwards the movement became anti-dynastic in character, and attracted large numbers of adherents. Hung Hsui Chuen assumed the name of T'ien Huang (Heavenly Emperor), and led his forces northward to Wuchang and then down the Yangtze to Chekiang, sacking cities and carrying destruction and ruin everywhere. He then made Nanking his capital, and directed his forces northward to Peking.

Hung's cousin, Kan Wang, was a Christian, and earnestly endeavoured to turn Hung from his extravagant pretensions and degeneracy. The General of the Taiping forces was Chung Wang, an extremely able man. Over his men he exerted an extraordinary influence. I was told by my native pastor, Ch'ing, who had formerly been associated with the Taiping rebels, that such was the effect this General produced on his soldiers that whatever orders he issued, however seemingly impossible, were instantly carried out.

The Americans Burgovine and Ward and the British Gordon helped the Chinese Government against the rebels, and it was to Gordon that Kan Wang and Chung Wang surrendered themselves and so ended the rebellion. The number of lives lost during the thirteen years of the Taiping rule has been variously estimated at from twenty to fifty millions. Small wonder that there remained a legacy of hatred against Christianity, a hatred which has scarcely yet melted away.

22. HOSTILE ATTITUDE OF GOVERNMENT AND PERSECUTION OF CHRISTIANS.

For a long time the Chinese Church throughout the Empire had been subjected to all kinds of interference, annoyance, and persecution, both on the part of the people and on the part of the officials and gentry.

The Churches in Shantung were so constantly worried by official tyrannies that, at the request of Alfred Jones at home, the Baptist Missionary Society wrote to Mr. James and myself to go to Peking and interview the newly appointed Minister, Sir Harry Parkes, on the matter of religious liberty.

The following points may serve to show how imperative it was that action should be taken to secure toleration from the Chinese Government :—

1. The famous hostile memorandum of the Foreign Office after the Tientsin massacre in 1870 plainly showed the attitude of the Chinese Government. (See Williams's "Middle Kingdom," vol. ii. p. 707.)
2. Viceroy Li Hung-chang of Chihli had written the Preface to a book practically proscribing Christianity.
3. Viceroy Tso of Shensi and Kansu would not permit a missionary to reside in Sian-fu.
4. The Governor of Shansi, Chang Chih-tung, when an appeal was made to him on behalf of Christians suffering persecution, replied that such requests grated on his ears.
5. When Viceroy in Canton, Chang Chih-tung issued instructions to all subordinates to delay the settlement of all missionary cases, with the result that soon there were attacks on eighteen chapels in the province of Kwangtung.
6. The Shantung Governors in succession refused to settle missionary troubles.
7. Admiral Peng, of the Yangtze, repeated in substance the charges made in the Memorandum of the Foreign Office.
8. The Provincial Chancellor of Shansi instructed professors and students that if they adopted the Christian religion they would forfeit their degrees.
9. The Prefect of Te-hgan fu in Hupeh chose as subjects for essays at the Triennial Examination attended by some ten thousand candidates the two texts, "What the people delight in, I delight in" (from the "Ta Hsueh" or "Great Learning") and "Drive out all heresies" (from the Sacred Edict). As a result of these subjects, there was an attack on a missionary's house, which was torn down, the missionary being beaten.
10. A Sui-ts'ai accused some Christians of certain crimes and they were arrested, but though proof was given that they were innocent, no reproof was administered to the scholar for his false charges.
11. A magistrate in Teh-chow in Shantung exacted a promise from the townsmen that they would insult the first foreigner that came by.
12. Legation secretaries and consuls complained that there was increasing difficulty in the way of settling missionary cases.
13. The Government published a book on missionary cases in which

the blame of all troubles was put on the foreigners. This volume was circulated as a Book of Precedents.

14. In Shantung a magistrate said, when one of the Christians was brought before him: "You are born in China, you eat Chinese food, you wear Chinese clothes, you are protected by the Chinese Emperor; whatever makes you learn anything from foreign devils?"

An American Consul told me that a Taotai had once remarked to him that he carried out strictly what was on the Statute Book of Emperor Tao Kwang—that is to say, that he would not recognize the treaties, but would follow the Chinese laws preceding them.

The above points, with the exception of the memorandum, referred to incidents connected with Protestant Mission work. As a result there followed destruction of chapels all over the Empire, abuse and robbery of thousands of Christians, and the beating of missionaries.

23. VISIT TO PEKING WITH MR. JAMES. 1884.

It was high time, therefore, that the attention of our British Minister should be called to this state of things, especially as the Governor of Fuhkien, Ting I Chang, had reported to Peking that the chief source of missionary troubles originated not with the foreigner, but in the unjust treatment of the Christians by the officials.

On arriving in Peking, Mr. James and I found that Sir Harry Parkes had gone to Korea to ratify a treaty with the Emperor of the "Hermit State." While waiting in Peking for his return we decided to endeavour to establish an Evangelical Alliance similar to that which had been so successful in putting an end to persecutions in other countries, in the hope that it might prove of like service to China. We called a meeting of all the Peking missionaries, and I was appointed secretary.

24. ESTABLISHMENT OF EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE. 1884.

Endeavours had been previously made in Shanghai to form an Alliance, but they had failed because the various missionaries could not agree upon a common

creed. We had to face the same difficulty in Peking, and had some nine meetings from first to last. Dr. Edkins, of the London Mission, with whom I was staying, had back numbers of the *Evangelical Alliance Magazine*, extending for many years. In these I found that the various nationalities who were members of the Alliance, though agreeing in general, subscribed to very different creeds. I picked out the shortest of these to present to the Peking missionary body as most likely to have fewer controversial points. On this creed we finally agreed to found the China Evangelical Alliance.

Later, I wrote to the *Chinese Recorder* urging the formation of branches of the Alliance in each province where Missions were at work, so that an Executive Committee in each might act for all Protestant Missions and interview the officials on the subject of toleration.

The Alliance now exists to hold a week of prayer at the commencement of every New Year, but for the other object of its formation, that of averting persecutions, it has accomplished little in China.

Amongst the Peking missionaries I raised another question—namely, that our status as missionaries was very ill-defined, resulting in misconception on the part of the Chinese. Out of humility we gave ourselves the name of “Hsien-seng.” The Chinese concluded from this that we were private individuals, not realizing that we were the representatives of immense institutions for propagating Christianity throughout the world. Foreign, civil, and military officials had their ranks defined, and met Chinese officials of the same standing. Missionaries in various places felt the anomaly of the situation, and the custom of calling themselves “Mu Shih” spread extensively. But this designation was, properly speaking, “pastor,” and not “missionary” at all. In written documents the term “kiao-ssu,” or “religious scholar,” came to be generally employed. But no agreement was arrived at.

In the 'nineties the Chinese Government, at the request of the Roman Catholics, fixed the status of the

priests and dignitaries in correspondence with the ranks of civil Chinese authorities. Similar treatment was offered to the Protestant missionaries, most of whom at once refused to receive any such status.

The Roman Catholics not only assumed official status, but employed it politically, bringing their followers into frequent collisions with the non-Christians. To end these troubles Dr. Morrison recently recommended the Chinese Government to withdraw the rank conferred on Roman Catholics.

25. REMARKABLE KOREAN PROCLAMATION AGAINST CHRISTIANITY.

Through the kindness of Mr. Holcombe, Secretary of the United States Legation, I succeeded in obtaining a copy of a Korean proclamation on Christian Missions, based on the attitude of the Chinese Government, whose example Korea wished to follow. This had been published about 1864, and was found by the Americans when taking some Korean ports in 1874. The proclamation declared :—

1. That God was to be served by virtue and not by the begging of favours and forgiveness of sins.
2. That God was a Spirit, but Jesus Christ was a man among men ; how therefore could He be God ?
3. That priests affirmed that the soul was more important than the body. As they are the teachers of men's souls, they must be obeyed rather than the parents and teachers of men's bodies.
4. That ancestral rites, which existed for the purpose of showing gratitude to ancestors and keeping them in memory, were forbidden by the foreign priests.
5. That the Pope claimed supreme obedience over and above that given to rulers ; he was therefore like a robber or rebel disturbing the peace of nations.
6. That God had created mankind male and female, but the priests exhorted celibacy, paid no proper reverence to prince and father, nor due regard to husband and wife.
7. That the teachings about the Holy Virgin, spiritual fathers, baptism, confirmation, and salvation were lies to deceive the people.
8. That since Jesus died miserably, Christians must be drunk or mad to say they fear no death.

This document showed how carefully the Korean Government had studied the Roman system of propaganda.

26. SIR ROBERT HART'S REFORM SCHEME.

While in Peking, Sir Robert Hart was good enough to show me a draft of a scheme for the benefit of China, which consisted of seven points :—

1. Securing of able men.
2. Opening of mines.
3. River improvements.
4. Railways.
5. Organization of a postal system.
6. Government banks.
7. Organization of navy.

27. MY VARIOUS REFORM SCHEMES.

At his request I showed him a summary of the suggestions for reform which I had submitted to various officials at different times :—

1. To Governor Ting Pao-chen, of Shantung, I suggested the opening of mines and the manufacture of cotton goods in China.
2. To Governor Tsêng Kwo-ch'uen, of Shansi, the building of railways so as to check famines.
3. To Governor Tsêng, Li Hung-chang, and Tso Tsung-t'ang and the Foreign Office, that the introduction of modern education would save China from foreign wars and indemnities.
4. To Governor Chang Chih-tung I had explained—
 - (a) The revolution in industry produced by Bessemer's discovery in making steel and the facilities in Shansi for making rails for all the coming railways of China.
 - (b) I urged the opening of mines.
5. To Sir Harry Parkes and Yen King-ming, one of the members of the Foreign Office, I pointed out the principles of religious liberty by which religious dissensions and strife were averted.
6. To Sir Robert Hart himself I proposed—
 - (a) That a Commission headed by a Chinese prince, assisted by some leading statesmen like Li, Tso, and Tsêng, should make a tour round the world to see the conditions of other countries.
 - (b) That a Commission consisting of a number of the leading scholars of the Empire should go abroad and report on the educational systems of the world.

- (c) That a Commission of the most intelligent and devout should travel abroad to study the religious conditions of the world.
- (d) That a Commission should report on the industrial conditions of other countries.
- (e) That a Commission be sent to study the various means of communication in other countries.
- (f) That a Bureau be established in Peking for making known these reports throughout the provinces.

Such a scheme would in twenty years be productive of great and beneficial results in China.

28. INTERVIEW WITH SIR HARRY PARKES, PEKING.
1884.

When Sir Harry Parkes returned from Korea, he gave careful attention to the complaints which Mr. James and I made of the persecutions of the Christians in Shantung, and suggested that we should draft a proclamation such as we would desire the Chinese Government to issue, in order that he might, on the next serious case which might occur, ask the Foreign Office to issue an edict to that effect throughout the Empire.

He was most impatient with the backward attitude of China as compared with Japan, and said it was most painful to have no social intercourse with the Chinese statesmen, but only discussions of cases in the Foreign Office, where each side strove to do its best for its own nationals and endeavoured to obstruct the others. I recounted how I had no difficulty in T'ai-yuan fu, where I had friendly relations with the officials, and ventured to suggest that the officials in Peking might respond if appealed to in the same way. Next week I met him on the street, radiant with satisfaction. He had invited some of the leading statesmen to dine with him on the Queen's birthday, and all the invitations had been accepted. (See "Life of Sir Harry Parkes," by Stanley Lane-Poole, p. 396.)

During this time, also, I prepared a pamphlet on religious liberty as viewed by the different nations of the world. This was meant for circulation among the



MR. AND MRS. RICHARD IN 1884.

higher officials, as much of their opposition arose from ignorance of the whole question.

Having handed over our draft of a proclamation to Sir Harry, Mr. James and I returned to our respective provinces, he to Shantung, I to Shansi. I took my return route via Kalgan, the gate to Mongolia, coming down through the north of the province to T'ai-yuan fu. On this journey also I carried with me an aneroid, and took elevations on the road in the hope that the record would stimulate the Chinese authorities in Shansi to build railways at their earliest convenience. When I arrived in the city, I had been absent for five months.

29. PROPOSALS TO SHANSI MISSIONARIES. 1884.

In August 1884 I proposed a Conference of the Shansi workers in order to extend missionary operations. Having distributed Christian tracts and Gospels in each of the 108 counties of the province, it was necessary that we should have permanent systematic work in the main centres—

1. By organizing an Evangelical Alliance with an Executive Committee of three persons to approach the Government on behalf of all Missions in regard to persecutions and secure religious liberty in our work.
2. By publishing better tracts to meet the needs of the province.
3. By engaging at least ten evangelists to assist each foreign missionary (for it was well known to every experienced worker that most of the converts were brought in by natives and not by the foreigner).
4. By establishing colleges in ten of the leading provinces, where a hundred Chinese graduates would be given a three years' course in Western learning.

At this time also I planned to form a Christian Literature Society—

- (a) To supply such Christian literature as should induce the Chinese to assist in all works of real benefit to the Chinese.
- (b) To encourage goodwill and mutual respect among all nations.
- (c) To enlighten China on all topics of real benefit to her.

CHAPTER VII

FIRST FURLOUGH. 1885-6

1. JOURNEY TO COAST. MEETING WITH A. G. JONES.

IN the autumn of 1884 I felt that I had come to the end of a chapter in my work in China, and as I wished to commence a new scheme of work it was necessary to lay the matter before the Society at home.

With my wife and four children I started for the coast. On arriving in Tientsin in a native boat we thought of remaining in it while waiting for the Shanghai steamer, as it would be less expensive than a foreign hotel. But an old friend whom we had known in Chefoo, Mr. Edward Cousins, agent of Jardine, Matheson & Co., insisted on our accepting his hospitality.

In Shanghai we met Mr. Jones, who had arrived with a large party of new missionaries from home for the Baptist Mission, and I had some days' conference with him about his experience with the Committee and with the Churches at home, and about future work in China.

2. VISIT TO NANKING WITH DAVID HILL. 1884.

After Jones had left, my dear friend David Hill arrived from Hankow in order to see us again before going home. Both of us were troubled by the continued hostile attitude of the Chinese authorities towards Christian Missions, and we thought it might be an opportune time to go to Nanking and see the Viceroy, Tsêng Kwo-ch'uen, who had been Governor in Shansi during the famine-time and with whom we had had frequent intercourse. We saw him at Nanking, but, whilst generally friendly, he was not in a mood to take up

the question of religious liberty. This was no small disappointment to us, for not only had many missionaries helped in famine relief in several provinces, but many had lost their lives from famine fever.

3. FINDING OF "THE AWAKENING OF FAITH."

It was during this visit to Nanking that we met the Buddhist bookseller Mr. Yang, an extremely intelligent man who had been converted from Confucianism. He had visited Europe with Marquis Tsêng as an Attaché to the Chinese Embassy, and had met such men as Max Müller, Bunyo Nanjo, of Japan, and Julien, of Paris.

I asked him: "How is it that you, a Confucianist with a Sui-ts'ai degree, who has seen so much of the world, should circulate Buddhist books?"

"I am surprised," he answered, "that you, being a missionary, should ask that question. Do you not know that Confucianism shirks some of the great questions of life?"

"That is true. But does Buddhism answer them?" I asked.

"Certainly," he replied, "and I will show you the book which converted me to Buddhism."

It was "K'i Shin Lun" ("The Awakening of Faith"). I took it, and bought a number of other Buddhist books which he recommended to me.

I sat up until the small hours of the morning reading the book which had converted the Confucianist to Buddhism. At length I called out to Hill, who was lying down in the same room: "Listen! This is a Christian book. Though the terms are Buddhist, the thought is Christian."

4. STORM ON VOYAGE HOME.

In the beginning of 1885 we sailed for England in the *Ajax*, of the Holt line of steamers. In the Bay of Biscay we encountered a terrific storm. The wind blew a hurricane and the waves ran high. The ship was heavily laden with ingots of tin. For three days

we were in the utmost danger. We were kept below, and listened to the waves hurling themselves on the deck in tons of water, and the continual swish of the sea overhead made us almost imagine we were at the bottom of the ocean. One night the front hatch was washed from its place along the deck, and the water poured into the hold. The captain called on the sailors to replace it, but not one moved, afraid of the heavy seas breaking over the vessel. The captain then ordered the engines to stop, which eased the motion of the ship a little. Once more he called to the sailors, "Now, boys, try it!" They did so, and most nobly secured it in its place.

Next morning when I went up to the saloon for breakfast I found the captain, who had a very unpleasant temper and never seemed happy unless he was irritating the passengers or officers, sitting on the floor of the saloon with a Bible on his knees. On seeing me, his face filled with shame. There was no breakfast cooked that morning, the cook having been unable to prepare anything, but we did the best we could with biscuits, butter, and cheese. The same high sea continued all day long, and the poor vessel was driven desperately in the midst of the storm. Late in the afternoon there was a shout among the sailors, who, pointing to a patch of blue sky, declared that we were through the worst. By night we were in the English Channel, saved as by a miracle.

5. ANNUAL B.M.S. MEETING.

Immediately after our arrival in England the annual meeting of the Baptist Missionary Society was held in Exeter Hall, and Mr. J. H. Shakespeare, then of Norwich, Mr. Thomas J. Comber, and I were the speakers. Mr. Comber had a wonderful tale to tell of his work in Africa, and told it with a grace that was most captivating. Mr. Shakespeare in his speech referred to my work in China in a most appreciative manner.

When I rose, I did not dare to speak without a manuscript, for as I had spent some twelve years of my

life speaking Chinese, I felt that my English was imperfect. As I came after two such eloquent speakers, and the evening was late, the audience soon became restless and began to disperse. At the close I felt that I had ruined the meeting, and apologized to Mr. Baynes, the secretary. He with his usual kindly manner replied, "Never mind ; it will read well."

When the report of the annual meeting appeared, the *Christian World* had a leader calling attention to the fact that from the speeches of Comber and myself it was evident that the emphasis in Christian Missions had changed. Formerly the stress had been laid upon saving the heathen from the sufferings of hell in the next world, now foreign Missions existed also to save the heathen from the hell of suffering in this world.

6. APPEAL FOR MORE WORKERS.

Mr. Jones had gone home, owing to business affairs, within six years of his arrival in China, and had described to the Committee the large numbers of members and inquirers we had at that time, greater than those of any other Protestant Mission in China. He had been successful in arousing deep interest in Mission work in China, the most civilized of all non-Christian nations. He had pleaded for a large reinforcement of missionaries to carry on the work in the ten or twelve counties which could be reached from Ch'ing-chow fu as a centre. In answer to his request the Committee promised to send twelve men to Shantung and six to Shansi. When I arrived, I spoke to the Committee of the 108 counties in each of which we in Shansi had commenced work. If Shantung were receiving a reinforcement of twelve, Shansi, a province of equal size to it, was entitled to no less.

7. EDUCATIONAL SCHEME PROPOSED TO B.M.S. 1885.

I had a wider vision than even the two provinces of Shantung and Shansi, and wished all the missionary societies to unite in establishing a high-class missionary

college in each provincial capital, beginning with the maritime provinces, in the hope of influencing the leaders of the Empire to accept Christianity.

I printed a pamphlet entitled "Fifteen Years' Mission Work in China," which was circulated amongst the members of the Baptist Missionary Committee, in which I pleaded for a scheme to bring about the national conversion of China. I found, however, that my use of this expression, "national conversion," led some people to think that my intention was to bring about an Established Church in China similar to the institution of the English Church, with its consequent disabilities for Nonconformists.

Later on I prepared another paper, suggesting new educational and evangelistic methods, carefully avoiding the word "national." This was the scheme published in "Conversion by the Million," vol. ii. p. 60. It was printed and circulated amongst the members of the Missionary Committee.

On its first consideration by the B.M.S. China Committee it was decided that they could not recommend the scheme, as their funds would not allow them to embark on so expensive a project. But the unexpected advocacy of a generous member of the General Committee secured for my proposals the respite of delay and reconsideration at a later meeting.

Meanwhile I was engaged in deputation work up and down the country, and until the Committee had approved of my scheme I felt I could not publicly advocate it in the Churches. But I spoke of it to individual friends. I found a number who were in full sympathy with it, on the ground that my Mission policy was practically on the same lines as Carey's.

8. REJECTION OF SCHEME A BITTER DISAPPOINTMENT.

At the next meeting of the General Committee my proposals were brought up again, but the judgment of the Committee was that my scheme was far too great for their funds. The rejection of it caused me bitter disappointment.

9. SUGGESTION FOR IMPROVED MISSION METHODS.

I then wrote a pamphlet entitled "Wanted, Good Samaritans for China."¹ In this, as in other papers, I laid stress on three matters.

Firstly, that it was essential that each new missionary, in addition to learning the language, should be required to study the native religions and Mission methods, and thereby multiply his efficiency.

Secondly, I urged the necessity of employing a large staff of native workers, proving that Mission work could be carried out with eightfold more efficiency and economy by Chinese than by engaging foreigners alone. The Church Missionary Society had already, by adopting this principle in the 'seventies, made their work a signal success. At the present time the most successful Mission work is carried on in Manchuria, where the Irish Presbyterians employ, on an average, seven natives to each foreign worker, while in the United Methodist Mission, whose work ranks next highest, each foreign worker has an average of ten Chinese assistants. The Y.M.C.A. work, which has figured so prominently during the last few years, is carried on exclusively by picked Chinese, chosen from the members of other Missions.

My third suggestion emphasized the importance of opening colleges in the provincial capitals for the training of accomplished native missionaries, who would be given, besides theological work, courses of study in the various branches of knowledge taught in Western Universities.

10. SPECIAL COURSE ON ELECTRICAL ENGINEERING.

After this I began to realize that God would have me bear my cross alone, and that I must fit myself more fully for influencing the leaders of China. I therefore decided to study science, and took a course of special study in electrical engineering at South Kensington under Ayrton and Sylvanus Thomson.

¹ "Conversion by the Million," vol. ii. p. 28.

II. INTERVIEW WITH MINISTER OF EDUCATION IN
BERLIN.

Being interested in the education of the Chinese, I wished to know the latest and best systems of education in Europe. I therefore went to Berlin, and had an interview with the Minister of Education. I told him that I was a missionary in China, and was anxious to see the best systems of education introduced there. The Minister was a tall man, seated at the end of a table. When I told him my object in seeing him, he pushed back his chair, rose up, towering apparently to the ceiling, looked angrily at me, and cried, "And when you have educated the Chinese nation, what will become of *us*?"

He would not give me any help.

Fortunately, the Vice-President of Education, was a Christian, superintendent of a Sunday School. He most readily gave me all the information I desired.

I also visited Paris with the same object—to see the Minister of Education there. But he was away. I was told that he wanted to strike out the name of God from all the Government textbooks.

Before returning to China I addressed the Committee of the B.M.S. on one occasion, and said that in my opinion the greatest need of the world was the formation of a society for the purpose of converting the so-called Christian Governments to Christianity.



Photo by

[L'andryck.]

TIMOTHY RICHARD AT 40.

To face p. 200.

CHAPTER VIII

YEARS OF TRIAL AND SUSPENSE. 1886-91

I. TALKS WITH LEADING JESUIT MISSIONARY.

IN 1886, coming out in the French mail *Oxus*, I had eighteen Roman Catholic priests and sisters and also seven Protestant missionaries as fellow-passengers. Among the former was a priest about my age, who was very zealous in placing Roman Catholic books on chairs and tables for the passengers to read. After observing his earnestness for some days, I said that I would like a talk with him. He replied he would be glad to see me after dinner that evening. I began by saying that I admired his zeal in endeavouring to lead men to the truth. "We are both going to China to try and lead the Chinese in the True Way," I said. "May I therefore speak to you frankly as a brother Christian?"

"Certainly," he replied.

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

At this bold attack, spoken in as kindly a tone as I could command, his face turned white, and he clutched his hands, a sign that his feelings had received a deep

wound. He asked if I knew who he was. I replied that I did not.

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

I replied: "One of the books you are circulating is 'A Short Way with the Protestants.' I have read it. As I am a Protestant, you must admit that I know Protestantism better than any Romanist. That book contains a number of false statements. I should be only too glad to see a man like you defending truth instead of a mere faction."

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

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

"No."

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

Eleven years later, a few days after my return to Shanghai from furlough, I found the card of Père Simon on my table. The name conveyed no remembrance to me, but I returned the call. When he was ushered in, I recognized my old fellow-passenger of the *Oxus*. My frank speech had not alienated his friendship. He was soon after consecrated Bishop, and I attended his consecration. Three months later he died of heart disease.

Some five years after we had as a visitor in our home Miss Hughes, sister of Hugh Price Hughes and formerly Principal of a Training College in Cambridge. She had been lecturing in Japan some fifteen months on education. As she wished to see the Jesuit educational institution at Siccawei, my wife and I took her there. The head, Père Boucher, was most kind, taking us round and showing us everything personally. While the ladies had gone to see the sisters in another compound he and I remained on a veranda waiting for their return. Through a window I caught sight of a

photograph of Bishop Simon on the wall of a room inside. I remarked to Père Boucher, "That is Bishop Simon. He was a very good man."

"Yes," he replied, and then a smile broke out over his face. "Do you remember the talk you had on the s.s. *Oxus* nearly seventy years ago? He told me all about it, and we have been watching you ever since."

Not long after, when my wife died, Père Boucher sent me a kind letter of sympathy.

2. MRS. RICHARD'S ILLNESS.

Before arriving in Shanghai, Mrs. Richard developed sprue, a disease which few people at home know and even few medicals understand. Curiously enough, a friend at home developed it at the same time, and later we learned that her illness had ended fatally, as the doctors did not then know how to treat it. I spent a fortnight in Shanghai, where one of the best medical men attended my wife, with the result that a marked improvement was shown. He never explained, however, what the nature of the illness was, nor how his treatment had produced such good results.

We proceeded to Shansi in the hope that rest there would in time restore my wife to her usual health, but instead of improving she grew worse from month to month until the following summer, 1887. When the missionaries in T'ai-yuan fu went to the mountains for about a month during the hottest season, my wife and I remained alone in the city. My friend Dr. Edwards, of the C.I.M., came to see me before leaving for the mountains, and told me that he had tried everything he could think of for my wife, but was distressed to find nothing did any good. He held in his hand a book, and said: "I wrote home for the best medical book on the subject, and it has just arrived this morning. I shall leave this with you to study."

I read it from cover to cover, and understood that the disease was in reality an inflammation of the mucuous membrane, right through the body. The cure lay in devising means to heal the membrane, and then health

would be fully restored. Two ways were suggested. The first was by not loading the stomach with food, practically giving absolute rest to the digestive organs, and the membrane would heal of itself. Still, though it was difficult to abstain entirely from food, I considered that loss of nourishment, if it allowed the membrane to heal, would be a distinct gain. The other method was to adopt Nature's plan of feeding a baby—namely, with milk, and in small doses at a time, so as not to burden the stomach. Adopting this course, the diarrhœa stopped the very first day. I continued the fasting process, administered not more than half a wine-glassful of milk at a time, and weighed my patient daily. Gradually the quantity of milk was increased, until I found there was no decrease of weight. In ten days her weight began to increase daily, and in a month she was as well as she had ever been, to the great astonishment of all the friends who had been away. They then confessed that when they had bidden us good-bye they had never expected to see her alive again.

Since then many in China have been cured by the same process. For those who could not take milk another specific has been found—viz. yellow santonine—and some have been cured even by fasting alone, and the disease is now no longer considered incurable. I have dwelt at length on this matter as it is of importance for sufferers to know of the remedy.

3. DISAPPROVAL OF COLLEAGUES.

One of the new reinforcements for Shansi had arrived there when I was on my voyage home, and had heard accounts of the way in which I carried on Mission work. Without waiting to hear me on the subject, he wrote several letters to the Committee at home against my views as misrepresented by him. By some inadvertence one of the letters was published in the *Missionary Herald*. Simultaneously, however, there appeared a letter from one of the workers in Shantung, speaking of my catechism in the highest terms. Thus the good words of the one cancelled the bad effect of the other letter.

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

4. DEPARTURE FROM SHANSI.

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

I found I would be too busy to pay a farewell call on the Roman Catholic Bishop, who lived about three miles distant, so I sent him a letter of farewell. Within a couple of hours he came to see me, and found me packing up my books, which were scattered all round the room. I asked him to look at them and choose any book he liked as a memento of our pleasant intercourse. He chose a beautiful volume published by the R.T.S. in London, "Those Holy Fields." I wrote his name in the book, and so we parted. The last I heard

of him was in the awful Boxer year. He advised his priests to flee from the city, but he himself determined to remain with his Christians. When the infamous Governor Yü Hsien superintended the massacre of the missionaries, men, women, and children, in the city, the Bishop was also put to death with the Protestants, thus testifying the strength of Christian principle in both Roman and Protestant alike.

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

5. WORK IN PEKING.

The London Committee suggested that we should return to Shantung, and I agreed to do so, if they would allow me to establish a Christian college at Chinan fu, the capital.

Pending the reply of the Baptist Committee, I prepared a pamphlet on "Modern Education" as carried on in the seven leading nations of the world. In it I emphasized four methods of education—the historical, the comparative, the general, and the particular. In other words, I showed how one must compare the progress of the various nations, that one must acquire a general knowledge of things and exact knowledge of some particular department—that is to say, something of everything and everything of something. This pamphlet I distributed among the leading statesmen in Peking and presented to Li Hung-chang in Tientsin.

6. VISIT TO LI HUNG-CHANG IN TIENTSIN.

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

could not afford so great a sum. I answered that it was seed-money, which would be returned a hundred-fold. He asked when that would be. "It will take twenty years," I replied, "before you can realize the benefits of modern education."

"Ah," he rejoined, "we cannot wait as long as that."

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

Many years after I met a Hanlin who was in charge of a Chinese provincial college, and who had read my pamphlet on education. He told me that he had striven to carry out in his institution the former methods I had pointed out.

7. MRS. RICHARD'S PUPILS.

Besides helping me in preparing my books, Mrs. Richard was asked by three Japanese to give them English lessons. She followed a new method of teaching languages, which is, after all, the oldest and most accurate, being instinctively employed by all children in learning to talk—namely, beginning with the names of things, and continuing with the simplest and shortest conversational phrases, which the pupils were to commit to memory and be drilled in every day. As a result of this method, one of the Japanese, who had not known a single word of English before he began with Mrs. Richard, within six months talked far better English than the other two, who had previously had two years of a smattering of English, as their incorrect idioms required very long to unlearn.

When they were beginning to read English books of their own accord, they said they found many religious terms in them that they could not understand. My wife recommended them to read the New Testament with her, so as to become familiar with the religious phraseology. They began with the Gospel of St. John. The effect on them was remarkable. Not only did they understand and learn the religious terms, but they were so profoundly impressed with what they read that all

three desired to be baptized into the Christian faith. I called on the Japanese Minister to inform him of their wish and ask if he had any objection, as one of the pupils was his son and the others were Secretaries of Legation. He replied that when he had been sent to Europe by his Emperor to study Western civilization he had remained for several years, and had come to the conclusion that of all Europeans he had met the Christians were the best. If, therefore, his son and the Secretaries desired to become good Christians, he had no objection, but wished them well. And so the three were baptized. One of the Secretaries, Mr. Amano, was later appointed Japanese Consul in several of the ports in China. Hearing that Mrs. Richard was teaching English to these Japanese, Marquis Tsêng, who had then just returned from Europe, wished one of his sons to continue his English studies with her.

8. MARQUIS TSÊNG.

Marquis Tsêng was the son of the famous statesman Tsêng Kwoh-fan. He had early had an ambition to go abroad, and had learned English with that object in view. He was for eight years Chinese Minister in London and Paris. On his return from Europe he was made member of the Foreign Office.

In 1888, when I was living in Peking, I became acquainted with him in a singular manner. He had been advocating the construction of a railway between Tientsin and Peking. The Emperor's father, Prince Ch'un, being inundated with petitions against the railway from the carters of Peking, asked Marquis Tsêng if he could give information as to the effect of the introduction of railways on the livelihood of coachmen and cabmen in London. He could not give the desired information, so asked Dr. Dudgeon, who was his physician. Dr. Dudgeon did not know, and asked Dr. Edkins, who in his turn was not able to give information, and asked me. I was, fortunately, able to furnish the Marquis with exact dates and figures, which pleased him very much.

The Marquis had sons and daughters, who spoke English well, and were glad to have foreigners call upon them. Mrs. Richard became very well acquainted with them, and later, as the youngest son had not completed his education, she was, as I have said, asked to give him lessons in English. A grandson of the Viceroy of Canton joined him in lessons for a time.

When I presented the Marquis with my scheme of modern education for China, he approved of it most enthusiastically, and urged me to circulate the treatise amongst the highest officials, as he was convinced that the only hope for China lay in education. As he himself was only a junior member of the Foreign Office, he felt that his advocacy of Western education would lead the seniors to suspect that he was too readily influenced by foreigners, so he feared to take the matter up all alone.

Unfortunately, he died at an early age, before he had an opportunity of making use of the valuable information and experience that he had gathered abroad.

9. VISIT TO CHIEF LAMA.

There was at that time in Peking an Oriental Society before which papers on subjects connected with the Far East were read from time to time. Mr. Shioda, the Japanese Minister, was President. I was asked to read a paper on "The Influence of Buddhism on China." In preparation for it I translated from Chinese histories the account of the high position occupied by Buddhism in China at one time. The meeting was held at the British Legation, Sir John Walsham being then the Minister. Most of the representatives of the various Legations were present.

Being anxious to obtain information on Thibetan Buddhism, or Lamaism, I paid a visit to the chief Lama in Peking. He resided at Yung Ho Kung, a temple which had formerly belonged to one of the Imperial princes. Here were hundreds of Lama priests, Thibetans and Mongols for the most part. In 1880 a friend had taken me to see the temple, and in all my days in China I never met with such rudeness and

insult as was shown at the temple gates then, and I vowed I would never give the priests an opportunity of repeating their insults.

In preparation for my second visit I first sent my card to the chief Lama, asking for an interview and presenting at the same time, according to Chinese custom, a small gift in the shape of an electric bell. This acted like a charm, for it greatly excited his curiosity, none of his attendants being able to manipulate it. He sent back his card, asking me to call next day at eleven.

I took with me Mr. Shorrock, a new missionary of the B.M.S. When we arrived there was no sign of rudeness in the demeanour of the priests. On the contrary, about a dozen Lamas were at the gate drawn up in style, expecting us, and led us straight to the quarters of the chief Lama. There we found a table of refreshments spread for us. The electric bell, being such a mystery to him, formed a fruitful topic of conversation. I put it up myself in a few minutes close to the Lama's bed, while the battery was set in his servant's room in an adjoining courtyard. I then told the servant to wait until he heard the bell, and, returning to the Lama's room, I pressed the button. Instantly the servant came running across the courtyard in great excitement, crying out, "It's ringing! It's ringing!" This greatly delighted the chief Lama.

Later, discussing religion, I asked the Lama whether Lamaism were flourishing or waning. He replied that it certainly was on the wane.

"Is that not a very discouraging prospect for you?" I asked.

"No," he replied, surprising me not a little. "Just as there is a tide at sea which comes and goes at stated intervals, so there is a tide in religious affairs. Though at present it is ebb-tide in Lamaism, the flood-tide will come again."

When discussing the relation of China to Japan, he seemed more at home in the realms of politics than in that of religion. It seemed to me plain that, though religious services were carried on every day in the

temple, he was there in Peking mainly as a political agent, and not as a religious teacher.

10. VISIT TO CHIEF BUDDHIST ABBOT.

The Chinese Government has in every provincial capital a Buddhist high priest, while in Peking there is a similar functionary. The Government, however, does not allow him to exercise control over the chief priests of the provinces, as that would put too much power in his hands.

In 1888 I visited the chief Buddhist priest in Peking. He was an elderly gentleman of over sixty, of very gentle manners and high intelligence.

He asked, "Who sent you to China? Your sovereign?"

"No," I replied. "I would not have come to China if I had not felt that God had sent me."

He instantly seized on my reply, and raised one of the most momentous religious questions, "How do you know what the will of God is?"

His conversation convinced me that when we foreigners judge of Buddhists by merely the intelligence of the average Buddhist priest we make a great mistake. A religion that has won the adherence of some of the greatest minds in China is not to be lightly set aside. It was only after many years of study that I discovered that the highest development in Buddhism (not the original Buddhism founded by Gautama, but that which commenced after the Christian era) contained practically some of the main doctrines of Christianity. But at present most of the Buddhists in China confuse the tenets of the old Buddhism with those of the new in such a way that the two schools can hardly be distinguished, though they themselves acknowledge the existence of conflicting doctrines.

11. INVITATION TO WORK IN SHANTUNG.

In the spring of 1888 I went to Japan in order to study Mission methods there, and found that the educational work I was urging on the B.M.S. was being

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

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

12. FEVER AND PARALYSIS, SHANTUNG.

In May 1889 we removed to Tientsin, and in June I went to Shantung. That year there was another famine in Shantung, and large sums had been raised for relief. As I had had long experience in relief distribution, I was asked to assist in the neighbourhood of Chi-nan fu. As usual, the famine was accompanied by fever, from which tens of thousands suffered, and a large percentage died. This time I took the fever. I was laid very low with it. Dr. Coltman, a medical missionary of the American Presbyterian Mission in Chi-nan fu,

feared that if I remained in the city I should succumb to the disease, so he arranged that I should be carried to Tsouping by night on a stretcher, sleeping by day to avoid the heat. There I recovered sufficiently to proceed to Ch'ing-chow fu. Before I was quite convalescent there was a Conference of the Shantung English Baptists, which I was urged to attend. There my scheme of educational work was agreed to by the Shantung colleagues, and a letter was sent to the B.M.S. with the signatures of them all, twelve in number. The Conference also suggested that I should remove to Chi-nan fu in October. But before the end of the first meeting of the Conference I was seized in my right arm with malarial paralysis, a common sequel to famine fever, and suffered great pain, which compelled me to remain some time in Ch'ing-chow fu before I was able to proceed on my way back to Tientsin.

Meanwhile my wife had been seriously ill, and when convalescent had been ordered to Chefoo to be strengthened by the sea air. There I joined her in the summer, and we spent some three weeks regaining our health. My right hand recovered very slowly.

On returning to Tientsin, I intended to set to work preparing to remove to Shantung, for we concluded that the B.M.S. would be sure to agree to the unanimous request of the colleagues. I had all my boxes packed on the veranda ready to start when the doctor arrived and said, "You must not dream of going now; you are not fit to take a long journey overland." He also declared that if we removed to Chi-nan fu we must not spend our summer there, as I would certainly have a return of malarial fever, and perhaps further paralysis.

As I was far from recovered, my wife wrote all my letters, and at my dictation continued "The Historical Evidences of Christianity." Meanwhile we waited at Tientsin for the reply from the B.M.S. Committee.

13. B.M.S. REFUSE SCHEME OF COLLEGE. 1889.

But instead of agreeing to the unanimous request of the Shantung brethren the Committee once more

rejected the scheme of a Christian college. One member of the Committee had raised a protest, saying that in all the twenty years he had served on the Committee he had never known a like case, of a unanimous request from the Mission-field being rejected. Mr. Baynes then wrote, saying that as the Committee could not adopt the proposal of the Shantung missionaries they urged me to go to Shantung and agree to the same methods of work as the others were engaged in. This refusal arrived in October.

14. SHANGHAI CONFERENCE. TIENTSIN.

In May 1890 a second General Conference of missionaries was held in Shanghai (the first having been held in 1877), for which I was asked to write a paper on "The Relation of Christian Missions to the Chinese Government." Having been absent, owing to famine relief, from the first Conference, I looked forward with great pleasure to attending the second. In my paper I called attention to the fact that the Chinese Government, in what might be called the Blue Books of China, was printing and circulating the vilest calumnies against the Christian Church, and as a new and cheap edition of all the books published during scores of years was being then republished, I stated that in my opinion we were standing on a volcano, and I prophesied that there would soon be a great eruption of persecution. I proposed, therefore, that a committee be appointed at once to memorialize the Throne stating the true objects of Christianity and begging that the calumnies should be immediately withdrawn.

Many in the Conference considered that I took too gloomy a view of the situation, but after discussion it was decided that a committee be appointed to memorialize the Throne. My prophecy, unfortunately, proved only too true. During that summer a number of fierce persecutions broke out in the Yangtze valley. I went up to Wuchang to see the Viceroy Chang Chih-tung, in the hope that he would take measures to stop the persecution. But he would not move in the matter.

15. EDITING CHINESE PAPER.

When I went back to Tientsin, I laid the matter before the Viceroy Li Hung-chang, and asked him to put an end to the evil reports. But he was not in a mood to act. Not long after this, in July 1890, an offer was made to me, through the Viceroy and some personal friends, to become the editor of a daily paper in Chinese, called the *Shih Pao*. This I at once accepted. The appointment was most providential.

I wrote on many subjects bearing on reform in China. I also published a weekly edition, and in this I had comparative diagrams showing the relative areas of populations, railways, telegraphs, and commerce of the nations of the world. These diagrams proved probably one of the greatest forces in compelling intelligent Chinese to advocate reform.

I also published articles showing how the Japanese were rapidly reforming, for which Japanese visitors came and thanked me. Scholars also, in different parts of China, who had read my leaders, showed considerable interest. Chang Chih-tung wired to me from Wuchang for copies to be sent direct to him.

During that year the present Czar of Russia, then heir-apparent, came out to the East to turn the first sod of the Siberian Railway, and wished to visit Peking. The Chinese were greatly alarmed about it. To allay their fears, I filled the *Shih Pao* for weeks with accounts of the visits of Royal personages to one another in Europe, as tending greatly towards peace and goodwill, and urged that the princes of China should go abroad in like manner.

16. MRS. RICHARD'S BIBLEWOMEN IN TIENTSIN.

In 1890 the American Episcopal Methodist Mission in Tientsin were short of workers, and Mrs. Jewell asked my wife to undertake to train a class of about fifty Biblewomen during the winter. The previous winter she had helped in a class of Chinese women with great

success. These women had come from various parts of the country to receive their training in Tientsin. My wife took the outline of "Historical Evidences of Christianity" with the women, pointing out on a great map how Christianity had reached one country after another until it had spread all over the world. She made suitable selections of Scripture, bringing them before the women in a practical form each day. She was much struck by their devotion and earnestness, though naturally they varied in intelligence and temperament. Notwithstanding this, there was not a single case of strife between them during the whole winter.

When the spring approached, the women were dismissed to their respective homes, which lay at distances varying from some tens of li to some hundreds. Mrs. Richard told them in parting that, by giving them this knowledge before the other families in their villages, God intended them to become His ambassadors to bring great tidings of great joy to their people. When the autumn came and the missionaries made evangelistic tours through the country, it gave great joy to my wife to hear that one of these Biblewomen had been the means of bringing in fifty inquirers, and another no less than a hundred. This proved for the hundredth time the fact that natives can best influence their fellow-countrymen to join the Christian Church.

17. B.M.S. DEPUTATION.

In October 1890 the B.M.S. sent out a deputation consisting of Dr. Richard Glover, of Bristol, the Chairman of the China Committee, and the Rev. W. Morris, of Ipswich, the first deputation that ever visited the China Mission.

They arrived in Tientsin and did their work thoroughly, visiting both Shantung and Shansi. They naturally assumed that the chief cause of my separation from the Mission lay in me, and proceeded as if to make peace between me and my fellow-missionaries. But they found I had no difference whatever with any one in Shantung.

18. INVITATION TO S.D.K. IN SHANGHAI.

In May 1891, as Dr. Williamson, the founder of the Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge for the Chinese, had died, the Committee in Shanghai invited me to become his successor. Having experienced the widespread influence of a newspaper, I was convinced of the value of literary work in China, and I replied that I would gladly accede to their request if the Baptist Missionary Society would support me, as the United Presbyterian Mission had supported Dr. Williamson. The deputation approved of the step, and the B.M.S. cautiously replied that they would support me for three years. So at the end of a year's work as Editor of the *Shih Pao* in Tientsin, I removed to Shanghai in October 1891.

CHAPTER IX

S.D.K. WORK IN SHANGHAI. 1891-4

1. FOUNDING OF S.D.K. BY DR. WILLIAMSON.

IN 1887 the Chinese Book and Tract Society, first established in Glasgow in 1884, dissolved itself and was succeeded by the Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge (S.D.K.), which took over the printing press and other property generously offered by the original promoters of the former Society.¹

The founder of the S.D.K. was the Rev. Alexander Williamson, LL.D., whom I had known in the early days of Chefoo. He stated the object of the Society to be the circulation of literature based on Christian principles throughout China, her colonies and dependencies, literature written from a Chinese standpoint, with a knowledge of native modes of thought and adapted to instruct and elevate the people, especially through the more intelligent and ruling classes. In 1889, at the Chinese New Year, a monthly magazine, entitled *Wang Kwoh Kung Pao*, or *Review of the Times*, was started, also a Chinese *Boy's Own Paper*, the former edited by Dr. Young J. Allen, the latter by Mr. D. S. Murray.

In 1890 the Society gave up its printing-offices for want of funds, and the plant was sold to the National Bible Society of Scotland for use at Hankow.

In August of 1890 occurred the lamented death of Dr. Williamson at Chefoo. "The amplitude of Dr. William-

¹ The members in Glasgow and Edinburgh of the Christian Literature Society (the Auxiliary of the S.D.K. in Scotland) have been most loyal supporters of the work from the beginning, sending hundreds of pounds annually.

son's physical proportions was indicative of his great and diversified talents. From his towering height he seemed to see afar off the end he desired to attain, and he hoped to make the successful institution of this Society the crowning glory of a long life."

Such were the words of Mr. John Macgregor, of Jardine, Matheson & Co., one of the Trustees of the Society.

2. OTHER WORKERS IN THE S.D.K.

Mr. C. S. Addis (now Sir Charles Addis), of the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank, became Acting Secretary until I joined the Society in October 1891. He remained Vice-President of the S.D.K. until he left China in 1909, and greatly aided the Society by his wise counsel and active interest. Sir Robert Hart remained President of the Society from 1888 until his death, in 1911.

At the time I joined the S.D.K., I was the only member entirely set apart for literary work. Dr. Allen, editor of the *Wang Kwoh Kung Pao* (*Review of the Times*), was then Principal of the Anglo-Chinese College in connection with the American Methodist Episcopal Mission (South), and he could devote only his spare time to the monthly magazine, which the more intelligent Chinese found to contain a fund of most useful information. He was always a friendly adviser of the Chinese in regard to everything bearing on their progress, and wherever the paper was circulated it produced a friendly feeling towards missionaries and foreigners generally. He died in May 1907.

In 1911 the same Mission continued their co-operation with the Society by allowing Dr. A. P. Parker to give part of his time to literary work.

In the beginning of the work of the S.D.K. in Shanghai, Dr. Williamson had at first secured the services of a German missionary, Dr. Faber, one of the profoundest students of Chinese literature, who had written extensively in German, English, and Chinese. He was also a weighty man of dry humour. He had been requested by the General Conference of 1890 in Shanghai to write

a Christian Commentary on the Chinese Classics. Some years after, he was asked by a friend, "Where is that Christian Commentary of yours which so many people are looking forward to seeing?" He replied, in his slow, deep, solemn voice, "It is in the ink-bottle." On being once asked what kind of work he was doing, he replied, "I am engaged in the conversion of the Chinese mind." Latterly, Dr. Faber worked independently of the S.D.K. His untimely death in Tsingtao occurred in the autumn of 1899. His chief work was a large and important book on "Civilization," in which he compared Chinese civilization with Christian civilization. It was first published in Hongkong, and with Dr. Faber's consent was republished by the S.D.K.

In 1893 Rev. Paul Kranz, a missionary of independent means, came out to China to join Dr. Faber. He was invited to join the Committee of the S.D.K., and during my absence in Peking in the autumn and winter of 1895-6 he acted as Secretary, and again during my furlough in 1896-7. He was a man of fine education and unbounded enthusiasm, always brimful of new ideas for the furtherance of our work. It was a great pity that his health was never robust, and that he was compelled to retire home long before his time.

From 1895 to 1898 Dr. E. T. Williams, of the Foreign Christian Mission in Nanking, took charge of the *Missionary Review*, and was greatly helped in his literary work by Mrs. Williams.

3. FIRST METHODS OF WORK.

It is interesting to quote here my plan of campaign as stated in the 1891 Report of the S.D.K.

"The generosity of the foreign communities in China and at home has repeatedly been shown in response to appeals for famine relief; but when through ignorance many of the preventable causes of these famines are not removed, there is a growing feeling that the best way of helping China is to give such kind of enlightenment as this Society attempts to give. We cannot even *dream* of establishing modern schools

throughout the Empire ; this will be the province of the Chinese Government after it somewhat understands its own needs and how to meet them. Nor do we intend to reach all the mandarins in the Empire. Much less can we reach every one of the *litterati*, who play such an important part in the government of China. Still, the chief mandarins, together with the High Examiners, Educational Inspectors of counties, Professors of colleges, and a small percentage of the *litterati*, with some of the ladies and children of their families, might be reached. (This number was estimated at 44,036.)

“PROPOSED METHODS.

1. Periodicals of a high-class order will be provided. In these there will be some subjects treated systematically, somewhat after the manner of Cassell's *Popular Educator*. Happily we have secured the services of Dr. Allen as Editor for these.
2. It is hoped that a series of books and pamphlets may also be provided to show the bearing of educational and religious development in industries and trade and in every department of national progress.
3. Prizes, it is hoped, will be given for the best papers by the Chinese on various subjects connected with the enlightenment and progress of the nation.
4. We hope also to stimulate towards other means for the enlightenment of China, such as lectures, museum, reading-rooms, etc., by supplying them with useful knowledge on the great value of these.
5. Depots where our publications will be on sale will, it is hoped, be established at each examination centre (provincial capitals).
6. We hope especially to secure the co-operation of the Chinese in all efforts and to get them to form societies for the advancement of learning.
7. We intend to have advertisements of our Society's aims and purposes put out at every examination. As the best school-masters of every distant village attend these examinations, we hope in this way to make our influence felt in every nook and corner of the Empire.”

4. PLANS FOR INCREASE OF INTEREST.

In 1892 I wrote to a number of leading missionaries in China asking them to suggest such subjects for translation as they thought most important for the

Chinese. In this way I hoped to increase and intensify the interest taken in the S.D.K. A list of about seventy subjects was suggested, and over twenty friends, chiefly educational missionaries, promised to write on some of these subjects. The British Consul-General in Shanghai, Mr. George Jamieson, kindly undertook to write on Law, and friends in the Customs Service wrote special articles for me. In addition to this, provincial Committees of our Society were organized to aid in the preparation and distribution of literature.

In the spring of 1892 occurred in Peking the triennial examination of Chū-ren (M.A.) candidates, and to these were distributed free copies of "Four Great Problems." My book on "Historical Evidences" was presented to the highest authorities in most of the eighteen provinces.

In 1892-3 Dr. Allen had to go to America on furlough, and Dr. Edkins, an active contributor to our magazine, was in Europe, so the whole work of the Society fell on my shoulders. I had to edit the *Wang Kwoh Kung Pao*, the monthly magazine for circulation among the mandarins and scholars of China, and the *Tsung Shi Kiao Hui Pao* (the *Christian Review*). I also began the translation of Mackenzie's "History of the Nineteenth Century."

In 1893 special autumn examinations were held to commemorate (a year in advance) the sixtieth birthday of the Empress-Dowager. Pastor Kranz gave the generous sum of twelve hundred dollars towards the distribution of Dr. Faber's "Civilization" amongst the students at these examinations, and with donations from other friends, altogether sixty thousand of our publications were distributed at various examination centres. During this year also depots for our literature were established in Peking, Moukden, Tientsin, Sian fu, Nanking, and Chefoo.

Increased orders from Formosa and Shantung for the *Wang Kwoh Kung Pao* showed the appreciation of the value of this periodical.

5. APPRECIATION OF OUR WORK BY CHINESE OFFICIALS.

In 1894 the most significant feature was the recognition of our work by high Chinese officials. Chang Chih-tung, Viceroy of Central China, sent a donation of a thousand taels, while smaller sums came from Taotai Nieh, of Shantung, and from one of the Directors of the China Merchants Steamship Company, who later bought a hundred copies of my "Nineteenth Century," and distributed them gratis among the leading officials in Peking.

Some years later Taotai Nieh became Governor of Chekiang, and in 1905 induced the officials and gentry there to send annual orders for books to the C.L.S. (the S.D.K. subsequently became known as the Christian Literature Society) of the value of sixteen hundred taels. He also sent a donation of a thousand dollars in 1902. His wife was the daughter of the great Tsêng Kwoh-fan, and sister of my former friend in Peking, Marquis Tsêng, Ambassador to London. She had literary ability, and after reading one of Madame Shimoda's textbooks on the duties of woman, in use in the Peeress School in Tokyo, she adapted the same for use in Chinese girls' schools. One of her sons became a leading member of the Y.M.C.A. in Shanghai, while another was an active Christian in Changsha. She herself joined the Christian Church about 1914.

In 1894 Mr. Thomas Hanbury gave six hundred taels towards prizes for the best essays from M.A. candidates, on the following subjects:—

1. The advantages to be derived by China from adopting the railway system, the coinage of silver money, and an Imperial postal system, such as Japan has recently adopted.
2. The advantages to accrue if China would introduce machinery for the preparation of tea and for the reeling of silk, so as the better to compete with foreign countries.
3. The benefit derived during the past thirty years by the excellent administration of the Imperial Maritime Customs.
4. Show whether China is really in earnest in wishing the opium trade stopped, and prove it is possible to suppress the

immense cultivation of the poppy in China, if the Government in India consents to cease producing the drug.

5. Show how better and more friendly relations may be established between China and foreign countries.

During this year I republished some of my former articles in the *Shih Pao*, under "Essays for the Times." Prefaces on "The Importance of Western Learning" by Viceroy Li Hung-chang and Marquis Tsêng were published by the Society.

6. COMMEMORATION OF EMPRESS-DOWAGER'S BIRTHDAY.

Although not directly connected with the work of the C.L.S., it is of great interest to record the presentation by the Christian women of China of the New Testament to the Empress-Dowager on her sixtieth birthday, in which we had no small share. In the spring of 1894 Mrs. Robert Swallow, of the English Methodist Mission, wrote to my wife and Mrs. Fitch, of the American Presbyterian Mission, suggesting that it would be fitting if the Chinese Christian women were to subscribe to present a Bible to the Empress-Dowager on her sixtieth birthday. A committee was formed in Shanghai, of which Mr. Stevenson, of the C.I.M., acted as Chairman, Mrs. Richard as Treasurer, and Mrs. Fitch as Secretary. They decided it was better to send a copy of the New Testament instead of the whole Bible to Her Majesty. Branch committees were formed in the various provinces to collect the money, and altogether the sum of twelve hundred dollars was subscribed. An Introduction was prepared by Dr. Muirhead, of the London Mission, and translated and written by hand by a former teacher of Dr. Medhurst. The New Testament was specially printed on the best style of foreign paper, and, together with the Introduction, was elegantly bound in solid silver boards made in Canton in a design in relief of bamboo and birds. The name and inscription of the book were in solid gold characters. The book was enclosed in a solid silver casket in the same design of bamboo and birds, lined with old gold plush. A presenta-

tion address was prepared by Mrs. Richard, and translated by me into suitable Chinese with the help of my able Chinese writer, Mr. Ts'ai. The address read as follows :—

To the Empress-Dowager's Most Excellent Majesty.

MADAM—

Your Imperial Majesty, having, by Divine appointment, undertaken the government of China in times of unparalleled internal and external trouble, and having by your great energy and wisdom restored profound peace throughout the whole Empire and established friendly relations with all nations, has called forth the admiration, not only of your own subjects, but of those of other nations far and wide.

Among the many just laws which your Majesty has established, not the least is that which commands the same protection to your Christian subjects as to those of all other religions : Therefore, we, a few thousand Protestant Christian women throughout the various provinces of your Empire, though mostly poor, cannot let the auspicious occasion of your Imperial Majesty's sixtieth birthday pass without testifying our loyalty and admiration. We do so by presenting your Majesty with the New Testament, which is the principal Classic of our holy religion, namely the religion of Jesus Christ, which is the only religion which practically aims at the salvation of the whole world from sin and suffering. The truths in this volume have brought peace of heart and purity of life, with hope of everlasting happiness, to countless millions. It has also given to Christian nations the just laws and stable government which are at the root of their temporal prosperity and power. On this account we hear it is a custom in the West to present Empresses, Queens, and Princesses with a copy of this book on happy occasions in their lives. We Christians in your Empire constantly and fervently pray that your Majesty and all the members of the Imperial Household may also get possession of this secret of true happiness to the individual and prosperity to the nation so that China may not be behind any nation on earth. We also pray that your Imperial Majesty may be long spared to help by your wise counsel in the government of China, and that when your work on this earth is finished you may have a happy entrance into the glorious land prepared for all those who carry out the beneficent will of Heaven.

We remain,

With the profoundest veneration, Madam,

Your Majesty's most grateful subjects,

THE WOMEN OF THE PROTESTANT CHRISTIAN CHURCH IN CHINA.

The casket was sent to Peking in the care of some missionaries, and was presented on November 11th by

Mr. O'Connor, British Minister, and Colonel Denby, American Minister, to the members of the Tsungli Yamen, who presented it that very day to the Empress-Dowager. Though a few days late for the birthday, it arrived most opportunely at the Palace on the same day as Queen Victoria's gift to Her Majesty. Shortly afterwards the Emperor sent a eunuch to the Bible Society depot to procure the Old and New Testament and other Christian books for His Majesty's perusal. On November 27th the Tsungli Yamen received a decree from the Empress-Dowager conferring two rolls of silk and satin, two handkerchiefs, and embroidered articles each on Mrs. Richard and Mrs. Fitch, and a roll of crape and a handkerchief each upon two hundred other ladies who had taken part in the subscriptions.

7. CHINESE PUBLIC SCHOOL.

It was not long after I came to Shanghai before I realized that it was a pity that the Municipal Council, which consisted of nine foreigners, while spending large sums on roads, bridges, and police, did nothing for the education of Chinese. The idea had been previously mooted in 1890 by Mr. Addis, of the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank, who proposed as a subject of debate, "The Duty of Shanghai to Provide Public Schools for the Chinese."

I therefore approached Mr. Jansen, one of the members of the Council, on the subject. He was heartily in favour of it, and secured statistics in regard to existing native schools in Shanghai, and asked me to assist him in securing information as to what was done for native education in other foreign lands. He then laid a scheme before the Council, but at that time it was not approved, and owing to Mr. Jansen's death the matter was dropped for some years.

8. THE ANTI-FOOTBINDING SOCIETY.

In 1895 Mr. and Mrs. Archibald Little called on my wife and me, and asked our opinion of the advisability of

forming an Anti-footbinding Society. We strongly encouraged them.

Besides publishing our own literature, I was asked to aid in the production and publication of literature for the purpose of creating a public opinion against the evils of footbinding. The name Tien Tsu Hui (Natural Foot Society) was originally started in Amoy, by Mrs. Macgowan of the London Mission, but this new departure was associated principally with Mrs. Archibald Little. She first set about organizing the Society in Shanghai, most of the members being prominent ladies of the community. I promised to have tracts and pamphlets which they prepared translated into Chinese. My Chinese writer told me that after he had read the first tract to his wife, she declared she would not any more bind the feet of her daughters. I related the incident to Mrs. Little, who felt that it augured well for the success of the movement. Soon after this some Chinese ladies wrote poems against the practice of footbinding, which were published and translated into English verse by Dr. Edkins.

Mrs. Little for the next few years travelled through all the provinces of the Empire, organizing branch Societies wherever she went. She also personally visited Viceroys and Governors, inducing them to issue proclamations against footbinding, and finally memorialized the Empress-Dowager, who sent forth an edict exhorting her subjects to give up the custom.

In 1903 a young girl of about sixteen years of age, Miss King, belonging to one of the wealthiest families near Shanghai, wrote a pamphlet against footbinding, remarkable both as regards the style of the composition and arguments used, and drew two striking pictures illustrating the arguments. This pamphlet was published and circulated all through the Empire by the branch Societies.

After most strenuous and successful efforts for about eleven years Mrs. Little handed over the work of the Society to a committee of Chinese, consisting of Admiral Sah, Taotai Shen Tun-ho, and others, who undertook to carry on the campaign, as she was obliged to return

to England with her husband, whose health was rapidly failing. The Christian Literature Society all this time were agents for the publications of the Anti-footbinding Society, and so continued until Mrs. Little's departure in 1906.

9. WORK OF REV. J. LAMBERT REES.

Before leaving for Peking in September 1895, I asked the Rev. J. Lambert Rees, B.Sc., of the London Mission, who had made remarkable progress in the Chinese language, both spoken and written, to translate Lessing's remarkable essay on "The Education of the Human Race," and I left him my Chinese writer, Mr. Ts'ai, one of the best in China, to assist him. When I returned from that eventful visit to Peking, I found that the essay had been translated. I had it printed as one of the S.D.K. publications, and sent a copy to Viceroy Chang' Chih-tung. He was so pleased that he sent another donation of a thousand taels for the Society, asking that a history of the whole world should be brought out. Mr. Rees (who had at this time joined the American Protestant Episcopal Mission) was kindly allowed by Bishop Graves, at our request, to spend some years writing an original work on "Ancient and Mediæval History of the World," and translating it into Chinese for the S.D.K. It was published in 1900 in three large volumes, each of about the size of a volume of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and is the most extensive universal history the Chinese possess. Chang Chih-tung was delighted, and in 1911 sent three thousand dollars (about three hundred pounds) for our work. Evidently his intense prejudice against Christianity was passing away. Other high officials who were provincial examiners for the Chü-ren candidates, instead of basing their questions on Chinese literature as was the rule in all past time, put a number of questions which the candidates could not have answered unless they had read Mr. Rees' History. His early return to the homeland owing to failure of health in his family was a great loss to China, as he was the most promising young sinologue among us.

CHAPTER X

INTERVIEWS DURING THE CHINO-
JAPANESE WAR

I. THE CHINO-JAPANESE WAR.

IN 1894 occurred the Chino-Japanese War. An agreement had been made between China and Japan that no troops were to be sent by either nation to Korea without first informing the other. But the Manchu Government, as was usual in its dealings with foreign nations, was not straightforward. A British steamer, s.s. *Kao-shing*, was chartered, filled with troops, and sent off post-haste to Korea to quell local disturbances there. A Japanese gunboat, on the look-out for it in the Korean Sea, fired a shot across her bows, an intimation to the captain to stop. On his giving orders to stop, there ensued a mutiny among the Chinese troops. Seeing nothing but disaster before him, a German named Von Hanneken, from Tientsin, who had been asked by the Chinese Government to accompany the troops, jumped overboard to swim ashore. The Chinese soldiers had the cruelty to fire upon him in the water; but, fortunately, he escaped without injury. The Japanese thought they were now justified in their declaration of war, which was prosecuted in Korea. On their way through Seoul, the capital of Korea, the Japanese brutally murdered the Queen, who had been very active and clever in opposing them, and annexed Korea. They then directed their forces to Manchuria, with the intention of marching on Peking. This greatly alarmed the Empress-Dowager, as she feared that they might kill her as they had killed the Korean Queen.

At this juncture the astute Russian Minister, Count Cassini, saw an opportunity for a fine stroke of diplomacy in favour of Russia. He promised the protection of Russia to the Empress-Dowager if China on her part would grant certain concessions to Russia. These the Empress-Dowager readily granted, and a great wave of friendship sprang up between China and Russia. Port Arthur was ceded to Russia, and permission was granted for an extension of the Siberian railway through Manchuria. As the Japanese forces neared Peking, threatening to gain a firm foothold on the mainland of China, Russia, Germany, and France formed an alliance to check Japan. Their fleets met in the Gulf of Chihli, prepared for action against the Japanese fleet. The Japanese saw they could not fight three nations in addition to China, therefore they suspended further military action and decided to make peace on the best terms possible. But their victory over China was complete, and the Chinese felt most keenly the humiliation of being conquered by a "nation of dwarfs," from a land only one-tenth the size and population of China.

2. THE INFLUENCE OF OUR LITERATURE DURING THE WAR.

During 1894 the circulation of the *Wang Kwoh Kung Pao* was doubled, and so great was the demand that one month a second edition had to be printed. Dr. Allen's articles on the war were greatly appreciated as being the only reliable record in Chinese. The managers of the China Merchants Steamship Company doubled their subscriptions, and distributed some of our publications amongst the leading officials in the capital. A Hanlin resident in Shanghai regularly sent some thirty copies of the *Wang Kwoh Kung Pao* to his Hanlin friends in Peking.

About this time in Shanghai I finished the translation of Mackenzie's "History of the Nineteenth Century," which was issued in order to give the statesmen of China information regarding the recent progress of the world and to point out that if they adopted the reforms of the

West there would be hope for their country. In the Introduction to the translation I had ventured, after great hesitation, to raise the question "What is the cause of the foreign wars, indemnities, and repeated humiliations suffered by China during the last sixty years?" I expressed the opinion that God was breaking down the barriers between all nations by railways, steamers, and telegraphs in order that all should live in peace and happiness as brethren of one family, but that the Manchus, by continual obstruction, determined from the first to prevent this intercourse. They were thus not opposing foreigners so much as God in His universal ruling. Their repeated humiliations were punishments from Heaven. If therefore this attitude of opposition to the world was the cause of China's defeats, then she should change it for one of goodwill and friendship, and it would not be difficult for her to become one of the greatest nations on earth. I sent copies of the book and the Introduction to some of the Viceroy's, and it was with great anxiety that I awaited the result of my daring statement. But I had not long to wait. In response there came a telegram from Li Hung-chang asking me to go up and see him in Tientsin; but I had already promised to see Chang Chih-tung, who was then in Nanking, on the subject of the war. It was not till after the close of the war, when Viceroy Li had been degraded and was living in retirement in Peking, that I was able to see him.

3. CHANGE OF ATTITUDE OF THE CHINESE BOOKSELLERS.

For eighty years public opinion in China had set its face against Christian literature. Christian tracts were actually made into soles for Chinese shoes, and the final fate of most of the rest was to be collected and burned, along with other papers containing Chinese characters, in temple buildings. The booksellers of China refused to handle, on any account, any Christian books for sale, considering it a transaction disloyal to their country and unworthy of honourable men. But in 1895, after the appearance of Mackenzie's "History of the Nineteenth

Century" and other books of the S.D.K., a great change came over the Chinese bookseller. In one city alone—Hangchow—there were no less than six pirated editions of the "Nineteenth Century," one edition de luxe for the rich, the others for people of lesser means. Altogether there must have been a million pirated copies in circulation throughout China. The "Essays for the Times" were also pirated. In Peking during the first months of the Reform Movement in the winter of 1895-6 a paper was started by the Reform Club, not only reprinting the articles in Dr. Allen's *Wang Kwoh Kung Pao*, but also taking its very name.

By this time, therefore, the barrier that had so long existed between Christian and non-Christian literature was broken down. Instead of regarding the publications of the S.D.K. as unworthy to be handled by them, Chinese booksellers were only too glad to sell our books, and small wonder, for copies of the "Nineteenth Century" sold at two dollars in Shanghai could be sold at six dollars in Sian fu. We have no means of knowing what profits were made by those who pirated our books, but those who bought our publications at our own depots secured to the Society an annual profit of more than the contributions sent us from England and Scotland, and consequently enabled us frequently to make large free grants where we thought they would be useful.

In January 1895, when the chief officials of China were all alarmed at their repeated defeats by Japan, I was sent for by Chang Chih-tung, then the Viceroy of Nanking, to talk over the best means of extricating China from her difficulties and setting her on her feet again.

4. WINTER IN NANKING.

Some extracts from a letter at this period may be of interest to the reader:—

The day was wet, rain and snow in turns, with strong wind. The roads were covered with deep slush which splashed about with each step; every traveller was doubled up with cold as if with colic. There was no wheel conveyance of any kind, but a chair had to be fetched

from Hsia Kwah on the other side of the river, for one was not sent to the landing place where it was wanted. It would have been too much of a shock to conservatism to have it ready on the spot ; it must be left where the ancestors kept it, and the chair must be the very one used by the ancestors, even to the split boards and ragged calico ; and the wind must blow through the very crack which vexed the ancestors. After some half-hour's delay in hunting for the chair-bearers, who are in demand by any steamer that comes, we started.

There are many tumble-down houses on both sides of the streets through which we passed, but what is most striking to the stranger is the mat sheds on each side. They are about four feet high, seven feet long, and four feet wide. They contain neither table, chair, nor bed ; the cold ground, covered with a little straw, and a mat, serves for the bed ; the only furniture is a cooking-pot with a fire under it and some ragged covering which was once a quilt. The old men and women there cannot resist the cold long, and the scanty food of the young lads brings on disease in their starved frames. Many try to eke out their living by gambling, as they have nothing else to do. Their skins are blue with cold, and broken up with white scales. Their sisters were more fortunate, for they were sold long ago to a life of comparative luxury—shame some will call it—in order to ward off the day of starvation from their families a few months longer. Terrible as the poverty is, yet Nature asserts herself among those who can no more dream of having a wife than of flying. They occasionally divide their meal with a poor starving widow who has a babe in an adjoining shed, and who for it shares a night's hospitality till another babe comes. But it cannot be reared ; it is cast in the night into the cold not fifty yards away, and by the morning the hungry dogs do not leave even bones behind, only a blood-stained rag.

Look at the chair-bearers ; they are better off, but they have no shoes or stockings ; their legs are bare to the knees. They tie on some straw sandals with straw strings and trudge along most happily, ankle-deep in the freezing slush, because they have something to do. They can earn their supper by the slow process of gradual freezing and grafting disease into their system.

We arrive at one of the viceregal inns where high mandarins stay. Instead of having a house of three stories one above another, these have their space of ground walled round ; fronting the street is a house with a front and a back door, each about eight feet wide ; the front door is only shut at night, the back door is open night and day. Behind this there are two houses like it, each separated by an open court of twenty feet. The entrance to the three is through the one front door. The central part of the hotel has its front and back doors open day and night, the back row alone has only one door open ; the back door is walled up, as there are no houses behind. Through these doors the cold wind blows night and day. Then, again, the whole of the front of each row is made up of paper window-frames with wide slits between each frame ; and the rooms are partitioned off with

boards, also with wide fissures between each. As the wind is high it goes through our bedroom like water through a sieve. Then there is no ceiling, and the partition a little way above one's head connects with the wide passage outside ; thus the first-class bedroom is only a roof to prevent the rain and snow falling on one ; the winter midnight air has full and free access. This is our first-class hotel.

In the bedrooms are two wooden frames which they call beds ; they are only bare boards without a thread of bedding. There are also two chairs—only one is usable—a table, and a narrow bench about four inches wide to sit on. On the table there is a primitive lamp, probably invented about the time of Abraham. You ask for bedding ; they bring a reed mattress and a quilt, damp and greasy, having been used for years without washing. To crown matters, the landlady, with a little girl of six years of age in her arms, comes to the door to give instructions to her husband about the bedding, and the child in her arms has measles. They do not see any impropriety in bringing bedding from a house where there is measles. So there is neither warmth nor health nor sleep for one, while he keeps watch on his narrow bed and sees his breath rise about him like smoke, because the temperature is far below freezing point.

And this is the condition of society under one of the greatest Viceroyes in the Empire. Who will call a Government which will tolerate such poverty and wretchedness at its very doors civilized 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.

5. FIRST INTERVIEW WITH CHANG CHIH-TUNG.

My interview with the Viceroy took place in his Yamen on February 5th, Mr. Liang T'ung-yen, a returned student from America and head of the foreign bureau of the Viceroy, being the only other present. The day was not only a Chinese New Year holiday (the eleventh day of the first moon), but also one of the Yamen holidays, consequently the few servants that were about did not wear hats, and the courts had the stillness of our English Sunday.

After I had wasted half an hour in the chief mandarin's waiting-hall, Mr. Liang entered in ordinary dress and informed me that the Viceroy was busy just then, and asked me what I had to say. I replied that I would communicate it to the Viceroy myself, to prevent any misunderstanding in transmission. So we fell into conversation about the war, he telling me of the loss



VICEROY CHANG CHIH-TUNG.

of Wei-hai-wei, news that had reached Shanghai after I had left. He also confirmed me in the impression I had received before in Wuchang and Tientsin, that most of the Chinese students sent abroad returned reconverted to Chinese ways, as they looked only at the failings of Western civilization, comparing them with the excellences in Chinese civilization. Like Ku Hung-ming, he was very critical and in a state of immature experience. He told me that the Chinese felt that Europeans were laughing at their helplessness and would not help them.

After about half an hour Mr. Liang was called to the Viceroy. Shortly afterwards he returned, wearing his official hat, to invite me to see the Viceroy. By this time it was half-past one. As soon as I reached the inner court the Viceroy, in full robes, but wearing his hood to protect him from the cold, came outside the door to receive me. In Chinese fashion I bowed first to him there, and afterwards again when I entered the room, thanking him for his kindness the previous year in sending a thousand taels to the S.D.K.

I then made my speech with the following points : that unless immediate peace were made not a single reform was possible ; that thorough reform rested upon right education (at this the Viceroy was unhesitating in his agreement, interrupting me to show his approval) ; that the best test of the efficiency of any Government was its ability to keep its people alive and free from destitution and misery (at this the Viceroy was very solemn, as though it were a new idea to him) ; that God demanded reform on the part of China, and that if she neglected it God would appoint some other nation to reform her, as had been the case in India, Egypt, and other nations.

In reply he dwelt on the unreasonableness of the Japanese in breaking their former peace, and said that the Chinese would never submit to them, and that Japan would exhaust herself like France under Napoleon. He repeated an illustration I had made in my speech of inability to meet skill without skill, comparing the chances

of life to a game of chess, as if it had made some effect on him. Lastly, he asked, like a man at his wits' end, how peace could be brought about, for China would never submit to the Japanese demands and foreigners would not help. I replied that if he resolved on peace and put his shoulder to the wheel with the energy he had shown in other matters he could unite the divided counsels in Peking, carry with him the opinion of the eight provinces over which he ruled, and win the rest by his fame. At this he smiled, evidently pleased with the compliment. I further pushed the argument where it seemed to be telling, saying that God had not placed him in that position of high eminence without meaning him to render greater service than ever to China. He should advise peace, and then the way would be clear for reforms.

He thanked me for the services I was rendering to China, saying that if I could, through my books, bring forty of the highest officials to see eye to eye, then the rest of the mandarins would follow their lead. He was convinced that reforms must be made before any nation could prosper, but he added that each nation had some fundamental principles that it would never change. On leaving he asked why I should return immediately to Shanghai, and when I would visit him again. He then invited me to drink tea, and put on his red-button hat and hood. Seeing this, I begged him not to think of coming out into the cold. He then ordered Mr. Liang to see me off in my chair.

The previous night I had slept little owing to the cold, as I had lain practically in the open air. The second night, after feeling the Viceroy's mental pulse, I again had little sleep, partly because of the cold and partly because I was thinking over plans for saving the poor millions of China. In the small hours of the morning, therefore, I wrote out a great scheme that came into my mind :—

1. That China should grant some foreign Power absolute authority to settle all the foreign relations of China for a definite term of years.

2. That the same Power should introduce reforms of all kinds.
3. That one representative of this Power should control each department of railways, mines, industries, etc.
4. That all Chinese ranks be conferred by the Chinese Emperor as before.
5. That at the end of the term this Power should hand back to China all its assets and liabilities.

6. SECOND INTERVIEW WITH CHANG CHIH-TUNG.

I was not back in Shanghai a week elaborating this scheme before I received a telegram from the Viceroy to proceed at once to Nanking for a second interview, my travelling expenses to be paid by him. On February 16th I was back in Nanking. Mr. Liang called to tell me that the Viceroy would see me at 8.30 a.m. next day. I made use of the call by giving him the outlines of my scheme for foreign supervision for China, so that he might speak of it to the Viceroy, who would then have time to think it over and at the interview be prepared with criticisms. Upon arriving at the Yamen on February 17th at the appointed time I had to wait with several officials. I met there a blue-button man named Yu, who said he was from Yung Ching, had been in Shantung, and was now at Yangchow, having been many years at the Foreign Office. A red-button man then came in, a nephew of Kwoh Sung-t'ao, who was formerly Minister to England. He spoke of China as being in a great fix through not understanding how to manage things. Later I learned that he belonged to the Arsenal and Naval College. He spoke of the Chinkiang Commissioner as his friend, and inquired after Dr. Fryer. Later there came in a crystal-button man, who said he knew Dr. Mackenzie, of Tientsin, and asked me if I knew him. Then came another red-button man, at whose entry all rose and bowed. I followed suit. After that he took a high seat and invited all the rest to sit. He was Jui, the Treasurer, who appoints the district magistrates to their offices.

At eleven Mr. Liang entered, and, looking at my watch, I asked him if I had been right in coming as requested at half-past eight. He replied that the

Viceroy had wished me to come early, but that he had been in the garden and was not in a humour to be disturbed. I then utilized the time with him in talking over China's critical situation and my remedy for it, so that he might clearly understand what I had come to propose to the Viceroy. This lasted nearly an hour. Liang then told me that the Viceroy's pet scheme was to send young princes of China abroad. I asked if he proposed to send those between twenty and forty years of age, but Liang said the Viceroy wished the youngest to go abroad for education. I replied that this would delay Reform too long, that the first party of princes to be sent abroad should be those who in a few years would wield supreme power, or the time for Reform would be past.

At this stage a messenger came in, asking me to go to the Viceroy. He did not appear as friendly as on my former visit, for he seemed to have a cloud on his face. After the first salutations were over, he asked me what my magic scheme (*miao fa*) was, and I at once started three of my points.

In reply to these points the Viceroy stated that he could not possibly propose a temporary Protectorate, but he was in favour of an alliance of mutual benefit with some Power during a period of not more than ten years, granting commercial concessions, such as increase of treaty ports, in return for the opening of railways, mines, and introduction of industries, etc. But some measures would have to be devised so as not to arouse the jealousy of other Powers.

7. INTERVIEW WITH FIRST PEACE ENVOY TO JAPAN, CHANG YIN-HUAN.

Soon after I returned to Shanghai, Chang Yin-huan, the chief Peace Envoy, was on his way to Japan to sound the Government on terms of peace. Feeling impelled to seek an interview with him, I sent him a copy of my translation of Mackenzie's "Nineteenth Century," with my Preface, hoping that he would read it, and asking if he would grant me an interview. In reply he gave me an appointment for February 28th.

In my speech I first dwelt on the dangers that faced China :—

1. Dangers from foreign countries, from France, from Russia's Siberian railway.
2. Dangers from the ignorance of her own officials and people, resulting in suspicion, corruption, and poverty.
3. Danger from the non-increase of her population, inviting powerful nations to divide her, as they did Africa.

I next proposed measures to avert China's fall :—

1. That two princes be sent as Peace Plenipotentiaries, preferring a money indemnity to any other terms.
2. That an alliance be made with a leading Power to effect beneficial reforms.
3. That Sir Robert Hart should daily confer with the Emperor, and that each Viceroy and Governor should have expert advisers in like manner.
4. That China should later unite with other Powers to form a Universal Arbitration Court by which international wars and militarism should be ended.

I then dilated on my scheme (described above) of a mutual alliance with one leading Power. To this he said, "Russia is the Power which all others fear"; but he spoke of England as being more reliable. I pointed out that joint alliances with all nations were fatal.

In his answering speech the Envoy remarked :—

1. That the corruption of Chinese officials was awful and hopeless.
2. That it was useless to lay any plans of reform before the Chinese Government.
3. That he had planned to have members of the Imperial family go abroad, but was advised not to submit his proposals to the Government, as it would only injure his influence.
4. That men were allowed to charge others with many evils, and no inquiry was made whether these charges were true or false.
5. That railways would be a great gain to the country, and in wartime soldiers could easily be amassed anywhere.
6. That Prince Kung was afraid of going to Japan, but the Japanese would be delighted.
7. That the Japanese were only apparently strong, not really so.
8. That very few of those whom China had sent abroad were competent observers.

9. That if I had any plan he would be glad to hear it.

(I then laid it before him ; see *infra*.)

10. That he fully agreed with me in nine-tenths of what I said, thanked me heartily for my good intentions, but it was too late for any plan now.

On my saying that there were ten more days, he said :—

11. That China had alienated foreign Powers, and none would help her now.

12. That after being so well received abroad by foreign countries he felt ashamed of the manner in which Foreign Ministers were treated in Peking.

On my speaking of giving sufficient inducements, he answered :—

13. That nothing could be done in Peking without a great and radical change of everything.

Despair of the present Dynasty seemed deeply fixed in his mind. He had been reading the books I had sent him the previous day, and had observed :—

(a) That I attributed the progress of Japan to the adoption of Christian principles of civilization.

(b) That I showed how China's poverty could be replaced by prosperity.

But he gave me no hope of any immediate action on the lines I suggested, for until peace was made with Japan everything was hopeless. The interview lasted nearly two hours, and the range of subjects discussed was very large.

8. THIRD INTERVIEW WITH CHANG CHIH-TUNG.

In March I had again to visit the Viceroy in Nanking in order to lay further measures before him. I took the opportunity of asking him to write a Preface to my translation of Mackenzie's "History of the Nineteenth Century." On the return journey Li Ching-mi,

son of Li Hung-chang, was on the steamer, and, after seeing a copy of my translation, he volunteered to write a Preface to it. I thanked him for this kind offer, and wondered if his father would not also write a Preface. During the conversation he referred to the poverty of the people, and consequently their inability to raise more revenue or loans. Whilst he agreed that Chang Chih-tung did not keep any money of the revenue in his own hands, he stated that he was very tyrannical, robbing the pawnshops, salt merchants, and others of all their savings.

CHAPTER XI

PRESENTATION OF MISSION MEMORIAL IN PEKING

I. MEMORIAL COMMITTEE.

AS a result of my paper at the Missionary Conference in 1890, calling attention to the official circulation of calumnies against the Christian Church, and proposing that the Throne should be memorialized on the matter, a committee of seven,¹ consisting of Dr. Allen, Dr. Ashmore, Dr. Blodget, Dr. John, Bishop Moule, Dr. Wherry, and myself, was appointed to draw up a Memorial setting forth the true aim of Christian Missions, and requesting religious liberty. In process of time, a long Memorial was prepared, but, owing to various circumstances, no opportunity arose to present it. By 1895, however, events had occurred that demanded immediate action on the part of the Memorial Committee.

2. PERSECUTIONS OF CHRISTIANS.

Unfortunately, my prophecy at the 1890 Conference that we were on the brink of a volcano ready at any moment to burst forth proved only too true. In 1892 anti-missionary riots broke out in Wuhu and all along the Yangtze valley, and Chang Chih-tung, then Viceroy of Wuchang, continued hostile to Christian Missions. In my papers, both daily and weekly, in printing proclamations favourable to missionaries and laying stress on the good deeds of missionaries in famine relief and medical work, I did all I could to influence the people, but persecution continued in the Yangtze valley.

In 1893 two Swedish missionaries at Sungpu, not far

¹ For details see "Conversion by the Million," chap. xxvi.

from Hankow, were fiercely attacked. They climbed to the top of their house and tried to escape over the roofs of other houses, but they were pursued like rats, and when caught were brutally murdered. When the crime was reported to the Viceroy, he expressed no horror of the deed, but he uttered the following memorable words: "We do not want these missionaries. We oppose them, we raise riots against them, we destroy their churches, we kill their converts, we murder the foreigners themselves. Yet the astonishing thing is that the more we kill them, the more anxious they seem to come."

In September of 1893 I made a special visit to Hankow in order to consult Dr. Griffith John and Mr. Hill with regard to the Memorial. Meanwhile, serious riots broke out in Szechuen. Nor was the anti-missionary movement confined to the Yangtze valley. It spread to the province of Fukien.

In April 1895 the ghastly murder of eleven C.M.S. missionaries, mostly women, took place. This sent a thrill of horror throughout the civilized world.

I wrote urging the members of the Memorial Committee to proceed to Peking at once, and make an attempt to reach the highest authorities. Although most of the committee were unable to leave their posts, they were all agreed that immediate action was imperative, so they gave me full powers to act in consultation with the committee members residing in Peking, Dr. Wherry and Dr. Blodget. Before leaving Shanghai, I drafted a shorter and more practical Memorial, which was thoroughly approved by Dr. Allen. I obtained later the signatures to it of twenty leading representatives of the missionary body, including several bishops.

On arrival in Peking in September, I found that Dr. Blodget, who had drafted a statement of Christianity for presentation to the Throne, had gone home on furlough, leaving his manuscript with Dr. Wherry. It was agreed that the shorter Memorial should be presented to the Tsungli Yamen, and that Dr. Blodget's apologia, dealing at great length with the same subject, should accompany it in book form. As the Chinese of both documents had

to be carefully revised and written out by hand, some time elapsed before they were ready for presentation.

3. FIRST INTERVIEW WITH LI HUNG-CHANG.

Meanwhile, preliminary steps had to be taken to approach the Tsungli Yamen. At that time there were eight members, Prince Kung being President. I therefore called on Li Hung-chang, who was then in disgrace because he had failed to come out victorious in the war with Japan, and asked if he would give me a letter of introduction to Prince Kung. My interview took place on September 17th, and I quote from my notes at that time.

“The Viceroy was unusually gracious, insisting on my staying to dinner with him, during which he used some very kind words to me. On public matters he said:—

1. That the Emperor had no mind of his own, but depended on every last adviser.
2. That the great mandarins in power knew nothing about foreign matters, few of them reading such a book as my translation of Mackenzie's “Nineteenth Century,” which he had personally read repeatedly, but leaving it to their Secretaries to read.
3. That all had turned against him, even Chang Chih-tung advocating fighting to the last.
4. That the high Ministers in Peking spoke of Western education as “Kwei-tze hsuoh” (“devil's learning”) and spent all their time on Chinese learning alone.
5. That the essays which occupied the minds of the examination candidates were of no practical use.
6. That the Government would not grant posts to those qualified in Western learning.
7. That the *Shin Wen Pao* (a paper published in Shanghai and thought to be partly financed by Chang Chih-tung) was disgraceful.
8. That the number of those who could read high-class Chinese style was very small.

“In conversation with Mr. Pethick, an American, who was one of Li Hung-chang's foreign secretaries, I gained the following information:—

1. That Weng T'ung-ho (the Prime Minister) was practically the Emperor of China.

2. That the Chinese Government needed to understand that treaties were as binding as any laws, and that whenever they were neglected or broken war ensued.
3. That a slight change of attitude was seen on the part of the Government by its reprinting the articles of the *Wang Kwoh Kung Pao*, our S.D.K. magazine, in the *Peking Gazette* office.
4. That the new heads of the Tsungli Yamen had been complaining to the Western Governments of the pressure of their Ministers in Peking in regard to the recent riots.

“In regard to my presentation of the missionary Memorial, he suggested that I should be introduced to Prince Kung by Weng T’ung-ho, the Prime Minister, and that when I saw him I should give him a history of my former dealings with Viceroy.”

4. FOLLOWING INTERVIEWS WITH LI HUNG-CHANG.

On September 23rd I called again on the ex-Viceroy at 3 p.m., as Pethick had previously told me it would be a kindness. The Viceroy said :—

1. That Hu Tung, the head of the Nei Kwoh, meeting him coming back from calling on Foreign Ministers, memorialized the Emperor against him, saying that Li Hung-chang was having treasonable intercourse with foreigners.
2. That the head of the Hanlin College would not allow the Hanlins to study foreign books, and that he was always cursing foreign learning and religion.
3. That all the Hanlins and all Reformers were powerless so long as power remained in the hands of these anti-foreign old men.
4. That the Manchus were of no account.
5. That I should send my books to Prince Kung.
6. After my suggestion that Pethick should become a member of Prince Kung’s family in order that the motives and methods of Li Hung-chang might be understood and not left at the mercy of ignorant opponents, he said : “You should seek an interview with Weng T’ung-ho by letter stating that you have been many years in China and have been engaged in the distribution of famine relief and in the enlightenment of the people, and that you therefore know well the condition of China, and that as you have a very urgent matter of great importance to the State to lay before him in person, you will be glad if he will appoint some time when he is at leisure for you to see him.”

This he said at the end of an hour's conversation, during which I had made the following suggestions :—

1. That a hundred Hanlins be sent abroad, and ten of the Imperial Clan.
2. That foreign education be given to all Sui-ts'ais.
3. That lectures on world topics be given regularly in Peking.
4. That while the anti-foreign party by their blundering were presenting Japan with two hundred million taels, I had calculated a scheme by which the Prime Minister could get four hundred million taels annually.

During this part of the conversation Li said he wished I could settle in Peking to deliver lectures to the Hanlins. He also remarked that Weng T'ung-ho was very suspicious, that he had no head and only a half-doubting heart.

On September 26th, I was invited by Mr. Pethick to dinner at Ta-li Hotel, where I met ten Hanlins. So next day I called with the draft letter, which Li corrected. He also advised me in my interview with the Prime Minister to say first a word of praise, then "to run a thousand needles into him," and to finish by emphasizing the great responsibility that rested on him for good or ill. He spent about half an hour showing me the need of the freest and most forcible illustrations to drive home to Weng T'ung-ho the urgency of the situation. In contrasting Prince Kung and Weng T'ung-ho, he remarked that they were as different as stone and india-rubber.

5. INTERVIEW WITH PRIME MINISTER.

On October 26th, Weng T'ung-ho appointed the Tsungli Yamen as the place for our interview. After the first few words he suggested that our interview should be in a private place, and he took me into one of the rooms of the Tung Wên College in the same compound, where Wang Ming-luan, his right-hand man and a member of the Tsungli Yamen, was the only one in attendance.

As I wished to convince him who the chief disturbers of peace between the Christians and the Government were, I took with me as proof two bundles of books, one

containing about ten Chinese volumes of "Hai Kwo Tu Tze," and the other about ten volumes of another work, both containing the most preposterous calumnies against Christians. The first book, by Wei, stated that Christians scooped out the eyes of the Chinese and mixed them with lead to produce silver, and in this way the foreign missionaries got rich. The other book stated that missionaries made bewitching medicine which demented women and produced photographs that stole away the souls of those photographed. I pointed out to the Prime Ministers 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 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 Wên-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 republished, like the Blue Books of China (King Shih Wen), 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."

Seeing I had proved my point up to the hilt, the Prime Minister cried, laughing, "You have lived too long in China," and gave up questioning my statements.

After this, I pointed out how China had been troubled with religious difficulties a thousand years before; first the Buddhists had persecuted the Taoists, next the Taoists persecuted both, and the country had

no peace. But as soon as religious liberty had been granted to all parties, quiet reigned throughout the land. "What the Christians ask from the Government now is only to be left alone," was my final word. "If that is all," cried the Prime Minister, astonished at the simplicity of the request, "I can easily promise it." At the close he asked me to prepare a statement of what I considered were the needful reforms for China at that juncture.

6. INTERVIEW WITH PRINCE KUNG.

Li Hung-chang did not give me a letter of introduction to Prince Kung, as he said the Prince knew of me, and had read my book, and that if I wrote a letter asking for an appointment, he would be sure to see me. The ex-Viceroy kindly revised my letter to the Prince.

Prince Kung was the brother of Emperor Hsien Fêng, and had been the Manchu Plenipotentiary who had saved the situation in 1860-1. He was the most imperious man I ever met, every inch a prince, with a demeanour as if he felt himself a god among men. It is said that he was the only man in the Empire of whom the Empress-Dowager was afraid. They had stormy times, and she often found it expedient to bend her will to his.

On October 30th, the day appointed for the interview at the Tsungli Yamen, as Prince Kung was present, the other seven members had also to attend. The Prince showed his contempt by giving me a seat next the door. He opened the interview by referring to the Christians as if they were the refuse of China, speaking in the same disdainful way as they were referred to in the famous Tsungli Yamen dispatch after the Tientsin massacre in 1870. He took for granted that all the troubles that had overtaken the Christians had been brought on them by their own disloyal and foolish actions. When he had given vent to his feelings and expressed his own views, I asked if I might give expression to the Christians' views. He replied that he was willing to hear me.

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

As soon as he had gone, Li Hung-tsao, one of the Emperor's tutors and member of the Tsungli Yamen, came across the room and thanked me for speaking so frankly to the Prince. "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." He also thanked me for my translation of Mackenzie's "Nineteenth Century," which I had previously presented to him.

Before leaving Prince Kung, it may interest my readers if I relate a further incident. A few years later the Judge of the British Supreme Court in Shanghai told me that the Russian Minister in Peking, in an interview with Prince Kung, had asked if he had read my translation of Mackenzie's "Nineteenth Century." The Prince replied that he had.

"And what do you think of it?"

"It is a very useful book to China."

"Then I am afraid you have not grasped the moral of it," replied the Russian Minister. "It teaches

democracy *versus* autocracy. If those views become current throughout China, you six million Manchus will be outvoted by the four hundred millions of Chinese, and you will have to go."

This prophecy of Count Cassini was realized in 1911.

7. DR. WHERRY AND I PRESENT MISSION MEMORIAL.
NOVEMBER 14TH.

Besides having introductions from Li Hung-chang to the Tsungli Yamen, Dr. Wherry and I had approached the British, American, and German Ministers, explaining our purpose of presenting the Missionary Memorial. The German Minister did not see his way to co-operate, but the British and American Ministers (Sir Nicholas O'Connor and Colonel Denby) sent dispatches to the Tsungli Yamen, making known our business, and on the day appointed for the first interview, November 14th, Colonel Denby kindly accompanied us and introduced us.

After hearing us, the majority of the members were in favour of granting the requests.

The main substance of the Memorial was as follows:—

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

been uplifted by it. The adoption of Western civilization in Japan was largely due to missionary influence.

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

8. OBSTRUCTIONS TO GRANTING OUR REQUEST.

A few days after, the Throne instructed the Foreign Office to confer with the missionaries till the matter was settled, and at the beginning of December two of the Tsungli Yamen members assured us that an edict would shortly be issued, granting the requests in the Memorial. But two things occurred which changed the course of events. Wang Ming-luan, who had been one of our strongest supporters in the Tsungli Yamen, was suddenly degraded, thus weakening the pro-Memorial party. Li Hung-chang also told me that the French Minister had unexpectedly objected to the Throne granting any missionary request, as it brought up again the question of the right of missionaries to deal direct with the Chinese Government, a demand which the French Government had a few years before compelled the Pope to withdraw.

At this point Dr. Wherry left Peking to go to

America on furlough, and his place was taken by Dr. Lowry. He therefore called with me at the British and American Legations to report on our interviews with the Tsungli Yamen, and what we had heard of the French Minister. We expressed the hope that the Ministers would together obtain the consent of the Chinese Government to the Memorial, and we further asked them to add another request, that whatever privileges were granted to the Roman Catholics should be at the same time extended to the Protestants.

Although we were not able to get the requests granted and ratified by an edict, yet in our nine interviews with the Tsungli Yamen we were able to enlighten the members, whose ideas had been vague in the extreme, as to the object and value of foreign Missions.

Further, the day before I left Peking, February 24, 1896, Weng T'ung-ho called on me and gave verbal promises that the slanderous literature should be suppressed, and the local authorities everywhere be instructed to be friendly towards the missionaries.

CHAPTER XII

REFORM MOVEMENT IN CHINA. 1895-8

1. K'ANG YU-WEI.

AT this time a number of Hanlins, stung by China's humiliation in the war with Japan, and realizing that nothing except reform could save China, banded themselves together to discuss what measures could be adopted to put China on her feet. They had been greatly influenced by a certain brilliant Cantonese scholar, K'ang Yu-wei, a Chin-Shih, or Doctor of Literature.

Not satisfied with the materialistic commentaries on the ancient classics of China by Chu Hi, which had been the standard for the last thousand years, he had conceived the idea of writing a new commentary on the classics, based on the spiritual nature of God. This had created considerable stir amongst the scholars of China, many of whom regarded the author as the modern sage of China. But the conservative censors in Peking persuaded the Government to issue an edict condemning the new interpretation as heretical, and ordering the destruction of the blocks of his books. He then drew up a Memorial signed by ten thousand students, including thirteen hundred Chū-ren, praying that the Emperor should immediately take steps for Reform. The lines they advocated were similar to those laid down by the publications of the S.D.K. Influenced by K'ang Yu-wei's writings, a number of intelligent young men, shortly after peace had been signed with Japan, formed themselves into a Junior Reform Society in Shanghai, with branches in Hangchow, Nanking, Wuchang, and Tientsin.

They brought their rules for me to revise, and discussed with me how they could help to enlighten their country. One of their number visited Li Hung-chang, and suggested that the Chinese Government should make our *Wang Kwoh Kung Pao* (*Review of the Times*) the organ of the Government, and publish ten thousand copies regularly.

On October 17, 1895, occurred my first meeting with K'ang Yu-Wei. I was at the L.M.S. compound in Peking, and was writing to my wife in Paris, when his card was brought me. In the guest-room I found the famous scholar, clad in yellow silks. He had brought a copy of his work to present to me, before leaving for the south next day. He told me he believed in the Fatherhood of God and in the brotherhood of nations as we had taught in our publications, and he hoped to co-operate with us in the work of regenerating China.

2. THE REFORM SOCIETY.

The Reform Society, started by him and his friends, was called the Kiang Hsueh Hui (Higher Learning Society), and had members not only amongst the most intelligent Hanlins in Peking, but among the Censors and the under-Secretaries of the Grand Council. The *Peking Gazette*, the organ of the Government, had been for a thousand years the sole publication in the capital; but now, for the first time in China's history, there appeared a new paper, independent of the Government, though having its secret support. This was issued by the Reform Society. It is interesting to note the timidity of the Reform Party at this period. Knowing that the monthly magazine of the Diffusion Society had been in circulation for many years amongst the leading officials without any opposition, they called their first paper by the same name as ours, *Wang Kwoh Kung Pao*, and it first consisted mainly of reprints from our magazine. The only difference was that our paper was printed in metallic type in Shanghai, whilst theirs was printed from the wooden type used in publication of the Government *Peking Gazette*. Thus in outward

Photographed from the original copy of the *Wan Shook Hing Pao*,
 as adopted by the subscribers. August 17th 1895.

A facsimile of the title page and
 beginning of the first number of the
 independent Chinese Press.
 The name was exactly the same as
 that of the Organ of the Christian
 Literature Society, and many of the
 articles of the first numbers were copied
 from that paper.

The name of *Wan Shook Hing Pao*
 was adopted as the editors feared that
 if another was given the paper might
 be suppressed.

At the suggestion of Dr Richard
 the name was changed to
Chung Hoo Shi Wen.

Blocks were printed by movable
 wooden blocks, used for the
 publication of the Government
Shen King Gazette, the oldest newspaper
 in the world, fourteen thousand
 years ago.



地球萬國
 最著名之報
 中國日報
 不與大地
 報紙
 自不
 有
 功
 用
 以
 為
 對
 於
 世
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 也



appearance it resembled the Government official organ, whilst in contents it was introducing Western ideas propagated by the S.D.K.

Amongst the members of the Reform Club was a young man of about twenty-eight years of age, K'ang Yu-wei's most brilliant disciple, named Liang Ch'i-ch'ao. Hearing that I wanted a Chinese Secretary, he offered his services, and assisted me all the time I was in Peking. Other members were Wên T'ing-shih, from Kiangsi province, a Hanlin and tutor to the ladies of the Imperial Court; T'an Tze-t'ung, of Hunan, son of the Governor of Hupeh, afterwards beheaded at the *Coup d'État* in 1898; Ch'in Chih, of Kiangsi, who wrote out my scheme of reform for Weng T'ung-ho; Yuan Shih-kai, then a General of the Chihli army, and many others. The Reform Party had the full sympathy of Weng Tung-ho, who was then Prime Minister of China, and Sun Chia-nai, the Emperor's tutor. It also had great encouragement from Sir Nicholas O'Connor, the British Minister.

About this time, Dr. Gilbert Reid, of the American Presbyterian Mission, an old friend of mine from Shantung, had begun work among the higher classes in Peking, hoping to make them friendly towards Christianity. He, Mr. Pethick, and I were frequently invited to dinner by the members of the Reform Club, and we in turn invited them back. At each dinner speeches were delivered bearing on reform in China, and discussions followed in which the members took the keenest interest. They invited me to remain in Peking a few months so as to give them advice as to how they should proceed.

On January 22nd the Reform Society was denounced by a new-comer, father-in-law of Lord Li's son, and the Club was closed and its doors pasted up. Viceroy Li denied any connection with the closing of the Reform Club. The members memorialized the Throne, and during the next month I heard that the Tsungli Yamen were about to give it a grant of twelve thousand taels a year.

3. MY REFORM SCHEME FOR WENG T'UNG-HO.

Out of the interviews regarding the Mission Memorial, there came a request from Weng T'ung-ho, the Chinese Prime Minister, asking me to write a brief statement of what was most needed in China in the way of reform. I therefore prepared a scheme of which the following is the gist :—

After prefacing that God showed no partiality towards any nation, East or West, that the nation that obeyed Heaven prospered and the nation that disobeyed perished, according to unalterable law, I pointed out four vital requirements for China : educational reform, economic reform, internal and international peace, and spiritual regeneration. To carry out these great measures I proposed :—

1. Two foreign advisers to the Throne.
2. A Cabinet of eight Ministers, one half of Manchus and Chinese, and the other half of foreign officials who would know about the progress of all the world.
3. The immediate reform of currency and the establishment of finance on a sound basis.
4. The immediate building of railways and the opening of mines and factories.
5. The establishment of a Board of Education to introduce modern schools and colleges throughout the Empire.
6. The establishment of an intelligent Press with experienced foreign journalists to assist Chinese editors for the enlightenment of the people.
7. The building up of an adequate army and navy for the country's defence.

This scheme of reform was shown by Weng T'ung-ho to the Emperor and approved by him. It was published later by the S.D.K.

4. SUN CHIA-NAI, THE EMPEROR'S TUTOR.

On October 12th I had an interview of over an hour with Sun Chia-nai, the Emperor's tutor. Acting on Viceroy Li's advice, I spoke to him as if to the Emperor.



TIMOTHY RICHARD AND MEMBERS OF THE HANLIN ACADEMY.

He was a native of the same province as Li Hung-chang, Anhui, and he was over sixty years of age. I found him one of the most cultured and the gentlest of all Chinese officials. He told me in that first interview that he had been reading my translation of Mackenzie's "Nineteenth Century" every day for two months with the Emperor. Before I left Peking, Sun Chia-nai offered me the position of President of the Peking University, as it was thought Dr. Martin, the former President, had left China for good. Not seeing my way to accept the position, I declined. But he sent a second invitation after me to Shanghai, and again I refused, recommending Dr. Fryer, who had been for years translator at the Government Arsenal at Shanghai, for the post. A third invitation was sent me on my way home to England. On my leaving Peking, Sun Chia-nai presented me with a pair of fine dark-blue and gold vases.

5. INTERVIEW WITH CHANG YIN-HWAN.

On December 3rd I called by appointment on Chang Yin-hwan at his own house. He told me that the documents on rebellion found in the chapel at the Suang Men-to at Canton in possession of a man named Sun would prove a great blow to the settlement of the missionary cause I had in hand. To this I replied that it had no more to do with it than the rebellions of Confucianists down the ages, and of the Kwo Lao Hui at that time had to do with Confucianism. At this he laughed. He told me that the causes of weakness of authority in Peking were the illness of Prince Kung and the ignorance of Weng T'ung Ho about foreign matters. The censors were so powerful that Weng was afraid of them. They were useful tools in the Government's hands, to destroy any undesirable official. According to Chang, only he and Li Hung-chang understood foreign matters (Chang Yin-hwan had been Minister to the United States). All the work in the Foreign Office was done by himself, the others being mere dummies.

6. KANG YI, GRAND COUNCILLOR.

Towards the end of my stay, on February 2nd, I saw Kang Yi by appointment at his own house. He was a Manchu and was sixty-two years of age. I had first met him in the 'eighties, when he was Governor of Shansi. While there he was an official of the most reactionary type. Any improvement that was suggested involving expenditure of money was promptly vetoed by his saying that it was a waste of money, causing injury to the people. He made friends with some man in Shansi with antiquated notions of astronomy mixed up with astrology. He spent many a summer night watching the stars and listening to the discarded wisdom of the world on the effect of the heavenly bodies on human destinies. When a petition was made for a grant of money to provide bullets for the practice of the soldiers, he replied that lead bullets were far too expensive, and ordered the soldiers to practise with clay.

He was extremely friendly at this interview and as pleasant in manner as the Prime Minister. He had great confidence in his policy as Governor in Shansi, and Kiangsu, and Kwangtung, though I never heard of his introducing a single reform. But he endeavoured to be clean-handed. He was most anxious to make it clear to me that the Chinese officials were the obstructionists, and not the Manchus. The Chinese were incorrigibly anti-foreign. I tried to impress on him the danger of China's not studying the methods of other nations. I emphasized the need of light, and I suggested to him that two foreign governesses should be engaged for the Empress-Dowager and two foreign tutors for the Emperor.

The next day I sent my secretary to him, asking if he could not arrange an interview with the Emperor to make these suggestions. After an hour's talk on the matter, his final word was that he had no influence with the Emperor, that Weng T'ung-ho alone was all-powerful with him, and that in the Cabinet the Chinese carried everything their own way, even Prince Kung and Prince

Li being ciphers. He declared that Weng T'ung-ho kept the Emperor in the dark, had "blinded his eyes."

Kang Yi's friendly attitude, in spite of his anti-foreign feelings, was in marked contrast to the behaviour of other Manchus, Prince Kung being as proud as Lucifer and King Shin as uncivil as it was possible for him to be. The jealousy between Chinese and Manchu officials was very apparent in the interview. Kang Yi afterwards became one of the greatest obstructionists in the Reform Party and supported the Empress-Dowager in her reactionary measures. Later, she countenanced his formation of a provincial militia, which led to the great anti-foreign outbreak of 1900.

7. FAREWELL TO WENG T'UNG-HO AND LI HUNG-CHANG.

On February 24th, the day before I left Peking, the card of Weng T'ung-ho was brought in to me where I was staying at the London Mission. According to Chinese custom, as this was a formal complimentary act, I returned him my card, thanking him for the civility. But word came that he was outside, wishing to see me on important business. This was an unprecedented act, for no Prime Minister of China had ever called at a missionary's house before. We talked for an hour on religious toleration and political reform. His first object was to apologize for the non-appearance of the edict sanctioning the requests of the Missionary Memorial, saying that his superiors would not support him. (See previous chapter.) I begged that no distinction should be made between Christians and non-Christians and all would be well. His second object was to ask if I would aid in the Reform Club which the Government talked of resuscitating. I refused to have any connection with it if it would be of no practical service to China.

Shortly after his departure he sent me four rolls of silk, and eight boxes of biscuits for my journey. These, together with Sun Chia-nai's vases, I valued highly as indicative of their friendship.

That evening I had a last interview with Li Hung-

chang, who had been appointed to attend the Czar's Coronation. Notwithstanding that he had shown his appreciation of the value of some of the S.D.K. publications, he would not contribute any donation to our Society. After my twenty years' work within his Viceroyaltyship of relief distribution, press work, and Reform work, he would not own that Christian Missions were doing any good to China. In alluding to his ingratitude, Pethick quoted, " Shall men gather grapes of thorns? "

8. PROGRESS OF REFORM.

During my absence in England the desire for Reform spread rapidly in China. Dr. Allen, whose " History of the War " had had a very wide circulation, was invited to take charge of a University intended to be established in Shanghai, but declined. He consented, however, to draw up a code of rules for a National System of Modern Education, and prepared an elaborate manuscript, based mainly on the system established by the British Government in India.

The Reform Movement was like the thawing of a great glacier or the breaking up of the frozen Amur, sweeping gigantic masses of obstructive ice down to the ocean.

Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, K'ang Yu-wei's chief disciple, now started a newspaper in Shanghai, called *The Chinese Progress*, as the organ of the Reform Party. From the first it was a brilliant success, and stirred the whole Empire from one end to the other. It was strongly supported by the Viceroy Chang Chih-tung, of Wuchang, and other officials. The style of writing was a medium between high Wenli (high classic style), which could only be understood by comparatively few of the scholars, and the colloquial, which every coolie could understand ; so chaste that it commanded the admiration of every scholar, and yet so plain that every reader in the land could comprehend. Even Hunan, the province which had disgraced the Empire with its scurrilous calumnies against Christianity, invited Liang Ch'i-ch'ao in 1897 to become President of a Reform College in Changsha, the provincial capital. Many of the Hunanese became ardent advo-

cates of Reform. They also invited my secretary, Ts'ai Er-k'ang, who assisted me in literary work in Shanghai, to deliver lectures to them, but he declined, saying that all the new ideas were those of foreigners, not his.

The hopeful signs in the Reform Movement were that it recognized that the old hatred of foreigners was unjustifiable, and that their friendship should be cultivated ; that the ancient education of China was all too inadequate to meet modern requirements, and that Western learning should be adopted. Some Reformers even went so far as to say that Confucianism was too material, and they boldly advocated the adoption of Christianity as the national religion. Another sign of the times was the sudden increase of newspapers, from nineteen to seventy, within three years.

9. CHINESE GIRLS' SCHOOL.

At the end of 1897, I returned to China, and found the Reform Movement in full swing. A Chinese Girls' School was started in Shanghai by the head of the Chinese Telegraph Administration and other Reformers. It was situated a little beyond St. Catherine's Bridge, on the way to the Arsenal. Mrs. Richard was asked to recommend a foreign lady to teach English, in addition to a Chinese young lady who had been educated in the American Episcopal Mission. For this post she suggested the daughter of Dr. Y. J. Allen. She was also asked to visit the school at least once a month to see that everything was being carried on in proper order.

In February of 1898 the Reform Society published a "New Collection of Tracts for the Times" in Shanghai. Forty-four of the essays were written by Liang Ch'i Ch'ao, thirty-eight contributed by K'ang Yu-wei, while the editor included thirty-one of my own. Ch'in Chih, who had helped in writing out my Scheme of Reform, also contributed some essays.

10. THE EMPEROR'S WONDERFUL EDICTS.

At this time K'ang Yu-wei had been appointed Secretary of the Tsungli Yamen, and was having great

influence over the Emperor. Chang Yin-hwan, who had been special Envoy to Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee the previous year, was member of both the Grand Council and the Tsungli Yamen, and had joined the Reform Party. The Under-Secretaries of the Grand Council were enthusiastic for Reform. The young Emperor soon showed his faith in the Reformers by carrying out their advice, and the result was a series of remarkable edicts which followed in quick succession:—

1. To abolish the essay system of examination which had been in vogue for the last five hundred years.
2. To establish a University for the study of Western science in Peking.
3. To convert temples into schools for Western education.
4. To establish a Translation Board whereby books on Western learning are to be translated into Chinese.
5. To establish a Patent Office for the encouragement of everything that is new and useful.
6. To protect Christianity without any further evasions.
7. To make the Reform paper—*Chinese Progress*—the official organ of the Government.
8. To abolish useless offices both in Peking and the provinces.
9. To make young Manchus study foreign languages and travel abroad.

II. FIRST CHECK TO REFORM PARTY.

Meanwhile, the Empress-Dowager and the Conservative Party had not been idle. They had watched with growing alarm the rapid spread of Reform ideas throughout the Empire, and, to prevent any surprise from the Reform Party, a very clever move had been made. Prince Kung, who had been the President of the military and naval forces, had died in June. By natural procedure, Weng T'ung-ho, who had been Vice-President, should have been appointed to succeed him in the position. But the Empress-Dowager gave the appointment to her kinsman and loyal supporter, Jung Lu, while Weng T'ung-ho was cashiered. This action, though it took place three months before the formal *Coup d'État*, constituted the first blow aimed at the Emperor's brief independence of her. After Weng T'ung-ho's dismissal, the Empress-

Dowager gave audiences to the high Ministers and commanded them to memorialize her direct.

During the issuing of the Reform Edicts the Conservatives complained that the Emperor's wild schemes would soon bring China to ruin, and they implored the Empress-Dowager to take all power into her own hands. She issued an edict that she would review the troops in Tientsin that autumn. The Emperor feared that under the pretext of the review, the Empress-Dowager would seize all authority and put him on one side. The Reform Party urged him to forestall her and have her confined in the Summer Palace, and thus put an end to all interference on the part of the obstructionists to Reform. Accordingly, the Emperor summoned Yuan Shih-kai, who was General under Jung Lu, and on whose support he counted, to undertake to bring troops to Peking to guard the Palace where she resided. On receiving Yuan Shih-kai's solemn pledge of loyalty, the Emperor gave him a special appointment to carry out reforms in the army, so that with this added authority he would be able to accomplish the Emperor's plans.

12. INVITED TO BE ADVISER TO THE EMPEROR.

It was at this juncture that I arrived in Peking. I had been consulted by K'ang Yu-wei in the summer on measures of Reform, and had suggested that as Marquis Ito had been so successful in converting Japan into a strong Power, the best course would be for the Chinese Government to invite him as one of its foreign advisers. I was later invited by K'ang Yu-wei to go up to Peking and be one of the Emperor's advisers. On the same steamer there travelled with me two interesting men. One of them was Yuan Chang, the hero who afterwards, in 1900, dared to remonstrate against the massacre of foreigners, and who defied the Empress-Dowager by changing the wording of the Imperial telegram from "Exterminate the foreigner" into "Protect the foreigner," paying for his boldness with his life. The other was a naturalized American citizen, Yung Wing, who had taken the first group of a hundred students to America.

When I arrived in Peking in the middle of September, I called on K'ang Yu-wei, who told me that the situation was far from peaceful, and that he intended shortly to leave for Shanghai. Further instructions would be given me by the Emperor's tutor, Sun Chia-nai, T'an Tze-t'ung, or others in close contact with the Emperor.

I was in the same hotel as Marquis Ito, and had long talks with his chief secretary, Mr. Tsuda, who afterwards became editor of the *Japan Times* in Tokio, and still later secretary to Prince Ito when resident in Korea. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, who had been recommended to a Government post by Viceroy Chang Chih-tung, was also in Peking.

13. FLIGHT OF K'ANG YU-WEI AND COUP D'ÉTAT.

On hearing of Yuan Shih-kai's appointment, the Empress-Dowager became suspicious that the Emperor, with his help, was intending to put an end to all her power. She therefore sent to Jung Lu, who telegraphed to General T'ung Fu-hsiang to bring his army to Peking to support the Empress-Dowager. At the same time she demanded of the Emperor the arrest of K'ang Yu-wei, who she said had poisoned his mind against her. This alarmed the Emperor. That same day K'ang Yu-wei received a letter from the Emperor urging him to leave for an appointment in Shanghai. He read between the lines and took train for Tientsin. The Empress-Dowager, hearing of his flight, sent cipher telegrams to Chefoo and Shanghai for his arrest and instant decapitation. When he put in at Chefoo, the telegram had already arrived, but the Tao-tai was away at Kiao-chao, and had taken his telegraphic code with him. His secretaries could not decipher the telegram, and K'ang Yu-wei took a peaceful walk through the Settlement streets and along the beach, picking up sea-shells. The Chinese authorities were on the alert in Shanghai to seize him, but at Woosung, at the British Consul-General's instigation, K'ang Yu-wei was transferred to a P. and O. steamer, which took him to Hongkong.

Meanwhile, the Emperor continued his edicts of Reform,

and Sun Chia-nan called to notify me that His Imperial Majesty wished me to attend an audience on September 23rd. But before that date events took place which precipitated the *Coup d'État*. Yuan Shih-kai, after a final audience with the Emperor, acquainted Jung Lu with the plans against the Empress-Dowager.

Now, it was a current report at the time, referred to in all the foreign newspapers, that in his last audience with the Emperor, Yuan Shih-kai was given instructions to put Jung Lu to death before bringing the troops to Peking. But in the account given of the audience by Messrs. Backhouse and Bland in "China Under the Empress-Dowager," the authors distinctly state (p. 205): "Every precaution was taken to prevent the conversation being overheard." If, therefore, the interview was a secret *tête-à-tête*, the account of what transpired must, according to the opinions of the best informed, have emanated from the triumphant party in the Government, in order to justify their subsequent action. Although the Reform Party were all agreed that the one way of ending all interference from the reactionaries was to secure the Empress-Dowager, who was the chief obstructionist, none had contemplated the death of Jung Lu, who had been one of many to recommend K'ang Yu-wei and had personally recommended to the Emperor another notable progressive, Chen Pao-chen, Governor of Hupeh.¹ Jung Lu, on hearing Yuan Shih-kai's information, straightway sought the Empress-Dowager, who took immediate action, summoning the Conservative Party to her aid. Marquis Ito, on hearing that Yuan Shih-kai had gone over to the Empress-Dowager and that she was in control of the troops, exclaimed: "It is too late. The Emperor can do nothing without the army." He left Peking at once.

Sun Chia-nai at this juncture called on me with the news that the Emperor had been seized by order of the Empress-Dowager, and conveyed to a small island on the Palace Lake. He also said that on the very day and at the very hour at which I was to have had an

¹ "China Under the Empress-Dowager," pp. 186 and 205.

audience with the Emperor, the Empress-Dowager had arranged formally to resume the reins of government.

On September 21st an edict was issued in the Emperor's name, stating that as the burdens and responsibilities of State were too great for him, the Emperor had requested the Empress-Dowager to assist him, and that on the 23rd the Emperor desired the princes and high officials to pay their respects and acknowledge her once more as Regent.

The same day, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and Tan Su-t'ung saw me in private and told me that an edict was out for their arrest. We discussed measures for the protection of the Emperor, whose life was in the greatest possible danger, and we decided that Yung Wing, being an American citizen, should see the American Minister, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao should see the Japanese Minister, and I should myself see the British Minister in order to induce them to move for the immediate protection of the Emperor. But, unfortunately, the American Minister was away at the hills and the British Minister at Pei-tai-ho.

The city gates were closed to prevent the escape of the Reformers, but Liang Ch'i-ch'ao managed to reach Tientsin, where he made for a Japanese steamer. Although chased by a Chinese Government launch, he eluded capture and got safely on board and away to Japan.

I also went to Tientsin, in order to meet the British Minister, who was coming back from Pei-tai-ho. I pleaded with him to do his utmost to save the Emperor and the lives of the captured Reformers. But he was already prejudiced against them, his attitude being quite unlike that of his predecessor, Sir Nicholas O'Connor. His prejudice rested largely on ignorance, for I subsequently learnt that he told a friend that before his return from Pei-tai-ho he had never heard of K'ang Yu-wei.

14. EXECUTION OF REFORMERS.

Other Reformers fled to Japan, Macao, and America, but some did not attempt to escape. On September 28th six of them were summarily executed without trial. The most notable of these was T'an Su-t'ung, a promising

official of about thirty-three years of age. A native of Hunan, and son of a former Governor of Hupeh, he had been recommended by several officials and given a position as one of the under-secretaries of the Grand Council. He was instrumental with K'ang Yu-wei in the drawing up of the Emperor's famous edicts. Others were Liu Kwang-ti and Yang Tzwei, both natives of Szechuen and about forty years of age. Yang Shih-shen was a censor and a Hanlin. K'ang Kwang-in, about thirty-five years of age, was K'ang Yu-wei's brother. The youngest of them was Lin Shio, only twenty-six years of age, and a descendant of the famous Commissioner Lin who destroyed the foreign opium in Canton at the beginning of the Opium War. Four of the six had been under-secretaries of the Grand Council. As they were being led to the execution ground, Lin Shio asked for permission to say a few words, but it was refused. T'an Su-t'ung, however, boldly spoke out, ignoring permission, that he had heard how many Reformers in other lands had died for their country's good. "I am willing to shed my blood, if thereby my country may be saved. But," he cried to the judges, "for every one that perishes to-day, a thousand will rise up to carry on the work of Reform, and uphold loyalty against usurpation." Thus died the martyrs of Reform. The betrothed of Lin Shio, on hearing the news of his execution, at once committed suicide.

15. FATE OF OTHER REFORMERS.

For having recommended to the Throne four of the executed Reformers, Ch'en pao Ch'un, the Governor of Hunan, was degraded for life. Su Chih-ching, a prominent Hanlin, over sixty years of age, was ordered imprisonment for the rest of his life, for having recommended K'ang Yu-wei. His son, Su In-chih, Chancellor of Education in Hunan, was degraded for life; he memorialized the Throne for permission to take his father's place in prison.

My old friend Chang Yin-hwan, whose former services as Chinese Minister to the United States and as Special Envoy to Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee might have

mitigated his fate, was banished to Kashgar, where in 1900 he was put to death by order of the Boxer leaders. Ch'in Chih, who helped to write out my Scheme of Reform, died of a broken heart. Wen T'ing-shih, whom I had often met in the winter of 1895-6, and who was tutor to the Imperial ladies, was ordered to be arrested, but escaped out of the country.

Wang Chao, friend of the Rev. George Owen, of Peking, and a firm supporter of Christianity, fled to Japan. A year or two later, when I was in the S.D.K. depot in Shanghai, I received a call from a Buddhist priest. He asked me if I knew him, but I did not recognize him. He would not give me his card, but, asking for a pen, he traced on the palm of his hand the characters of his name—Wang Chao.

16. EMPEROR'S DECREE OF ABDICATION.

The close confinement of the Emperor by the Empress-Dowager resulted in prolonged illness, and on January 4, 1889, an edict appeared declaring that, owing to ill-health, the Emperor thought fit to abdicate. This at once gave rise to great consternation among the loyal followers of the Emperor, and among the various protests from all parts of the Empire there came a telegram dispatched in the name of the scholars, gentry, and merchants of Shanghai, imploring the Empress-Dowager not to permit the Emperor to abdicate, and referring to the probable intervention of foreigners should the Empire die. The man who had drawn up the telegram was Ching Lien Shan, a Director of the Telegraphs and Director of the first Shanghai Girls' School. Three days later Mrs. Ch'ing, accompanied by a clerk from the Telegraph Office, called at my house to beg me to help her husband, for whose arrest orders had come to Peking. I advised him to go to Japan or Macao, and gave him letters of introduction to friends in Hongkong. As the Girls' School was immediately closed, the director, before leaving for Macao, gave me a Chinese document, in which the school property was registered in my name to prevent its confiscation by the Government.

CHAPTER XIII

A TRIP TO T' IEN-T' AI MOUNTAIN

I. A GREAT RELIGIOUS CENTRE.

T' IEN-T' AI Mountain, in the province of Chekiang, is a great religious centre, and may be compared with Jerusalem, Mecca, Benares, the home of Confucius in Shantung, of the Taoist Pope in Kiangsi, and of the Dalai Lama in Tibet. It is the centre of the most popular school of Buddhism, where the Lotus Scripture is the chief sacred book, and where the Pure Land School of Omoto Fu, arriving probably from Egypt, first took root in the Far East, whence it has spread all over China and Japan. There are many temples belonging to this school on T'ien-t'ai Mountain, and as it was so important in the history of Buddhism, I was anxious to see it. The Rev. Ernest Box, of the London Missionary Society, accompanied me on a visit to the holy mountain in May of 1895.

2. A MANCHU CHRISTIAN PROPOSES VISIT TO POPE.

We took with us a very remarkable Manchu Christian from Peking, named Mr. Tung. He had been baptized by the Roman Catholic Church, confirmed by the Greek Church, had studied medicine under the Presbyterians, and had then become a catechist under Bishop Scott, of the S.P.G. He was a very able, open-minded man, who wanted to prove all things and hold fast that which is good. He had an idea that as he was connected with several branches of the Christian Church in China, he should go to Europe and ask the Pope to unite all the Christian bodies at work in China into one. He left

Peking with this object, and on arriving in Shanghai, called on me as an old friend; for at one time we had lived in the same compound. As his financial resources were small and he did not know how next to proceed, he asked me for help and advice. Knowing that this scheme of his was utterly impracticable, I persuaded him to go with Mr. Box and myself to visit T'ien-t'ai. Meanwhile, I wrote to Bishop Scott that I had found his lost sheep, and would keep him until I heard from him.

3. STRANGE SUPERSTITIONS.

The following extracts are from a diary I kept at the time :—

“ At a place called Ka-li-zen I was much struck with the superstition of the people. A great many shops were selling clothes and houses for the dead, not only of paper but also of silk. Some even went to the expense of making the houses and clothes just as though they were for the use of the living, though the majority were much the same as our toy things for children. They sold paper money in abundance, and rolls of paper dollars as well as imitation gold ingots.

“ On the way through the streets we found two groups engaged in worship. The first was in a shop on the main street. Four Buddhist pictures, about eighteen inches by twelve and beautifully coloured, were placed in gilt frames so as to make them more attractive. These faced the street, and before each knelt four semi-religious men, but not clean-shaven like the priests. They wore special religious vestments. One of them beat a little ball, and seemed to keep time for the rest, who were reciting one of the Buddhist Scriptures. The second group was still more impressive in some respects, as the worshippers were more in earnest and were mostly women. They were gathered apparently in a private house: we heard a pleasant sound of chanting, and, turning our eyes in the direction of the sound, we saw a man in an empty room and about twenty middle-aged

women grouped in the form of a horse-shoe, chanting in unison the Mito Scripture of the Buddhists. Our informant, a native preacher, said they belonged to a religious sect called Wu Wei. In both cases they were saying prayers for the sick; and I was told it was their custom here to do this instead of sending for doctors.

“ On the same walk we saw another striking sign of superstition. An old memorial arch, which had been built to commemorate a man of the city who had lived to the age of a hundred, was to be repaired; but for about two hundred yards on each side along the street, in order to avert calamities from evil spirits, straw men from one to five feet in height were placed on the roofs. Some of these had spears, some bows and arrows, and some had rifles in their hands, ready to repel any attack. There were also figures of monkeys and other tailed animals on the roofs. We also saw several Taoist charms with an official stamp hung up over the doors, and the words: ‘ This is to confer blessings and to avert evil influences.’ From the above it is very evident that the unseen is very real to the people here, and that they are very religious; so this region ought to be a splendid field for missionary work.

“ Much silk is grown in this district, and we found that a number of words were tabooed lest some harm should happen to the silkworms. Instead of ‘ death,’ one must use ‘ peace’; ‘ tea’ suggests snakes, so the word ‘ broth’ is used instead. ‘ Oil’ must never be mentioned as it conveys the idea of swimming in the water, and this, suggesting poisonous things, is unpropitious, so one must use the word ‘ wood’ for ‘ oil.’ Doors are closed in the silkworm season, and visiting is not allowed, nor any talk, or the silkworms will get ill and die.”

4. SPLENDID TEMPLES AT HANGCHOW.

After five days’ travelling in a small boat, we reached Hangchow, 110 miles south-west of Shanghai. In 1130 it was the capital of the dying Sung dynasty and then had a population of about two millions. It contains many

Buddhist temples. Dr. Main, of the Church Missionary Society, said that a large number which had been destroyed by the Taiping rebels were now being rebuilt by subscriptions from the officials and gentry. We arrived at the north suburb of Hangchow and went to the place where pilgrims stay at the end of April. It would be very busy then, but was quiet and deserted now.

The first temple we visited was called Mi-to Sz—i.e. Omito temple. Omito is the same word as Amitabha, the Persian name for God. The three divinities in the principal hall were Amitabha, Kwanyin, and Ta Shih Tze. Kwanyin, the Goddess of Mercy, has many of the attributes of the Holy Spirit, while Ta Shih Tze means “the Mighty Messiah,” and may be compared to “the Saviour of the world.” Sakyamuni was relegated to a back place, as though second in importance to this Trinity.

We were surprised to find a Buddhist Tract Society shop in the city; there we bought several books, and among them a guide to the Buddhist temples. It gave the number of the monks, which ran into the hundreds at some of the temples.

One of the temples, Lin-Ying Sz, some three or four miles to the west of the famous West Lake, had a very beautiful approach. There was a grand avenue of trees, and on the left of this was a large limestone rock on which were carved images of Buddha and his followers. Farther on were the four gigantic Heavenly Guardians, about twenty feet high. Beyond that, all had been destroyed by the rebels. A priest led us to the western court of the temple, where were images of the five hundred Lohans (disciples), each more than life size, all being gilded and in different attitudes; the sight was very impressive. Two priests were going round lighting incense in front of them, till the place was filled with smoke. Among the Lohans was the Emperor Chien-ling, with yellow umbrella over his head, and in another hall was the Emperor Kia-ching.

The next temple we visited was the Hai-chao Sz, to the east of the city. Here was the chief monastery in Hangchow, and priests on their journeys had a right to

stay here free of charge. There were twenty such monasteries in Hangchow alone. The temple generally contained about a hundred priests, but often there were also from one hundred to two hundred passing guests. It had lately been repaired and was in beautiful condition. The divinities in the great hall were: Sakyamuni in the centre, Amitabha on his right, and Yo-shih Fo (the great physician) on his left. These three figures were seated on a platform twenty feet from the ground, and were perhaps thirty feet high. On leaving, my Peking friend, Mr. Doong, called my attention to a remarkable tablet high up on the front of the temple; it read: "The Great, Merciful Father."

5. SHAOHING—A CITY OF LAWYERS AND WINE.

A few days later we set out for the T'ien-t'ai Mountain, about a hundred and sixty miles off, having first obtained a printed guide of the way. The first important stage was to Shaohing, about thirty-eight miles. This city is remarkable for two things—its lawyers and its wines. Every one of the fifteen hundred magistrates in China is obliged by custom to provide himself with a legal adviser; all these come from the prefecture of Shaohing, where there is a sort of permanent college for training these lawyers. So in one sense one might say that the whole of China is ruled by Shaohing men. The other thing for which it is remarkable is its wine. We call it wine, though it is not distilled. Distilled spirits were not known in China till the Mongol dynasty, 1260-1368. Shaohing wine is made from rice, and is widely exported all over China, not in wooden barrels as are the European wines, but in earthenware jars of various sizes. No Chinese banquet is considered complete without a supply of this wine, which is always drunk warm, from small cups which hold about a dessertspoonful.

In the city of Shaohing there are memorial arches, erected in memory of the French officers who died in defending the city against the Taiping rebels. The country is very rich, containing many villages and fine farms, indicating great prosperity. The houses are built

of massive trimmed stones. The work of the labourers in the rice-fields which abound here is very trying, as they are much of the time in the water.

6. TRAVELLERS' AGENCY.

For the convenience of travellers there is a fine agency, by means of which they are passed on from place to place at a regular fixed rate, whether they travel by boat or are carried in chairs overland. This saves delay in looking for boats or chairs or coolies, and the trouble of bargaining for anything. The traveller buys a ticket for the whole journey, and is handed on at each station without a word of strife or a minute's delay. Each coolie is paid four hundred cash per day—about tenpence.

On the way between Shaohing and Chinghien we travelled up-stream in a boat rowed by three men. The river is both tidal and subject to floods from the rain which comes down from the mountains. On the Shaohing route the mountains are in the distance, three to six miles away, while the flat country is studded all over with busy towns, and crossed in all directions by canals of clear water. Here we are close to the mountains, with only about a quarter of a mile of cultivated land intervening.

7. A RIOT AVERTED.

Late in the afternoon we reached Chang Kia Poo and went ashore. On returning to the boat about twenty young men and boys followed us, some of whom came on board and asked us for medicines, etc. After about ten minutes' friendly talk, the boatman cried out that we were going to start; at this they all left, but were no sooner ashore than they began to yell out, "Foreign devils, foreign devils!" Seeing this deliberate mischief-making, I called to the boatman to stop and jumped ashore. At this they ran away in all directions, thinking I was going to catch them. But I went direct to the centre of the town, selected the most important shop close to the temple, and told the shopkeepers what had happened, and that I had come to speak to those who were responsible for the peace of the place. In a few

minutes the head of the police came and said that those who had made the row were children. By this time the street was filled with a crowd of hundreds, and there was no standing room in the shop. To the policeman and all I said that the children were only doing what elderly people allowed them to do ; if they had not been in the habit of letting them curse foreigners they would not have done so to-day. I had come to ask them to put a stop to this rudeness. Some suggested that the policeman should seize the children and take them on to Chinghien with us. To this I replied that I did not want to make a big affair of it, but that if they did not do something within half an hour (and I pulled out my watch to mark the time) I should have to make a big affair of it. Then a man called Yang came forward and asked whether we would be satisfied with firing crackers at the temple there or at our boat, and with their promise to warn the people against repeating the offence. I said I agreed, as I did not want to *make* trouble but to *end* it. Within two minutes big crackers were fired in front of the temple, and the shopkeepers harangued the crowd on proper behaviour. I thanked the peacemakers and suggested that they should come with us to the boat. There were many hundreds of men in the street, and during the five minutes' walk to the boat the shore was lined with people looking on, and about fifty followed us to the boat. I bowed once more to the peacemakers and thanked them, and told them that they had better exhort the people to behave properly lest a more serious thing should happen next time. This they promised to do, and began at once to lecture the crowd who had followed as the shopkeepers had done those near the temple. Thus happily ended what might have become a riot.

The river is very hard to navigate. The current ran strongly against us, and the water was shallow, compelling the men to tow from the bank ; but often the boat got aground, and they had to wade through the water sometimes to their waist. With four boatmen we made only fifteen miles in nine hours. The next day the work was even harder ; the men had to track in the water,

in the mud, and far away among rocks. The boat frequently scraped the bottom and often stopped altogether.

8. LABORIOUS METHOD OF RICE CULTIVATION.

Rice is very largely cultivated in this part of the country. It is very hard work for the farmer. He ploughs his ground, when it is covered with water, with the help of a water buffalo ; he harrows it under water ; then he goes to a little bed where he has allowed rice sprouts to grow as high as the palm of one's hand above the water, and as thickly as possible. He plucks up some hundreds of these by the roots and ties them into little bundles as thick as one's arm ; these he throws about the harrowed ground, which now looks only like a field of muddy water. Then he tucks up his loose trousers as high as he can, takes one of these bundles in his hand, separates about ten sprouts and plants them in the muddy water in rows about a foot apart, with ten inches between each tuft. In two or three days all these will take root and grow beautifully. The farmer goes in again, and this time kneels in the water, and with his fingers stirs up the mud at the roots ; in this way he causes the rice to grow more quickly. Thus one sees what toil it is to the farmer to grow rice.

9. GIGANTIC IMAGES OF BUDDHA.

Before reaching T'ien-t'ai we pass Ching Hsien and Shin-chang Hsien, at which latter place is the largest image of Buddha to be found in China. The guide to the temples at T'ien-t'ai told us that the Ta Fo Sz image, which was 130 feet high, was not as large as the gigantic image at Shin-Chang Hsien. It is cut in the rock in a sitting posture, and a temple above it cut out of the same cliff is covered with innumerable Buddhas and Bodhisatvas ; hence it is called the Temple of the Thousand Buddhas. The most noted feature is the gigantic Buddha himself, whose crossed leg alone from knee to foot is thirty feet long. The Daibuitsu of Kamakura in Japan would be a dwarf beside

this. During conversation with the Abbot at the temple, he said that man's greatest difficulty was to get rid of self ; till that was accomplished there was no hope for the world. He also told us that the most important book they possessed was the "Lotus Scripture."

10. OTHER TEMPLES.

At last we reach T'ien-t'ai. On the mountain there are temples and monasteries every three or four miles apart ; but I will mention only the most important.

Ching-Liang temple, according to my aneroid 1,580 feet above sea level, contained about thirty people ; half of these were priests, and the other half cultivated the temple lands—about fifty acres. Twelve miles farther on we arrived at Ti-Tsang temple, 2,750 feet high ; here there is an image of the Bishop of Hades, the Japanese Jiso. After another five miles we reached Wan Nien temple, 2,400 feet high. The chief hall has Sakyamuni in the centre, Ananda on the east, and Kasgapa on the west. Behind is an empty room, but upstairs is a solitary image of Vairochana, a most ancient god ; above the hair was a red ball, said to represent light emanating from him. There was a third hall with five hundred Lohans in five rows, ascending in galleries one behind the other, and each fifteen inches high. Three sides of the hall were enclosed with glass doors. In a loft above was the library of the Buddhist Scriptures. One cupboard was empty, the other was only partially filled, and the contents sadly torn by rats.

11. TEMPLE WORSHIP.

The bell rang for worship, so we went down to the service. It was divided into five parts. In the first the priests were standing, in the second kneeling ; in the third standing, while one priest officiated, offering incense ; in the fourth they moved in procession round the hall ; and in the fifth they knelt again. The worshippers were twenty-four priests, half of whom were under fifteen years of age. The youngest, an orphan who had been there only two months, seemed the

brightest of the lot. They stood in four rows of three facing the east, and in three rows of three facing the west, all about a yard apart. They used five musical instruments, viz. a large bell, a wooden fish, a drum, a triangle, and a small hand-bell. There seemed to be no attempt to sing the same note; each priest had his own, except near the end when they chanted in unison. But *time* was carefully observed. At first the rate was slow, about one syllable a second; then they got faster and faster till they galloped through at the rate of four notes per second. It was very sad to see all this mummerly going on without a word of explanation. Some of the priests told me that they could recite some of their commonest Scriptures, but did not understand them. In this temple was a preaching hall for the teaching of the law. There was preaching on the mountain last year. The custom was to have preaching daily from the fourth to the eighth moon, but this year there was none, most of the professors having gone down to Ningpo, Shaohing, Hangchow, Soochow, or Shanghai to preach by invitation; they return to the mountain in the winter.

The next day, after spending the night in the temple as usual, we went on another five miles to Shining Light temple (Fang-Kwang Sz). Here we were told the ages of the six chief abbots on the mountain; the oldest is seventy and the youngest is thirty-seven. They said there were seventy-two temples and one hundred and eight hermits' huts, but many of these are now in ruins.

12. A HERMIT'S HUT.

As our way passed close by one of these we went in to see the hermit. We found a man locked up in his room in a part of the temple farm. There was a round hole in the wall fifteen inches in diameter, through which he received his food. He was from Shanghai, and had made a vow to remain there for four years, three of which had already passed. The priests called out that visitors had come, and he opened the door. On asking him what his object was in

making such a vow he said it was to keep his mind from evil thoughts. On our inquiry whether we might photograph him he said he had no objection, so we took a photograph of his face at the hole. He had an earnest face, and his hair had grown to about ten inches in length.

13. HWA TING SZ.

Hwa Ting Sz is the highest temple on the mountain, being 3,400 feet high. Like most of the temples, it is situated in a very lonely spot. There are within a radius of two miles a hundred huts around it. The abbot of Hwa Ting Sz is fifty-five years of age. He is very smart and well informed about everything; only he seems too much of a cynic, having known the true ideal of religion, but also how sadly far it is from being attained. He spoke of priests doing nothing but going through their fixed prayers morning and evening, and then following their own inclinations entirely about study or religion or idling. He said that Buddhist temples were for three purposes: for Tsing (meditation), Kiao (instruction), and Li (ceremonies). T'ien-t'ai is mainly devoted to instruction; Kwoh Ching monastery, however, is famous for its meditation.

From this temple we went to the highest peak, called Pa King tai, and found it was just 4,000 feet high. We were surrounded with mist and could not take any photographs there.

14. MORE HERMITS' HUTS.

On the way down we visited several hermits' huts. The first was fastened and nobody answered to our call. In another we found a man with shaven head, sitting cross-legged on a chair reading the "Diamond Sutra." I asked him whether he understood the prophecy of the sixth chapter, where it is said: "Five hundred years after me there will come the Fountain of all the Buddhas. When that one comes have faith in Him." He relaxed from his indifference and got us some tea, asking for an explanation of the words. I interpreted it to him

as a prophecy of Jesus Christ, who appeared five hundred years after Buddha. The hermit said he had never had the passage interpreted before, although he had been reading it for thirty years. Some fifty yards away was another hut, where lived a man and his wife between sixty and seventy years old. The woman had a very fine face, and was reciting prayers all the time she was at work. They earned their living by picking tea, and were paid eight cash per catty; they sold three catties (4 lb.) for about two shillings. Pointing to a sealed door in which was a round hole about a foot in diameter, we asked whether there was a priest inside. She said there was, but we could not speak to him then as it was his time for prayer and meditation, and then women only spoke in whispers. The abbot told us that over a hundred such persons lived round about there in these huts, and never appeared unless some charitable person made large presents to the monastery; then they would all come to worship and feast at Hwa Ting Sz.

15. CHIN-KWOH SZ.

After dinner we started off and travelled ten miles to Chin-Kwoh temple. Here my name was known, as I had met one of the monks in Shanghai. Dr. Franke, a German friend of mine, a good Sanscrit scholar, whom I had met when he was studying Chinese at the German Legation in Peking, and who was in search of Sanscrit literature, had been at this famous temple making inquiries about the founder of the T'ien-t'ai school of Buddhism. The abbot, Min Hi, was the most famous of all those in the mountain. He had collected thirteen thousand dollars to rebuild the monastery. Here, in the chief hall, instead of an image of one of the Buddhas, there is a small pagoda. Such a thing being so unusual, I photographed it.

16. KWOH-CHING SZ.

The next day we descended to Kwoh-Ching temple, only 810 feet high. The monastery was very fine,

like Hai Chao temple in Hangchow. The divinities were Sakyamuni, Yo Shih Fo, and Omito in a sitting posture. The newest part was very bright ; there were five hundred Lohans below, and a fine Buddhist library in good condition upstairs. Close by on the west side was a compound devoted to the Three Holy Ones ; these were Omito, Kwanyin, and Ta Shih Tsz, all standing, and about twenty feet high ; over each was an umbrella to denote their royal or imperial rank. We went to the kitchen and saw a large rice-pot seven feet five inches in diameter ; it was not in use, but there were some myths in connection with it. We also saw several pots five or six feet in diameter, which were used to provide food for 160 priests who belong to the place. There was a Meditation Hall. On the west side of the altar, in the centre of the room, was a seat covered with blue calico. All round close to the wall was a wide bench of about two or more feet ; on this were forty or fifty cushions, where the priests sit in meditation three times a day. This is said to be peculiar to this temple. In the Divinity Hall, instead of a pulpit, was an empty chair, where the abbot sat when preaching. Tsing Ching, the priest who looked after us in this temple, was one of the finest I ever met ; he was a veritable Nathanael. He was thirty-four years of age, and had travelled extensively all over China, and wished to see India and other parts of the world. Besides the above feature there is another that cannot be forgotten, viz. the court and temple to the True Prince, Original Founder. It is covered within and without with tablets of thanksgiving for answers given to prayers.

17. BIRTHDAY OF KWAN-TI AND TEMPLE OF THE TRUE PRINCE.

To-day is the birthday of Kwan-ti, the God of War ; and we were fortunate enough to witness a great religious gathering of women. They began to arrive at noon the day before, and by sunset the yards of the various compounds were filled with women from forty to fifty

years of age and over. The priest told us some of these had come to "beg for a dream." On our way to the city of T'ien-t'ai in the afternoon we met many women all along the way coming towards the temple. Our guide said it was the custom for the women in this region to go to the temple and pray for a dream; if they get one they go to friends (not to priests) to ask for the interpretation. If they learn that some fine things are coming to pass, they go to the temple and burn incense, or read prayers, or present a tablet in thanksgiving.

After supper we heard a great deal of noise of women talking not far off. We asked the leading priests if we might see what the women were doing; they readily assented, and about eight o'clock led us to the court of the True Prince. Being the twelfth day of the moon, it was bright moonlight, but the priest carried a lamp before us. We found a frame in the middle of the hall in front of the idol, with about a dozen small red candles about the thickness of one's finger burning in it. On the floor, filling every available space, were women, lying down in their clothes without any bedding either under or over them. In the east side of the room appeared a group of about half a dozen men reading some prayers at a table; the leader seemed to be about sixty years of age. The women were lying not only in the temple, but also in the veranda and the courtyard; there was just room for us to pass with care between them into the temple. Two or three priests were passing in and out among them, as though seeing that things were in order, but the majority of the priests were away in other courtyards. After returning to our room we heard the sound of music for about an hour, but by ten o'clock all was still except for an occasional voice or a little laugh.

About three o'clock in the morning the priests rose and had their prayers, with ringing of bells, beating of drums, etc., in the great hall. Between four and five the women in their hall of the True Prince got up and recited their prayers, two teachers from the

city, fifty or sixty years of age, leading them. Seeing so many women had come and were now leaving rapidly, I wrote a sentence in large Chinese characters on yellow paper—that there was an opportunity for elect ones to know the incomparable and almighty Saviour, so that the women might have one message to take home with them. I laid this on the table on the veranda, where the teachers came pressing round to look on. The teachers explained in the dialect of the place the meaning of the sentence, so the women took some idea of it home with them.

Whilst I was doing this a countryman of about thirty years of age began to recite one of the Buddhist prayers called the "Heart Prayer." He did it as fast as his lips could move, every now and then gasping for breath, repeating it as though for dear life; but he knew the prayer so thoroughly that he said it mechanically, and could listen to what I was saying and count his beads at the same time.

On walking through the temple grounds we found remains of phallic worship over two feet high in one of the corners. We left the temple and turned our faces towards Shanghai, having received a very hearty farewell from the priests.

18. MEN REDUCED TO BEASTS OF BURDEN.

On the road we met many carriers going from Ta Koo-tow to T'ien-t'ai, a distance of eighty miles. They carried burdens of two hundred catties each, taking six days to travel the whole way. They get sixteen cash per catty, which works out at about elevenpence a ton per mile. It was pitiable to see these men carrying such heavy burdens for want of better means of transport. It is extraordinary that there are scarcely any beasts of burden in all this region; during the three weeks we have been away we have seen only three donkeys and not a single mule. Horses are very rare. There are many cows and water buffaloes, but they are only used for ploughing.

19. A REMARKABLE PRESCRIPTION.

On the wall of one of the inns where we spent a night was the following remarkable prescription, which seems to sum up the teaching of the T'ien-t'ai Mountain temples :—

A FINE TONIC PRESCRIPTION FOR MANKIND, CALLED THE TINCTURE OF PURITY.

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

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

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

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

20. OUR INN ACCOMMODATION.

As for the inn, we were shown, on arriving, to a room below the level of the road, but afterwards we were taken upstairs, and on opening the door we found a room level with the road at the back. On the floor, for sleeping accommodation, were strips of straw, about

two and a half inches thick, sewn together to form a mattress. This was rolled up at each end so that either end would do for a pillow ; and if the accommodation was not sufficient, two men might sleep on the same mattress, heads and tails. These mattresses were laid all round the room, leaving only walking room in the centre. *There were sixteen of us sleeping in that room.* In case of further need there were a few boards on the beams over one part of the room, where half a dozen more might sleep.

Such were the main features of a most interesting trip. We were away a month, returning to Shanghai on June 11th.

CHAPTER XIV

MY SECOND FURLOUGH. 1896-7

I. FELLOW-PASSENGER WITH LI HUNG-CHANG.

ON my way to Europe, I intended to visit India, first of all to see Dr. Murdoch, Secretary of the Christian Literature Society for India, whose experiences would be of great value to me, and secondly, to see conditions of Mission work in India. My companion on this trip was the Rev. A. G. Shorrock, of the B.M.S. in Shensi, a very able and earnest missionary. We travelled second class on the French mail, and shared a cabin together with four Jesuit priests. As they spoke very little English, and we could not speak their native tongue, we conversed in Chinese.

The chief passenger on board was Li Hung-chang, who was going to Europe to attend the Coronation of the Czar. I had several talks with him. He expressed surprise that considering the important part I had taken in Missions and in Chinese Reform, I should be travelling second class, while his secretaries were first-class passengers.

2. VISIT TO MADRAS.

From Ceylon we went to Madras, where Dr. Murdoch had his headquarters. He had, ever since the Indian Mutiny, spent his life in C.L.S. work there. He received us with great kindness, and treated us as a father would his own sons. He explained to me all his methods of work, and showed me all the accounts and the private books which revealed the inner springs of his actions.

On visiting the Mission schools in India, where work was fifty years older than in China, we found that they

were on a scale ten times as large as those in China. While the schools in China at that time had on an average only about sixty pupils, in Madras the pupils numbered six hundred.

The sight of Dr. Miller's Christian College was a great inspiration. On the ground floor were elementary classes. The next floor was devoted to what we might call middle-school work, the next above was occupied by students preparing for matriculation, the floor above by B.A. and M.A. students, while the highest floor of all was devoted to research work. The whole building was like a vast human beehive.

Dr. Miller had undergone for several years a very fiery ordeal of attack from those who argued that educational work was not properly missionary work, precisely the same storm of opposition to educational work which had agitated China missionaries while I was acting editor of the *Messenger* in 1893. However, Dr. Miller emerged from the attack triumphant, and was vindicated by the action of the Free Church of Scotland in appointing him Moderator.

3. TRIP ACROSS INDIA.

We planned to go to Calcutta after leaving Madras, and then across India, via Benares and Delhi, to Bombay, where we were to rejoin the French mail in three weeks' time. It was in the month of May. Our friends in Madras strongly advised us against undertaking the journey, as there was cholera in Calcutta, and none of the old residents ever thought of travelling in the extreme heat. Shorrocks and I looked at one another, and we said, "It is now or never. We have the chance of seeing India, and we must take it." So we travelled by steamer to Calcutta, where Shorrocks had a very sharp attack of cholera, narrowly escaping with his life.

At six o'clock one evening we left Calcutta by train, reaching Benares at three o'clock the following afternoon. We were to stay with Mr. Lazarus, a Hebrew Christian from Carmarthen in South Wales, who was agent of the Rani. He had married an adopted

daughter of the famous missionary Carey. By mistake we left the train at the wrong station, and there was no one to meet us. We had to ride in a gharry across the city. The heat was like that of a furnace, and we felt as though we were breathing flame. On arriving at the home of Dr. Lazarus, the old lady's first words to us were: "Are you mad, to travel through the city at this time of day? Go to bed at once. I will have you called when it is cool enough for you to go out. Punkah wallah, pull the punkah!" Later on she served us with tea, and sent us in her carriage to look at the sights. The following day one of her daughters took us to see the bathing in the Ganges river, the burning of the dead on the river banks, and the worship at the temples.

4. DELHI.

At Agra we visited the incomparable Taj Mahal. But the most wonderful sight to me was the famous Kutab Minar, near Delhi. We left Delhi at sundown, under the guidance of Mr. Thomas, one of our B.M.S. missionaries, and reached the Government rest-house close by the Kutab Minar, where we slept till dawn next day. We ascended to the top of that wonderful tower, built exactly in the shape of a telescope, and saw the sun rise. The Kutab Mosque and Minar were built by the Mohammedan rulers of India about seven hundred years ago as a monument of the triumph of monotheism over idolatry. They took their name from one of the slave rulers who began the tower and added to the Mosque. In the courtyard of the Mosque was one of the great marvels of India, an iron pillar. It had been erected some centuries before the Christian era and the Moslems had used it as the Turks in Constantinople adapted to their use the Mosque of St. Sophia.

On the way back to Delhi, Mr. Thomas told us the wonderful tale of one of the sacred shrines near by. It was the tomb of a holy man famed for his wonders and miracles, whose power had rivalled that of the Emperor. In the latter's absence, his son plotted against him and sought the help of the saint. The Emperor,

hearing of the conspiracy, vowed vengeance on his return, but the holy man declared that he would never again be in Delhi. When the Emperor's campaign ended in triumph, he sent word that he would inflict dire punishment on the rebels when he returned. The saint sent back the word, "Delhi is a long way off!" Every day as the Emperor neared his capital he sent a messenger with the news, and every day came back the reply, "Delhi is a long way off!" At last the Emperor with his host encamped in the suburbs of the city, and again the reply came back from the prophet, "Delhi is yet a long way off!" Then the princes and ministers left the city to welcome the victorious Emperor back. At the end of the reception, when all had left his presence, the pavilion where he sat suddenly gave way and crushed him to death. Delhi was yet a long way off!

At Bombay, when walking out at about ten o'clock in the evening, I found I could not use the side-walks, for they were lined with people lying down to sleep in the open air, because of the great heat. Next day, while embarking on the French mail, I found the heat so oppressive that I nearly fainted.

When we passed through the Red Sea it was so cool that we had actually to put on heavier coats.

5. PARIS.

From Marseilles I went to Paris, where my wife met me with our four daughters, who had been there at school. Two of them I had not seen for ten years. After a few weeks together, my wife took the girls to school in Hanover, and I went to London. As I was leaving Paris, a most extraordinary catastrophe took place. A cyclone whirled through the city, overturning the huge omnibuses with their elephantine horses, and dashing them like feathers against the street shops, with such force that many people were killed and numbers were injured. Although I was riding on my way to the station while it occurred, the pathway of the destructive cyclone was in such a narrow radius that I knew

nothing of the terrible occurrence till I reached London, where the papers were full of it.

6. RECEPTION BY THE B.M.S. COMMITTEE.

My first step in England was to report myself to the Baptist Missionary Society. According to custom, the returned missionaries when welcomed back, were expected to say a few words to the Committee. Besides Mr. Shorrock and myself, there were four or five others from other parts of the Mission-field. Instead of making a set speech, I had a box of Chinese books which I had published, or with which I had been associated during the ten years since I had last been in England. They consisted of an edition of the silver-bound New Testament presented to the Empress-Dowager, my translation of Mackenzie's "Nineteenth Century" in eight Chinese volumes, the "Historical Benefits of Christianity," the bound annual volumes of the *Review of the Times*, the *Missionary Review*, and of the Chinese daily newspaper I had edited in Tientsin, together with the copies from our own *Review of the Times*. As I took them out one by one I gave a brief description of each volume, and the Committee felt I had given ample proof of my diligence since I had met them last.

7. APPEAL TO THE MISSIONARY SECRETARIES' ASSOCIATION.

Mr. Baynes, secretary of the B.M.S., kindly arranged that in February I should address the joint meeting of missionary secretaries. I gave them a lecture on "The Great Awakening of China," dwelling especially on the Reform Movement produced by the S.D.K. literature, and appealed to them to set more men apart to do this kind of missionary work. Their response was hearty. They said they felt thoroughly convinced of the importance of that kind of work, and promised me their support if I appealed to each missionary society as I had done to them. Thus reinforcements came from other societies. The Church Missionary Society

set apart the Rev. Gilbert Walshe, M.A., to help in literary work, and the Wesleyan Society the Rev. W. A. Cornaby. The London Mission pleaded that they could not release any of their suitable men, but would contribute an annual amount to the S.D.K. funds.

8. OTHER APPEALS TO THE RELIGIOUS TRACT SOCIETY.

The Bible Societies were established in England and America for the purpose of circulating the Scriptures throughout the world. When strong appeals were made that the efficiency of Bible distribution would be greatly increased if explanatory tracts were circulated with them, only the Scotch Bible Society agreed to do it. The Bible Societies of England and America replied that the Constitution of their respective societies would not permit it.

A similar difficulty arose in connection with the Religious Tract Society, which was originally formed to circulate tracts in Christian lands. When missionaries commenced work in India, China, and Japan, they soon found that the books on general knowledge based on Christian principles greatly helped the Mission cause. Consequently, in India, the Christian Literature Society devoted its energies after the Indian Mutiny in providing educational literature, while in China the S.D.K. was formed with the aim of enlightening the leaders of China. Although the effect of this propaganda had produced the Reform Movement, the R.T.S. could not be persuaded to help; their Constitution made it impossible. They made considerable grants of paper for the C.L.S. work in India, but since the S.D.K. worked on different lines, we wished for some other form of help, especially as we published Christian works as well as books on general knowledge.

9. OTHER FORMS OF WORK.

Besides the usual deputation work, speaking on behalf of the B.M.S. and S.D.K. in all parts of the United Kingdom, a work in which my wife bore a large share, I corresponded on the unique crisis in China's awakening

with such men as the Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Curzon, Mr. Gladstone, and Mr. Stead. I also prepared a pamphlet on the federation of the nations, which I sent to the Peace Societies and to various prominent statesmen. During the summer of 1897 I wrote a booklet for the use of young statesmen.

In returning to China in the early autumn via the United States, I distributed some copies of this booklet among the influential men I met. Ten years later, when a number of leaders in the Laymen's Movement visited China, one of them, a banker from Washington, D.C., said to me in Shanghai: "You once gave me a little booklet. I have carried it with me ever since. Here it is," and he drew out of his pocket a well-worn copy of my pamphlet for young statesmen.

10. VISIT TO CANADA.

Having seen a Chinese and English dictionary published by the Rev. D. MacGillivray, M.A., of the Canadian Presbyterian Mission, I had laid before him, when he was passing through Shanghai in 1896, the possibility of increasing his influence manifold if he joined the S.D.K. We had talked and prayed over the matter, and finally he had said that if his Board consented to his being set apart for the work, he would be glad to join us. Now, coming back from England via America in 1897, I went to Toronto, where I interviewed the secretary of the Presbyterian Board, and told him of the great field which lay open to Christian literature. He invited half a dozen secretaries of other Boards to meet me at his office next day, when I could urge the importance of literary work upon them. They came and I spoke for about an hour, appealing to them to set apart men for this work. Dr. Mackay consented to set Mr. MacGillivray apart, for he realized that this important line of work had been too much neglected. I came away feeling that that one hour in Toronto had been most profitably spent. Our new recruit was a most efficient worker from the beginning.

CHAPTER XV

THE BOXER MOVEMENT

I. VISIT TO PEKING.

IN the summer of 1899 the S.D.K. Committee asked me to go to Peking in order that the Government might be induced to approve of an educational scheme for China, and allow the S.D.K. to help in translation. Sir Robert Hart, President of our Society, was very pessimistic about the attitude of the Government, saying that it vetoed any suggestions of Reform. He advised me not to approach the high Government officials on the matter, as it would be useless, but I saw a few officials privately, and I had correspondence with Jung Lu and Kang Yi, and an interview with Li Hung-chang, who was then in Tientsin. One of his assistants at this time was Chow Fu, with whom I had much intercourse later when he was Governor of Shantung and Viceroy at Nanking. His was a most lovable personality, and he was the first great official to take a deep interest in Christianity.

In the winter of 1899 Li Hung-chang was appointed Viceroy of Canton. On his way there he stopped at Woosung and sent to the French Consul-General whom I had known in Tientsin and to me, to meet him at Woosung. I never saw the Viceroy in such high spirits in all my life. He was just like a boy tired of school, going home for a holiday. I sometimes suspected afterwards that he must have known something of the coming Boxer troubles, and was glad to be away from it as far as possible.

2. SPREAD OF ANTI-FOREIGN FEELING.

Coincident with the spread of Reform ideas advocating friendly co-operation with foreigners, the reactionary party had advocated more and more the traditional anti-foreign policy. This had been strengthened by the action of the German Government, after the murder of two German missionaries in Shantung, in seizing the port of Kiaochao in 1898. This severe punishment of China for neglecting to protect foreigners had only intensified the anti-foreign feeling of the Conservative Party, and some of the princes and highest statesmen in the land raised money to organize militia in different provinces. In Shantung there existed "The Great Sword Society," founded by ignorant fanatics who asserted that they could render themselves invulnerable to swords and bullets by reciting incantations and performing mystic exercises. The object of this and similar bands was to make a general slaughter of all foreigners.

3. MILITIA RAISED BY KANG YI.

The most prominent official connection with the movement was Kang Yi, whom I had known in Shansi and in 1896 in Peking. He was now given authority by the Empress-Dowager to raise money to organize trained bands of militia, an undertaking which earned for him the name of "The Great Extortioner." In 1899 he was passing through Shanghai, and sent a mutual friend, who had been Provincial Treasurer in Shansi, to call on me and appoint a time when I could visit him. In my interview with Kang Yi, during which the treasurer was present, I was soundly rated for having taken Kang Yu-wei's part the previous year. He declared that Kang's anxiety to help China was merely a cloak hiding his ambition for power, and that he was not a genuine Reformer. I replied that here was a great opportunity for him (Kang Yi) to lead in true Reform. At this my friend the treasurer kicked me under the table, as he knew that no Chinese would propose such a bigoted Conservative as Kang Yi.

4. APPEAL TO ECUMENICAL CONFERENCE IN NEW YORK.

The danger threatened by these trained Boxer bands was plainly recognized by Dr. Arthur Smith and other missionaries in Chihli and Shantung. A warning regarding the gravity of the situation was written by Dr. Smith, but was disregarded by the Legations in Peking. Early in 1900 I had left China to attend a World-wide Missionary Conference in New York, where I was to advocate the pressing need and great value of literary work in connection with Mission work in China. I was so strongly convinced of the danger threatening missionaries and all foreigners that I carried Dr. Smith's report with me to present to the Executive Committee of the Conference. I pointed out to the Committee that the fierce attitude of the Government against Reformers, and against all native Christians and missionaries because they also advocated Reform, might culminate in a movement that would bring all Mission work to an end, and endanger the lives of all foreigners. I pleaded that the various Mission Boards should take united action in order to avert the threatened danger. The Committee decided, however, that such action bordered on the sphere of politics, and that as it was a political danger that threatened, they could not in accordance with their tradition "interfere in politics."

5. APPEAL TO TWENTIETH CENTURY CLUB.

I had a different reception in Boston, where a friend of mine invited me to explain the situation in China to the Twentieth Century Club. This I did on May 5th. When they realized the seriousness of the situation, and saw not only Christian Missions imperilled, but the best interests of China and the peace of the world, they decided that I should lay the matter at once before the Government in Washington, and I was given letters of introduction that would open every door from the House of Representatives to the White House.

6. APPEALS TO WASHINGTON AND NEW YORK.

Next day I started for Washington. To prevent any misunderstanding by mere verbal communication I printed my statement and request. Dr. William Ashmore, of the American Baptist Mission, Swatow, joined me in the petition to the Government, but was not able to go with me to Washington. I laid it first of all before Mr. John Hay, Secretary of Foreign Affairs, who was most sympathetic. He told me, however, that the Government could take no step without the support of two-thirds of the Senate. I then called on Senator Hoar, President of the Senate, who was also most interested. When I related what Mr. Hay had said, he replied that the Senate could not act without the support of the leading cities, New York being the most influential. I next went to see Morris K. Jessop, chairman of the Chamber of Commerce, and spent an evening with him. After I had stated the result of my visit to Washington, he replied that he feared the Government would not act on mere opinion, however strong. Nothing short of a massacre would justify it in immediate action.

This was the final blow to my hopes of inducing America to avert the Boxer catastrophe. Within a fortnight of my interviews with the United States Government, telegrams arrived announcing that massacres had already been commenced by the Boxers.

7. RETURN TO CHINA.

I then returned to China. Within ten minutes after landing in Yokohama, I read in a newspaper extra details of the narrow escape of all the missionaries in Shantung. Alarmed by the news that the danger commenced in Chihli was spreading to other provinces, I was at my wits' end what to do next, as there was no communication between Peking and the outside world. God gave me a thought. I telegraphed from Kobe to the British Consul-General in Shanghai, asking that Lord Salisbury should announce to the Viceroy and Governors

of China that the British Government would hold them personally responsible for the safety of British subjects. I sent the wire anonymously, that it might go entirely on its own merits. When I arrived in Shanghai, the morning paper contained a Reuter's telegram to the effect that Lord Salisbury had informed the Chinese Minister in London that the British Government would hold the Viceroys and Governors personally responsible for the safety of British subjects in their respective provinces.

8. TELEGRAMS TO SHENSI AND SHANSI.

For the safety of the B.M.S. missionaries I immediately sent a wire to the missionaries in Sian fu, the capital of Shensi, and T'ai-yuan fu, capital of Shansi, repeating Reuter's telegram, knowing that all news telegraphed to foreigners at that time would be shown to the Governors of the respective provinces. The telegram was too late for T'ai-yuan fu, arriving some hours after the massacre of the Protestant and Roman Catholic missionaries by the infamous Governor Yü Hsien. It was an overwhelming shock to me to hear the terrible news, and to think that such a tragedy should have taken place in the city where for so many years I had worked on such friendly terms with officials and gentry.

No lives were lost in Shensi, where my telegram was duly received. The Governor was Tuan Fang, a Manchu official, afterwards Viceroy of Nanking and of Szechuen, who was afterwards assassinated at the beginning of the Revolution. He provided soldiers to escort the missionaries safely out of the province to Hankow.

9. CHOW FU'S ACTION.

The story of the protection of foreigners in Szechuen is of great interest. The Provincial Treasurer at that time was Chow Fu, whom I had met as Li Hung-chang's assistant in Tientsin the previous year. He had been greatly interested in the S.D.K. books. When news came that foreigners were being massacred in other

parts of China, many of the officials advised the Governor, a Manchu named Kwei Chun, to have the foreigners sent into three cities, Chengtu, Chungking, and Suifu, and massacre them. Chow Fu, alone amongst them all, denounced the scheme, saying, "What good will the massacre of a few foreigners be to you, when you will set the whole world against you?" So strong was his influence that he persuaded the Governor to protect the foreigners. Edict after edict came from Peking to destroy the foreigners, but the Governor put each as it arrived into his high boot and denied its existence to the anti-foreign officials. Thus the foreigners in Szechuen owed their lives to Chow Fu.

10. INTERVIEWS WITH PRINCE CHING AND LI HUNG-CHANG.

In 1901, although I had taken a leading part in the Reform Movement, which finally compelled the Government to fly for refuge to Shensi, I was invited by Prince Ch'ing and Li Hung-chang, who had been appointed Peace Plenipotentiaries, to aid in the settlement of indemnities for the massacres in the Shansi province. The result of our deliberations was the founding of the Shansi University, the history of which is given in the next chapter. My last interview with the great Viceroy was on a Sunday. He had four or five assistants and secretaries with him, one of whom was Chow Fu, who afterwards became Viceroy of Nanking, and later of Canton. Usually Li Hung-chang avoided discussion of religion with me, but on this day he talked of nothing else, and his questions appeared to me afterwards to have been deliberately put in order that his assistants might hear my own answers in regard to the object and methods of Christian Missions.

He was certainly the greatest man I ever met among the many Chinese officials. Physically he was taller than most, intellectually he towered above them all, and could see over their heads to the far beyond.

CHAPTER XVI

THE SHANSI UNIVERSITY

I. REASONS FOR ITS FOUNDING.

IN 1901 I was invited by the Plenipotentiaries Prince Ch'ing and Li Hung-chang to assist in the settlement of the Shansi troubles, arising out of the massacre of missionaries and thousands of native Christians by the Boxers in 1900. The Chinese were afraid that the Allies might march troops to Shansi and execute some of the officials and Boxer leaders as they had done in Pao-ting fu. As I had lived many years in Shansi, where I had become well known to the officials and people through distribution of famine relief, I was chosen to confer with the Plenipotentiaries. I said that the missionary societies would not sell the lives of their missionaries for money, but that, as a great crime had been committed which no Government could overlook, I proposed that a fine of half a million taels should be imposed upon the province, to be paid in yearly instalments of fifty thousand taels, and that the money should be devoted to the establishment in T'ai-yuan fu of a University on Western lines, the aim being to remove the ignorance and superstition that had been the main cause of the massacre of the foreigners. This proposal commended itself to the Plenipotentiaries, and they placed the appointment of the professors, the arranging of the curriculum, and the administration of the funds of the University in my hands for ten years, after which period the control would pass into the hands of the provincial Government.

2. ATTEMPTS TO START A RIVAL UNIVERSITY FOILED.

Shortly after these proposals were ratified, edicts were issued commanding the establishment of provincial univer-

sities throughout the Empire. When I visited T'ai-yuan fu in the spring of 1902 with Mr. Moir Duncan, M.A., whom I had appointed to be principal, and with Mr. Nystrom, C.F., B.Sc., an intelligent young Swede who became Professor of Chemistry, and remained throughout its history in connection with the University, we found that strong measures were being made to establish a Government University similar to the one I had authority to found. It was to be placed under the control of an anti-foreign official who had done his best to oppose the Western University. He had once travelled in Europe, and had written a book on his journey, attributing false motives to everything good that he had seen. Seeing that it was impracticable to have two rival institutions in the same city, I negotiated with the Governor, Ts'en Ch'hsüan, to amalgamate them into one Imperial University. After prolonged deliberations this was agreed, and regulations were drawn up that the University should include two departments—a Chinese department, to be controlled by Chinese and to have purely Chinese studies, and a Western department, under my control for ten years, to have purely Western subjects.

3. I OPPOSE REGULATIONS FORBIDDING TEACHING OF CHRISTIANITY.

During the negotiations at the founding of the University, the Governor sent a Taotai to see me with evident instructions to obtain my promise that a regulation be inserted in the Constitution that Christianity never should be taught in the University. Not for a moment could I agree to such a proposal, as my doing so would, I felt, justify the massacre of the missionaries and native Christians by admitting that what they had taught and believed in was not worthy of the University. But the Taotai was an exceedingly clever talker, and he argued his point for no less than eight hours on end. Having become physically very tired and mentally rather irritable, I was afraid I might say something I would afterwards regret, so I retired into a side room, where I prayed for guidance. Within two minutes I was back again, with



GOVERNOR TS'EN CH'UN-HSÜAN AND HIS TWO SONS.

To face p. 300.

my course quite clear. I told the Taotai that the question of religious liberty had been agreed to by China in several treaties with foreign nations. If the Governor had now received special authority to supersede all these treaties and abrogate them, we might then discuss such a regulation forbidding Christianity. If he had not this power, there was no need of our wasting further time over the suggestion, as I would never agree to it. The subject was at once dropped, and never raised again. Though Christian theology was never formally taught in the University, Mr. Duncan was fully satisfied with the opportunities he had, in his lectures on civilization, of showing the beneficial results of Christianity. Every Sunday, also, the Principal and Faculty held a service in the University premises, and the missionaries were at liberty to work among the students.

4. FRIENDLY ATTITUDE OF GOVERNOR.

In the meantime, Governor Ts'en lent the best building in the city for the temporary use of the University until suitable premises were built. The day he handed over the keeping of the temporary building to me, he received news that the official who had control of the Chinese department, and who had headed the opposition to the Western University, had been busy writing to Peking undermining the influence of Governor Ts'en, and charging him with having yielded everything to me, ignoring the rights of the Chinese. This news put the Governor into a towering rage. He instantly ordered this official to hand over everything belonging to his Chinese University and to leave T'ai-yuan fu that very day. If he remained a day longer, he did so at his peril. Such was the Governor's wrath that no one dared interfere in the matter. That same afternoon the Governor invited the leading officials and gentry to a farewell dinner to me. At its close I rose and thanked the Governor for his kindness and congratulated the officials on having in him a Governor who had initiated two undertakings greater than anything that had ever been accomplished before in Shansi—the founding of a modern University so as to be

abreast of other nations in education, and the commencing of a railway in Shansi, from which the people would derive immense benefit. Here I was interrupted by the Governor, who rose to his feet and cried : " No, no, these two projects are both due to you. If you had not been here they would not have been carried out."

When the regulations regarding the new University had been signed, they were sent to Peking, where they were sealed with the Imperial seal. A whole number of the official paper, the *Peking Gazette*, was devoted to them and distributed to officials throughout the Empire.

5. COURSES OF EDUCATION AT THE UNIVERSITY.

In September 1902 plans were agreed upon and a contract signed for the erection of suitable buildings, comprising an Assembly Hall, Library, Gymnasium, Museum, and Guest-rooms, together with class-rooms for Engineering and Drawing, Chemistry and Physics, with laboratories, Medicine, Mathematics, Law, and Literature. A preparatory course of studies for three years was arranged, during which the students were to be taught the subjects necessary for the matriculation examination of the London University. This course was to be followed by a graduation course of three years, during which the students would study any of the following subjects : Law, Science, Medicine, Engineering, Language, with Literature. Any student attaining a sufficiently high standard in his final examination was to be granted a Government degree. The students were all to be Chinese graduates, either Sui-ts'ai (B.A.) or Chū-ren (M.A.), and were to be selected by the Literary Chancellor or Governor from the graduates of the province. Each student was to receive from two taels to eight taels per mensem towards his personal expenses, but this was paid from the Provincial Treasury and not from the funds of the Western Department. I stipulated that all teaching was to be given in the Chinese language in order to ensure a maximum of efficiency in a minimum of time.

6. TRANSLATION DEPARTMENT IN SHANGHAI.

As regards textbooks, I established a translation department in Shanghai, consisting of ten Chinese translators and writers and one Japanese translator under the management of a foreign superintendent, the Rev. John Darroch. Amongst the books prepared in this department for the Shansi University were :—

Tables of Chinese Chronology, from the Chow dynasty ; "The Wonderful Century," by Russell Wallace, illustrated ; "Myers' Universal History," numerous maps and illustrations ; "History of Commerce in Europe," by H. de B. Gibbins, Litt.D. ; two volumes on Arithmetic, Tokyo Normal School Textbook Series ; two volumes on Algebra ; books on Botany, Mineralogy, Zoology, Physiology, Physics, Pedagogy, with numerous illustrations ; the "Twentieth Century Atlas of Popular Astronomy," with coloured frontispiece and twenty-two beautiful large steel plates ; "Physical Geography," with twenty-four large and beautifully coloured maps ; a thousand biographies, sketched from Chambers's "Dictionary of Biography" ; "The Story of the World," by M. B. Syngé.

The Translation Department continued for six years, after which it was closed for lack of funds, but it did valuable service.

7. PROMISE OF YUAN SHIH-KAI TO HELP TRANSLATION OF TEXTBOOKS.

On my way down after founding the University, I called upon Yuan Shih-kai, then the Viceroy of Chihli, in Pao-ting fu. I told him that as one of my chief difficulties in connection with the University was the lack of proper textbooks in Chinese, I intended to devote ten thousand taels per annum of the Shansi University funds towards the preparation of textbooks. He replied that it was an excellent idea, and that he was willing to contribute ten thousand taels and would get the Minister of Education in Peking, Chang Pao-hsi, to contribute a similar sum. He was also sure that the Governors of Shantung and Honan would each give ten thousand taels,

and in this way textbooks would soon be provided. But this noble promise has never yet been realized.

8. EDICTS TO ESTABLISH UNIVERSITIES IN EACH PROVINCE.

The idea of establishing a University for modern education, for the permanent settlement of trouble between China and the West, so commended itself to the Plenipotentiaries that within three months an edict was issued commanding every provincial capital in the Empire to establish a modern University. Curiously enough, the average sum set apart for the commencement of these universities was the same as that which I had asked for Shansi. This scheme for a time appeared most promising for China. A wave of enthusiasm for Western learning spread all over the Empire, and many temples were converted into schools and colleges. But it was more than could be expected that the greatest compact nation on the face of the earth should suddenly exchange its ancient educational systems of thousands of years' standing for a modern foreign one without much difficulty. Though hundreds of officials had paid hurried visits to Japan, and thirty thousand students had been sent over to acquire in brief courses the arts of education and government there, yet no Chinese statesman had ever been sent abroad to study the educational systems of the leading nations of the West.

9. CHANG CHIH-TUNG'S SCHEME OF EDUCATION. 1902.

It was difficult, therefore, to find a man with sufficient knowledge to master the new situation and efficiently deal with it.

The best man the Chinese Government could think of was Chang Chih-tung, who was set apart for a year to draw up a complete system of new education. His scheme was embodied in a voluminous report which gave the authorized basis of modern education in China. His system had two faults. First, he did not utilize the students of the old school as candidates for the new,



PRINCIPAL MOIR DUNCAN, M.A., LL.D.

and thus practically discarded the best material in the Empire. Secondly, he sought to build up modern education from the very foundation in courses which would take at least sixteen years before the students were fully trained.

The last interview I had with him was in Peking in 1909, a few months before his death. His system of education for China was modelled entirely on that of Japan. I urged on him the necessity of crowning his educational scheme by providing suitable textbooks to be used in every province. He replied that it was most difficult. I suggested that since there were so many students returned from completing their education abroad, those who were highest in their respective subjects should be set apart to prepare textbooks. In this way there would be uniformity and efficiency.

At this he shook his head, saying that though these students might be very well advanced in foreign languages, they did not know Chinese well enough to write books in proper style. He then asked me to prepare them and he would pay all the necessary expenses. As I was leaving, seeing he was very frail, I begged of him not to think of attempting to see me out, but he insisted on coming with me through the various courtyards, and his last words were: "I am in earnest about getting those textbooks written. You see to that, and I will give you the money." But I pointed to my grey hairs and replied, "Younger men must take up the work," and so we parted.

10. PRINCIPAL MOIR DUNCAN.

The first Principal of the Western Department of the Shansi University was the Rev. Moir Duncan, M.A., Glasgow. Much of the success of the University was due to his great enthusiasm, his inexhaustible energy, his great knowledge of Chinese men and letters, and his wise and practical conduct of affairs. He won the respect of all as a fearless, honest, and capable administrator.

In 1905 the University of Glasgow conferred on him the degree of LL.D. His illness in 1906 terminated in

his death in August, at the early age of forty-five. He was mourned by all who knew him, both foreign and Chinese. The Chinese Government conferred posthumous honours on him by raising his status to the first rank red button. Professor Louis R. O. Bevan, M.A., LL.B., was appointed Acting Principal till a suitable successor to Dr. Duncan was found, and it was during his term of office, 1906-7, that the largest number of students of any year, 339, attended the University. That same year also twenty-five students were sent from Shansi University to study railway and mining engineering in England. Twenty-three of these students went at the expense of the Provincial Government. This step was a most hopeful sign, showing that it was realized at last that the future welfare of Shansi depended on the development of its natural resources and on the improvement of means of transport.

II. VISIT TO T'AI-YUAN FU IN 1907.

In the autumn of 1907 the Rev. W. E. Soothill, formerly of Wenchow, was appointed Principal of the University. Amongst the gentry there was a Hanlin who was exceedingly friendly, and showed the keenest appreciation of the work done by the University. When I visited Shansi in 1908, he was President of the Provincial Assembly. One day he summoned all the schools to assemble in the square before the city museum. The pupils of each school, dressed in their various uniforms, came marching into the square to the music of drum and fife bands. He and another official took me to the second story of the museum, whence we could look down upon the assembled schools. It was a pretty sight to see them in their different coloured costumes. The President then delivered an address, in the course of which he mentioned that some two thousand pupils were gathered there, some from military, some from agricultural, and some from normal schools without the University, for all the chief teachers in them had at one time or other passed through the University; and not only in T'ai-yuan fu, but in all other cities of Shansi, similar schools were being opened,



GRADUATING STUDENTS OF THE SHANSI UNIVERSITY, 1910 (CHI AND KENG CLASSES).

owing to the stimulus given to education by the University. That same year, also, I had the joy of seeing that the railway I had encouraged in 1902 had been completed, and that a regular train service was running between T'ai-yuan fu and Peking.

12. RESIGNATION OF CHANCELLORSHIP.

In November 1910 I received a pressing invitation from the Governor of Shansi and the Provincial Assembly to visit the University on my return from Europe, before proceeding to Shanghai. On arrival at T'ai-yuan fu, I was given by the authorities and the President of the Provincial Assembly a very hearty reception at a public meeting, during which they spoke in the highest terms of the immense service rendered to the whole province by the University. Being convinced that modern education had taken such a deep root in the province that it would never be eradicated, I wished to show the officials and students that I had no desire to retain the control of the University till the last minute, when the ten years would be over in the spring of 1911, so I determined to hand over the control to the Chinese authorities there and then. This was done on November 13, 1910, when the Chinese authorities promised to take over the contracts of the Professors and continue to enlarge the University. At the time I gave over my control the foreign professors numbered eight, assisted by fourteen Chinese professors and teachers.

13. GOVERNOR TS'EN CH'UN-HSÜAN.

The first Governor of Shansi during my control of the University was Ts'en Ch'un-hsüan, a native of Kwangsi. He had met the Empress - Dowager and Emperor in their flight from Peking in 1900, accompanying them to Sian fu. In recognition of his services he was made Governor of Shansi. He afterwards became one of the most remarkable statesmen in the Empire on account of his ability in keeping order, his integrity, and his courage. It was reported that his enemies made no objection to his

promotions to various difficult posts, as they hoped his failure in difficulties would cause his downfall. He was successful in preventing any punitive expedition marching to T'ai-yuan fu. Soon after, the province of Szechuen was in such disorder that a great rebellion was expected. He was promoted to be Viceroy there, and within three months of his arrival the whole province was in perfect peace.

He was next sent to Canton. The two provinces of Kwangtung and Kwangsi had been in a state bordering on rebellion for several years, and successive officials failed to reduce them to order. Even after Ts'en's arrival it was no easy matter to put the rebellion down. He then memorialized the Throne that he could not restore order if the Reeking Government appointed a Governor to Kwangsi responsible to the Government only, and not to him. Upon this the Government granted him full power and peace was soon restored in both provinces.

His methods were those of the most noted military men of China. Wherever there was the slightest disturbance, he ordered the immediate execution of the ringleaders, and no official dared disobey, for if he did he would suffer the same fate. Thus we might regard him as the ablest pacificator of China in modern days. His courage was shown during a later visit to Peking, when he did not hesitate to denounce leading officials right and left for corruption. He was the only man among the whole of the mandarinat of China who dared to impeach the highest authority in Peking, Prince Ch'ing, succeeding in bringing him to his knees before the Empress-Dowager. When, however, the Peking authorities combined to shelve his impeachments, he declined to serve the Government any longer, and retired into private life for a time in Shanghai.

During the rebellion of Sun Yat-sen and Hwang Hsing against President Yuan Shih-kai in 1913, Ts'en Ch'un-hsüan was persuaded to side with the rebels against the Republican Government. On their defeat he vanished with them into obscurity.

14. OTHER GOVERNORS OF SHANSI.

Chao Erh-hsun was a Chinese Bannerman, and succeeded Ts'en as Governor of Shansi. Mr. Moir Duncan, the Principal, found him exceedingly interested in everything connected with the University. Later, when he was Viceroy of Wuchang, on the eve of his departure to be Viceroy of Szechuen, I called on him. Amongst other topics of discussion, I expressed regret that China at present had no Viceroys and Governors, and was therefore in utmost peril from lack of government. He was startled by the way I expressed myself, and asked me to explain. I then pointed out that since the Viceroys and Governors were changed so frequently, often in a few months, it was impossible for any official, however great his ability, to study the conditions of his province thoroughly, or have time to carry out Reform measures, so that the general effect was as if there were no rulers of the provinces.

Another Governor of Shansi was a Manchu, named En, who showed his goodwill to the University by persuading the Provincial Treasurer to grant ten thousand taels towards procuring further apparatus. The last Governor during my Chancellorship was Ting Pao-ch'uen, who was the most friendly of all. Besides his great interest in the University, he made great efforts to establish normal schools for the training of teachers throughout the province.

In concluding the account of my relation to the Chinese authorities in connection with the University, it is due to them that I should state that they never interfered with my arrangements. On the day the annual instalment of fifty thousand taels fell due, the Governors always paid the money punctually. When I handed the contract of the University to the authorities, the general rejoicing and gratitude was beyond all expectation, and finally, to show their appreciation of the splendid services rendered by Mr. Moir Duncan, they erected to his memory a stone monument in the University grounds, on which was inscribed a poem in his praise.

15. EFFECT OF REVOLUTION ON UNIVERSITY.

When the Revolution of 1911 took place, Governor Ting's successor was assassinated, and a large part of the city was destroyed, but the revolutionaries left the University buildings untouched. The treasurer of the University, a Christian named Kao, formerly Mrs. Richard's writer, pasted up all the doors of the various class-rooms and buildings with visiting cards of the professors, and the rioters were afraid to disturb any possession of foreigners. For a long time after the Revolution matters were in a state of chaos, and as there were no spare funds, all the professors and students had to disperse.

CHAPTER XVII

CHANGING CHINA

I. EMPRESS-DOWAGER ISSUES EMPEROR'S REFORM EDICTS.

JUST as China's humiliating defeat by Japan resulted in the Reform Movement of 1895-8, so her disgrace in 1900 led to a fresh vigour on the part of the Reformers. A student society was organized in Shanghai. Educational and literary societies were formed in Peking and other cities. A new impetus was given to education in Shanghai, in schools on Western lines opened by Cantonese and Ningpo-Chinese. Everywhere was seen the desire for Reform in educational matters.

This spirit was even apparent in the Government. In August 1901 the Empress-Dowager issued an edict ordering Reform in the examinations, introducing essays on modern subjects, political economy, Western laws and Constitutions. The old trials of skill with bows and arrows and stone weights, etc., that had been thought necessary to obtain military degrees, were now abolished for ever. This edict was followed in September by a second, commanding all colleges in the Empire to be changed into schools of Western learning, and that each provincial capital should establish a University. A third edict, a few days later, decreed that Viceroys and Governors should all follow the examples set by Viceroys Liu Kun-yi and Chang Chih-tung, and send abroad young men of ability to study special branches of learning. The edicts had first been issued by the Emperor in 1898.

Another edict of the Emperor urging Manchu princes to travel abroad, which had created great consternation at the Court when issued, was carried out in spite of

the Manchus by force of circumstances. Prince Chun, brother of the Emperor (and later Regent, after the deaths of the Emperor and Empress-Dowager), was sent to Germany on a mission of apology to the Kaiser for the murder in 1900 of the German Minister. As no Manchu Prince had hitherto been allowed to travel more than forty li out of Peking, or to sleep outside the city, it was an extraordinary event, even though his mission was one of apology. The following year Prince Ch'ing's son, Tsai Chen, was sent to England to attend the Coronation of King Edward VII, and subsequent years saw Manchu princes sent to Japan, to the St. Louis Exhibition in America, to Europe, and America on special commissions.

In 1902 the Anti-footbinding Society was greatly encouraged by an edict from the Empress-Dowager exhorting the Chinese to discontinue the painful practice of binding their women's feet.

2. VISIT TO THE NORTH.

(a) *Chow Fu.*

In the spring and summer of 1902 I spent four months in the north, most of the time in T'ai-yuan fu, in connection with the establishment of the Shansi University. On my way back I visited Yuan-Shih kai, then Viceroy of Chihli, in Pao-ting fu, hoping to secure his help in furnishing money for the translation of text-books. The Provincial Treasurer under him was Chow Fu. Owing to his skill in settling all affairs with foreigners in Chihli after the Boxer troubles, he was soon rewarded by rapid promotion to the Governorship of Shantung. He was not only a pioneer in introducing telegraphs and railways, but he was the first great official in modern times to show a deep interest in Christianity. At this time he was on the eve of departure for his new post in Shantung. He had not been satisfied with the books that missionaries were circulating, as they did not make their standpoint clear to the official mind. He told me that he had collected all the Christian books and tracts he could lay his hands on, and had

thrown them all into a box. Some time previously, one of his officials, a very literary man, lost both his parents, and as he could not hold office during his period of mourning, Chow Fu thought he might employ his time studying the boxful of Christian books. He had therefore sent him the box, asking him, when he had finished reading the contents, to write a treatise on Christianity that would satisfy the official mind.

When I next saw Chow Fu in Peking, the official had completed his treatise, and the Governor asked me to read it through and see if it would be suitable for publication. I found that the writer, instigated by the Chinese Government, had inserted accounts of various lawsuits with native Christians that had not brought credit on the Church. I pointed out to Chow Fu that to write a book purporting to explain the essence of Christianity, quoting against it lawsuits with native Christians, was as absurd as to write a book explaining Confucianism, and to bring into it the various lawsuits brought by Confucianists into the Yamens. The book was therefore never published.

(b) *Interview with Jung Lu.*

At this time Jung Lu sent asking me to call on him. The interview lasted over an hour, during which he put several questions on various important matters. He was more like Li Hung-chang in ability, clearness of mind, and grasp of subject than any other Chinese statesman I ever met. At the close of the interview he asked if I would be willing to see Lu Ch'uan-lin. I suppose he put the question in that form as the latter had the reputation of being the most anti-foreign member of the Grand Council. I replied that I would call on him if he really desired to see me. Jung Lu then said, "To-morrow at five o'clock he will be at his home expecting you."

(c) *Interview with Lu Ch'uan-lin.*

Lu Chu'an-lin was a native of Chihli. In my interview with him, arranged for by Jung Lu, I asked

whether he considered China's state to be better or worse than it had been sixty years before.

"Do not ask such a question," he replied. "It is far worse, and every year it grows worse than the last." That was the trap I had deliberately laid for him, into which he easily fell. I then said: "Is it wise, under the circumstances, to persevere in following the old policy that has proved so disastrous to the Empire?"

Seeing himself caught, he showed skill in extricating himself by asking, "If you were in my place, what would you do?"

This gave me the opportunity I desired, and I mentioned several reforms which I thought indispensable. Before I left, he asked my opinion on the currency question. I replied that he should ask the opinion of bankers who were experts. But as he persisted in asking my opinion, I then said: "If all nations use the gold standard, and if China continues to use the silver, the probability is that China will suffer, whereas if China adopted the same standard as other nations it would gain the same as other nations."

Several years passed before I next saw him. Whilst in Peking in 1910 he called on me, and told me that when he was President of the Board of Revenue he had commenced to make arrangements for changing to a gold standard, but before he had finished with his negotiations another man was appointed to the post, and nothing further was done. By thus delaying China has lost enormously.

Lu Ch'uan-lin was a sturdy old gentleman, and maintained his views with great vigour, but unfortunately, like a fellow-provincial of his, he allowed his prejudices to mislead his judgment.

(d) *Prince Su.*

Another interesting statesman I met at this time was Prince Su, who gave me a very interesting account of the way in which his palace was used for Christian refugees.

During the siege of Peking, the foreigners of every

nationality made their headquarters round the British Legation. Directly opposite the Legation, across the stream and street, was Prince Su's palace. When all Protestant churches and premises were burnt, Mr. James (formerly of the Baptist Mission and then Professor at the Peking University) went to Prince Su and suggested that it would be a great kindness if he would remove his family elsewhere and allow his large premises to be occupied by the Chinese Christians. Fearing the Boxers, the Prince warily replied that if the Christians entered by the front gate he and his family would escape by the back, giving the impression that they were being driven out, so that no blame would fall on him. This arrangement was carried out. It was on returning from settling the Christians in the Prince's quarters that Mr. James was seized by the Boxers, and afterwards beheaded. Prince Su, in his capacity of superintendent of police and streets, set about cleaning and improving the streets of Peking, and was a vigorous Reformer. His third and fifth sisters both taught in girls' schools.

3. APPOINTED BY IMPERIAL EDICT REPRESENTATIVE OF PROTESTANT MISSIONS.

At this time the Wai Wu Pu were conferring with Bishop Favier regarding regulations for a better understanding between the Chinese Government and Roman Catholic Missions.

Already in March 1899 the official status of their missionaries had been recognized by an Imperial Rescript. When my official friends brought up the subject of the regulations in regard to Roman Catholic Missions, I pointed out that Protestant Missions should have a like recognition, and reminded them of the Mission Memorial, drawn up by six Protestant missionaries and presented by Dr. Wherry and myself in 1896. I was asked by the Wai Wu Pu if I would act in connection with regulations for Protestant Missions, and replied that there was a committee appointed by the Missionary Conference to represent Protestant Missions, and that we should be glad to act together and draw up suitable regulations.

Nevertheless, on July 3rd, appeared the following Imperial Edict :—

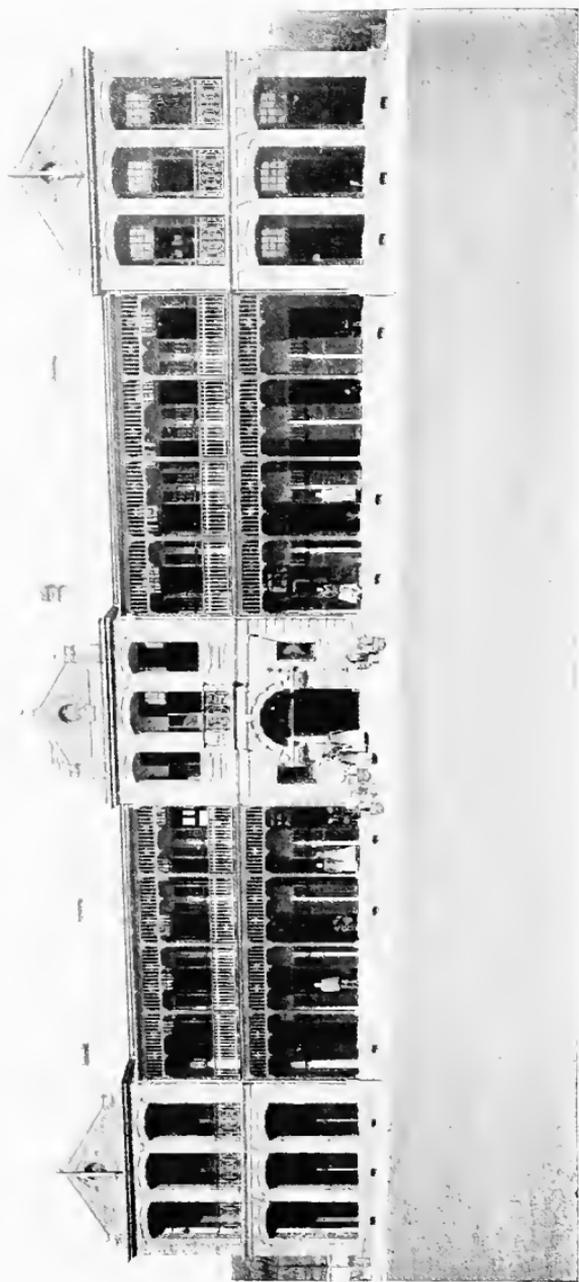
“ We have received a Memorial from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, stating that foreigners from the West are divided into two religions, namely, Roman Catholicism and Protestantism. The said Ministry speaks in the highest terms of recommendation of Dr. Timothy Richard, who is at present in Peking, and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

Later I was informed by the Wai Wu Pu officials that the Empress-Dowager wished to see me before I left. I returned word that if Her Imperial Majesty would put in practice the many paper Reforms promised by her I would be the first to congratulate her. I then added that I was leaving on the morrow for Shanghai, hoping that this reply would be a better stimulus for Reform than any audience for which I cared nothing.

4. BISHOP FAVIER.

On July 14th I called in company with Chow Fu on Bishop Favier, who was first for submitting his regulations to the Pope before communicating with the Wai Wu Pu. I suggested that in drawing up our new joint regulations some attempts towards reconciliation of Romanism and Protestantism might be made. The Bishop approved of this idea. There were present at the interview his assistant, Bishop of Chang Tung-fu, the Bishop of Moukden, and the new Bishop of Shensi.

Unfortunately, Bishop Favier died before we could



PUBLIC SCHOOL FOR CHINESE, SHANGHAI, OPENED IN 1903.

In 1916 over 400 boys were being educated here.

further consult. I later drew up seven rules which were approved of by Chow Fu, who had then become Viceroy of Nanking, and submitted them in person, when I was on furlough in 1905, to the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Westminster. They were the following:—

1. That if any missionary should circulate literature showing disrespect to the religions of China, he should be removed.
2. That if any mandarin promoted the circulation of literature derogatory to the Christian religion, he should be removed.
3. That if any missionary interfered with the lawsuits of Chinese subjects, he should be removed.
4. That if any mandarin made any difference in the treatment of Christians and non-Christians, he was to be removed.
5. That the head of each Mission should send an annual report to the Governor of his province, stating the number of chapels, schools and colleges, hospitals, literary work or philanthropic work that his Mission was engaged in.
6. That the Governor should annually invite three of the leaders of Missions in his province to confer with him as to how their work could be rendered more useful.
7. That the Governor or Viceroy should report on Missions once every three years to the Central Government, so that it may be well informed and not liable to be misled by imperfect reports circulated by the ignorant or mischievous.

On hearing these proposed rules, the Archbishop said: "If these regulations had been observed, we should not have had to mourn over the massacre of our missionaries. If you will let me have a copy, I will forward it to the Pope myself, and recommend that they be adopted for the future in China."

5. PUBLIC SCHOOL FOR CHINESE.

On returning to Shanghai, among the activities, apart from S.D.K. work, that engaged my attention was the establishment of a Public School for Chinese in the International Settlement.

In 1899 Mr. J. O. P. Bland, the Secretary of the Municipal Council, had informed me that if a scheme for the education of Chinese were laid before the Council, he thought the members were likely to approve it. But before the matter could proceed further, rumours of anti-

foreign riots which culminated in the Boxer rising of 1900 put an end to the scheme for the time being.

After the upheavals in local administration caused by the Boxer troubles had subsided, and affairs were taking their normal course again, a scheme was drawn up by three members of the S.D.K., Dr. Hawks Pott, Dr. Ferguson, and myself, and presented for consideration to the Council. We received a reply that the members were satisfied with the scheme, and that the Council would give land and annual grants of a thousand taels in aid, on condition that the Chinese themselves would raise thirty thousand taels.

In 1901 I invited three of the leading Chinese merchants of Shanghai, Mr. Chu and Ch'en Fai-t'ing, Director and Manager of the China Merchants Steamship Company, and Mr. T'ong Kid-sun, Compradore of Jardine, Matheson & Co., to meet my two colleagues, and told them of the Council's proposals and condition. Before we rose from the table the three Chinese gentlemen declared that they themselves would be responsible for the thirty thousand taels. Some difficulty was experienced in purchasing land, but towards the end of 1902 a suitable site was given by the Council and in another year handsome buildings were put up with accommodation for four hundred pupils and houses for foreign masters. A school committee, consisting of three foreigners and two Chinese, was formed for the management of the institution. I was chairman of this committee till the school was in working order, and was asked to engage masters from home for it. The school building is an ornament to the Settlement and the institution is one of the most popular in Shanghai to-day.

6. VISIT TO JAPAN.

(a) *Prince Konoye.*

In May 1903 I paid a short visit to Japan for the purpose of securing suitable textbooks for the Shansi University, and to engage a Japanese and Chinese scholar for their translation. I had interviews with Baron Kiku-

chi, the Minister of Education, the President of the Imperial University, the head of the Textbook Department, and many other educational leaders, who showed me every attention.

The most interesting man I met was Prince Konoye, then President of the House of Peers. He might be described as the Bismarck of Japan. Educated at Bonn, where Kaiser Wilhelm II as a student must have left a forecast of his future policy carefully preserved by the traditions of the University, Konoye conceived the idea of the domination of Asia over the world by the Japanese leading the yellow race. When the Japanese Government sent him to China, he suggested that an alliance be formed between the two nations, whose aim should be to dictate the policy of Asia and check Western aggression. This scheme was approved of by the Wai Wu Pu, who recommended him to consult with Chang Chih-tung in Wuchang. The Viceroy, on hearing the scheme, was delighted beyond measure, as he had long wished to have his "revenge" on the West for the humiliations inflicted on China by each successive war. The result of Prince Konoye's visit was the formation of an East Asia League whose rules were published by the S.D.K. in the *Wang Kwoh Kung Pao*. This was the beginning of the influence of Japan on China, and is the key to her policy to-day.

In my interview with Prince Konoye I broached, among other questions, the subject of the federation of nations and the use of armies merely as forces to police the world. He remarked it would be long before the nations would be ready for such a step, and by this remark clearly indicated the trend of his thoughts.

(b) *Prince Tsai Chen at Peeress School.*

Amongst the various educational institutions that I visited was the Peeress School in Tokyo. It chanced that I was taken there the very day of its inspection by Prince Tsai Chen, who had been sent on a Commission to Japan. With him was the Minister Na T'ung and about ten Chinese officials. I was greeted very heartily

by the Prince and Na T'ung, both of whom I had met in Peking. After some refreshments, we were taken over the school. We watched the elder girls at gymnastics dancing a measure similar to "Sir Roger de Coverley," and we saw them at their painting and embroidery, and heard them read. The kindergarten children performed calisthenic exercises to the air of "John Brown's Body." The Lady Principal of the school was Madame Shimoda, a lady of great charm, ability, and beautiful manners, who had been educated in England. At the end of the inspection she took us into the garden, and, plucking a white and a pink rose, she fastened them together and presented them to the Manchu Prince. He seemed at a loss to know whether it was proper for him to receive them, but as she held them firmly before him, he at last took them. His stiffness of manner seemed all the greater in contrast with her extreme grace.

(c) *Japanese Ambition.*

On the steamer back to Shanghai there were eleven Japanese professors going to Wuchang by invitation of Viceroy Chang Chih-tung. I asked one of them, a Professor of Chemistry, what they were going to do. He replied that they were going to teach the Chinese the proper place of Europeans. "Their place is here, under our heel," he cried with a fierce laugh, and he stamped on the floor. Later in the evening he apologized to me for his insolence, saying that he had been drinking too much wine and had been talking nonsense. But I was convinced that he had revealed the true sentiments of many of his race, and that there might in reality be a Yellow Peril.

7. LOSS OF MY WIFE.

In March 1903 Mrs. Richard, who had been suffering from cancer, went to the Nursing Home in Shanghai to undergo an operation, which we hoped might prolong her life. But the disease had already advanced too far, and on July 10th she passed away to her high reward. No missionary ever had a more devoted wife.

In her school of sixty orphans in T'ai-yuan fu, with

several village schools in the country, and in her translation of the biographies of eminent Christian leaders, she showed indefatigable energy. Upon her Japanese pupils in Peking, three of whom became Christians, and upon the Tsêng family where she taught, she left a deep influence. In Tientsin she taught a class of Bible-women, two members of which, after her winter's careful training and preparation, were able to bring a hundred converts each into the Church. During our furloughs at home she rendered most acceptable service in deputation work.

Her literary ability was of valuable service to the S.D.K. She assisted me in secretarial work and in editing the *Messenger* during the absence of Dr. Edkins on furlough. She was co-editor, with Mrs. Finch, of "Woman's Work in the Far East," and for a year before her death she edited the English numbers of *The East of Asia*. She assisted the Women's Union Mission in their school at the West Gate, and was chosen director and sole foreign inspector of the High Class Girls' School opened by the Reformers in 1898. She also taught English in some of the families of high mandarins up to her last illness. She astonished many by the work she accomplished, "ten times as much as most women."

Many were the expressions of sympathy at her loss from friends far and near. One man wrote: "She was one of the few ladies in the world who by her ability, piety, and devotion made a deep impression on me. . . . Her literary work stands for ever as a testimony to her love for the Chinese, but more important than her books is the permanent impression and the grateful remembrance which she leaves in the minds of thousands with whom she came in contact."

8. INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS SOCIETY IN MANCHURIA.

Early in 1904 the Russo-Japanese War broke out. Although the real combatants were Russians and Japanese, the Chinese in Manchuria where the war took place were the people who suffered most. They could not call their cities their own, and were at the mercy of the two

armies. Hearing of their great distress, a Chinese Tao-tai, Shen Tun-ho, who had assisted me in T'ai-yuan fu at the founding of the University, called on me to ask if I would join him in raising funds to help the Chinese sufferers in Manchuria. I gladly gave my support and we formed an International Red Cross Society, in which Chinese, British, American, French, German, and other nationalities co-operated, Mr. Shen acting as the Chinese Secretary and I as the Foreign Secretary. The Chinese authorities in the various provinces subscribed most liberally.

But on our first attempt to help the Chinese, both the Russian and Japanese Ministers refused permission, though asked by the Chinese Government in Peking, saying that they had their respective Red Cross Societies to meet all emergencies. We were therefore in a most curious position, having large funds in our hands, but without the necessary authority to distribute them. I therefore wrote to a friend of mine, Mr. Webster, of the Scotch Presbyterian Mission in Manchuria, stating how the Chinese Government had been unsuccessful in obtaining permission for our Society to help the Chinese in Manchuria, and that we would be glad if he could suggest some way out of the difficulty.

Mr. Webster therefore had a private interview with the Russian General, whom he knew personally, and pleaded that it was a pity not to grant relief to the poor Chinese. The General gave him permission to distribute relief to Chinese within the territory occupied by the Russians. Mr. Webster then wrote to the Japanese General, stating that since the Russian General had granted permission for International Red Cross work to be carried on among the Chinese, he (Mr. Webster) felt the Japanese would not be behind the Russians in pity for the poor Chinese sufferers. The Japanese General at once gave his permission. Thus what the authorities in Peking had been unable to do, Mr. Webster unofficially accomplished in a few days.

He immediately wired down for funds, which were at once placed to his credit in Newchwang. Later he

wired asking for ten thousand suits of wadded garments to be ready in a fortnight. I wired back, "The ten thousand garments will be forwarded within a fortnight." The amount contributed from first to last by Chinese to the Red Cross funds was Tls. 451,483 (about £56,000), the Empress-Dowager herself contributing Tls. 100,000 (about £12,500).

9. VISIT TO PEKING.

In May 1904 I paid a short visit to Peking, having interviews (which I will describe later in my chapter on the Peace Movement) with Prince Ch'ing, Na T'ung, who was then President both of the Foreign Office and the Board of Finance, Sun Chia-nai, and many others. The L.M.S. deputation (Messrs Cousins and Bolton) were at that time in Peking, and thinking over the great work of that Society, I resolved to draw the attention of Chinese statesmen to the grand services rendered to China by it and other missionary societies and sent a letter to that effect to the Wai Wu Pu.

10. RELIGIOUS CONFERENCE IN SHANTUNG.

The next experience of interest was a unique Conference held in Ch'ing-chow fu, Shantung, at the end of July. Mr. Jones and I decided that the time had fully come when we might invite the Chinese leaders of religious sects to meet the Christians in conference, and discuss measures for the revival of religion in China.

The Governor, Chow Fu, sent down as his representative from Chi-nan fu the ex-Chancellor of Education, who was a seventy-third lineal descendant of Confucius, a Prefect, and three other officials. Over thirty officials were present in full robes at the assemblies, including the Tartar General of the Manchu troops, and about a hundred religious leaders besides Christians. Meetings were held for four days, with dinners and social gatherings in the evening. Many non-Christian gentry took part in the discussions. One of them advocated that missionaries, whose chief aim was to teach religion, be asked to prepare religious textbooks for use in the Government schools.

11. SUGGESTIONS OF CHOW FU.

A few days after the close of the Conference I paid a short visit to Chi-nan fu in order to see Chow Fu. He showed me every kindness, sending an official to show me the sights of the capital and providing chairs to take my four daughters to the lake, where he had splendid barges and refreshments ready for them. He then invited the highest officials of the province to meet the Protestant missionaries at a banquet, at which the chief subject of conversation was religion. Chow Fu began by telling how he had built the first telegraph line in China when in Tientsin, and that in those days it was necessary to have wire before messages could be sent ; but now he was hearing that wireless telegraphy was possible. Chow Fu then remarked that what China needed was a book explaining God and His relation to all the forces of Nature, that it would be a grand subject for a great book.

The second event of interest was a dinner in the theatre of the Imperial Palace in honour of the Empress-Dowager's birthday. I was seated by the Governor's side on a raised platform facing the stage. On the west side of us sat the Fan T'ai (Treasurer), Nie T'ai (Judge), and Grain Commissioner and others, while on the east side were officials and professors in the new University, and other foreigners. The Roman Catholic Bishop and his assistant were seated near me. At intervals during the dinner, when the noise of the theatricals became too overpowering for conversation, the Governor took me into a quiet back court, where we had some private talk. It was during one of these quiet intervals that he made two remarkable suggestions :—

1. That I should write in his name to all the Protestant missionaries in Shantung desiring them to elect three representatives to confer with him in regard to Mission work in the province.
2. That I should procure copies of the New Testament for him to distribute himself to his subordinates, as they would then read the books with greater attention.

On my return to Shanghai I saw the agent of the Bible Society, and was given two hundred specially bound copies for presentation to Chow Fu, that he might distribute to his officials. In this way they might better understand the aim of Christianity.

Chow Fu was shortly afterwards appointed Viceroy at Nanking, and later Viceroy at Canton. Of all Chinese officials he was the most lovable.

CHAPTER XVIII

RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS AND CONFERENCES

I. WELSH REVIVAL.

I ARRIVED in England early in 1905. The B.M.S. Committee arranged that instead of doing the usual deputation work, I should address special meetings of influential representatives of various Churches held in central places.

During the great revival in Wales I was asked to address what is called a *Cymanfa*, or great religious gathering, in the open air. On a hillside a platform had been erected for the speakers, and the ground in front sloped up like part of an amphitheatre, so that the thousands who sat there could easily hear the speakers, three Welsh missionaries—W. R. James and Daniel Jones of India, and myself. James distinguished himself by a fervent *hwyl*, speaking with great eloquence and effect. But perhaps the most striking part of the meeting was that taken by a miner. After making a few quiet remarks which profoundly moved the audience, he broke into song which still more stirred the spiritual feeling of the hearers.

2. WORLD-BAPTIST CONFERENCE.

About this time several movements were taking place in the Christian Church, to bring together all the separate units of each section, resulting in Pan-Congregational, Pan-Presbyterian, and later Pan-Anglican Conferences. A World-Baptist Conference, consisting of representatives from all parts of the world, was held in July 1905 in London, and I was elected one of the members of the

General Committee, and as the representative of China spoke of the great need of more literary work being done to guide the ruling classes of China. In consequence of my address, a lady offered to pay the salary of a Chinese writer to help in translating whatever literature I deemed suitable, and from that day, for a period of ten years, she never failed in her support through the B.M.S. But she has now passed to her reward.

My chief work during this furlough was in connection with the Peace Movement, and is described in the chapter dealing with that subject.

3. THE CHINESE COMMISSIONERS AT LAMBETH PALACE.

During my stay in England the Chinese Government sent a Mission of five Commissioners, headed by Duke Tsai Tse, son of Prince Ch'ing, to investigate questions of Western civilization in Europe and America. After their arrival in England, I wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury, suggesting that it would be a graceful act if he, as head of the Anglican Church, were to invite these Chinese Commissioners to Lambeth Palace, and ask the President of the Free Church Council also to meet them. I felt that the Commissioners, on their return to China, would take a more friendly interest in the work of the missionaries after having met with the leaders of the organizations that had sent them out. My suggestion met with the Archbishop's approval, and a few days later, as I had known the Duke in China and could interpret, I received an invitation to the palace on the occasion of his visit. A few Bishops were also present.

We met together in the library, where I interpreted for the Archbishop. Later, he took his guests round the palace, showing the most interesting parts. While the Commissioners were writing their names in the Archbishop's visitors' book, I sat by Bishop Gore, of Birmingham. In reference to the wise step of the Chinese Government in sending the Commissioners

round the world to study Western civilization, I asked the Bishop if he did not think that those interested in Missions in China should send a Commission of five men to visit China, two representing the Church of England, two representing the Nonconformists, and one the Church of Scotland, in order to study Mission problems.

“Oh no,” he cried. “I am afraid that is altogether impracticable; we are not ready for that yet.”

“In that case,” I replied, “the Chinese, who are a practical nation, may very well think that a religion whose parties cannot unite in such a small measure would not do for China.”

But there were others who differed from the Bishop, and believed that the time had come when Churchmen and Nonconformists could discuss problems together.

4. DR. J. B. PATON.

Among the men of note that I met in England, none showed more intelligent interest in the development of China after the Boxer rising than Dr. Paton of Nottingham. I was introduced to him by Sir Percy and Lady Bunting, who were also deeply interested in the awakening of China, and I frequently met him at their house afterwards.

In addition to the ordinary view of the need of the conversion of individual souls to God, he held as the keynote of his life the endeavour to establish the Kingdom of God upon earth, by which he meant the highest development of all races, nations, and classes. He founded what he called the “Inner Mission” to induce the Christian Church to become interested in the material and intellectual improvement of the masses, as well as in their spiritual development. For this end he organized the National Home Reading Union. He was the inspiration of innumerable institutions, both in England and abroad. I found that he was a member of the International Committee of Education in Paris. He took an active part in the formation of savings banks in India for the benefit of the native farmers.

5. CHINA MISSIONS EMERGENCY COMMITTEE.

When I discussed the situation in China with him, he was not only sympathetic with every phase of progress, but thought of a plan by which advantage could be at once taken of the opportunity in China. He, Sir Percy Bunting, and I commenced the formation of the China Missions Emergency Committee, to consist of fourteen members from the Established Church and fourteen from the Free Churches, in order to plan out work on broader lines than already attempted by any single Missionary Society. Amongst the Churchmen were the Dean of Westminster and Bishop Welldon. From this committee a Commission of five members was sent out in 1907 to study the new conditions in China and report fully on their return. These were Lord William and Lady Florence Cecil, Sir Alexander Simpson, representing the medical profession, Professor Alexander Macalister of Cambridge, and Mr. Francis Fox, representing the Friends. Their visit began with attendance at the Centenary Conference of Missions held in May 1907 in Shanghai.

6. CENTENARY CONFERENCE IN SHANGHAI.

This Conference was held in commemoration of the coming to China of the first Protestant missionary, Robert Morrison, of the London Missionary Society. It was the third remarkable missionary gathering in China, the first being in 1887 and the second in 1890, at which representatives of every Mission at work in the Empire met to discuss problems as though they were members of one Society.

At the Centenary Conference the representatives of the China Missions Emergency Committee, though they could not be members of the Conference, were invited to be present to hear the discussions. I was one of the Vice-Presidents of the Conference, but not being well at the time, I could attend only a few of the meetings.

The deputation, after travelling in different parts of

the Empire, meeting many prominent missionaries, and studying evangelistic, educational, literary, and philanthropic methods of work, and seeing how greatly an organizing department was needed to avoid overlapping of work and superfluous expenditure, returned to England to report.

7. APPEAL OF CHINA EMERGENCY COMMITTEE.

The result of their report was an appeal to the Christian Church for £100,000, drafted by Dr. Boyd Carpenter, Bishop of Ripon, and supported by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Duke of Argyll, Sir Robert Hart, and the Lord Mayor of London. Of this, £40,000 was to be given for normal schools and colleges, £40,000 for medical colleges, and £20,000 for the translation of literature and textbooks. Besides the raising of these funds, the sympathy of the Universities Mission was enlisted, and I had much correspondence with Dr. Paton and leading educationists in America and England, urging that these two great countries should each send out ten of its ablest university men to aid China in the new education. Lord William Cecil later began to appeal for the Oxford and Cambridge University in Central China.

The widespread interest awakened in China by the China Missions Emergency Committee's work was one of the impulses which gave rise to the American Laymen's Movement, which also sent a deputation to the Centenary Conference in Shanghai. These deputations were important factors in preparing the way for the Edinburgh Conference of 1910.

8. DEPUTATIONS TO CHINA.

The English Baptist Mission sent a deputation to China in the autumn of 1907, consisting of Rev. C. E. Wilson and Rev. W. Y. Fullerton. They visited our work in Shantung, Shensi, and Shansi, and I met them in Peking at the beginning of December. There I introduced them to members of the Wai Wu Pu, describing the various services rendered by the Mission in different provinces.

After this, the deputation visited our Mission centres in Shantung.

The following year the Religious Tract Society sent Rev. A. R. Buckland and Sir Charles Tarring to China for the purpose of enlarging the scope of their service. Thus the interest of the Christian Church at home was greatly stimulated towards China's needs.

9. DR. JOHN R. MOTT.

In November 1901, there had appeared on the missionary horizon of China a star of the first magnitude in the person of John R. Mott. He called a Conference of some scores of leading missionaries from the north, south, central, and west of China, to meet him in Nanking. From the beginning he showed large conceptions of his work. I travelled on the same steamer and had several long talks with him, showing that the most successful Mission method I had found was in working through the officials and scholars in provincial capitals. I strongly urged him to send men to co-operate in literary work with the S.D.K. But he would not promise to do so. At the Nanking Conference he drew from his pocket a fat book of questions which he had prepared on every aspect of Mission work, and which he fired at each missionary in succession in order to gain precise information. It gradually became clear to me that his was a master mind that would not co-operate with any one, but would lead in an independent scheme of his own, in which, however, he would invite and expect other Missions to help him.

In the development of the Y.M.C.A. he brought to bear all the genius that would have made him conspicuous in any branch of business that he might otherwise have taken up. The principles of work on which the Association was based were akin to the lines of policy of the most successful business systems of America. Dr. Mott obtained the chief control of the Student Volunteer Movement in England and America, and by this means had access to the best students of Christendom from among whom he could select choice men and women

for his work. By his powerful and inspiring addresses and magnetic personality he stirred the hearts of University students wonderfully in Europe and America.

The lecture system which I had carried out in T'ai-yuan fu, which Mr. Whitewright had made use of in his unique museum and institute first in Ch'ing-chow fu and then in Chi-nan fu, I described to Dr. Mott on our way to Nanking.

This has been very successfully planned and organized on a large scale in the Y.M.C.A., under the able management of Professor Robertson.

But Dr. Mott's crowning achievement was in connection with the Edinburgh Conference of 1910, and the Continuation Committee in 1912.

10. THE EDINBURGH CONFERENCE.

The various missionary bodies in India and China had always been in advance of the Churches at home in their expression of united action. But attempts had been made both in America and England, such as the Ecumenical Conference in New York and that in Liverpool, to show united interest in the operations of all branches of the Christian Church. Of all these Union meetings, that of the Edinburgh Conference, under the chairmanship of Dr. Mott, was the most elaborately organized and most successfully carried out.

As there were so many delegates, it was impossible to allow them to make long speeches, therefore, whether they were bishops or less important people, they were each limited to seven minutes. In my speech, which was naturally on the need of Christian literature, I pointed out that the strength of a chain was in its weakest link, and that the weakest link in missionary operations in China was valuable Christian literature.

11. EDINBURGH CONFERENCE CONTINUATION COMMITTEE.

It was felt at the close of the Edinburgh Conference that the organization of a world-missionary effort had really only commenced, the foundation alone having been

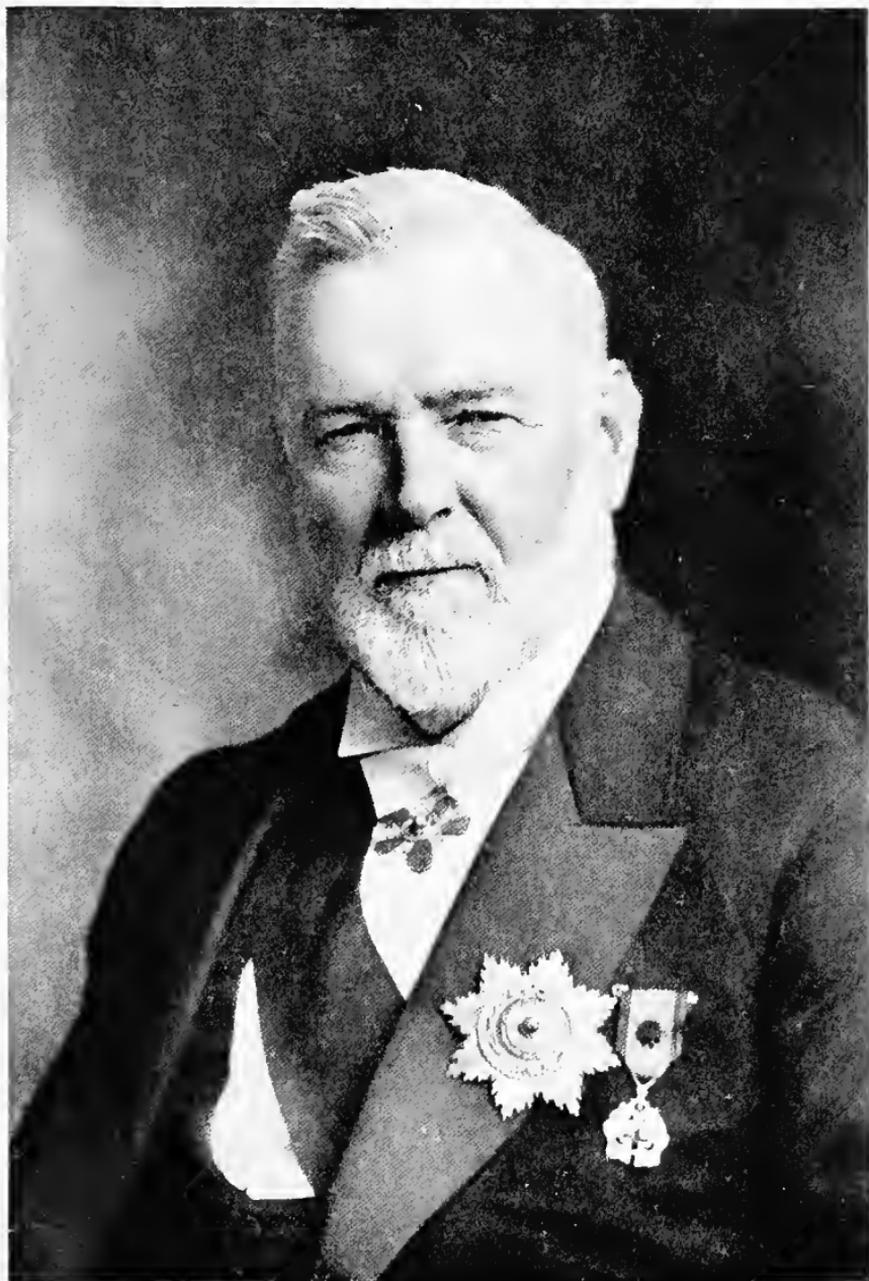


Photo by

[Elliott & Fry.]

TIMOTHY RICHARD AT 65 : WITH DOUBLE DRAGON AND RED
CROSS DECORATIONS.

To face p. 332.

laid. It was therefore decided¹ to form a Continuation Committee, over which Dr. Mott continued to preside. In his capacity as chairman he visited India, where he held important conferences, and afterwards China, where he had five local conferences and one national one. At one of these meetings, Dr. Mott stated that I had some years ago pleaded for twenty more workers in connection with Christian literature; he was sorry that the Churches had not responded, for it was a duty which they had neglected.

At the Continuation Conference I laid stress on two special points. First, I begged for an improved distribution of Mission funds, for so far liberal amounts had been allocated towards evangelistic, educational, and medical work. Secondly, I asked that the Missionary Societies should insist on their agents sending annual reports of the books they had distributed, and the effect of those books on the readers, in order to discover what kind of literature was the most effective.

I am glad to find from the recent work of the Continuation Committee that they intend to do much more for literary work in the future than was done in the past.

CHAPTER XIX

HIGHER BUDDHISM

I. STUDY OF BUDDHISM.

NOT long after accepting the post of Secretary to the S.D.K. in Shanghai, I was confronted with the great problem of how to change the religious faith, not merely of a single province, but of a nation of many hundreds of millions. At this time a little company of missionaries, anxious to arrive at the fundamentals of religious problems, often met together for discussions on them. I was asked to write a paper explaining how it was that Buddhism had attracted so large a number of adherents, leading them to build such numerous and beautiful temples in China. In order to get material for my paper, I studied and translated a Buddhist work called "Guide to Buddhahood." This, though interesting, did not give me exactly what I wished. I had previously, however, in 1884, come across a very remarkable book which had made clear to my mind the secret of the influence of Buddhism. This treatise was called "The Awakening of Faith in the Mahayana School of Religion." A devout Buddhist who had been converted from Confucianism, and who was master of Buddhist philosophical terms, had offered to help me to translate the book into English if I could spare the time. This book I translated in 1891 with his help, though my translation was not published till after another, by Suzuki, had appeared. Its author, Ashvagosa, was the founder of the Mahayana School of Buddhism, a new sect that arose towards the end of the first century A.D. in North-West India, opposed to the

Hinayana or original School of Buddhism. The doctrines of the new school were those of "one soul immanent for good in all the universe, of one Divine helper of men, of individual immortality and growth in the likeness of God, of the importance of faith in God to produce good works, and of the willingness of the best spirits to make sacrifices to save others."

2. PROFESSOR LLOYD.

I was greatly struck by the Christian nature of the teaching of the book. Nor was I the only one who remarked the resemblance. During the Centenary Conference of Missions held in Shanghai in 1907, a friend lent me a book on Japanese Buddhism, in which Amida (the Buddhist God) was referred to as being the same as God. The author was a Cambridge University man, Arthur Lloyd, professor in one of the Tokyo colleges, and formerly a C.M.S. missionary. His apparently similar interest in Buddhism led to a correspondence between us, and the following year, 1908, I visited him in Tokyo.

One day he invited a number of most interesting men for lunch. A Roman Catholic Bishop was the only one unable to come, but the others were Archbishop Nicolai of the Greek Church, Bishop Awdry of the Anglican Church, Bishop McKin of the American Church, Bishop Harris of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Carey Hall, the British Consul-General at Yokohama, Dr. Sprague, Professor of Economics at the Tokyo University, and an English clergyman from Yokohama. As soon as Archbishop Nicolai arrived, he sat by me on a sofa and said: "When you called on me in the 'eighties, I had only one newspaper. Now I have two." I asked him among what class of people he worked. He replied very humbly: "I work among a very different class of people from my Protestant colleagues. They work among statesmen, and leaders, and students, while I work amongst the ignorant poor." Yet I knew that he alone had as many converts as most of the other missionaries put together. After lunch Mr. Lloyd took us

to his study, where he asked me to put any question I wished bearing on the problems in Japan. I told the friends of my great surprise at finding that Christianity was making comparatively slow progress in the Far East, and that I would very much like to know their individual views on the subject. The Consul-General was a Positivist, and remarked that as a layman he had been greatly pleased with the great difference in the attitude of the missionaries from that of the merchants towards the Japanese, the former being pro-Japanese, the latter anti-Japanese; but that in his opinion, if the missionaries were less theological and more practical, and gave more attention to sociological problems, their influence would be far greater and wider. Dr. Sprague then said he thought it a mistake for the missionaries to remain in Japan; they should pass on, like St. Paul, from place to place; by leaving they would allow the Japanese to circulate Christian truths amongst themselves, and the progress of Christianity would be much more rapid. Professor Lloyd's opinion was that the slow progress of Christianity was due to the ignorance, on the part of the missionaries, of the native religions and sects. Most of the other friends were not ready to admit that the progress of Christianity was slow, and their remarks were more or less apologetic and not very distinctive. At the close, however, Bishop Awdry said he had never before known so many taking part in such a conversation.

A few days after this, at the request of the Asiatic Society, I gave an address on Confucianism. Professor Lloyd begged me to make a special plea at the close for earnest study of comparative religion, as he considered it would render missionary work more effective. At this time Professor Lloyd was engaged on two interesting books on Buddhism, "Wheat among Tares" and "The Creed of Half Japan."

3. INTRODUCTION OF BUDDHISM INTO JAPAN.

In order better to understand the importance of Professor Lloyd's other researches on Higher Buddhism

a few historical data should be mentioned. Mahayana or Higher Buddhism was first introduced into Japan by way of Korea, and its influence in Japan was so remarkable that an Emperor in the ninth century, knowing that it had come to Korea from China, sent Kobo Daishi and Dengyo Daishi as ambassadors to China to study more of the religion. Kobo Daishi may be regarded as the Luther of Japan. The embassy sailed in three junks across the stormy China Sea. One of them was lost in a typhoon on the way. The others were separated and each feared the other lost. After incredible hardships, however, they arrived at the Chinese coast and made their way to the capital. There they found no less than three thousand Christian, Buddhist, Brahmin, and Mohammedan missionaries residing.

Kobo Daishi's co-ambassador to China, Dengyo Daishi, hearing that there was a very sacred book in T'ien-t'ai San, near Hangchow, went there and found this special work, "The Lotus Scripture." It was considered to surpass all other sacred writings in virtue. It had not come overland to North China like the other Buddhist Scriptures, but had been brought by sea, probably from Egypt. This sea journey is not surprising, for according to Brooks Adams, in his "New Empire," the Chinese appear to have made voyages to the Persian Gulf as early as the third century of the Christian era, and by the eighth century the sea journey from Egypt to India was frequently undertaken.

After Dengyo Daishi had taken "The Lotus Scripture" to Japan, it became the chief sacred book of the Nicheren sect, one of the most popular in Japan to-day. Thus we see that the religion of the Far East is not merely the growth of one native religion or sect, but a development of a religion which has ramifications throughout all the Far East, if not all Asia.

4. CONNECTION BETWEEN EARLY CHRISTIANITY AND "THE LOTUS SCRIPTURE."

In "Wheat Among Tares" Professor Lloyd dwelt on the likeness of the thought underlying the doctrine of

the Nicheren sect of Buddhism to the speculation of the Alexandrian Gnostics. These doctrines were drawn from "The Lotus Scripture," and he proved it to be a translation of a book of Scythian origin, the original portion being a work known to some of the Greek Fathers of the second and third centuries, and written by an Indian Buddhist residing in Alexandria during the second century. In "The Creed of Half Japan," which was published in 1911 after his death, Professor Lloyd drew attention to the remarkable parallel between Christianity and the Mahayana School of Buddhism, and pleaded for Christian teachers "of sympathy and patience who would be willing . . . to say to the Buddhist, 'I will walk with you, and together we will go to Him to whom you say Sakyamuni himself bore witness.'"

5. MRS. GORDON'S RESEARCHES.

At this time there lived in Tokyo the Hon. Mrs. E. A. Gordon, who had been instrumental with Mrs. Archibald Little and Sir Percy Bunting in collecting a library of the best English literature for the use of our gallant allies. Mrs. Gordon had brought this library to Tokyo, where she presented it to the authorities, who were so pleased that they erected a special building to contain it. Mrs. Gordon's great desire was to study the religions of Japan. At her house I met the Abbot of the Nicheren sect of Buddhism, who presented me with a copy of "The Lotus Scripture" in Japanese. This edition contained an abstract of its teaching in Chinese. On reading it, I was struck with its doctrines of Life, Light, and Love, and its similarity to the Gospel of St. John.

The following summer I went to Miyajima, where I met Mrs. Gordon again, and where I began a translation of "The Lotus Scripture," Mrs. Gordon making some notes on it. When telling her of the lunch party at Professor Lloyd's, I suggested it would be interesting to meet some of the leading native pastors and ask their reasons for the slow progress of Christianity. Mrs. Gordon accordingly invited about a dozen, and the

unanimity of all was remarkable in saying that the missionaries did not understand the philosophy, the religion, or the customs of Japan, and consequently they did not win but frequently alienated many of the best people who otherwise would gladly welcome Christianity. On hearing this, I felt more strongly than ever the importance of the study of native religions in order to win the Far East to the Christian faith.

With heart and soul Mrs. Gordon made researches in her study of the various religions and sects, and published "The Speaking Stone" and "The Lotus Scripture." The first book referred to the Nestorian monument in Si-an fu, and showed how many Japanese religious customs were similar to Christian rites, and must have been brought to Japan by Kobo Daishi and Dengyo Daishi, who had been sent as ambassadors to China in A.D. 800. Mrs. Gordon's book was translated into Japanese by the leading Sanskrit scholar, Takakusu, and published in a Buddhist magazine, causing a great stir among the Buddhists in Japan. In the past the Buddhists and Christians had been attacking each other most vigorously, stirring up bitter strife; but after the appearance of this friendly historical statement the Japanese Buddhists were so moved by appreciation of Christianity that they made a replica of the Nestorian Stone of Si-an fu and put it up at Koyasan, where Kobo Daishi is buried awaiting the coming of the Buddhist Messiah. His tomb is a simple one. Approaching it are long lines of tall cryptomaria, and on either side of the avenue are thousands of graves of eminent and devout Japanese, buried there in the hope that when Kobo Daishi arises they also will rise from the tomb.

6. VISIT TO KOYASAN.

When I visited Koyasan, and it was known that I had translated two of the standard Buddhist works, "The Awakening of Faith" and the "Essence of the Lotus Scripture," the Principal and Faculty of the Buddhist college called on me and invited me to lecture

to the students on each of the four days I proposed to stay there.

The subjects I chose to lecture on were :—

The Religions of the World.

The Civilizations of the World.

The Increase of Materialism in the World.

The Duty of Buddhists and Christians to Revive Spiritual Religion in the World.

For these lectures the faculty and students made me a special vote of thanks. Before leaving Koyasan I called on the supreme Abbot and asked him if he were willing to co-operate in the revival of true religion. He responded most readily and heartily for two reasons : first, because Buddhism sought the spiritual and not the material ; secondly, Higher Buddhism, which they in Japan followed, did not require personal salvation merely, but encouraged the salvation of others. When I left Koyasan the Principal came a long way with me, and asked me to send him a copy of our Bible, so that he might place it in the library for the use of his students. This I did on my return to Shanghai.

This new friendly movement towards Buddhism was not one-sided, for one of the students in the Buddhist college at Koyasan had already translated and published some of Tolstoi's parables into Japanese. A couple of years later a Buddhist priest named Iwashashi discovered the similarity between the two religions, and delivered a course of lectures on the subject to the priests at Kyoto. At first, when they found him friendly to Christianity, they were hostile, but gradually their attitude changed and the audiences increased at each lecture. Later he came over to Shanghai to obtain fuller information about Christianity, and remained studying for two months with me.

7. SIMILARITIES OF CHRISTIAN AND BUDDHIST RITES.

The first temples of Higher Buddhism in Japan were built at Horiuji, near Nara, the ancient capital. In one

of these temples one is amazed at the vivid likeness of some of the images to the description of the "four beasts round about the throne" in the Book of Revelation. In another, Buddha as the Great Physician is represented as healing all manner of diseases. In another Sakyamuni is presented surrounded by his twelve armed generals (disciples), whose names are all given. He stands on a sea of glass and the sun and moon wait upon him. In the service conducted in that temple they made the sign of the cross in the air.

Miyajima, about half-way between Shimonoseki and Kobe, is one of the sacred islands of Japan. It has a famous temple, said to have been founded by Kobo Daishi, the famous religious reformer.

On his return from China, Kobo Daishi endeavoured to unite the various religions of Japan into one, and to introduce what he considered to be the best in all the religions he found in China. At the top of the hill in Miyajima is a temple where a sacred fire, first lit by Kobo Daishi, has been kept burning ever since. At the foot of the hill is a baptistery, which I was allowed to enter. I was shown a specially beautiful robe of silk worn by the priests during the baptismal service which is still observed in the Buddhism of Japan. When I explained to the priest our baptismal custom in the West, he was greatly interested. In another large temple the priests were reciting prayers, the custom and form strongly reminding me of the Roman Catholic Mass. In the large hall I observed a family—father, mother, sons, and daughters—kneeling reverently near the door. To them came a priest bearing a tray on which were set some little cakes and wine. They took the cakes and drank the wine, after which the priest returned to his post by the altar. On feast days this ceremony, which we might call the Shinto Mass, or Communion, continues throughout the day. It was impossible to witness these various rites without thinking of the ceremonies of the Christian Church, for the spirit pervading them seemed the same although the outward form differed.

8. VISIT TO KOREAN BUDDHIST MONASTERIES.

As Higher Buddhism came to Japan from Korea, I paid a special visit to South Korea in 1913 in order to study certain temples. One of the oldest and largest Buddhist monasteries in Korea is the Tsudoji in South Korea, not far from Fusan. There the "Ship of Souls" is painted with great clearness on the walls, Kwanyin and Sakyamuni occupy a prominent position, and the Trinity are painted together on a vase.

But the most remarkable place in Korea is a cave temple, half a day's journey to the east of the ancient capital of the Southern Kingdom of Korea. It was built at the suggestion of a black monk who had arrived on Korean shores from across the seas. He it was who taught the Koreans the use of incense sticks.

The Korean King had a daughter whom none could cure. The black monk was appealed to, and the King made a solemn vow that if she were healed he would put up images of Buddhas and Bodhisatvas in honour of the black priest's religion. The princess was healed, and the King sent to China for the best artists, who spent many years in their labours of love which are a joy to all who see their work to-day. The cave temple is one of the unique ones in the Far East, for it contains a wonderful central image of Buddha. An archæologist from Chicago believes that it is the original figure from which the noted masterpiece at Kamakura was modelled.

9. STRIKING SHINTO RITES.

Not only does Buddhism have much in common with Christianity, but Shintoism also. If by any chance the Imperial Japanese line of succession should fail, there is another branch considered equally sacred and descended from the gods. The chief of this line is the Shinto high priest at Idzumo, on the western side of Japan. With the exception of Ise, which is considered the most sacred Shinto temple belonging to the Emperor, the temple at Idzumo ranks the highest in the Empire.

I visited it in the summer of 1908. As I was a complete stranger, and the chief priest occupied such a high position, I was very pleased that he granted me an interview, and appointed a priest to conduct my foreign friend and me round the precincts. In one of the rooms was preserved a facsimile of a wooden drill, by which in olden times fire was obtained. Another precious treasure in the same chamber was an image armed with a sword of an ancient goddess, from whom the Shinto priest was supposed to be descended. Shortly after my visit I read Lafcadio Hearn's description of the Idzumo temple. He was the first foreigner to see the chief priest of this Shinto branch, a few years previously.

It was curious to notice that the old Jewish custom of clapping the hands at worship was everywhere observed in the Shinto temples. At a certain season of the year some eighty thousand pilgrims visit the temple, and those present at such an enormous gathering say that the clapping of hands sounds like the roar of a cataract. The Shinto priests are clad in pure white robes. The temples are usually arranged in a series of three buildings, separated by courtyards. At the entrance to each is a curtain or veil, which reminds one of the veil of the Temple at Jerusalem. In every courtyard is a stone or bronze trough, or sometimes a beautiful brass laver, where the worshipper first washes his hands before entering the temple. "Who shall stand in His holy place? He that hath clean hands and a pure heart" (Psa. xxiv. 3, 4).

10. "A MISSION TO HEAVEN."

When I translated that masterpiece of Chinese literature "Si Yu Ki," which I published in 1913, under the title of "A Mission to Heaven," it was evident to me that the book was constructed on profound Christian philosophy. The leader of the expedition, the Master, is an allegorical figure of Jesus Christ, and is the helper in all difficulties, and the agent in the conversion of each one of his party, turning the proud, masterful monkey to repentance and a right use of his

intellectual gifts, converting the low, selfish tastes of the pig into desires for high self-sacrifice, changing the conceit of the dolphin into humility and the stupidity of the dragon into usefulness, so that after all have led lives of service for the salvation of men, they are received into heaven, where God rewards them with immortal glory. No doubt was left in my mind but that the work was that of a Christian who sought to evangelize China. But time will be needed before many readers will fully comprehend its teaching.

II. ATTITUDE OF PRINCE ITO TOWARDS RELIGION.

In connection with this subject, it may be interesting to my readers to hear of the attitude of two famous Japanese statesmen towards religion.

In January 1908 I had an interview with Prince Ito in connection with my scheme of federation of the ten leading nations. After about an hour's keen discussion I rose to take my leave. He then said, "Perhaps you will be interested to see the next room," and with that he opened the door of a large chamber with nothing in it but a table and a few chairs.

"This is the room where the Constitution of Japan was drawn up," he said. "The Emperor had formed a Cabinet of which I was President, and here we met once a fortnight to frame the Constitution. The Emperor attended every meeting from first to last. He did not sit with us, but in an adjoining room where he could hear every word."

"It must have been no easy task," I remarked. "What were the most difficult questions?"

"Perhaps the stormiest time we had was over the Article on religious liberty," he replied.

He then told me how he had been able to gain the consent of the members opposed to it. In managing this difficult question he had shown consummate skill. When he read his first draft of the Article, the face of one member "turned as black as ink," and he exclaimed that he would never consent to grant religious liberty. A second member supported him.

Seeing the determined opposition of these two men, the Marquis remarked that there would be no discussion of the question that day, but he would give them his reasons for inserting the Article, and they would have time to consider the matter before the next meeting. The subject of religious liberty had troubled him also for many years. But whilst in Vienna he had studied the question with a certain doctor who threw a new light on the matter. If a nation withheld religious liberty, there would result between the different religions constant contention, which in process of time might develop into political quarrels and even into civil war. Once the nation were weakened by civil war, it would be at the mercy of any strong nation who chose to take advantage of it. On the other hand, if religious liberty were granted, the adherents of the various religions would be loyal to the Government, and would vie with each other in doing good and thus strengthen the nation in every way.

“The real question before the Cabinet to-day is this,” he said: “Shall we adopt a policy that will give peace and permanent prosperity, or one that will engender strife and faction, and possibly involve us in national ruin?”

3 “When the Cabinet next met, I asked the members if they had considered the Articles on religious liberty. The former chief opposer said, ‘I have done nothing, night or day, since we last met but think of this question, and I have come to the conclusion that it is best to try the experiment.’ The other opposer also agreed to try it. Thus the matter was carried unanimously.”

After the Constitution had been satisfactorily drawn up the Emperor presented the house in which the meetings had taken place to Prince Ito for a private residence.

12. COUNT OKUMA.

Count Okuma is another of the remarkable founders of new Japan. He is a man of large visions, a generation ahead of his times, broad-minded and catholic in spirit,

not only wishing the good of Japan, as is the supreme aim of his fellow-patriots, but also desiring the welfare of all nations.

In the early days of Reform, his colleagues recognized his worth and appointed him Minister of Foreign Affairs. He advocated the policy of throwing open the whole country to foreign trade and intercourse in those early days instead of having merely a few open ports. To the Conservatives this was such radicalism as could not be endured. He must be put out of the way. Therefore, one morning when he was proceeding to the Foreign Office, a bomb was thrown into his carriage. By a miracle, he was not killed, but his leg was blown off. Since then he has walked with an artificial limb.

Later, as the Cabinet did not move as rapidly as he wished, he resigned his position, and has since devoted himself to the establishment of a private University in Tokyo, where the students are taught on his own lines, so that in future they may carry on the policy for which he stands. The number of his students, some seven thousand, is greater than that of the Government University students.

When I visited Japan in January 1908, I found that seven hundred of the Chinese students were in Count Okuma's University, and he invited me to address them. Judging by the frequent and hearty applause, I felt that I had struck the right keynote. I urged the students not to think of going back to China to do any political work until they had finished their college studies, and had learned everything that Waseda could teach them, or they would do harm instead of good.

After the lecture he invited me with some professors to his residence close by, for some further talk, during which I asked, knowing that he had introduced the comparative study of religion into the University course, whether there was any likelihood of the subject being introduced by the Government into the Middle Schools' course ; for whatever Japan would do in education, China was sure to follow. The introduction of the comparative study of religion into the curriculum of Chinese colleges

would tend towards a better understanding between the Chinese Government and Christian Missions. After a non-committal reply, he made some illuminating remarks on the subject of the Japanese attitude towards religion. He said that when Confucian scholars went over to Japan the Emperor became greatly interested in their teaching, and in consequence the Daimyos became interested in Confucianism. Later, when Buddhism was introduced into Japan, and the Emperor became interested and built temples for the new religion, the Daimyos followed his example, and built Buddhist temples in their respective principalities.

"Thus," he concluded, "in religious matters our country largely follows the attitude of the Sovereign," leaving me to draw my own conclusions.

13. EVENING AT JAPANESE BANK IN PEKING.

In 1910, while I was in Peking on my way to attend the Edinburgh Conference, the manager of the Yokohama Specie Bank invited the veteran Dr. Martin and myself to dinner at his house. There were present members of the Japanese Legation, two or three journalists, and the pastor of one of the Japanese Churches in Peking. After the dinner, we adjourned to the drawing-room, where a number of Japanese ladies joined the company. The pastor gave out a hymn, which we sang, accompanied by one of the ladies on a harmonium, after which the pastor engaged in prayer. Dr. Martin then gave an address on his sixty years' experience in China. I spoke later on the relationship between Christianity and Higher Buddhism, the latter form of Buddhism prevalent in Japan. The journalists made appreciative remarks on our addresses, and the evening closed with a hymn and benediction. Thus ended a most enjoyable and edifying evening which could not possibly have taken place in any other bank in Peking.

CHAPTER XX

EVENTS AND WORK OF LATER YEARS

1. VISIT TO KOREA.

IN the winter of 1908 I paid a visit to Korea. The Y.M.C.A. had put up a fine building in Seoul, and the leading statesmen and public men, both Japanese and Korean, had consented to attend the formal opening of the building. I was also invited by both Japanese and Koreans, and was asked to do what I could to pour oil on the troubled waters. Meetings were held for three days to inaugurate the opening, those on the first day being more especially for Christians, those on the second day being for students from Christian and Government schools, while the meeting on the third day was for high officials. I spoke each day. On the third day I was put down to speak after Prince Ito, while the chair was taken by a brilliant Christian Korean, Yun Tsu Ho.

In my speech I first sympathized with the Koreans in the troubles which had overtaken them in the last twenty years. And then I told them I was reminded of a large tract of land in North China productive of nothing but soda, so that the owners could not pay taxes on it, and therefore disowned it. But one year the Yellow River broke its banks and flooded the country far and wide. Countless numbers of people were drowned. When the waters had subsided, there was found deposited on the barren land a thick layer of the richest soil, so that what had been worthless before had become of great value.

"It seems to me," I said, "that at this time, when

apparently you seem to have suffered disaster and lost your country, you are being given immense opportunities. So long as you are protected by Japan, no foreign nation will molest you. Prince Ito, whom the Emperor of China wished to engage as his adviser, is now your adviser. What was China's loss is now your gain. If you make good use of the next twenty years, you will become a new people, a new nation, capable of great possibilities, and you will find that God has turned your calamity into a great blessing."

2. PRINCE ITO'S SPEECH AT BANQUET.

The night before I left Seoul, Prince Ito invited the leading Japanese, Koreans, and a few foreigners to a banquet, at the close of which he made the most remarkable missionary speech I ever heard in my life. It was to this effect. His Emperor had sent him round the world to visit various nations and study what might be useful to Japan. He had learned three great lessons in his travels abroad. The first was that no nation could be considered prosperous if it did not attempt something for the material prosperity of its people. The second was that no material prosperity could last long without a moral backbone. The third lesson was that of the nations who had moral backbone, the most powerful were those who had religious sanction behind them. He hoped, therefore, that the missionaries would regard him as a sympathizer and colleague.

These were the last words I heard from Asia's greatest statesman. Not long after he was struck down by the hand of an assassin.

3. SUN YAT-SEN'S EARLY CAREER.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen, who was largely responsible for the Revolution in China, was the son of a convert of the London Missionary Society. He graduated in medicine in Hongkong, and began to practise in Macao. He became an active revolutionary in Canton, but owing to the failure of his conspiracy, fled to Japan and the United States. While in England in 1896 he was

kidnapped and imprisoned for some days in the Chinese Legation in London, whence Dr. Cantlie helped to set him free.

Shortly after this he called on me at my hotel in London and expressed his gratitude for all I had done for China by famine relief and literature. He dilated on the tyranny and corruption of the Manchus, declaring that they were all bad. In his opinion what was necessary was to replace the Manchu Government by a Chinese rule, then all would be well. I pointed out that he was mistaken, that in studying Chinese history he would find that there had been splendid Manchu officials as well as bad ones, while rascally Chinese mandarins were to be found as well as good ones. Simply to transfer the supreme power from the Manchus to the Chinese without some radical change at the heart of government was like turning a bad dollar upside down ; it was still a bad dollar. Reform, not revolution, in my opinion, was needed. But Sun would not be dissuaded from the path of revolution, but directed all his energies towards disseminating revolutionary literature.

Not long after my return to China I visited the southern ports, giving lectures to the missionaries on the need of literary work. In Hongkong I met the reformer Ho-kai, a most interesting man. He had known K'ang Yu-wei very well, and had seen his book in manuscript and had given him many points that were afterwards embodied in the Memorial of Reform to the Throne. He had advised Sun Yat-sen not to advocate rebellion, but to "preach the gospel of Freedom."

4. HIS SCHEMES FOR REVOLUTION.

On my way to America in 1900 I found that Dr. Sun was living in Yokohama. I called on him, and found him immersed in schemes for the downfall of the Manchus. He declared that they would never change their ways till compelled by threat of slaughter. He had definitely made up his mind to advocate revolution, pure and simple. I replied that we would have to part company, as I believed in enlightening the Government

by literature. I saw he had never forgiven the Manchus for imprisoning him in the Chinese Legation in London.

From that time on Dr. Sun visited the Chinese in America, Singapore, and Java, raising money for revolutionary purposes. He also visited Paris to ask the French Government to assist him in forming an independent Chinese kingdom in South China. But the French would not listen to his proposal.

He then made his headquarters in Japan, where some ten thousand Chinese students had gone to study the secret of the Japanese success over them. When they had obtained a smattering of knowledge, many of them returned to their respective provinces and roused their fellow-provincials into a white heat of hatred against the Manchu rule. In November 1908 occurred the deaths of the Emperor and Empress-Dowager. The Emperor's brother, Prince Ch'un, was appointed Regent for his little son, the new Emperor. In addition to his efforts in Japan, Dr. Sun carried on correspondence with Chinese students in Europe and America. Some of the latter, though as imperfect in their knowledge of the art of government as Dr. Sun was in the relative worth of Chinese and Manchu rulers, believed that a republican form of government would make China prosper like the great republic of the United States. So the cry was raised, "Let us have a republic for China!" When all the Chinese students abroad and their friends in China were ripe for action, a republican flag was manufactured in Chicago, and students who were willing to attack any Chinese official or induce him to submit to the republic were promised by Dr. Sun high positions of authority.

5. OUTBREAK OF REVOLUTION.

On October 11, 1911, the Revolution broke out in Wuchang, and later in countless other centres. The Manchu official Tuan Fang, proceeding as Viceroy to Szechuen, was brutally murdered. On October 22nd terrible bloodshed was witnessed in Si-an fu, the capital

of Shensi, when fifteen thousand Manchus, men, women, and children, were massacred. In T'ai-yuan fu the gates of the Manchu city were left open, so that those who wished to escape might do so. Many Manchus were slaughtered in Foochow, Hangchow, Nanking, and other cities, and in a couple of months the whole of China had turned republican.

Early in December the Prince Regent on behalf of his little son, the Emperor, presented an edict of abdication to the Empress-Dowager, which she accepted, entrusting all political affairs to the Prime Minister, Yuan Shih-kai. Dr. Sun was in England when the Revolution first broke out, but he hurried back to China, and in December a Republican Conference, representing fourteen provinces, met at Nanking, electing Dr. Sun as Provisional President of the Republic of China and Yuan Shih-kai as Premier. But three months later Dr. Sun resigned in favour of Yuan Shih-kai. This was the wisest step in his life, as he felt he had had no experience in the art of government, while Yuan Shih-kai was about the most experienced statesman in China. Dr. Sun was appointed Director-General of Railways, and advocated an extensive programme of railway construction.

But the new republican officials, who had been given lucrative positions by Dr. Sun, proved for the most part not only incapable of their duties but more corrupt than the Manchus. This brought disorder over the land. Bands of robbers roamed the provinces, killing those against whom they had a grudge and carrying away their property. Seeing all this disorder in the provinces, in some of which attempts had been made to set up independent governments, Yuan Shih-kai took energetic measures. He appointed Yen Ch'ang, a Manchu who had had military training in Germany, to be Minister of War, with efficient officers and trained men under him. As this army reform necessitated a great drain on the Government's finances, Yuan Shih-kai decided to borrow a large foreign loan. Sun Yat-sen protested against the President's action as unconstitutional, for

Yuan Shih-kai had not received the sanction of the Parliament.

I was asked to see Dr. Sun and advise him not to send his protest abroad. As Yuan was now the head of the republic, the nation should show their confidence in him and not interfere with plans he considered necessary for the strengthening of the country. When I called on Dr. Sun, he was in the act of reading the proof of his protest. He handed it over to me and asked me what I thought of it. I begged him not to publish it, but he would not listen to reason, and thereby ended his honourable career in China.

A few of the revolutionaries who benefited their pockets to the extent of millions of taels during their brief but notorious office made a vain attempt at rebellion in 1913, and had to fly the country. They are said to be now in hiding in Japan and elsewhere, plotting another revolution.

6. YUAN SHIH-KAI'S MEASURES.

Yuan Shih-k'ai was right in insisting on a strong army without delay for the suppression of disorders in the provinces. He has pacified the whole country to the admiration of all the friends of China.

Another wise step of his was to invite back to China the leading Reformers in China who had been banished by the old Empress-Dowager. K'ang Yu-wei for a time would not avail himself of the invitation, and when he did at last return refused all offers of position. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao returned and was appointed Head of the Department of Justice. I saw him once again in the winter of 1913 in Peking. He was anxious for a lady teacher for his daughter, who wished to study English literature. I recommended Miss Bowden-Smith, daughter of an English Admiral and graduate of both Cambridge University, England, and Cornell University, U.S.A. (At the same meeting K'ang Yu-wei spoke of his belief in the Fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man, and that one day all nations would be united under one government.) Though there have been other Ministers

of Education, it remains a fact that beyond the Government University in Peking there yet, in 1915, are no adequate universities in the provinces to train Chinese in the highest branches of studies. This is the weakest point in the Republic of China, for she has dethroned education from the high place where it reigned for ages past.

Yuan Shih-kai never adopted any sound policy in regard to education. As first Minister of Education he appointed a Hanlin who had completed his education in Germany and imbibed the mischievous principles of Nietzsche and believed in the supremacy of militarism. This official delivered a lecture in Shanghai in 1914, saying among other things that religion was no longer necessary for the people. But the troublous career of the first President of the Chinese Republic having ended as this book is going through the press, further comment is needless.

7. MODERN RELIGIOUS MOVEMENT.

Dr. Gilbert Reid, in his International Institute in Shanghai, began to organize in 1910 monthly meetings to discuss the merits of the various religions at work in China, and asked me to act as the foreign chairman at these meetings, a Chinese acting as Chinese chairman. He invited leading men amongst the Confucianists, Buddhists, Taoists, Mohammedans, and the Christians to open the discussion each with a paper on his own religion. According to the rules, no one was to dwell on the faults of any religion, but only on the good it had done. At first the attendance at these meetings was small, but after the Revolution they became very crowded, and when some eminent leader was to speak the hall could not hold all the audience.

8. INTERVIEW WITH MULLAH.

In 1910 I visited the chief Mullah in Peking. During our talk I asked whether the Mohammedan officials, like Viceroy Ma, of Nanking, who had been assassinated early in the 'seventies, observed the Mohammedan faith



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or if they conformed to the Confucian practices in their official career. He replied that he feared Viceroy Ma had been more of a Confucianist than a Mohammedan. In other words, the Mohammedans adopted the policy followed by the Jesuits, regarding Confucianism as civil rather than religious.

When I asked if the education in the Mohammedan schools was still carried on in Arabic, as I found had been the case in 1875, he replied that for the benefit of theological students Arabic was taught; but it was interesting to find that in the ordinary Mohammedan schools the pupils conformed to the Government regulations for modern education.

9. RELIGIOUS MEETINGS IN SHANGHAI.

After the Revolution of 1911 there was a strong public opinion not only that the Government had failed to rule the nation aright, but that the religions of China had failed. A public meeting was called by leading Reformers and was held in the largest hall in Shanghai. Dr. Reid and I, together with some Chinese orators, were asked to speak. The ground floor was packed with men, the galleries with women, while many hundreds could not get into the building at all. When we urged the nation to reform in religion as well as in other matters the response was most hearty.

After this the Buddhists and Taoists organized regular meetings at their temples to discuss the same subject, and Dr. Reid, myself, and some other missionaries were usually invited to dinner, after which we addressed the meetings. The Taoist Pope, whose home is in Kiangse, was down in Shanghai at this time, and we frequently met. Some of the devout leaders often used to call at my house and remain late in the evening discussing religion. Thus public opinion became general that a reconstruction of religion was needed throughout the nation.

When the great European war of 1914 broke out, it was thought best to discontinue the International meetings at the Institute.

10. ENGLISH BAPTIST CONFERENCE IN SHANTUNG.

In the autumn of 1912 the English Baptist Mission in China held its first United Conference, with thirteen delegates from Shantung, Shansi, Shensi, and Shanghai. The meetings took place in Ch'ing-chow fu, where I had founded the work of the Society nearly forty years before, and they proved a great stimulus and inspiration to us all. At the close of our denominational meetings we were surprised to receive a request from the non-Christians in the city for the loan of the church for a public meeting to testify their indebtedness to the Christian Church for every reform that had been introduced. Over a thousand people gathered there, teachers and pupils from the Government schools, deputations from all sections of the community, including the Mohammedans and the Manchus, while a military band awoke the echoes of the place. Speeches were made by various officials, while one recited a poem specially composed for the function. It was a most happy occasion.

11. VISIT TO LAO SHAN IN SHANTUNG.

In August 1913, while I was translating the famous epic and allegory, the "Mission to Heaven," I was anxious to see the home of the author, a famous Taoist priest. He lived in various temples in the eastern promontory of Shantung. The easiest way of reaching them was by way of Tsingtao, which in 1913 was a beautiful centre of modern civilization under the rule of the Germans. The mountain of Lao Shan, covered with temples, is as famous among the Taoists as T'ien-t'ai, in Chekiang, is among the Buddhists. The great Emperor Ch'in Shih-hwang is said to have visited Lao Shan in search of an elixir of immortality. An inscription on a rock near the chief monastery, Tai Ch'ing Kung, commemorates the Imperial visit.

Scores of temples are scattered on this mountain, but they are not to be compared with the Buddhist temples of T'ien-t'ai either in beauty of architecture or in sculptural representations of ancient worthies. They are mostly like farm-houses, built some tens of li apart. All

the temples are Taoist except Hwa Yen An, a Buddhist temple.

On the top of Lao Shan, near Tsingtao, is a sanatorium, called Mecklenburg Hause, where the Germans often go. People of other nationalities can stay there at a slightly higher charge. I remained there a few nights, visiting the nearer temples in the daytime and inspecting their religious books. The temples did not greatly impress me. I therefore decided to go on to the chief monastery, Tai Ch'ing Kung, where lived the abbot who ruled all the temples of the mountain. This monastery was the farthest off, and could not be reached in a day. As the road was very rough and the weather very hot, I travelled in a chair. It was the last day of August, and though in a sheltered chair, the heat was so great that the skin peeled off the back of my hands.

By nightfall I reached the Buddhist temple Hwa Yen An, which, judging from its architecture, must have been very grand at one time. But the days of its glory had passed. Here I spent the night, my pillow being a block of wood. I was not able to see the abbot, for he had been carried off by the district magistrate, who accused him and his fellow-priests of smoking opium. The Buddhist Scriptures were neglected, eaten by rats and covered with dust, all save the Lotus Scripture, which was conspicuous.

12. MONASTERY OF TAI CH'ING KUNG.

The next day I proceeded on my journey over very rough roads and rocks and reached Tai Ch'ing Kung monastery. The abbot was at home, and received me most kindly. I told him that I had translated the "Mission to Heaven," and was anxious, before publishing it, to see the temples of Lao shan. He took me into a quiet courtyard and showed me a little study containing a number of Taoist books, which I found most useful for reference. We had long talks about the Revolution, about religion and education, in all of which subjects his views were most enlightened. He believed that the celibacy of Buddhist and Taoist priests (one order of Taoists

being celibate) should not be insisted on, and that the priests should be given instruction about the religions of the world.

The monastery consisted of about a dozen courtyards, in each of which there were houses where the priests lived. There were a hundred or more priests and lay-labourers in the monastery. The latter looked after the cultivation of the land which the priests owned. Some five or six li off there was a village among the barren rocks. How the villagers managed to live it was difficult to say, as they did not seem to possess any land to cultivate. Every day when the tide went out a large number of women and children passed the gate of the monastery on their way to the seashore, where they gathered cockles, periwinkles, and other shellfish. A number would go into the monastery and receive bowls of millet gruel to supplement their poor fare. When I praised the abbot for his charity he said: "This is a small trifle compared with what you did nearly forty years ago during the great famine in Shantung. One of the older priests here was in Ch'ing-chow fu at the time and had been telling us all about it. My monastery is rich compared with our neighbours. I would be hard-hearted if I did not give help to the needy."

13. RETURN TO TSINGTAO BY RAFT.

After having obtained all the information I needed, I made inquiries about the quickest way of returning to Tsingtao, as I did not wish another toilsome journey through the heat. The abbot told me that rafts, laden with straw and brushwood from the hills, often went across the bay to Tsingtao. We went down together to the harbour one morning and found a raft getting ready to start at two o'clock that afternoon with the tide. The abbot arranged that the men should take me as a passenger. After our midday meal the cook provided me with some fresh bread for the voyage, and we made our way to the shore. Half a dozen of the older priests came down with me and bade me a very friendly farewell. The raft was laden with a huge stack

of brushwood and straw, between twenty and thirty feet high. I climbed part of the way up by a ladder, and clambered up the rest of the way by means of a rope. From the top I had a fine view of sea and sky and a soft bed. At ten o'clock at night the men rested for their supper. I spent the night at the top of the stack beneath the stars, and lay on the thickest mattress I ever had beneath me. By dawn the next morning I was in Tsingtao, after a delightful sleep and a calm voyage. I was so pleased with the ease and comfort of my return journey that I paid the men over and above their bargain money, at which they were well content.

In Tsingtao I called on an old friend of mine, Mr. Ohlmer, the German Commissioner of Customs. He was much interested in our Society's efforts to provide suitable literature to help the Chinese. Having seen the wonderful museum of my colleague, Mr. White-wright, in Chi-nan fu, he had started a somewhat similar museum in Tsingtao, where he had gathered exhibits of the chief products of the province. He asked me to assist him in selecting the best Chinese books for his library.

14. CHANGSHA, CAPITAL OF HUNAN.

For many years Hunan had been the most anti-foreign province in the Empire. From it had issued the most virulent calumnies against Christians and foreigners, the most notorious being the work of an official, Chow Han, whose libels were circulated in Government documents, "King Shih Wen." In his tracts he threatened that the first foreigner who dared to step within the province of Hunan should be killed, cut in pieces, and his remains divided amongst families to be eaten. His writings were responsible for the various riots that broke out in the Yangtze valley during the early 'nineties. This hostility was gradually overcome, however, by the influence of S.D.K. literature circulated amongst officials there, and in 1896 the foremost writer in the S.D.K. was invited to lecture in a Reform College in Changsha. Hunan took a leading part in the Reform Movement. One of those beheaded in 1898 was a Hunan man, while four other

leading Reformers had been recommended to the Throne by the Governor of Hunan, who was cashiered for life for this offence. Another Reformer who was degraded for life was Chancellor of Education in Hunan. Sympathy with Reform brought about friendliness with foreigners. Mission work was opened in 1897, and in 1901 the first missionaries opened schools, churches, and hospitals there, while members of Chinese families that have distinguished themselves for the last 250 years, the Tsêngs and the Niehs, have been converted and are taking a leading part in Christian work in the city.

15. MY VISIT IN 1914.

The main object of my visit was the dedication of a new church built by Dr. Dubs of the United Evangelical Mission, and I arrived there in June 1914. Changsha and other cities in Hunan were suffering from terrible floods, and my landing there was the most extraordinary I ever had. The streets at the entrance of the city were three feet under water. Men waded through, pushing boats along the streets. The lower floors of the hong and shops were all abandoned, the people living entirely in the upper stories, from which peeped the women and children, watching the coolies below carrying bundles or passengers on their shoulders or backs. For the first fifty yards we were conveyed in boats, after which we took rickshas axle-deep in water. Farther on I was carried in a chair into the city. Before I left Changsha the floods had risen so high that the roofs of the city gate could be touched by men entering in boats. It was the greatest flood but one in fifty years.

That evening several interesting men were invited to meet me. Among them were Mr. Nieh, grandson of the famous General Tsêng Kwoh-fan, and Mr. Warren of the Wesleyan Mission. Mr. Nieh's father had been at one time Taotai in Shanghai and later Governor of Chekiang (see Chap. IX).

The Governor of Hunan, who ruled about twenty million people, was named Tan. His brother was Minister of Education in Peking. I called upon the Governor, the

Minister of the Interior, and the Chancellor of Education on my second day in Changsha, and on the leaders of the various missions, Wesleyan, Yale, C.I.M., and American Church Mission, who were all most cordial.

16. INTERCOURSE WITH BUDDHISTS.

Another day I had a visit from the chief Buddhist abbot and priests and devout laymen. I called their attention to the mistakes of the past. Christians had been apt to condemn the devout non-Christians, who, on their turn, had condemned the Christians. But those who were familiar with one another's Scriptures recognized that they held much in common. At the close of my address, a Chinese barrister, in the name of the Buddhists, thanked me for having translated two of their most important Scriptures into English and thus helped to remove misunderstanding. He gave a most eloquent address.

Before I left Changsha the abbot invited me to his monastery. A Mr. Woo was there to meet me. He was a Hanlin and had been a member of the Reform Club in 1895-8, and therefore knew me. During the Revolution he had been made Governor of Kweichow. He was very learned in Buddhist Scriptures. In discussing the Diamond Classic, I asked them what they thought of the prophecy in the sixth chapter (see Chap. X). Both he and the priests affirmed that my explanation was permissible. I urged the abbot and priests to reconsider the meaning of the prophecy, and to co-operate for the revival of religion in China.

17. MEETING OF EDUCATIONISTS.

On June 17th the Chancellor of Education and the principals of the Government College and schools, together with several editors, were present at the church, about five hundred men of intellectual gifts, at whose faces it gave me great pleasure to look. Mr. Nieh resided, and gave out a hymn and offered prayer. The hymn and the Lord's Prayer were written up in large characters, so that the audience could follow. I took as

the subject of my address the keynote of the hymn and prayer, "Thy Kingdom come."

In my address I seized the opportunity of pointing out that what the Reform Society aimed at sixteen years ago, though noble in its desire to learn what was best in the leading nations of the world, was not equal to the ideal which the best men now possessed. Their goal was not the increase of armaments for the purpose of fighting one another, but the federation of the leading nations to form one Central Government for the whole world. Then I pointed out to these five hundred educators that this could only be done after training all schools and colleges in all lands to work for this ideal. If they believed that this was the best thing in the interest of humanity at large, I called upon them as educators to stand up and pledge themselves to aim at this. To my great joy, they all rose in a body in token of the appreciation of the importance of a One World Centre. This was two months before the great world war was declared in Europe.

18. OTHER MEETINGS.

Another day the church was overflowing with over a thousand women and children of all classes, from the Governor's wife downwards. During my address I referred to the grand work done by Mrs. Archibald Little in helping to free the hundred millions of Chinese women from the cruel custom of footbinding. I asked them to pledge themselves to discontinue the custom. I told them of the *Woman's Magazine* edited by Miss White and published by the C.L.S. for the enlightening of the women of China.

On another occasion I had an audience of six hundred pastors, evangelists, Biblewomen, and schoolmasters. I preached on the four essentials of perfect education, viz. Heng, Shu, Pu, Chwan (the historical, to know modern as well as ancient history; the comparative, to know the teaching of the West as well as the East; the universal, to know something of the whole universe; the special, to know some subject as experts).

At the close of the meeting, a grandson of Tsêng Kwoh Fan, a cousin of Mr. Nieh, a man of about forty years of age, came to the guest-room, where there were some fifty men, to whom he spoke, enlarging on my address. He was an earnest Christian and leader of an independent Church.

Another interesting experience was a reception given me by the Educational Association of Changsha. Amongst the members was a 'great authority on electricity, who had travelled with Tuan Fang's Commission round the world. I spoke of the two great calamities to China during the past seventy years, the Taiping' rebellion and the Revolution, which had caused terrible suffering and loss of life. A strong central Government in China was the only remedy for disorders. The same applied to the evils and wars of the world, only a strong central Government for the world being able to secure peace for mankind. Mr. Nieh's cousin at the close gave a good summary of my work in China.

The unique experience in this visit was the fact that the two grandsons of the most illustrious Chinese for the last two hundred years delivered addresses of welcome, pointing out that all my work for China had been done as a disciple of Jesus Christ, who also was their inspiration. How wonderful had been the great changes in Hunan!

19. SECOND MARRIAGE.

In August of 1914, after eleven years of widowed life, I was again happily married, to Dr. Ethel Tribe, a graduate of the London University. She belongs to a well-known Nonconformist family in Bristol, and has been a self-supporting medical missionary working in connection with the L.M.S. in Amoy and Shanghai for nearly twenty years.

20. A TRIP TO JAVA.

In December 1914 my wife and I left Shanghai for a two months' visit to Java, for the purpose of gaining more accurate information on the Christian work carried on in the Dutch East Indies.

I found that the islands had received the impress of eight different kinds of civilization—the Primitive, the Hindu, the Arab, the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French, the English, and the Chinese.

Primitive civilization still remains in parts of Borneo and Celebes, where the custom of head-hunting still exists and land is held as common property. Any one could settle down on unoccupied land and call it his own till he left, when the land reverted to the permanent inhabitants.

21. HINDU CIVILIZATION.

Java being very fertile, Hindu colonists from Southern India, about twenty thousand in number, settled there, bringing with them the art of rice cultivation. They also introduced the Hindu religion, with the worship of Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva, and the caste system, and built temples at their capital near the present Djokjakarta. Later, Indian colonists of the Buddhist faith who did not believe in caste, but in the brotherhood of man, came over and settled near the Hindu capital at Borobudur. The two sets of Hindus lived peaceably with one another while the Malay race served them. They translated the famous Hindu epics, the Mahabārata and Ramayana, into the Kawi language, and these literary legacies are drawn on by the Javanese in their historical dramas to this day.

22. ARAB CIVILIZATION.

About the time that the Arabs conquered Constantinople, there was amongst those who had spread eastward a great revival resulting in the compulsory conversion of the Malay population under threat of being put to the sword if disobedient. In this way idolatry was put down and the Moslem faith established. This movement spread to Java. The Hindu rulers were given the option of becoming Moslems and remaining as Sultans or being put to the sword. They chose the former, and their descendants are the native rulers to this day. The Arabs taught the Malays how to manufacture swords, and the kris is the chief weapon of the natives. They were also taught the Arabic alphabet and the Koran, and acting

most conscientiously according to their light, they destroyed the Brahmin and Buddhist temples, which were full of idols.

23. PORTUGUESE CIVILIZATION.

When the Portuguese first navigated the oceans and rounded the Cape of Good Hope, they were appointed by the Pope masters of the East, and the Spaniards masters of the West. They had immense fleets of 250 ships leaving Goa in a single convoy, which reached the Moluccas bringing back spices out of which they made profits of 300 per cent. The sea route they kept a secret for seventy years. During this period the Portuguese, besides trading, sent missionaries to teach religion and the Latin tongue, and introduced coats of mail for protection against the Arab sword. They intermarried with the natives, and their descendants are Christians.

24. DUTCH CIVILIZATION.

In 1660 the Dutch discovered the sea route to the Spice Islands, and became masters in Java. Following the example of Spain in America and other European countries elsewhere, they thought that colonies were made to enrich the mother countries. The Dutch Governor-General, Van den Bosch, sent to Holland from Java in twelve years the enormous sum of 2,000,000,000 florins (£166,000,000), thinking he was carrying out a magnificent policy. But wise statesmen realized later that by this policy they were killing the goose that laid the golden eggs, and they adopted a more humane method of dealing with the natives. They promulgated the Protestant religion, though still using the Latin language, with the result that at Menado and other places in the Celebes many of the people are Christians.

During the Napoleonic wars, not only Holland but the Dutch colonies fell under French rule for a short time, during which Marshal Daendel, the Napoleon of Java, built roads from east to west.

The Governor-General of India then invaded Java as a French possession, and in 1811 Stanford Raffles was

made Governor-General of the island. He was a remarkable man, and introduced many beneficent reforms during his short rule before Java was returned once more to the Dutch.

25. CHINESE CIVILIZATION.

From the beginning of the occupation of Java by Europeans, there were Chinese settlers there, and by their superiority over the natives they succeeded, wherever they settled, in getting the main business of the district into their hands. When the Revolution in China was brewing from 1895 onward till 1911, there arose a new movement in the East Indies for teaching the Mandarin language in schools of Chinese in the leading cities of Java, with the view of linking the rich colonists with the new China. There are now over a hundred schools established in the different cities there, some of which I visited in my trip. The founder and secretary of the schools was a Chinese named Dr. Lim.

The Dutch authorities, on seeing the rapid progress of this educational movement among the Chinese, were at first a little alarmed lest they might create trouble in Java, as they had done before. But after interviewing the leaders, the Dutch have established Dutch and Chinese schools, from which the best students are sent to Holland to complete their education. Dutch and Javanese schools have also been opened with the same object. The Dutch authorities are now giving great care to the ancient monuments that were partially destroyed by the Arabs. Amongst these the grandest is the temple at Borobudur, whose sculptured galleries, if put on end, would extend nearly three miles.

Another important step taken by the Dutch is the making of experiments to provide sustenance for the increase of population. In connection with the Botanical Gardens, which are the largest in the world, are experimental plantations for new developments, in addition to tea, coffee, quinine, rubber, and other plants they have introduced. As regards means of communication there is regular service between the different islands.

CHAPTER XXI

MY CONNECTION WITH THE PEACE MOVEMENT

1. FIRST IDEAS.

FOR many years I have been deeply interested in various schemes to promote peace. I even drafted a scheme for world federation in one of my notebooks, as far back as 1879. But it was not till 1895 that I first broached the idea to any one in high authority. In an interview with Chang Yin Hwan, peace envoy to Japan, afterwards banished for his sympathy towards the Reformers in 1898, I suggested amongst other advisory measures that China should seek to unite with other Powers to form a Universal Arbitration Court, by which international wars and militarism might be ended.

2. "LEAGUE OF PEACE FOR PRINCES."

My next connection with the Peace Movement was before I returned to China in 1897. I had written a pamphlet entitled "A League of Peace for Princes." Concluding that the reigning sovereigns were already pledged to definite lines of policy, I hoped there would be less difficulty in the new ideas taking root in the minds of the younger princes, so that when, in later years, they came into power, they might favour the cause of peace. Copies of this pamphlet I therefore sent to all the heirs-apparent of Europe. In answer, the Prince of Wales sent me a letter of acknowledgment signed by himself. It was a joy to find him, when Sovereign, styled Edward the Peacemaker.

3. "THE PARLIAMENT OF MAN."

After attending the Ecumenical Conference in New York in 1900, I went to Boston, where I had been asked to speak at the Twentieth Century Club. Later, I addressed a gathering of a select few on the subject of a Parliament for mankind. One of my friends, Professor Ely, of Harvard, who with Sir Patrick Geddes was organizing the American Branch of the International Association for the advancement of Science, urged me to accompany him to Paris and present the question myself there to those already interested in international organizations. I drew attention to the unrest in all countries due to political and industrial dangers, resulting in increase of armaments and labour troubles, and I proposed that there should be formed a Parliament of Man, with representatives from all nations, to devise measures for the operation of law *versus* brute force, to secure an automatic provision for the support of the natural increase of mankind, and draw up a system of progressive education. I also sent my address to leading men in Washington, New York, and Boston.

4. PROPOSAL TO PRINCE KONOYE.

In my short trip to Japan in 1903 I had an interview with Prince Konoye, during which I broached the subject of the federation of ten leading nations. In my opinion, if ten Powers agreed to federate to ensure the peace of the world, any one nation that oppressed another, or proposed to aggrandize itself at the expense of a weaker nation, could be checked and punished by the combined armies of the federation. In process of time this would lead to a diminution of armaments, and at length only such federated armies and navies would be kept up as would be deemed necessary to police the world. Prince Konoye thought it would be long before the Powers were ready for such united action.

5. PRINCE CH'ING.

J In May 1904 I paid a special visit to Peking in order to press certain reforms and to sound the Chinese

Government on the matter of the federation of ten leading nations. Na T'ung was then President both of the Foreign Office and of the Board of Revenue, and on May 7th I had a special interview with him on the subject. The Russo-Japanese War was in progress, and there was danger of China being shorn of some of her territory. If China could join a federation of ten leading Powers, her interests would be safeguarded. On May 14th I laid my scheme before two leading members of the Foreign Office, a dozen secretaries listening as still as mice till I ended. The two Ministers heartily approved of all I said, but they were afraid the scheme was too large a one for China to propose. They wished for confirmation of the willingness of other nations to join such a federation. As the last word in any decision rested with Prince Ch'ing they arranged that I should have a special interview with him alone. I also laid the scheme before Wu Ting Fang and Sun Chia-nai. The latter remarked that the Tsar's proposals to lessen armaments could never succeed unless the principle of reciprocity, which was included in my scheme, were adopted.

On May 22nd, Whit-Sunday, I was to visit Prince Ch'ing at the I Ho Park. I slept little after one o'clock, thinking of the coming interview. The country was fine. There was immense traffic along the road, partly because of the Court being at I Ho Park, partly because it was on the way to Miao Feng Shan, where many go to worship.

I asked the Prince what provision China had made for the next foreign war. He was alarmed at the question, and replied that he hoped there would not be another war with foreigners. I replied that a pious hope was not equal to practical measures to avert war, and I laid before him the scheme of the federation of the leading nations.

The Prince listened attentively to all I said, and at the end replied that the scheme seemed excellent, but he would first like to ascertain from other nations whether such a scheme would be entertained, lest China, being

a weak nation, might get a rebuff if she were the first to propose it. This answer made me feel my visit had not been in vain.

The next day I drew up a telegram to the President of the Arbitration Conference at The Hague, to be sent by the Wai Wu Pu (Foreign Office), if they thought suitable, on the subject of calling together a conference of representatives of ten leading nations willing to federate and ensure peace in the world.

6. MARQUIS SAIONJE'S SECRETARY.

Shortly after this the Marquis Saionje, Prime Minister of Japan, visited Shanghai, and sent his Secretary to see me to make inquiries about certain matters in China. I took advantage of the opportunity to ask the Secretary what the views of the Marquis were on militarism, and I outlined the scheme of federation which I had proposed to Prince Ch'ing. The Secretary replied that the Marquis was deeply concerned with the increased taxation imposed on the people in Japan in consequence of the Russo-Japanese War, and he felt sure the Marquis would readily fall in with a scheme that would put an end to the fear of war. He added, however, that these remarks were all in confidence to me, and were not to be made known to the public while the war with Russia was still in progress. I replied that he could set his mind at rest, as I would not publish his opinion till war was over.

7. TURKISH PRINCE.

The scheme being approved by the two greatest nations of the Far East, I decided to lay it before the Peace Societies of Europe and America, and proceeded home.

On board the German mail steamer I met a Turkish prince of about thirty years of age, who had been educated in England and Germany. One day I discussed my scheme with him. On the first hearing he scouted the idea as utterly impracticable. "Every nation has only one idea at present," he said, "and that is to be strong enough to become more than a match for any other nation."

When I told him that the ultimate aim of each nation was to gain more control of the face of the earth, and that by federation each Government would share in the control of the single nation, a feat impossible under present circumstances for any single nation, he finally admitted that both in the interest of the extension of each nation's influence and in the interest of international peace the federation scheme was the best method he had ever heard. But he remarked that it would take a long time to educate people to see the advantage of it.

There was also on board an American war correspondent, Mr. Stanley Washburn, whose father was a senator. He quickly grasped all the bearings of my scheme and supported it with vigour, declaring that it would change the social and economic conditions of the whole world and be of incalculable benefit to the human race.

8. PEACE CONGRESS AT LUCERNE.

In 1905, when in London, I met my friend Mr. Edwin Mead, who was President of the Twentieth Century Club in Boston, and who had given me letters of introduction to the Government in Washington in 1900. He and his wife were on their way to the Peace Congress to be held that year in Lucerne, and they strongly urged me to go with them. As this was on the way to Genoa, where I could catch the German mail for China, I joined them and attended the Congress, which I addressed. I told them that during the Russo-Japanese War I had interviewed Prince Ch'ing and other Chinese statesmen, and later I had had an important talk with Marquis Saionje's Secretary. As peace had been signed at Portsmouth between Russia and Japan, I was at liberty to speak of the interview, and of the Secretary's statement that the Marquis would be willing if such a scheme were carried through for Japan to join such a federation.

When I announced this at the Congress, a member from Odessa threw up his arms and exclaimed, "This

is the best news we have heard since the foundation of the Peace Society!" It was then proposed and carried unanimously that the Berne International Bureau should be requested to bring the matter up before the next Hague Conference.

While at Lucerne I had the pleasure of meeting the veteran founder of the first Peace Congress in Europe and Baroness von Suttner.

9. LORD WEARDALE.

In the spring of 1906 Sir Percy Bunting took me to see Lord Weardale, who was President of the Inter-Parliamentary Union for Peace. He gave me an interesting account of what the Union was doing, after which Sir Percy exclaimed, "It is very strange that the Press knows nothing of this movement." "Not strange," replied Lord Weardale, "for there is a conspiracy of silence on the part of the Press about peace."

When I told Lord Weardale of the readiness of China and Japan to join a federation of nations, and how the news had been received at the Peace Congress at Lucerne, he advised me strongly to return to China via America. There I could lay the matter of federation before President Roosevelt, who at that moment commanded the confidence of all the world since assisting in the peace deliberations between Russia and Japan, and urge upon him the desirability of calling another Hague Conference at an early date and bringing the scheme forward for its consideration. Any measure President Roosevelt might propose would be received without jealousy by any Government. Acting on Lord Weardale's advice, I returned to China via New York.

10. VISIT TO PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT.

On the voyage across the Atlantic I met on board the *Gaekwar* of Baroda, with whom I had several conversations. He was in full sympathy with everything that tended towards peace and the welfare of the nations.

In April 1900 Mr. Barthold, the American President of the Inter-Parliamentary Union, gave me a letter of

introduction to President Roosevelt. When I arrived at the White House, I found many people there waiting for interviews. I was shown in at once to the President. He was not in fullest sympathy with the scheme of federation. How far Lieutenant Hobson's agitation in the chief cities of the States for an increase in the Navy, was responsible for this attitude I cannot tell, but it is clear that the policy of the United States for increase of armaments dated from this time. Whilst President Roosevelt was not prepared to take any action himself, he stated that if the Chinese Government would send a special envoy to the United States to discuss the matter he would give it his careful consideration. This answer was practically the same as that which I had received from Sir James Bryce in London.

11. CHINA'S CHANGED ATTITUDE.

On returning to China I went to Peking in the summer of 1906, and reported the attitude of Great Britain and the United States to the Foreign Office, urging them to send an envoy at once to America and England. But the President of the Foreign Office was a new man who was not in favour of federation, and they were unwilling to take any action whatever.

Though the Chinese Government was too timid to respond to the offer of President Roosevelt, the Chinese delegate at the Hague Conference of 1907, distinguished himself by asking a question none could answer—namely, what would happen if a State against which war was declared did not wish to fight?

12. INTERVIEW WITH PRINCE ITO.

In January 1908 I went to Tokyo, and Bishop Harris arranged an interview for me with Prince Ito in his new palace in Amori. I stated that my object was to interest him in a scheme for federating the leading nations of the world. He listened with great interest to the end, and then said that he had never before heard such a proposal and that it was most interesting. He

would be glad to have any papers I had on the subject for further study. His reception of the scheme was most gratifying. He did not consider it impracticable, but merely difficult.

Prince Ito was below the average stature of Japanese and rather stout. His English was not fluent ; he spoke with much deliberation, as if weighing every word he uttered.

In his early days, after returning from abroad, he was most anxious for speedy reforms of all kinds, and in consequence was greatly hated by all Conservatives. At one time they were determined to kill him, and he had to flee from pursuit. The story of his escape is a rare one. He took refuge in a teashop, and asked the girl in charge to hide him. She removed some planks in the floor, revealing the rubbish-hole below. "Hide quickly in this dustbin," she said. When he was safely inside, she replaced the planks and lifted the hibachi (charcoal-box with water boiling at the top) over the spot where he lay hidden. When his pursuers came in they found the girl sitting at the hibachi, her usual place. They asked her where the man who had come in was. She told them they were welcome to search the whole place. Their search was in vain, and they soon left to seek him elsewhere. In gratitude for her help in his need Ito made the girl his wife. She is now Princess Ito. Such was the romantic story of his marriage.

Before I left the Prince was good enough to show us the hall in which the Cabinet had met regularly to frame the Constitution, and where violent discussions had taken place in regard to the clause relating to religious liberty. (The story of it is given in the chapter on Higher Buddhism.)

A few days after this Mr. Bowles, Secretary of the Peace Society in Japan, brought a dozen leading Japanese to see me. Among them were the Japanese Minister to Brazil and the Professor of International Law in the Imperial University. I gave them an outline of what I had been able to do in the cause of peace.

13. MR. CARNEGIE'S SPEECH AT THE GUILDHALL.

In May 1910 I was invited to speak at the annual meeting of the Peace Society in London. That very same day Mr. Carnegie delivered before a great gathering at the Guildhall his famous Peace lecture, in which he announced that President Taft was willing to submit to arbitration all international problems that could not be settled by diplomacy, without reserving, as had hitherto been the custom, any point of honour to be decided by the nation itself. This policy, if accepted by the United States and followed by other nations, will be a distinct step forward in the direction of universal peace.

Next day the *Morning Post* had a leader on the views of Mr. Carnegie and myself, in which it was stated that I had "gone down to the bed-rock of the whole question of peace."

The chief points in my address before the Peace Society are contained in the following :—

Let ten of the leading nations of the earth federate on the basis of reciprocity and equal opportunity, all prepared to lay down international difficulties before the Supreme Court of the federated world, and let there be one army and navy to enforce the decision of this Supreme Court for the justice and peace of the world ; and last, but not least, let the nations who will not federate be submitted to a high tariff, while the rest of the world is free.

14. TREATY OF ARBITRATION.

On April 29, 1911, at a meeting in the Guildhall, London, Mr. Asquith, the Premier, proposed, and Mr. Balfour, an ex-Premier, seconded, a proposition that a Treaty of Arbitration be made between England and the United States whereby no war in future shall take place between these two nations. Thus the first practical step towards Universal Peace seemed to be about to take place, and matters of honour, which were reserved for each nation to decide for itself in the past, were now for the first time to be submitted to arbitration.

15. THE GREAT EUROPEAN WAR.

Instead of the subject of International Federation being brought up at the Hague Conference of 1907, the academic question of whether might was right was introduced by the German delegates, and the morality of might was left an open question, with the disastrous consequences of the declaration of war in 1914.

Seeing how practically all nations had become involved in it, I became more than ever convinced that only by federation could war be prevented in the future. I therefore wrote a leaflet called "The Only Certain Way to Prevent War in the Future," which I sent to leading men in England, America, and the Far East. Since writing it I have found that thoughtful minds at home, Guyot, Lowes Dickinson, Lord Acton, and countless others, have been occupied by the same problem. The leading periodicals of England and America have strongly advocated one central authority as the only effectual solution of the problem of war.

As far back as 1870 Mr. Gladstone said, "The greatest triumph of our time will be the enthronement of the idea of public right as the governing idea of European politics." Mr. Asquith, in his speech at Dublin in September 1915, said that the end to be kept in view was "the idea of public right." By this he meant "the substitution for force, for the clash of competing ambition, for groupings and alliances, and a precarious equipoise, of a real European partnership, based on the recognition of equal right and established and enforced by a common will."

But a mere European partnership will only be patchwork. That which will give universal peace must include the United States of America, China, and Japan, and be based on a common recognition of God as the great Ruler in the affairs of men.

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