

**God, Western Learning, and Personal Memento:
Timothy Richard's Literary Work
in Late Imperial China**

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Introduction

Background

Since the early nineteenth century, missionaries from the West imported subjects of Western learning into China, such as politics, economics, history, literature, engineering, medicine, and the natural sciences. Robert Morrison was considered the first missionary working in China at the time when he conducted his work in Canton in 1807. In the beginning missionaries were not allowed to enter inland China. It was not until the first Opium War (1840) that missionaries were allowed to do missionary work in treaty ports. Enlightened Chinese intellectuals, such as Wang Tao 王韜, Wei Yuan 魏源, and Song Shu 宋恕, were influenced by Western learning and eager to learn it, in order to narrow the bridge between China and the West. Active missionaries, such as Alexander Wylie, Joseph Edkins, William Alexander Parsons Martin, William Muirhead, Young John Allen, John Fryer, Ernst Faber, Timothy Richard, and Gilbert Reid, all played important roles in this narrowing during the second half of the nineteenth century. They not only translated Western books into Chinese, but also published articles through newspapers and magazines to introduce Western learning.

Alexander Wylie, for instance, translated the books *Huaying tongshang shilue* 華英通商事略 (The Introduction of Trade between China and England), *Xiguo tianxue yuanliu* 西國天學源流 (The Origin of Astronomy in the West), and started the publication of the magazine *Liuhe congtan* 六合叢談 (The Shanghai Serial) in Shanghai in 1857. William Alexander Parsons Martin translated the *Elements of*

International Law into Chinese, and published the magazine *Zhongxi wenjian lu* 中西聞見錄 (The Peking Magazine) in Peking in 1872. Young John Allen published the books *Quanqiu wudazhou nusu tongkao* 全球五大洲女俗通考 (The Study of Female Cultures in the Five Continents of the World), *Zhongdong zhanshi benmo* 中東戰事本末 (The Whole Course of the Sino-Japanese War), and began the publication of the newspaper *Jiaohui xinbao* 教會新報 (The Church News) in Shanghai in 1868, which was renamed as *Wanguo gongbao* 萬國公報 (The Globe Magazine) from 1874. John Fryer translated several scientific books and started the publication of a scientific magazine, *Gezhi huibian* 格致匯編 (Chinese Scientific Magazine), in Shanghai in 1876. These books and periodical publications widely promoted Western learning in China.

Although missionaries in China actively introduced Western learning, in the beginning only a small number of Chinese intellectuals welcomed their ideas. It was not until the first Sino-Japanese war (1894) that a large number of Chinese intellectuals took to studying Western learning more keenly. One example can be cited in order to illustrate this transformation. According to *Guangxuehui nianbao jilue* 廣學會年報紀略 (The Annual Reports of the Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge Among the Chinese; the Annual Reports of the S.D.C.K.), the number of publications from the society between 1893 and 1898 increased by 20 times, especially those covering the subjects of Western learning, showing that the S.D.C.K.'s publications were fervently welcomed by Chinese intellectuals and widely circulated in the reading market. In addition, many publications from the S.D.C.K. were illegally copied by bookstores, and these publications were not counted in the annual reports. A

large number of publications circulating in the market showed that China's defeat in the first Sino-Japanese war had a great impact on Chinese intellectuals.¹

Timothy Richard succeeded Alexander Williamson as the secretary of the S.D.C.K. in 1891. When working in the S.D.C.K., Richard met the time that China started to embrace Western learning. He translated many books which thematized Western learning, such as *Shengli fenli zhi bie* 生利分利之別 (The Distinction between Production and Consumption) in economics, *Nongxue xinfa* 農學新法 (The New Farming Methods) in agronomy, *Tianxia wudazhou ge daguo* 天下五大洲各大國 (Five Continents and Countries in the World) in geography, *Bainian yijue* 百年一覺 (Looking Backward) in popular literature, and *Taixi xinshi lanyao* 泰西新史攬要 (An Outline of New Western History) in history. *Taixi xinshi lanyao* even became one of the best-selling books in China at the time; more than one million copies were published, showing Richard's influence on Chinese intellectual circles.²

In addition to translating Western books into Chinese, Richard also took to publishing articles in newspapers and magazines, acting as one of the pioneers to promote Western knowledge through the media in China. He served as the editor of *Shibao* 時報 (The China Time) and *Wanguo gongbao*, publishing several articles in support of China's reforms. Richard fully understood the influence of new media, and deliberately used them to disseminate Western knowledge. Due to his periodical

¹ Li Renyuan 李仁淵, "Chuanbo meiti de zhengzhizhuanhua 傳播媒體的政治化 (The Politicalization of Media)," *Wanqing de xinshi chuanbo meiti yu zhishifenzi* 晚清的新式傳播媒體與知識份子 (New Media and Intellectuals in the Late Qing), New Taipei: Daw Shiang Publishing Co., Ltd., 2013, p. 104.

² Xiong Yuezhi 熊月之, "Litimotai: 'Guizi daren' 李提摩太: '鬼子大人' (Timothy Richard: 'Special Foreigner'," *Xixue dongjian yu wanqing shehui* 西學東漸與晚清社會 (Western Learning to the East and the Late Qing Society), Peking: China Renmin University Press (revised version), 2011, pp. 466-489.

publications, Richard's opinions were widely circulated during the reform movement in 1896-98, exerting a great influence among Chinese intellectuals.

Literature Review

When William E. Soothill published Richard's biography *Timothy Richard of China* in 1924, Richard's personal image had been established as a "Seer, Statesman, Missionary & The Most Disinterested Adviser the Chinese Ever Had."³ He was not only a missionary who was involved with Christian movements in China, but also an advocator who, through his publication in the media, advised Chinese intellectuals for the promotion of political and social reform.⁴

The transformation of late Qing China was a theme which was emphasized by many scholars.⁵ Due to China's transformation from the imperial to a republican age, the example of Richard is repeatedly cited in the study of modern Chinese political reforms. One of the topics concerning China's transformation was that of knowledge through enlightenment, in which new thoughts transmitted from the West to China was especially emphasized.

³ It is the sub-title of William E. Soothill's book, *Timothy Richard of China: Seer, Statesman, Missionary & The Most Disinterested Advisor the Chinese Ever Had* (London: Seeley, Service & Co., Ltd., 1924).

⁴ Xiong Yuezhi, "Litimotai: 'Guizi daren'," *Xixue dongjian yu wanqing shehui*, pp. 466-489.

⁵ For instance, Hao Chang, "Intellectual Change and the Reform Movement, 1890-8," John K. Fairbank and Kwang-Ching Liu, eds., *The Cambridge History of China, Vol. II: Late Ch'ing, 1800-1911*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980, pp. 274-338; Ge Zhaoguan 葛兆光, "Xiyang xinshi de jinru: shijiu shiji xiabanye Zhongguo zhishi shijie de bianqian 西洋新知的進入：十九世紀下半葉中國知識世界的變遷 (The Import of Western New Knowledge: The Transformation of the Chinese Knowledge World in the Late 19th Century)," *Zhongguo sixiangshi: qi zhi shijiu shiji Zhongguo de zhishi, sixiang yu xinyang* 中國思想史：七至十九世紀中國的知識、思想與信仰 (The Intellectual History of China: Knowledge, Thought, Belief from the 7th to the 19th Century), Shanghai: Fudan University Press, 2000, pp. 574-609; Pan Kwangche 潘光哲, "Zhuisuo wan Qing yuedushi de yixie xiangfa: 'Zhishi cangku', 'Sixiang ziyuan' yu 'Gainian bianqian' 追索晚清閱讀史的一些想法—「知識倉庫」、「思想資源」與「概念變遷」 (Notes on the Study of the History of Reading of the Late Qing Intellectuals: 'Stock of Knowledge,' 'Intellectual Resources' and 'Conceptual Change')," *New History*, 16:3, 2005, pp 137-170.

In the transformation period, newspapers and magazines played a significant role.⁶ Studies on Richard's periodical publications mainly centered on the S.D.C.K., where he served as the secretary,⁷ and his introduction of Western knowledge published in *Wanguo gongbao*.⁸ Because of Richard's great influence in China, his thought and missionary work are frequently discussed.⁹ His publications, concerning the topics of

⁶ The influence and power of media in late Qing China have been studied by many scholars. For instance, Andrea Janku, *Nur leere Reden: Politischer Diskurs und die Shanghaier Press im China des späten 19. Jahrhunderts*, Wiesbaden: Harassowitz, 2003; Barbara Mittler, *A Newspaper for China? Power, Identity and Change in Shanghai's News Media (1872-1912)*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2004; Rudolf G. Wagner, ed., *Joining the Global Public: Word, Image, and City in Early Chinese Newspapers, 1870-1910*, Albany: State University of New York Press, 2007; Rudolf G. Wagner, *Wanqing de meiti tuxiang yu wenhua chuban shiye 晚清的媒體圖像與文化出版事業 (The Media Images and Cultural Publishing Enterprises in the Late Qing)*, Taipei: Biographical Publishing House, 2019.

⁷ Wang Shuhuai 王樹槐, for instance, wrote "Qingji de Guangxuehui 清季的廣學會 (The S.D.C.K. in Late Qing China)," which discussed the work of the S.D.C.K., including Richard's contribution, in late Qing China; see *Bulletin of the Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica*, Vol. 4 (1), May, 1973, pp.193-227. Xiong Yuezhi wrote "Guangxuehui: guang xifang zhixue 廣學會：廣西方之學 (The S.D.C.K.: Promoting Western Learning)," discussing Richard's effort and work in the S.D.C.K.; see *Xixue dongjian yu wanqing shehui*, pp. 438-449.

⁸ Cheng Lihong 程麗紅, for instance, wrote "Litimotai: baoye 'Zhenglun shidai' de jiemuzhe 李提摩太：報業“政論時代”的揭幕者 (Timothy Richard: the Beginner Opening the Age of Political Comment in Newspapers)," pointing out Richard started the trend of political discussion by means of *Shibao* and *Wanguo gongbao*; see *Collected Papers of History Studies*, 2014 (06), pp. 25-29, 53. Li Haihong 李海紅 wrote "Shixi Litimotai zai *Wanguo gongbao* shang de wenhua xuanchuan 試析李提摩太在《萬國公報》上的文化宣傳 (Timothy Richard's Cultural Propaganda in the *Globe Magazine*)," and "Litimotai zai *Wanguo gongbao* shang de bianfa sixiang 李提摩太在《萬國公報》上的變法思想 (Timothy Richard's Views on Institutional Reform in the *Globe Magazine*)," discussing the strategies Richard adopted in the publications of *Wanguo gongbao*; see *Journal of Fuyang Teachers College (Social Science Edition)*, 2002 (04), pp. 20-23, and *Journal of Southwest Jiaotong University (Social Sciences)*, 2003 (06), pp. 20-22.

⁹ Rita Therese Johnson, for instance, wrote *Timothy Richard's Theory of Christian Missions to the Non-Christian World* (Ph.D. dissertation, St. John's University, 1966), discussing Richard's theological thought and his corresponding missionary work. Andrew Terry Kaiser wrote *Encountering China: The Evolution of Timothy Richard's Missionary Thought (1870-1891)* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Edinburgh, 2015), which was revised and published as *Encountering China: The Evolution of Timothy Richard's Missionary Thought (1870-1891)* (Oregon: Pickwick Publications, 2019), also focusing on Richard's theological thought but paying more attention to its development over time. Paul Richard Bohr published *Famine in China and the Missionary: Timothy Richard as Relief Administrator and Advocate of National Reform, 1876-1884* (Mass.: East Asian Research Center, Harvard University; distributed by Harvard University Press, 1972), studying Richard's relief work in northern China and the role he played in the accomplishment of relief work. Eunice V. Johnson wrote *Educational Reform in China, 1880-1910—Timothy Richard and his Vision for Higher Education* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Florida, 2001), which was revised and published as *Timothy Richard's Vision—Education and Reform in China, 1889-1890* (Oregon: Pickwick Publications, 2014), studying Richard's educational thought and the effort he made to build a modern university in China.

history,¹⁰ religion¹¹ and literature,¹² are frequently studied as well.

Living in the period that newspapers started to be popularized, Richard fully understood the power of the contemporary media. He once noted in his memoir: “Having experienced the widespread influence of a newspaper, I was convinced of the

¹⁰ For instance, about *Taixi xinshi lanyao* 泰西新史攬要 (An Outline of New Western History), one of Richard’s influential publications, Zou Zhenhuan 鄒振環 wrote “Litimotai yu *Taixi xinshi lanyao*: ‘shijishi’ de xinneirong yu xinxingshi 李提摩太與《泰西新史攬要》: “世紀史”的新內容與新形式 (Timothy Richard and *Taixi xinshi lanyao*: New Content and New Form in ‘Century History’),” studying this book’s versions, structure, circulation and social influence; see *Xifang chuanjiaoshi yu wan Qing xishi dongjian* 西方傳教士與晚清西史東漸 (Western Missionaries and the Import of Western History to Late Qing China), Shanghai: Shanghai Classic Press, 2007, pp. 269-307. Chen Chen 陳琛 and Mei Xiaojuan 梅曉娟 wrote “*Taixi xinshi lanyao* shichuan huitong yanjiu 泰西新史攬要史傳匯通研究 (On Translation Integration of Historical Biography: A Case of *Taixi xinshi lanyao*),” studying the characteristics of this book; see *Journal of Anhui Normal University (Humanity and Social Science)*, 2015 (02), pp.259-264. Liu Yajun 劉雅軍 wrote “Litimotai yu *Taixi xinshi lanyao* de yijie 李提摩太與《泰西新史攬要》的譯介 (Richard Timothy and his Translation of *The Nineteenth Century: A History*),” focusing on this book’s original version and translation; see *Journal of Hebei Normal University (Social Science Edition)*, 2004 (06), pp. 119-124.

¹¹ Peter Tze Ming Ng, for instance, wrote “Timothy Richard: Christian Attitudes towards Other Religions and Cultures,” discussing how Richard, as a Christian, properly introduced Christianity to another culture; see *Studies in World Christianity*, Volume 14, Number 1, 2008, pp. 73-92. Lai Pan-chiu wrote “Timothy Richard’s Buddhist-Christian Studies,” discussing how Richard on the hand introduced Christianity to China and on the other hand introduced Chinese Buddhism to the West; see *Buddhist-Christian Studies*, Volume 29, 2009, pp. 23-38. Lai Pan-chiu 賴品超 wrote “Litimotai dui dacheng Fojiao de huiying: cong houzhimin dui dongfangxue de pipan zheyuan 李提摩太對大乘佛教的回應：從後殖民對東方學的批判著眼 (Timothy Richard’s Response to Mahayana Buddhism: From the Perspective of the Postcolonial Critique of Orientalism),” discussing Richard’s viewpoint of Buddhism from the perspective of cultural studies; see *Journal of Zhejiang University (Humanities and Social Sciences)*, 2010 (03), pp.30-39. Son Jihye 孫知慧 wrote “近代仏教の東西交渉 ティモシー・リチャードの仏書翻訳と仏教理解 (The East-West Communication and Modern Buddhism: Timothy Richard’s Translation of Buddhist Scriptures and his Understanding of Buddhism),” discussing Richard’s understanding of Chinese Buddhism; see *Bulletin of the Institute of Oriental and Occidental studies*, Kansai University, April, 2015, pp. 281-305.

¹² Zhou Mo 周沫, for instance, wrote “Cong quanshixue kan *Xiyouji* de yingyi—yi Litimotai yu Yu Guofan de yiben weili 從詮釋學看《西游記》的英譯—以李提摩太與余國藩的譯本為例 (Reviewing the Translation of *Journey to the West* from the Perspective of Hermeneutics—Case Studies of the Translations of Timothy Richard and Yu Guofan),” discussing Richard’s translation of *Journey to the West* from the perspective of comparative studies; see *English Square (Academic Research)*, 2013 (12), pp.30-31. Zheng Jinhui 鄭錦懷 and Wu Yongsheng 吳永昇 wrote “*Xiyouji* bainian yingyi de miaoshuxing yanjiu 《西游記》百年英譯的描述性研究 (Descriptive Study of the English Translation of *Journey to the West* in Hundred Years),” discussing Richard’s translation of *Journey to the West* from the perspective of translation history; see *Guangxi Social Science*, 2012 (10), pp.148-153. He Shaobin 何紹斌 wrote “Cong *Bainianyijue* kan wanqing chuanjiaoshi de wenxue yijie huodong 從《百年一覺》看晚清傳教士的文學譯介活動 (Missionary Literary Translation in the 19th Century China: Taking *Waking after a Hundred Years* as an Example),” discussing Richard’s translating skills in the translation of *Waking after a Hundred Years*; see *Comparative Literature in China*, 2008 (04), pp. 21-33. Tang Yi 湯懿 wrote “*Bainianyijue* mingci yinghan duibi he fanyi 《百年一覺》名詞英漢對比和翻譯 (The Nouns of English-Chinese Contrast and Translation in *Waking after a Hundred Years*),” discussing Richard’s translation of *Waking after a Hundred Years* from the perspective of linguistics; see *Journal of Huaibei Normal University (Philosophy and Social Sciences)*, 2014 (01), pp. 121-123.

value of literary work in China.”¹³ In this description “literary work” means using newspapers and magazines to promote Christianity and Western learning. In his regard for media as an important means in his missionary work, Richard published hundreds of articles in both Chinese and English newspapers, e.g. *Wanguo gongbao*, *Shibao*, the *Chinese Recorder*,¹⁴ and the *North China Herald*.¹⁵

Being a key person in introducing Western learning through the media, Richard was considered a significant figure, so that regarding him as a knowledge-provider and Chinese intellectuals as knowledge-receivers gradually came to be a paradigm in the discussion of China’s transformation. For this reason, Richard’s Chinese articles were largely read by scholars and his image of an advocator, reformer, and educator became dominant in academic fields.

However, regarding Richard as a knowledge-provider and Chinese intellectuals as knowledge-receivers denoted only one direction of influence, whereby knowledge was

¹³ Timothy Richard, *Forty-Five Years in China*, New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company Publishers, 1916, p. 217.

¹⁴ The *Chinese Recorder* was an English magazine published in China between 1868 to 1941, serving as an information platform for missionaries who worked in China. For further introduction about the *Chinese Recorder*, see Tao Feiya 陶飛亞, “Chuanjiao yundong de quannei ‘shengyin’: *The Chinese Recorder* (1876-1941) chulun 傳教運動的圈內‘聲音’: *The Chinese Recorder* (1876-1941)初論 (The Voice from Within the Missionary Circle: A Preliminary Discussion of *The Chinese Recorder* (1876-1941)),” in Zhang Xianqing 張先清 ed., *Shiliao yu shijie—zhongwen wenxian yu Zhongguo Jidujiaoshi yanjiu* 史料與視界—中文文獻與中國基督教史研究 (Historical Data and Perspectives—Chinese Documents and the Research of History of Chinese Christianity), Shanghai: Shanghai People Publishing House, 2007, pp. 243-262.

¹⁵ The *North China Herald* was an English newspaper, which was one of the most popular foreign media in the late Qing. Its readers included missionaries, merchants, diplomats working in China; even Chinese officials, e.g. Li Hongzhang and Zhang Zhidong, were its readers. See Frank H. H. King and Prescott Clarke, eds., *A Research Guide to China-Coast Newspapers, 1822-1911*, Mass.: East Asian Research Center, Harvard University, distributed by Harvard University Press, 1965. About the importance of foreign language press in late Qing China, see Rudolf G. Wagner, “Don’t Mind the Gap! The Foreign-language Press in Late-Qing and Republican China,” *China Heritage Quarterly*, Nos. 30/31, June/September, 2012. Richard’s English periodical publications were mainly used by scholars to study his thought and missionary work. Rita Therese Johnson, for instance, in her *Timothy Richard’s Theory of Christian Missions to the Non-Christian World*, used materials including Richard’s English periodical publications to study his theological thought. Eunice V. Johnson, in her *Timothy Richard’s Vision—Education and Reform in China, 1889-1890*, collected and studied Richard’s English publications, but she aimed to study Richard’s educational vision and the corresponding effort he made in China.

transmitted from the provider to the receivers. This unidirectional perspective was widely adopted in the study of Richard in the context of China's transformation, only showing one facet of his actual personality. From this perspective, Richard's contribution in history was basically to introduce Western learning to China. It was obvious that this unidirectional perspective was limited. In fact, if the perspective could be changed by using Richard's own context to see China's transformation, new historical findings may be discovered.

Richard emphasized the importance of the media in the dissemination of Western learning and named his work as "literary" in juxtaposition with other missionary methods. His literary work, therefore, deserves further exploration, especially in the study of China's modern transformation. Moreover, in comparison to his Chinese articles, Richard's publications in English newspapers are less often discussed. In fact, in order to achieve a successful literary work, Richard engaged in both Chinese and English publications so as to balance between Chinese readers, i.e. Chinese officials and intellectuals, and English readers, i.e. missionary groups in China and readers in England. He even made an effort to deal with the tension between promoting Christianity and introducing Western learning in the media. This aspect, nevertheless, is less touched upon by scholars as well.

Research Data

Richard published hundreds of articles in both English and Chinese newspapers, discussing topics regarding not only missionary issues but also China's current affairs. Especially after 1891, Richard served as the secretary of the S.D.C.K., during which

time China started to embrace Western learning. Due to his publications, he played an important role in missionary, business, and intellectual circles in China. His periodical publications in English were mainly published in the *Chinese Recorder* and the *North China Herald*, which could be accessed through academic databases.¹⁶ Richard's periodical publications in Chinese were mainly published in *Wanguo gongbao*, but other newspapers, such as *Zhongxi jiaohui bao* 中西教會報 (The Missionary Review), *Datong bao* 大同報 (The Chinese Utopia), and *Shenbao* 申報 (Shanghai News), also covered them. These newspapers have been digitalized in databases, and are accessible as well.¹⁷

In addition, the Angus Library and Archive at the University of Oxford currently holds correspondence between Baptist missionaries and their church; it also holds a news cuttings book with the cover page marked "News Cuttings" and, on the first page, "Dr. Timothy Richard (Personal)." These materials include a variety of information regarding Richard's efforts and concerns in his literary work. According to the collection in the news cuttings book, not only did Richard pay attention to Chinese

¹⁶ Due to the huge amount of data of newspapers, it was difficult for scholars in the past to conduct research concerning newspapers. Thanks to the development of technology, more and more academic databases have been established, and many data of periodical publications in late Qing China have been digitalized. For instance, the database "Historical Newspapers: Chinese Newspapers Collection (1832-1953)," established by ProQuest LLC, covers 21 kinds of newspapers and magazines in late Qing China, making scholars conveniently collect relevant data to conduct their research. These newspapers and magazines include: *The Canton Times* (1919-1920), *The China Critic* (1939-1946), *China Monthly Review* (1950-1953), *The China Press* (1925-1938), *The China Weekly Review* (1923-1950), *The Chinese Recorder* (1912-1938), *The Chinese Recorder and Educational Review* (1939-1941), *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* (1868-1912), *The Chinese Repository* (1832-1851), *Millard's China National Review* (1919-1919), *Millard's Review of the Far East* (1917-1919, 1919-1921), *The North China Herald* (1850-1867), *The North China Herald and Market Report* (1867-1869), *The North China Herald and Supreme Court & Consular Gazette* (1870-1941), *Peking Daily News* (1914-1917), *Peking Gazette* (1915-1917), *The Peking Leader* (1918-1919), *The Shanghai Gazette* (1919-1921), *The Shanghai Times* (1914-1921), *The Weekly Review* (1922-1923), and *The Weekly Review of the Far East* (1921-1922).

¹⁷ The Chinese Periodical Full-text Database, established by the Institute of Scientific and Technological Information of Shanghai Library, covers more than 20000 Chinese newspapers published from 1833 to 1949; the Shenbao Database, established by Beijing Erudition Digital Technology Research Center, provides the digitalized newspaper of *Shenbao* published from 1872 to 1949.

readers, but he also had English readers and an English reading market, which were essential for him as well. These materials will be the subject of the present dissertation.

Methodology

The present research will adopt transcultural and micro-historical approaches as the main methodology. The transcultural perspective emphasizes multidirectional perspectives and denotes investigating “the multiple ways in which difference is negotiated within contacts and encounters,” opposing the conception of culture as a closed, internally cohesive, and linguistically homogeneous sphere.¹⁸ Richard’s literary work involved interactions with several groups: Chinese intellectuals, a local church in Shanxi, and a home church in London. He interacted with Chinese intellectuals through Chinese newspapers, and communicated with China missionaries by means of English newspapers. Chinese and English newspapers had their own target readers; theoretically, these readers shared different cultural backgrounds. Through his literary work, Richard functioned as a connection-point which brought these two groups of readers together. In many cases, he faced these two groups at the same time, dealing with cultural conflicts and misunderstandings. In Richard’s literary work, his relationships with Chinese and English readers became interrelated, so a transcultural perspective, which focuses on contact, interaction and entanglement, is appropriate to study his literary work.

For a long time, Richard was considered a knowledge-provider and Chinese intellectuals were the knowledge-receivers. In this consideration Western knowledge

¹⁸ Monica Juneja and Christian Kravagna, “Understanding Transculturalism,” Model House Research Group ed., *Transcultural Modernisms*, Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2013, pp. 24-25.

was transferred from the West, by Richard, to China, in a unidirectional perspective. The late nineteenth century, however, was a time in which knowledge and information were becoming widespread and multidirectional due to the popularity of the media. Not only did information about China flow to the West through media, but also Western knowledge came to China from a third place, e.g. Japan. Richard, as an active writer and publisher, also involved himself in these trajectories. Studying Richard's literary work from a unidirectional perspective is obviously limited and deviated from historical facts.

Transcending this limitation, the transcultural perspective focuses on the dynamics of culture, regarding culture as asymmetrical development and a multidirectional influence between one place and another. Richard worked in China for 46 years, during which time he experienced challenges and difficulties in combining the introduction of Western learning with his missionary work. He stayed not only in peripheral regions, e.g. Shanxi, but also in a metropolitan city, i.e. Shanghai. Moving from local areas to a metropolis compelled him to change his approach of conducting missionary work as well. Therefore, the transcultural perspective serves as a proper framework to approach the multidirectional transformations which were brought about by Richard's literary work.

The present research will also adopt a micro-historical approach to study Richard's literary work. Microhistory is based on "the reduction of the scale of observation, on a microscopic analysis and an intensive study of the documentary material."¹⁹ A micro-historical perspective focuses on small units of an event or a person, placing emphasis

¹⁹ Giovanni Levi, "On Microhistory," Peter Burke ed., *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991, p. 95.

on individual lives and events by closely studying key materials. It concentrates on “the relationship between this microscopic dimension and the larger contextual dimension”²⁰ and “the fragmentation, contradictions and plurality of viewpoints,”²¹ so as to show previously unobserved details in a complicated context.

The present research will closely study two key materials concerning Richard’s literary work. The first one is the correspondence between the Baptist missionaries in China and their home church, the Baptist Missionary Society in London; the second one is a news cuttings book presumably made by Richard. Richard came into conflict with his colleagues in missionary work and their theoretical viewpoints when he started to introduce Western learning by the promotion of Christianity. In his memoir Richard only partially mentioned that they had had an argument over these issues at the time. This argument, however, was essential because it influenced Richard’s theoretical viewpoint and missionary work thereafter. The present research will focus on the conflict between Richard and his colleagues by closely examining their correspondence with the home church.

Another key material is Richard’s news cuttings book. This includes 155 news clippings, 77 of which were extracted from newspapers published in the U.K., 70 from China, 7 from Japan, and 1 from the U.S. Most of them were written in English, except one from *Zhonghua ribao* 中華日報 (Chinese Daily News) written in Chinese, and one from the *Welsh Missionary Herald* written in Welsh. These news clippings are significant because they showed Richard’s concerns and transition during the period in

²⁰ Carlo Ginzburg, “Microhistory: Two or Three Things That I Know about It,” *Critical Inquiry*, Vol. 20, No. 1, 1993, p. 33.

²¹ Giovanni Levi, “On Microhistory,” p. 107.

which China transformed herself from an imperial to a republican system. Therefore, the present research will closely study this book from a micro-historical perspective, by situating it in the context of Richard's adaptation to a new cultural environment in his old age.

Structure

The present research aims to study Richard's literary work by discussing how he utilized periodical publications to achieve goals in his life and career. The present research will use Richard's life as the framework to discuss his efforts at literary work, so as to show how it developed in every stage of his life.

Chapter 1 discusses Richard's early stage of periodical publications, from 1874 to 1884, when he conducted missionary work in China. In this period, Richard tried various ways to adjust publication in media, especially after experiencing the drought and famine in northern China from 1876 to 1878. Richard's style of periodical publications was initially similar to that of other missionaries, but he adjusted his missionary work by regarding Western learning as a possible solution to meet the challenges faced in northern China. Reflecting on China's difficult situations, Richard's strategies of publication in newspapers changed accordingly. This chapter will discuss Richard's first trial of adjustment in his periodical publications.

Chapter 2 discusses the conflict between Richard and his colleagues when he adopted Western learning to promote Christianity, from 1881 to 1888. In 1881, Richard started to persuade Chinese officials, both in persons and in newspapers, to construct railways and open mines, and to build a modern irrigation system. He also used

scientific instruments, such as telescopes, microscopes, and electric generators, as a means to obtain the attention of Chinese officials. His introduction of Western knowledge was welcomed by Chinese officials, but was opposed by conservative colleagues. Richard's colleagues, who served as Baptist missionaries working in northern China, criticized his theoretical viewpoint and methods in their correspondence with the home church. These severe criticisms had a great impact on Richard. In order to argue in defense of his standpoint, Richard also wrote a letter back to Baptist Church in London. This chapter will discuss the arguments between Richard and his colleagues concerning a missionary's duty and the adoption of Western learning in missionary work.

Chapter 3 discusses Richard's establishment of literary work when he combined the introduction of Western learning with the promotion of Christianity. In 1890 Richard was invited by Li Hongzhang 李鴻章 to be the Chinese editor of *Shibao*, introducing Western learning and current news in the World. In 1891 Richard replaced Young John Allen to be the editor of *Wanguo gongbao*; from 1891 to 1896, he took over responsibility for the circulation of publications in the S.D.C.K. Richard actively published relevant articles in the media in order to promote China's reform, and his opinions were highly praised by Chinese intellectuals. His opinions in *Shibao* and *Wanguo gongbao* were not only cited by other media, e.g. *Shenbao*, but also largely republished by *Huangchao jingshi wenbian* 皇朝經世文編 (Collected Essays about Statecraft of the Qing), which was a widely circulated reference for Chinese intellectuals concerning statecraft. Citations and reproductions of Richard's articles enlarged his influence, making him into one of the most renowned opinion leaders in

the reform movement. This chapter will discuss Richard's enterprises in media-publication and his influence at the time.

Chapter 4 discusses Richard's private collection of periodical publications in his old age, which was covered in the news cuttings book. This book covers news clippings dated from 1905, the year Richard returned to England for his furlough, and ended in 1919, the year in which he died. During this period, Richard shifted his focus from China's internal affairs to international issues, which was correspondingly reflected in the news cuttings book. This chapter will use this book to examine Richard's considerations and concerns in his old age.

In the conclusion of the present research, the importance of Richard's literary work in late imperial China will be summarized. On the one hand, Richard introduced Western knowledge, thought, science and technology to China through media, providing new pictures of Western civilization to Chinese readers; on the other hand, he introduced China's current situations to English readers, promoting cultural communication between the Far East and the West. The conclusion will also reflect on the methodologies adopted by the present dissertation, and provide ideas concerning the possible study of Richard in the future.

Chapter 1

Early Periodical Publications

Preface

Researchers studying Richard's contributions in late Qing China have generally focused on his introduction of Western knowledge and his influence of periodical publications. Since B. Reeve published *Timothy Richard, D. D., China Missionary Statesman and Reformer* in 1911 and William Edward Soothill published *Seer, Statesman, Missionary and the most disinterested Advisor the Chinese Ever had* in 1924, Richard's personal image as a political advisor and social reformer has been established. He not only actively introduced Western learning but also participated in the reform movement in the late Qing period. His image of being a missionary, by comparison, remained obscure.

With regard to his "literary work," Richard in his article "The Crisis in China, and How to Meet it" offers a clear introduction: literary work takes advantage of the power of publications, including books, newspapers and magazines, in disseminating useful thoughts and promoting Christianity throughout China. Literary work, according to Richard, was not only rapid and widespread, but also effective and profound.¹ This chapter discusses Richard's literary work in its early stages, from the trials of publishing articles in newspapers and magazines in his early life, dated from 1874, the year he firstly published articles in media, to 1884, the year Richard went back to England for

¹ Timothy Richard, "The Crisis in China, and How to Meet it," *The Chinese Recorder* (Shanghai), February 1, 1898.

his first furlough. During this period, Richard discussed several themes and in several styles in publishing periodical articles, including the introduction of Christianity, devising essay contests, reporting conditions of the disaster in northern China and raising funds for relief, reflecting on missionary works, etc. In contrast to his famous image of being a political advisor and social reformer, Richard regarded preaching Christian teachings as a central issue, which was clearly shown in his early periodical publications. It was not until Richard noticed the Chinese officials' interest in Western knowledge that he started to introduce Western learning in promoting missionary work. After several trials, Richard discovered this effective method to promote Christianity and adopted it in his missionary work thereafter.

Debut

Richards' early publication in Chinese newspapers was closely related to his education and theoretical training in the U.K. According to his memoir,² Richard was born into a blacksmith family; his parents were both Christian, participating in a local Baptist church. The Christian revival movement in the mid-nineteenth century drove a large number of young people in the U.K. to join overseas missionary work. When studying in Haverfordwest theological college, Richard received information about doing missionary work in China. At that time Hudson Taylor had founded the China Inland Mission, emphasizing "a life of self-sacrifice (in the interior) instead of a life of luxury at the ports." Richard was inspired by Taylor's idea, so he decided to conduct his missionary work in China. In his early age, Richard's theoretical viewpoint was

² Timothy Richard, *Forty-Five Years in China*, pp. 19-29.

similar to Taylor and the China Inland Mission.

Richard shared the viewpoint with Taylor in the beginning, but their missionary methods differed from each other thereafter. Taylor insisted on preaching the Gospel among local people in an interior space, while Richard gradually developed his literary work, changing his ways of conducting missionary work. For this reason, Richard and Taylor both made a great contribution in China, and their missionary works, especially theoretical viewpoints and methods, were compared by scholars.³ Even though Richard differed from Taylor in many places, he still had several similarities with Taylor. It would not be surprising that Richard's early missionary work was typically traditional if his early inspiration from Taylor is taken into consideration. Richard's early publication in Chinese newspapers was a clear example.

According to Richard's memoir, he arrived at Shanghai in February 1870 after a four-month voyage from England to China. Four years later, in 1874, he started to publish articles in newspapers. His publication debut in newspapers was a series of articles, "Jiushi dangran zhili 救世當然之理 (The Principles of Salvation)," in *Wanguo gongbao*. This series of articles, written in Chinese and published from September 5, 1874 to September 11, 1875, included 22 articles covering 18 chapters,⁴ introducing

³ For instance, Paul A. Cohen, "Missionary Approaches: Hudson Taylor and Timothy Richard," *Papers on China*, Vol. 11, 1957, pp. 29-62.

⁴ They are: Chapter 1 Lun baishen zhi sunyi 論拜神之損益 (Discussion on Advantage and Disadvantage of Worshipping God) in Vol. 301, Chapter 2 Lun youtairen tongxin heli zhi juneng 論猶太人同心合力之巨能 (Discussion on the Power of the Cooperation of Jews) in Vol. 302, Chapter 3 Lun Shangdi yineng qishi 論上帝異能奇事 (Discussion on the Marvel of God) in Vol. 303, Chapter 4 Lun tiandao chuanlai cidi 論天道傳來次第 (Discussion on the Transiting Sequence of Heavenly Laws) in Vol. 304, Chapter 5 Lun Shangdi gandong Yiselieren shengai 論上帝感動以色列人生愛 (Discussion on God Teaching Israelis to Love) in Vol. 305, Chapter 6 Lun Shangdi jiaoxun Yiselieren zhendao 論上帝教訓以色列人真道 (Discussion on God Preaching Truth to Israelis) in Vol. 307, Chapter 7 Lun Shangdi shengjie 論上帝聖潔 (Discussion on the Holiness of God) in Vol. 308, Chapter 8 Lun Shangdi gongyi zhong jianyou enci 論上帝公義中兼有恩慈 (Discussion on God's Kindness and Righteousness) in Vol. 309, Chapter 9 Lun Shangdi shiren qingshi guiju zhongkan dao 論上帝示人輕視規矩重看道

topics regarding the power of God, the principles of Christianity, and the process of becoming a Christian.

“Jiushi dangran zhili” were the articles written with the purpose of introducing Christianity, which aimed to present a whole picture of Christianity for Chinese readers. In addition to Richard’s Chinese name Litimotai 李提摩太, other names, Zheng Yuren 鄭雨人 and Chen Minghe 陳鳴鶴,⁵ were also attached to the articles as co-authors. Richard cooperated with Chinese intellectuals to publish these articles, which were probably orally interpreted by Richard and then written into Chinese by Zheng and Chen.⁶ These articles were written according to objective knowledge, instead of the author’s personal opinions, aiming to make readers sequentially familiar with God and Christianity. According to their contents, they were probably translated from brochures which were generally circulated in churches to introduce Christianity, which Richard

(Discussion on God Teaching People to Respect Truth and Disrespect Rules) in Vol. 310, Chapter 10 Lun chuan wanquan zhi dao bilai wanquan zhi shi 論傳完全之道必賴完全之師 (Discussion on Preaching Complete Truth in Light of Great Master) in Vol. 322, Chapter 11 Lun Yesu you misaiya zhi shiju 論耶穌有彌賽亞之實據 (Discussion on the Evidence of Jesus being Messiah) in Vol. 323, Chapter 12 Lun jiuzhu dangwei hedengren pushi huoqi da yi 論救主當為何等人普世獲其大益 (Discussion on What Kinds of People the Savior Would Benefit Profoundly) in Vol. 325, Chapter 13 Lun jiuzhu jiaoxun ren you biran zhili 論救主教訓人有必然之理 (Discussion on the Savior Teaching People with Correct Reasons) in Vol. 338, Chapter 14 Lun xin 論信 (Discussion on Faith) in Vol. 339, Chapter 15 Lun Shangdi yi hefa gandong ren shengaixin shou wanquan zhidao 論上帝以何法感動人生愛心守完全之道 (Discussion on How God Teaches People to Love and Abide by the Truth, Part 1) in Vol. 340, Chapter 15 Lun Shangdi yi hefa gandong ren shengaixin shou wanquan zhidao 論上帝以何法感動人生愛心守完全之道 (Discussion on How God Teaches People to Love and Abide by the Truth, Part 2) in Vol. 341, Chapter 15 Lun Shangdi yi hefa gandong ren shengaixin shou wanquan zhidao 論上帝以何法感動人生愛心守完全之道 (Discussion on How God Teaches People to Love and Abide by the Truth, Part 3) in Vol. 342, Chapter 16 Lun xin Yesu ganhua ren 論信耶穌感化人 (Discussion on Believing Jesus and Being Positively Influenced, Part 1) in Vol. 344, Chapter 16 Lun xin Yesu ganhua ren 論信耶穌感化人 (Discussion on Believing Jesus and Being Positively Influenced, Part 2) in Vol. 345, Chapter 17 Lun xuedao xiuxinfa 論學道修心法 (Discussion on the Methods of Learning Truth and Cultivating Spirit) in Vol. 350, Chapter 18 Lun guanli jiushi 論管理救世 (Discussion on the Management of Salvation) in Vol. 351, and Chapter 19 Lun cijiufa zhi xiaoyan 論此救法之效驗 (Discussion on the Effects of Salvation) in Vol. 353.

⁵ Perhaps due to mistaken typography, in some cases “Chen Minghe 陳鳴鶴” was written as “Chen Yunhe 陳雲鶴.”

⁶ According to Richard’s memoir, he tried hard to learn Chinese after Tientsin massacre (1870), so he was able to orally communicate in Chinese; see *Forty-five Years in China: Reminiscences*, pp. 35.

translated and re-wrote as a series of articles for Chinese readers. In one letter to Alfred Henry Baynes, the secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society in London, Richard mentioned some books about Christianity, *The Jesuits and their Class Books* and *The Secret Instructions of the Jesuits*;⁷ these might be the reference books that Richard used to write introductory articles about Christianity.

“Jiushi dangran zhili” were published in *Wanguo gongbao*, which was transformed from a former Christian newspaper, *Jiaohui xinbao*. Young John Allen started the publication of *Jiaohui xinbao* initially to spread propaganda about Christianity. After publishing 300 issues, *Jiaohui xinbao* was renamed as *Wanguo gongbao*, in which news around the world was largely covered. As Adrian A. Bennett pointed out, the articles covered in *Wanguo gongbao* had changed from its predecessor *Jiaohui xinbao*.⁸ Articles in *Wanguo gongbao* aimed to introduce the latest information from around the world for Chinese readers. More than half of the articles in each issue generally communicated leading countries’ news, especially those in the West; in contrast, only a

⁷ Richard said: “A little Tract entitled ‘The Jesuits and their Class Books’ published by William McIntosh 24 Paternoster Row has come into my hands and this quotes on p. 20 from another book called ‘The Secret Instructions of the Jesuits’ (Translated from the French) Will you kindly procure this book and the best you know which treats minutely of their (Jesuits) practices instructions etc. or which exposes most fully this immoral teachings of the Roman Catholics.” See correspondence, Timothy Richard to Alfred Henry Baynes, December 17, 1877, no. CH/2, The Angus Library and Archive, Regent’s Park College, University of Oxford.

⁸ He said: “In retrospect, it is not surprising that such a change occurred, since the original title—*Chiao-hui hsin-pao* (“The Church News”)—was an inaccurate reflection of what was, by 1874, appearing in the periodical. Almost from the first year of publication in 1868, the amount of space devoted to religious materials began declining while space containing secular articles continually increased. The new name—*Wan-kuo kung-pao* (“The Globe Magazine”)—suggested the much broader focus the paper had assumed.” See Adrian A. Bennett, “Introduction,” *Research Guide to the Wan-kuo kung-pao (The Globe Magazine), 1874-1883*, San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center, Inc., 1976, p. ix. In another book, Adrian A. Bennett further pointed out the new content covered in *Wanguo gongbao*: “The coverage of secular news, particularly on Sino-foreign relations, on events in the West, and on Chinese social conditions increased in substance; the general tone of the news reports was more serious than in the past. In the longer feature articles, a greater variety of subjects was treated, providing in-depth analysis of Western political and religious systems as well as critical appraisals of China’s weakness and needs. More comprehensive and concrete reform proposals were also brought forward.” See Adrian A. Bennett, “The Chinese Globe Magazine, *Wan-kuo kung-pao*, 1874-1883,” *Missionary Journalist in China: Young J. Allen and His Magazines, 1860-1883*, Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1983, p. 150.

few articles introduced religious news. Articles concerning religious news were not only fewer in number than those reporting world news, but were also arranged in the later part of each issue, showing that articles of religious news were minimized and marginalized in the new newspaper version.⁹

In comparison with other news and articles introducing new trends around the world, Richard's debut articles, "Jiushi dangran zhili," were quite specific. His articles seemed to belong to the former newspaper *Jiaohui xinbao*, which aimed to promulgate Christianity. While Richard published the series of articles "Jiushi dangran zhili" in *Wanguo gongbao*, another missionary, Alexander Williamson, also published a series of articles "格物探原 Gewu tanyuan (The Origin of Science)" in it. "Gewu tanyuan" covered a variety of scientific knowledge, including astronomy, geography, geology, biology and human structure. Williamson incorporated Christian belief with scientific

⁹ For instance, Vol. 301 of *Wanguo gongbao* included: Jingbao qiri quanlu 京報七日全錄 (The Peking Gazette in 7 Days); Diqiu quantu 地球全圖 (The Global Map); Wanguo ditu shuolue: Xiya Yazhou 萬國地圖說略: 西亞亞洲 (Introduction of the World Map: Western Asia); You heyue zhi shiwuguo yu Zhongguo xiangjiao shi 有和約之十五國與中國相較事 (Comparisons between China and other Affiliated 15 Countries); Da Qingguo shi 大清國事 (The Qing News); Taiwan xinxi 台灣信息 (News from Taiwan); Da Meiguo shi 大美國事 (The USA News); Tufan zisheng shiduan 土番滋生事端 (Aboriginals Making Troubles); Meiguo zhue qincha huiguo 美國駐俄欽差回國 (The USA Ambassador in Russia Returning Home); Meiguo mixixi jiangbian datieqiao gaocheng 美國米西息江邊大鐵橋告成 (The New Bridge near Mississippi River Completed); Da Deguo shi 大德國事 (The German News); De-e liangguo miyue 德俄兩國密約 (The Secret Agreement between Germany and Russia); Da Eguo shi 大俄國事 (The Russian News); Deguo aosibo xinbao xinxi 德國奧斯伯新報信息 (News from Asber Newspaper in Germany); Da Yingguo shi 大英國事 (The British News); Yindu yu Juluo liyue 印度與暹羅立約 (The Agreement between India and Siam); Yinduguo xinxi 印度國信息 (News from India); Da Danguo shi 大丹國事 (The Denmark News); Danguo huang chuyou shudi 丹國皇出遊屬地 (Danish Emperor Visiting Annexed Territory); Biguo yu Zhongguo liyue liangze 秘國與中國立約兩則 (Two Agreements between China and Peru); Gewu tanyuan 格物探原 (The Origin of Science); Jiushi dangran zhili 救世當然之理 (The Principles of Salvation); Chuanjiao yu Yindu zhicheng 傳教於印度之盛 (Prosperity of Missionary Work in India); Yindu jiaohui daxing 印度教會大興 (Prosperity of Christian Churches in India); Zhuqian yinshu chuandao 助錢印書傳道 (Donation for Printing Books to Promote Christianity); Yinyang shijia 銀洋市價 (Value of Foreign Currency); Shanghai gehuo hangqing 上海各貨行情 (Every Prices in Shanghai's Market). This issue covered 18 articles, in which 14 articles were concerning current news around the world, but only 4 articles were related to religious topics. In addition, Richard's debut periodical publication, "Jiushi dangran zhili," was arranged in the 13th one.

knowledge, arguing that natural science originated from the omnipotent Christian God. He introduced scientific knowledge to Chinese readers for the purposes of demonstrating the greatness of God. Williamson regarded God as the core, on which he displayed scientific knowledge for Chinese readers.

Although Williamson and Richard were both missionaries, their styles of articles in *Wanguo gongbao* were quite different. Williamson introduced the topics of science that many Chinese might feel interested, while Richard introduced Christian knowledge that only a few Chinese were interested in. Williamson and Richard published articles in *Wanguo gongbao* at the same time. When browsing Richard's articles, his readers probably considered him a typical missionary. The image of a conservative figure was probably what Chinese readers considered Richard to represent at the time, which was completely different from the Richard who would become a Western knowledge-promoter and an active advocator for China's reform thereafter.

Target Readers

Becoming acquainted with high officials at court, associating with opinion leaders in civil societies, introducing Western learning to Chinese intellectuals, and advocating China's reform by means of newspapers were among the activities associated with Richard after he became a well-known figure in the reform movement from 1895 to 1898. However, Richard's earlier publication in newspapers showed that, in the beginning, he behaved like a typical missionary who was concerned with ordinary people and paid close attention to preaching the Gospel. It was not until Richard experienced a severe famine in northern China that he started to reflect on the methods

to help China and promote Christianity effectively. In the beginning Richard's target readers were ordinary people rather than Chinese officials and intellectuals, which clearly showed in his running of "essay contests" in newspapers.

Devising essay contests in newspapers was a common method that missionaries would adopt to attract Chinese intellectuals on the subject of Christianity. Young John Allen, according to Richard's memoir, proposed an essay prize contest on the topic of "Whom say ye that I am?" in 1872, in order to encourage Chinese readers to study Christian values.¹⁰ In 1879 another essay prize contest offered by Robert Hart was devised on the topics of moral subjects, encouraging Chinese intellectuals to read books regarding world civilizations and religions. In this contest, more than 100 pieces of writings were received, showing that essay prizes had a great effect on drawing readers' attention.¹¹ Richard regarded devising essay contests as an important method to promote Christianity in China; he even made a will for it to continue promoting Christianity after he passed away.¹²

¹⁰ In his memoir, Richard said: "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?'" *Forty-five Years in China: Reminiscences*, pp. 55.

¹¹ Richard said: "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." *Forty-five Years in China: Reminiscences*, pp. 150.

¹² "Quanguo Jidujiao xiehui zhengwen 全國基督教協會徵文 (Soliciting Essays by National Christian Council)," *Shenbao* (Shanghai), May 11, 1939, said: "中華全國基督教協進會遵照李提摩太博士遺囑，將其遺款利息作為徵文獎金以誘掖吾國基督徒青年作家，每年舉行懸獎徵文一次。歷屆辦理應徵者，頗為踴躍。The National Christian Council of China follows the instruction of Dr. Timothy Richard's will to devise an essay contest every year by using his heritage's interest as the money for essay prizes so as to encourage young Christian writers in China. Many writers participated in previous essay contests."

Richard's first announcement proposing an essay contest was published in *Wanguo gongbao* in 1875.¹³ In this announcement, he pointed out that the Bible is abstruse for Chinese readers, so using an approachable style, e.g. local melody songs, to promulgate the Bible's teachings is necessary. Richard knew his limitations in seeking to make the Bible popular among local people, so he asked for assistance from Chinese intellectuals to devise simple versions of the Gospel, through the form of local melody songs, for ordinary people. The main focus in this announcement were men and women who were illiterate and who should be approached with simple words. Apparently, when Richard posted this announcement, he was concerned with ordinary people more than with intellectuals. His method for missionary work at the time was identical to other missionaries, i.e. preaching the Gospel among locals.

In 1876, Richard devised another essay contest in *Wanguo gongbao*,¹⁴ in which

¹³ Timothy Richard, "Yingguo Jinhui jiaoshi Litimotai jinqi 英國浸會教士李提摩太謹啟 (Announcement from an English Baptist, Timothy Richard)," *Wanguo gongbao*, December 4, 1875, said: "啟者耶穌《聖經》一書，講上帝免罪救人之法備詳，誠願盡人能明白。乃智愚不齊，每苦於天道莫測，是言之雖文，恐行之未必能遠。愚來山左傳道數年，往往以文理講聖道，且覺未易通曉，或通曉一二，又難於記誦，因思用鼓兒詞之腔調，但願發明主恩，不為辯駁之詞，似宜婉為勸導，使人樂聞確信，俾聽者雖愚夫愚婦，亦能了然於心矣。惟望遠近諸大雅藉遊戲之筆傳揚聖道，篇幅一萬餘字，光書別號，限於二月十五日寄交烟台，過期不候。如推第一，登諸《萬國公報》，即祈作者賜函，候送大錢拾千酬謝。Jesus' Bible described the way that God brings salvation to mankind. It was described comprehensively in order to make everyone understand it. However, because of different talents, it is hard for everyone to understand the heavenly laws. Although these laws have been written in the Bible, someone still cannot practice it. I have arrived and preached the Gospel at Shanxi for several years, and usually preached it with literary words. But it was uneasy to understood by local people, and also hard for them to memorize when understanding part of it. Therefore, I have decided to use the form of songs with local melody to demonstrate God's benefaction, aiming to provide gentle persuasions to make people gladly accept them without any argumentation, and to make illiterate people thoroughly understand it as well. I hope every gentleman can help write a song within 10000 words, with your splendid pen, to promulgate the Gospel. It should be arrived at Yantai by February 15, with your personal title. An overdue submission will not be accepted. The song of the first prize will be published in *Wanguo gongbao* and the author will be awarded with 10000 Tls. I am looking forward to your writings."

¹⁴ Timothy Richard, "Litimotai xiansheng chuti zhuzuo shiju quzhong beiyou choujin gaobai 李提摩太先生出題囑作詩句取中備有酬金告白 (Mr. Timothy Richard Devising a Contest for Making a Poem with Award)," *Wanguo gongbao* (Shanghai), September 2, 1876, said: "余在中國傳道，領人讚揚，人多願意附和，因為詩章句短情長，較之矢口傳道，易於感動人心。故此謹備二題，一「苦海無邊難自救」，一「天恩浩蕩拯萬民」，邀請各教會中善於作詩者，於此題中各人另分無數小題，按題賦詩，不拘體韻，或用西洋法則，或用中土舊規，至少以五千字為率，總期有情有味，不費講解，

two topics, “Uneasy to be Free from Sufferings by Oneself” and “God Blessing and Saving all Mankind,” were assigned to solicit poems from Chinese Christians. Prizes would be awarded to those whose poems were especially moving and easily understood by local people. This showed that Richard focused on promulgating Christianity among ordinary people. Popularizing Christianity so as to make illiterates understand the Bible was Richard’s main goal at that time.

These two announcements also showed how Richard considered newspapers, the new media in China, at the time. To Richard, newspapers were not only a unilateral information platform by which an author transmitted information to his readers, but also a bilateral information station through which an author and his readers could exchange information with each other. Viewing newspapers as a bilateral information platform showed that Richard had a tendency to hear voices from his readers. He looked forward to communication with readers, instead of only providing his own opinions. Meanwhile, Richard knew what kinds of readers he was communicating with, and how to obtain useful information from his readers, so he could take advantage of devising essay contests in newspapers to assist his missionary work.

These announcements showed Richard’s skill in proposing essay contests as well.

賢愚同口稱讚。果能字字如珠，令人不厭百回讀，余定將其佳作先刊於公報，並送大錢拾千。茲先擬定十月初十日為期，南北會中教友如有佳章，祈請於限內各書別號，寄交烟台浸會，是所切聽，謹此奉申並請。When I was preaching the Gospel and leading eulogistic poems in China, people were willing and glad to follow. Because poems are short but cover intense emotion, they are more effective in touching people’s heart, in comparison with mere wordings. I, therefore, devise contests to invite Christians who are able to make poems with the following two topics: one is ‘Uneasy to be Free from Sufferings by Oneself,’ another is ‘God Blessing and Saving all Mankind.’ These topics can be divided into smaller parts, with which to make poems. With Western or traditional Chinese rules to make poems without any restriction in forms, at least 5000 words, it should be affectional and easily understood by local people. If your poems are splendid and praised by others, they will be published in newspapers and 10000 Tls will be awarded. The proposed deadline is October 10. If you, every Christian in the North and South, have good poems, please submit by then with your personal title at Baptist church in Yantai. I am looking forward to your submission.”

In the first announcement Richard asked readers to write the words of a song with a local melody so that even illiterates could understand it. In the second announcement he asked readers to make poems easily understandable for local people. In these contexts, “readers” has two levels of meaning. The first level is an obvious one, the intellectuals who read the announcements and might be interested in Christianity and willing to help popularize it. The second level is an indirect one, comprising the ordinary people who were illiterates and accounted for more than 90 percent of population in China at the time. With the assistance of the first level readers, Richard received texts which were comprehensible to approach the second level readers. By means of this strategy, Richard not only encouraged Chinese intellectuals to read the Bible, but also indirectly invited them to help promote Christianity. He acquired useful information to approach the majority of Chinese readers so as to promulgate Christianity.

In receiving many writings from his readers, Richard was confident that devising essay contests in newspapers would be effective to encourage the Chinese to know more about Christianity. Richard continued to propose essay contests in newspapers thereafter. In addition to the topic of Christianity, he also devised essay contests on others. For instance, in 1893 he published an announcement in *Shenbao*, asking readers to discuss the topic of “Confucianism and Taoism,”¹⁵ and in 1894 published another announcement in *Wanguo gongbao* on the topic of “New Learning,”¹⁶ a fashionable

¹⁵ Timothy Richard, “Rujiao Daojiao 儒教道教 (Confucianism and Taoism),” *Shenbao*, April 8-14, 1893.

¹⁶ Timothy Richard, “Ni guangxue xinti zheng zhezuo yibi shijuqi 擬廣學新題徵著作以裨時局啓 (Proposing Essay Contests on the New Topic of Intensive Learning to Benefit the Current Situation),” *Wanguo gongbao*, August, 1894.

topic at the time. Richard preferred to hear his readers' opinions from newspapers, and placing importance on readers' responses gradually became a more central feature of his periodical publications.

Witnessing the Power of Media

The appearance of newspapers in the nineteenth century was similar to the spread of internet in the late twentieth century, promoting the circulation of information and providing channels for previously isolated regions to communicate with each other. The effect of information circulation could be astounding, depending on how the user managed these tools. In the beginning Richard was an ordinary writer publishing articles promoting Christianity in newspapers, but several years later he became an activist who believed the power of the media and devoted himself to publication in newspapers. The turning point was when Richard did relief work in 1876-78 against famine in northern China, Shandong and Shanxi provinces.¹⁷

Many scholars studied Richard and his efforts in the famine of northern China in 1876-78. For instance, Paul Richard Bohr's monograph, *Famine in China and the Missionary: Timothy Richard as Relief Administrator and Advocate of National Reform, 1876-1884*, discusses Richard's relief program, his response to the government, and his promotion of Western relief against the famine.¹⁸ Other scholars, such as Gao

¹⁷ In his memoir, Richard said: "After reading a letter I had sent to Chefoo describing the terrible situation, some of my friends—Mr. Fergusson, 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 along 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." *Forty-five Years in China: Reminiscences*, pp. 119.

¹⁸ Paul Richard Bohr, *Famine in China and the Missionary: Timothy Richard as Relief Administrator*

Pengcheng 高鵬程, Chi Zihua 池子華, and Xu Yanmin 許艷民, discuss Richard's influence, including his usage of media, during this time.¹⁹ Richard experienced the power of media for the first time when he participated in the relief work. Drastic situations in Shantung and Shanxi provinces made Richard believe that he had to take different actions if China could be truly saved. Witnessing the power of the media in the dissemination of information was a crucial moment for Richard to rethink his missionary work. Relieving the famine in northern China was a turning point for him, and he adjusted his missionary work after the famine. Richard's literary work was characterized by taking advantage of media and spreading useful knowledge for Chinese people, and it was closely related to his experience in the famine of northern China.

During the famine, Richard took advantage of newspapers, while simultaneously reporting disaster conditions to the outside world. In 1877, for instance, Richard published the announcement "Xijiaoshi quanjuan shu 西教士勸捐書 (Western Missionary Asking for Donation)" in *Shenbao* and *Wanguo gongbao* respectively, describing the severe situations with concrete examples and asking the outside world to provide donations.²⁰ With this announcement published in Shanghai's influential

and Advocate of National Reform, 1876-1884, Mass.: East Asian Research Center, Harvard University Press, 1972.

¹⁹ Gao Pengcheng 高鵬程 and Chi Zihua 池子華, "Litimotai zai 'Dingwu qihuang' shiqi de zhenzai huodong 李提摩太在「丁戌奇荒」時期的賑災活動 (On the Influence of Timothy Richard's Relief in 'Ding-wu Disaster')," *Journal of Social Sciences*, 2006 (11), pp.132-138. Xu Yanmin 許艷民, "Dingwu zhenzai dui Litimotai chuanjiao fangshi de yingxiang 「丁戌」賑災對李提摩太傳教方式的影響 (Dingwu Disaster Relief's Influence upon Timothy Richard's Preaching Ways)," *Journal of Shantou University (Humanities & Social Sciences Edition)*, 2011, Vol. 27, No.1, pp. 75-80.

²⁰ Richard in the announcement said: "最苦之莊其名張家臺，有三十家，餓死者二十人，賣出者十名，逃外者十名，拆屋一半。又莊名李家山，有五十家，統計餓死賣出逃外者一百零三人。姜家樓有三四十家，餓死者四十七名。最輕之處餓死逃出者各莊皆有，惟賣人口、拆屋容或無之，不輕不重之處餓死者二三十不等，賣人丁、拆屋者十家或八家，按村莊之大小。以上各處情形俱係實數，並非耳聞。...弟傳道青郡，豈忍坐視？除自行力量，已勸各海口外國士商捐助，在益、臨

media at the time, Richard received donations soon afterwards. According to another announcement, “Yuqing Yingguo jiaoshi Litimotai wuyue shiqiri laizha 寓青英國教士李提摩太五月十七日來札 (A Letter on May 17 from the English Missionary Timothy Richard Living in Qingzhou),”²¹ Richard received a total sum of 13835 Tls., which was a great amount to relieve the people in disasters. Through publishing announcements in *Shenbao* and *Wanguo gongbao*, Richard helped other Chinese to know about the situations in disaster areas, and successfully raised funds to save victims in time. In one letter to Baynes, Richard said: “A native whom I do not know and who is not a Christian, to my knowledge probably seeing the account in the native papers published by foreigners, sent us thirty Pounds (£30) for the support of the orphans.”²²

二縣境內設立五處收養實無父母親族依靠之幼孩，現有四百名，今特翻縷直陳，務祈貴國仁人君子，上體上帝好生之德，下念四海一家之誼，量力捐助，以濟眉急。The worst village is called Zhangjiatai. It has 30 houses, in which 20 people died due to starvation, 10 people were sold for money, 10 people escaped to other places, and half of houses were damaged. Another village is called Lijiashan, having 50 houses. The number of people who died, being sold, and escaped to other places was totally 103. The village Jiangjialou has 30 to 40 houses, in which 47 people died due to starvation. In villages with the smallest disasters, some people still died due to starvation and escaped to other places, but might not be sold and their house might still exist. In villages suffering from general disasters, approximately 20 to 30 people died due to starvation. Some people were sold, and 8 to 10 houses were damaged accordingly. The above numbers are all real, and not from rumor. ... Because of preaching the Gospel in Qingzhou, how could I bear to see these situations? In addition to doing relief work by myself, I have persuaded foreign intellectuals and merchants to help donation. Five orphanages have been established in the counties of Yi and Lin to raise 400 children without parents and families. I straightforwardly published this announcement, asking gentlemen in China for donation and save people from suffering on behave of righteousness and the God’s blessing on mankind.” See “Xijiaoshi quanjuan shu 西教士勸捐書 (Western Missionary Asking for Donation),” *Shenbao*, April 3, 1877, and *Wanguo gongbao*, Vol. 434, April 14, 1877.

²¹ “Yuqing Yingguo jiaoshi Litimotai wuyue shiqiri laizha 寓青英國教士李提摩太五月十七日來札 (A Letter on May 17 from the English Missionary Timothy Richard Living in Qingzhou),” *Shenbao*, July 17, 1877, said: “客歲青屬旱荒，經弟勸蒙仁君子樂善好施，先後捐到若干金，足徵博愛不僅深受者感同再造之恩，即弟亦感佩無既矣。弟正在分賑，間又經美國教士施賑...統計貴國捐項，並各西國士商捐賑，經弟共收到銀一萬三千八百三十五兩，先後分賑益都、臨朐、昌樂、濰縣等四縣。Last year Qingzhou suffered from severe drought. Through my appeal of encouraging every gentleman to be benevolent in donation, I received several donations subsequently. Not only did those in need appreciate your philanthropic generosity to save them, but I expressed my great gratitude. While distributing relief funds, I received donations from American missionaries as well. The total amount of donations that I received from your country and other Western missionaries is 13835 Tls., which has been distributed to four counties, Yidou, Linqu, Changle, and Weixian respectively.”

²² Correspondence, Timothy Richard to Alfred Henry Baynes, January 24, 1878, no. CH/2, The Angus Library and Archive, Regent’s Park College, University of Oxford.

It showed that a wide range of readers can be touched by publishing articles through media. This experience made him believe that newspapers were the tool to be made use of.²³

In addition to the announcements in Chinese newspapers, Richard published reports in English newspapers as well. He reported conditions of the disaster areas in the *North China Herald* and the *North China Daily News*, the two most circulated English newspapers and the media which distributed the latest news for foreigners in China at the time.²⁴ Unlike his announcements directly asking for help in the Chinese newspaper, he used the form of “open letters,” whose recipient was William Muirhead, the head of the Committee of China Famine Relief Fund at Shanghai, in order to describe the situation of disaster areas in the newspaper. From 1878 to 1879, Richard wrote a total of eight open letters to Muirhead, which were all published in the *North China Herald* and the *North China Daily News*.²⁵

²³ About further studies on Richard’s relief work and his announcements in Chinese newspapers, see Gao Pengcheng 高鵬程 and Chi Zihua 池子華, “Litimotai zai ‘Dingwu qihuang’ shiqi de zhenzai huodong 李提摩太在「丁戌奇荒」時期的賑災活動 (On the Influence of Timothy Richard’s Relief in ‘Ding-wu Disaster’),” *Journal of Social Sciences*, 2006 (11), pp.132-138; Zhang Dahai 張大海, “Hudong yu boyi: Litimotai ‘Dingwu qihuang’ qingzhou zhenzai fenxi—yi Wanguo gongbao wei zhongxin de kaocha 互動與博弈：李提摩太「丁戌奇荒」青州賑災分析—以《萬國公報》為中心的考察 (Interaction and Gambling: The Analysis of Timothy Richard’s Relief in the Qing County of ‘Ding-wu Disaster’—Focusing on the *Globe Magazine*),” *Religious Studies*, 2010 (1), pp.110-114.

²⁴ The *North China Herald* and the *North China Daily News* were published in Shanghai. As the official newspapers for British consular notifications, they not only provided information concerning foreign and Chinese activities, but also covered news regarding social, cultural and political news in China. For further introduction about the *North China Herald* and the *North China Daily News*, see Frank H. H. King and Prescott Clarke eds., *A Research Guide to China Coast Newspapers* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965), pp. 28-29, 76-81.

²⁵ Timothy Richard, “The Famine in the North,” *The North China Herald* (Shanghai), January 31, 1878; “The Shansi Famine,” *The North China Herald*, March 21, 1878, and *The North China Daily News* (), March 20-21, 1878; “The Famine in the North,” *The North China Herald*, August 31, 1878; “The Famine in the North,” *The North China Herald*, October 31, 1878, and *The North China Daily News*, October 29, 1878; “The Famine in the North,” *The North China Herald*, December 28, 1878; “Letter to the Editor,” *The North China Herald*, January 31, 1879; “The Famine in the North,” *The North China Herald*, March 14, 1879; “The Famine in the North,” *The North China Herald*, May 20, 1879. In addition to writing open letters, Richard also privately wrote a letter to Muirhead. He said: “Having written a letter to you for publication I felt it very unsatisfactory and so wrote a shorter one afterward. Now I shall enclose the two but think the little better for publication. You know what the state of public feeling is on the matter.

In his first open letter to Muirhead, Richard roughly described the situation in disaster areas, pointing out that 8 million people were still living with untold sufferings; he hoped the Committee of China Famine Relief Fund could help donations.²⁶ In the second open letter, the narrative was completely different: Richard described the situation with concrete examples, specifically reporting how many people died due to starvation in different places during his travelling in northern China.²⁷ Richard wrote about his personal experience, providing witnesses to the severe conditions for Muirhead and readers of the *North China Herald* and the *North China Daily News*. He also complained about the Chinese officials' relief work, considering that missionaries' relief work was much more efficient than that of Chinese officials. In the following open letters, Richard continually reported the progress of his relief work after receiving donations from the outside world.

When writing articles in newspapers, Richards' attitudes toward Chinese and English readers were different. In the Chinese announcement "Xijiaoshi quanjuan shu" in *Shenbao*, Richard made a positive remark in praising the local government's help for donation.²⁸ However, in an open letter to Muirhead in the *North China Herald*, he

I have not seen any later than what was published two months ago. I must tell you privately that the governor (Tseng Kwo Fan's brother) was not at all pleased with my appearance at first. After an interview and two or three dispatches and several visits from the Suen Poo Ting I am glad to say God has brought him round to a far better spirit apparently and I have endeavoured from the beginning to yield to everything he would suggest provided it agreed with the wishes of those who contribute." (Correspondence, Timothy Richard to William Muirhead, December 28, 1877, no. CH/3. The Angus Library and Archive, Regent's Park College, University of Oxford.) Richard provided information by means of writing open letters to Muirhead on the one hand, but privately wrote a letter to him to provide secret information on the other hand, so as to establish the relationship with Muirhead.

²⁶ Timothy Richard, "The Famine in the North," *The North China Herald*, January 31, 1878.

²⁷ Timothy Richard, "The Shansi Famine," *The North China Herald*, March 21, 1878; this article, with the same title and content, was also published in *The North China Daily News*, March 20-21, 1878.

²⁸ "Xijiaoshi quanjuan shu," *Shenbao*, April 3, 1877, said: "刻下已蒙本省撫憲丁大人奏明貴國皇上准發賑濟銀，每縣六千兩至萬兩不等。又蒙府縣勸捐，未知他縣何如。今知益都紳富已捐銀二萬兩，甚可讚揚。Currently the prime minister of the province Mr. Ding has submitted an appeal to the throne in your country to distribute relief funds, and every county will receive 6000 to 10000 Tls. The local government in this county also provided donations, but the situation in other counties was unknown."

criticized the local government for being ineffective and for its lack of experience in relief work.²⁹ *Shenbao* was a newspaper mainly read by Chinese readers, including officials and intellectuals, while the *North China Herald* and the *North China Daily News* were the newspapers read mainly by foreigners in China, including missionaries, diplomats, and merchants. Perhaps considering that only a few Chinese were able to read the *North China Herald* and the *North China Daily News*, Richard felt free to criticize the local government. He was aware of each newspaper's targeting readers, and fully understood how to adjust his opinions when publishing articles in different newspapers.

By publishing open letters to Muirhead, reporting the first-hand news and asking for donations, Richard gradually increased his exposure in media. The differences between Richard and Muirhead at the time were distinctive. Richard only carried out missionary work in rural areas of northern China, but Muirhead worked in Shanghai, the largest trading port in China. Richard was only popular in local areas, but Muirhead had been a well-known figure, having been the head of the Committee of China Famine Relief Fund and responsible for distributing raising funds to all disaster areas in China. Richard did his relief work by himself, but Muirhead ran a committee in which many experts were involved. Nevertheless, with the publication of open letters, Richard's

I know that gentry and rich men in Yidou have donated 20000 Tls., which deserved to be praised."

²⁹ Richard said: "It is well to acknowledge the fact that much is being done by many of the native officials. I believe a number of them are truly in earnest on the subject, and thoroughly honest in the administration of affairs, but they are so tied down by prejudice, and so averse to change or improvement in the management of things, that the utmost they do is wholly inadequate, and not equal to what might be accomplished by a better system. I am on the best footing with the higher authorities here, and have met them frequently in consultation as to what had best be done. The result of all is that while commending the spirit and endeavours of not a few of them, it has been found necessary to prosecute my own system of relief and work independently of them altogether. My experience in Shantung, and my observations in the midst of this scene of suffering, enable me to judge and carry out a better course than what is pursued by the native authorities." See "The Shansi Famine—To the Rev. W. Muirhead," *The North China Herald*, Mar 21, 1878.

effort was being noticed; his name was reported in the news of relief work in the *North China Herald* and the *North China Daily News*, which provided him a platform to openly communicate with Muirhead.

On the one hand, Richard was concerned with disaster areas, desperately figuring out every possible method to help them, but on the other hand, he was clever at taking advantage of this opportunity to promote himself. Writing open letters to Muirhead in the *North China Herald* and the *North China Daily News* showed that Richard paid attention to the development of the outside world, even though he was working in a peripheral region. By seizing this opportunity with the publication of open letters, Richard increased his exposure in media, making himself become more well-known than previously.

Richard touched several groups of readers, such as Chinese intellectuals, China missionaries, and foreigners in China by reporting the famine through media. This helped him to step out of the local church in Shanxi, increasing his experience of contacting various groups of readers. In addition to Richard's active reports about the famine in the media, the media introduced Richard's relief work as well. *Shenbao*, for instance, introduced Richard's relief work and praised him for his great contribution in relieving northern China.³⁰ Another piece of news, "China Famine Relief Fund" in the *North China Herald*, reported the donations for the famines in northern China and Richard's effort on this relief work.³¹ Richard's name was frequently mentioned in the

³⁰ "Lun zengbofu yong Lijiaoshi xiangzan jinsheng zhenwu 論曾伯撫用李教士襄贊晉省賑務 (Discussion on Minister Zeng asking Timothy Richard for helping relief work in Shanxi)," *Shenbao*, January 19, 1878; "Shanxi zhenhuang jilue 山西賑荒紀畧 (Summary of relief work in Shanxi)," *Shenbao*, August 1, 1878.

³¹ "China Famine Relief Fund," *The North China Herald*, April 20, 1878.

news of the famines and relief work in northern China, giving to him increased exposure in newspapers.³² After experiencing the famines in northern China, Richard started to adjust his missionary work, and his articles in media also started to cover a variety of fields, in addition to his familiar topic of Christianity as he had discussed previously.

Rethinking Missionary Work

After experiencing the famines in northern China, Richard started to rethink the missionary work so as to meet the new challenges of promoting Christianity in China. He published a long article, “Thoughts on Chinese Missions; Difficulties and Tactics,” in the *Chinese Recorder* in 1880, emphasizing that it was necessary to understand China’s own context in order to be able to promote Christianity in China more effectively. This article discussed the differences between China and the West in many aspects: political knowledge,³³ view of education,³⁴ international intercourse,³⁵ moral

³² Other reports, such as “Summary of News, Reuter’s Telegrams (*The North China Herald*, March 21, 1878),” “The Famine in the North of China (*The North China Herald*, May 18, 1878)” and “Summary of News, Reuter’s Telegrams (*The North China Herald*, May 20, 1879),” also mentioned Richard’s relief work in Shanxi.

³³ It said: “These leaders whom the Chinese follow are not lacking in knowledge more especially of Politics. We need not dwell on this as the chief aim of the millions of essays written constantly is 治國平天下, and anyone who has studied the classics from a political point of view cannot but be struck with the justice of their maxims and the breadth of their views, so unlike the pernicious errors of Machiavelli which prevailed so long in Western countries; nor are they like the despotic ideas of feudal times; and we doubt if there be a Christian ruler of the present day who would not profit by a perusal of them.” See “Thoughts on Chinese Missions; Difficulties and Tactics,” *The Chinese Recorder*, November 1, 1880.

³⁴ Ibid. “Many of us on first arriving in China are in danger of undervaluing Chinese education, because they are not acquainted with the sciences and religion of the West, and because they worship idols. Before pronouncing too decidedly on the question we might well consider, that though Spencer advocates a far greater study of the *Sciences*, Arnold, Seeley and others advocate a more *historical* course. Law and politics are subjects scarcely yet introduced into *general* education in the West. It is only now that scientific Text-books for this purpose are being written.”

³⁵ Ibid. “As to International intercourse they are not so devoid of precedent as too many foreigners are apt to suppose. Whilst we in the West have the histories of the different nations of Europe to study, they have the 列國 whose histories are far from being un instructive as to the success of different principles. They can verify the truth of their principles by appealing to results in their international intercourse, for the *principles* are the same whether in large or small states.”

teaching,³⁶ virtues,³⁷ Chinese estimate of us,³⁸ faith,³⁹ ritual,⁴⁰ importance of manner,⁴¹ forms of adoration,⁴² liturgies,⁴³ music,⁴⁴ and systematic work.⁴⁵ On the basis of these comparisons, Richard considered that only missionaries who comprehensively understood China's situations can conduct their missionary work effectively.

³⁶ Ibid. "Moral teaching is another fort of theirs. On the integrity of this the Chinese base their politics, and however far they may be often from exemplifying it, still it is their ideal. One of the best foreign students of Confucianism says that its teaching is of 'virgin purity.' Nor is their virtue confined to their books."

³⁷ Ibid. "In every province there are many officials who after tens of years hard service retire to their homes in poverty because they have been upright and honest. Some of these are very charitable when in office, helping many needy but worthy scholars. The same officials, who, owing to prejudice, treat foreigners badly, often treat their own countrymen well, just as good foreigners often through prejudice and ignorance treat the Chinese badly."

³⁸ Ibid. "Perhaps their opinion of us is: that we are faithful against idolatry; have powerful influence; are true to our word; but are extravagant, independent, pray but little, love little (e.g. controversial tracts); don't make ourselves at home by adopting the habits of the people; learned and yet unlearned, because not learned in what Chinese consider important, viz, the art of winning people's good-will; too self-asserting, proud, unyielding; we are enigmas to them, because our *sympathy* is not at all in proportion to our charitable organizations; and by not making *weak* consciences the limit of our liberty, which good Christians we ought to do, we do not show ourselves possessed of greater forbearance and larger charity than they."

³⁹ Ibid. "Believing like religious people of the West, that the distribution of religious books to strengthen people's faith is acceptable to God, every large religious gathering has its devout people gratuitously distributing the best they have to the eager crowd."

⁴⁰ Ibid. "On the question of *ritual*, it is generally admitted that the Chinese surpass the Westerner in politeness of manners, but the question of form in Worship is shelved by many by simply saying that it is unimportant. Now are we Protestants right in this? Is not ritual or manner a language addressed not indeed to our ears but to our eyes? Suppose we dispensed with the forms of social intercourse, the world would not understand us."

⁴¹ Ibid. "How often have we met Chinamen who talk very politely and are, we think, altogether friendly, but our teacher would say, 'all that did not mean anything, did you not observe his *manner*?' His *real* meaning was in his manner."

⁴² Ibid. "Both East and West agree that the highest form of adoration is to bend low. Prostration is certainly not less reverential than kneeling, or to kneel toward the pulpit than toward the door. ... We would think it profanation to worship with hats on and so would Mohammedans to worship with shoes on, but surely these are only different languages to express the same idea of reverence and adoration."

⁴³ Ibid. "The various Liturgies of Alexandria, Georgia, Russia, Rome, Britain, Germany, China, and the various forms of worship in vogue amongst Episcopalians, Methodists, Congregationalists, Baptists &c., are sufficient evidence of no catholicity in any *one* liturgy. ... When liturgies are once *formed* then to change them needlessly may do great mischief, but when the foundations have to be laid as in China now, they must be laid on true and fundamental principles."

⁴⁴ Ibid. "The Chinese cultivate sacred music but little. Still what they have will suit the Chinese far better than most of our foreign tunes, which are taught, not because of any special fitness in them for the Chinese be it remembered, but because they are the most familiar to us."

⁴⁵ Ibid. "Then as to systematic work. The Government distributes its power into provinces, circuits, prefectures, and hiens, and who is there that does not admire the system as far as it goes? And what is *our* system? It is nothing but an absolute chaos, scarcely shewing a trace of being the work of men with a common aim, except in the few reforms that have of late been made in the southern ports."

In this article Richard discussed the missionaries' difficulties from the perspective of China's context, which signaled his tendency to pay attention to readers. He considered that missionaries should in the first place spend time understanding what China was and what Chinese people were mainly concerned about, so that missionary work for the Chinese might become comfortable. If missionaries, as information-providers, did not comprehensively understand China, it was hard for them to provide proper information to their receivers. Richard aimed to orientate missionaries with a whole picture of China, so as to help them adjust their missionary work to meet the new challenges. This article was published in the *Chinese Recorder*, whose readers were mainly missionary circles. This indicated that Richard intended to play the role communicating between missionaries and Chinese society as well.

When promoting Christianity in China, missionaries did face challenges obstructing their work, especially from Chinese officials' unfriendly attitudes and interferences.⁴⁶ In order to solve these problems, Richard proposed 11 suggestions in another article "Missionary Troubles, Their Causes and Remedies,"⁴⁷ emphasizing the

⁴⁶ For instance, Richard published an article, "Missionary Troubles, Their Causes and Remedies," in the *North China Herald*, September 8, 1883, discussing the difficulty of missionary work in China. He said: "But the main body of them (Chinese officials), between their prejudice and against us and their sincere belief that they are doing good to their own people in opposing us, bring us missionaries face to face with the following difficulties which the Christians have to endure. Their doors are walled up in the night, their windows are stopped up, water from the village well is refused to them, stocks of winter fuel are set on fire, their houses are burnt down, some are sent to the city in chains without even a warrant, some swung on beams, some compelled to subscribe towards theatricals which they hate, all more or less abused, some are threatened to be shot, others actually cut with swords—women as well as men—and thus are sometimes compelled to leave their own village in the hope of more peace elsewhere. All the above has taken place in one mission in less than one year. From this we can imagine the innumerable persecutions which are endured in twenty years by twenty different missions—Protestant and Roman!" In this article Richard criticized the prejudice of Chinese officials, pointing out that they fan the flames of Chinese people's xenophobia toward missionaries.

⁴⁷ They are: "1. Let existing toleration rights be firmly demanded by foreign authorities like all other treaty rights, instead of compelling the poor, helpless, persecuted Christians to beg incessantly and often in vain for protection, as if to be a Christian was to be an outlaw. 2. Let there be a revision of missionary clauses in the treaty and in reference to inland residence at the earliest opportunity. 3. Let all abusive names and anonymous libellous books be absolutely forbidden. 4. Let the same privileges be given to Christian missionaries and Christians generally as are given to the Chinese in Hongkong, in the Straits

importance of learning Chinese knowledge of religions and customs, and the mutual understanding between missionaries and Chinese officials. He suggested by means of establishing institutions, e.g. starting the Peking College and the High Court, to mediate the tension between missionaries and the Chinese. These suggestions sought to set up a “system” to solve these problems. No matter whether they could be realized or not, Richard’s suggestions showed that he already possessed a privileged position from which to view these problems. Instead of thinking from the position of a single missionary, Richard tried to rethink the whole situation and proposed possible strategies to improve it.

One review article, “The Status of Christians in the Interior,” published in the *North China Herald* responded positively to Richard’s suggestions. Although it pointed out that Richard’s suggestions might be too ideal to be practically realized, these suggestions still could be suitably adjusted so as to solve some difficulties that troubled missionaries. It said:

Matters of detail, however, apart, there can be no doubt that Mr.

Richard’s letter contains the nucleus, or potentiality, of an excellent

of Malacca, Mauritius, Australia, New Zealand and England. 5. Let there be a College established in Peking for the double purpose of making new missionaries after the first year or two acquainted with the religious and customs of China, and of making Chinese officials acquainted with foreign religions, and especially with Christianity. 6. Let there be a High Court of Religion appointed to consist of two Chinese Imperial Ministers of Instruction and the two Chairmen of the Missionary Conference. 7. Let Diplomas, one or two, be granted by this High Court to all who have given them satisfaction of their learning, acquaintance with Chinese ways, good-will towards the Chinese people either by residence in the Peking College or elsewhere, entitling them to a certain rank, with all the privilege of native professors. 8. Let the official who neglects to carry out faithfully the principles of perfect toleration be removed out of his office. 9. Let the missionary who refuses to submit to the suggestions of the High Court to be deprived of his former privileges—on the principle of equal privileges equal concessions. 10. Let there be a series of standard religious works got up in the Chinese language without delay so as to form Text Books in the Peking College of International Religion and for general enlightenment. 11. Let every missionary body in China consider the matter at its respective mission meetings, and suggest measures for the removal of our present difficulties, and the facilitating of better understanding between ourselves and the Chinese authorities.” See “Missionary Troubles, Their Causes and Remedies,” *The North China Herald*, September 8, 1883.

scheme for placing missionary enterprise upon a footing altogether distinct from and higher than that which has been hitherto assigned to it. Not only would such a plan redound very much to the advantage of missionaries, but would relieve their Representatives at Peking of a good deal of fugitive and recurrent trouble. The mere fact that Mr. Richard's propositions are in certain points impracticable in their present form does not preclude their producing satisfactory results when they have undergone certain necessary modifications.⁴⁸

For Richard, this review article was a milestone. His suggestions were not only published but also reviewed by a mainstream newspaper, showing that his voice was gradually regarded as an important opinion. Being a missionary who actively participated in the relief work and interacted with Chinese officials, Richard was qualified to write articles concerning missionaries' difficulties. By rethinking missionary work and publishing articles in newspapers, Richard intended to capture the eyes of more readers in the media, both in Chinese and in English.

Adjustments in Chinese Periodical Publications

Richard changed his methods of doing missionary work after experiencing the famines in northern China.⁴⁹ One of his adjustments in periodical publications was that Richard started to introduce the knowledge of science and technology, in addition to

⁴⁸ "The Status of Christians in the Interior," *The North China Herald*, September 8, 1883.

⁴⁹ According to his memoir, Richard said: "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." *Forty-five Years in China: Reminiscences*, pp. 158.

his familiar topics of religion, in newspapers. During 1881-82 Richard published three series of articles in *Wanguo gongbao*: “Gujiao huilun 古教彙論 (Introduction of Ancient Religions),”⁵⁰ “Guodan xuandao ji 郭丹宣道記 (Guodan’s Learning and Preaching Experience),”⁵¹ and “Jinshi yaowu 近事要務 (Recent Important Affairs).”⁵² “Gujiao huilun” introduced world religions, such as Confucianism, Buddhism, Islam, and Judaism.⁵³ “Guodan xuandao ji” was a series of preaching-style articles, with the tone of an ordinary person named “Guodan,” which aimed to describe the blessings of God after his conversion to Christianity. In contrast, “Jinshi yaowu” was a series of articles, including 98 chapters, which aimed to provide useful suggestions for China’s current needs from the perspective of a foreign advisor, Richard himself, who cared a lot about China.

Although “Jinshi yaowu” covered some chapters introducing Christianity,⁵⁴ many chapters introduced science and technology directly, e.g. Chapter 18 “Jiu gezhi yi de

⁵⁰ Timothy Richard, “Gujiao huilun 古教彙論 (Introduction of Ancient Religions),” *Wanguo gongbao*, from Vol. 636 (April 23, 1881) to Vol. 652 (August 13, 1881).

⁵¹ Timothy Richard, “Guodan xuandao ji 郭丹宣道記 (Guodan’s Learning and Preaching Experience),” *Wanguo gongbao*, from Vol. 665 (November 19, 1881) to Vol. 676 (February 4, 1882).

⁵² Timothy Richard, “Jinshi yaowu 近事要務 (Recent Important Affairs),” *Wanguo gongbao*, from Vol. 664 (November 12, 1881) to Vol. 675 (January 28, 1882).

⁵³ “Gujiao huilun” covered 15 Chapters: 1. Lun Rujiao 論儒教 (Introduction of Confucianism), 2. Lun Daojiao 論道教 (Introduction of Taoism), 3. Lun Poluomijiao 論波羅蜜教 (Introduction of Wisdom Religion), 4. Lun Fojiao 論佛教 (Introduction of Buddhism), 5. Lun Posijiao ji Taiyangjiao 論波斯教即太陽教 (Introduction of Persian Religion as Sun Religion), 6. Lun Aijijiao 論埃及教 (Introduction of Egyptian Religion), 7. Lun Youtajiao 論猶太教 (Introduction of Judaism), 8. Lun Huihuijiao 論回教 (Introduction of Islam), 9. Lun Jidujiao 論基督教 (Introduction of Christianity), 10. Lun Xilaguojiao 論希臘古教 (Introduction of Ancient Greek Religion), 11. Lun Luomaguojiao 論羅馬古教 (Introduction of Ancient Rome Religion), 12. Lun Yingguogujiao 論英國古教 (Introduction of Ancient English Religion), 13. Lun Ouluobaguojiao 論歐羅巴古教 (Introduction of Ancient European Religion), 14. Lun Yameilijia turen dengjiao 論亞美利加土人等教 (Introduction of American Indigenous Religions), and 15. Lun Yafeilijia turen dengjiao 論亞非利加土人等教 (Introduction of African Indigenous Religions).

⁵⁴ For instance, Chapter 28 “Zun Shangdi yi zhong daben 尊上帝以重大本 (Respecting God to Value Foundation),” Chapter 96 “Wei tianzhu yi jiu linghun 畏天主以救靈魂 (Respecting God to Save Souls)” and Chapter 98 “Guang miaotang yi shi Shangdi 廣廟堂以事上帝 (Constructing Churches to Serve God)” introduced the knowledge concerning Christianity.

xinjie 究格致以得新界 (Using Science to Explore New Territory),” Chapter 24 “Xing dagong yi li wanshi 興大工以利萬世 (Adopting Great Engineering to Benefit Forever),” Chapter 70 “Ji chuansheng yi da wanguo 極傳聲以達萬國 (Using Telephone to Reach All Nations),” Chapter 72 “Zhi qiqiu yi yan fengdao 制氣球以驗風道 (Designing Balloons to Measure Wind Routes),” and Chapter 73 “Jiu dianxue yi zhi weineng 究電學以知未能 (Studying Electronics to Understand Incapability).” It also covered chapters introducing various Western institutions and systems, e.g. Chapter 10 “Guang xuexiao yi mou minsheng 廣學校以謀民生 (Establishing Schools to Benefit People’s Livelihood),” Chapter 20 “She baoguan yi bo jianwen 設報館以博見聞 (Opening Newspaper Offices to Spread knowledge),” Chapter 39 “Li xuehui yi xing dali 立學會以興大利 (Establishing Societies to Promote Profit),” and Chapter 64 “Guang fapiao yi chang xiaoshou 廣發票以暢銷售 (Increasing Advertisements to Promote Sales).” In this series, articles of introducing science, technology, institutions, and system were published sequentially for Chinese readers. It was the first time that Richard introduced the knowledge of Western learning.

When missionaries started to adopt the knowledge of Western learning to promote Christianity, the ways they could choose to do so were quite limited. They were unable to abandon their mission of spreading the Gospel, but felt necessary to introduce science and technology to their interested readers. Therefore, what they could do was to adopt a dogmatic stance, emphasizing that God was that from which everything originated. Alexander Williamson adopted this approach in his introduction of Western learning;⁵⁵

⁵⁵ For instance, when writing *Gewu tanyuan* 格物探源 (The Origin of Science) introducing natural science, Williamson in the preface said: “上帝者，以穹蒼為居所，日月星辰為明宮，地球為別館，其奧妙之創造，皆佈滿二者之中。今所著書，正如小兒對客指點堂室陳設，使知主人之榮耀耳。The God lives in the heaven, lives in the sun, moon and stars, and lives in the earth. His majestic creation

Richard used the same method as well.

Emphasizing that God was that from which science and technology originated was not just a fantasy that missionaries might have. Historically speaking, the occurrence of Protestant churches was highly related to the development of modern science in Europe. One commonly mentioned example was that Puritanism in the seventeenth century stimulated the development of modern science in England.⁵⁶ Protestantism, to some extent, was one of the driving forces for the development of modern science. It would be not laborious for a Protestant, if he wished, to find evidence that Christianity and science interacted with each other in history.

Protestants, generally speaking, were open to the discussion of science and technology. Introducing Western learning was passable under the premise that Christianity was regarded as the core. In 1877, for instance, the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China was held in Shanghai, in which R. Lechler and C. W. Mateer made presentations on the topics of “On the Relation of Protestant Missions to Education” and “The Relation of Protestant Missions to Education” respectively. They both claimed the importance of science and technology in Christian education for the purpose of promoting Christianity.⁵⁷ Richard adopted a similar attitude, adjusting

covers all the heaven and earth. The content written in this book resembles a child introducing the arrangement in a room to guests, aiming to make them know the glory of the master.”

⁵⁶ See “Introduction,” David C. Lindberg and Ronald L. Numbers, eds., *God and Nature: Historical Essays on the Encounter Between Christianity and Science*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1986, pp. 1-18.

⁵⁷ R. Lechler said: “Boys and girls might under some circumstances and up to a certain age visit the Christian school together, as is the case at home. ... Besides the religious instruction, the girls should learn arithmetic, geography, history and singing, as well as composition. ... After the boys have received an elementary instruction, they must be initiated in sciences which are usually not taught in Chinese schools, but are very essential to a sound education.” C. W. Mateer said: “The object of Mission Schools I take to be the education of the pupils mentally, morally and religiously, not only that they may be converted, but that being converted they may become effective agents in the hands of God, for defending and advancing the cause of truth. Schools also which give a knowledge of western science and civilization cannot fail to do great good both physically and socially.” See *Records of the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China, held at Shanghai, May 10-24, 1877*, Shanghai:

his contents of articles and incorporating Western learning into his periodical publications.

In “Jinshi yaowu” Richard introduced Western learning to Chinese readers for the first time. However, when publishing this series of articles, Richard did not use his real Chinese name, but used a pen-name, Zhongxi-you 中西友, literally meant “a friend to China and the West.”⁵⁸ “Jinshi yaowu” and “Guodan xuandao ji” were published in *Wanguo gongbao* at the same time. Richard used his real name in “Guodan xuandao ji,” but used a pen-name in “Jinshi yaowu.”⁵⁹ In doing so he probably intended to make readers know that he wrote Christian articles, but kept a distance from writing articles concerning non-Christian knowledge. Perhaps due to the fact that “Jinshi yaowu” covered many pieces of information introducing science and technology, Richard used a pen-name to avoid any possible misunderstanding, showing that he was cautious about publishing articles unrelated to Christianity.

After “Jinshi yaowu” was published, an editor of *Wanguo gongbao*, Shen Yugui 沈毓桂,⁶⁰ wrote a series of articles, “Jinshi yaowu yanyi 近事要務衍義 (Deduction of ‘Recent Important Affairs’),” to respond to Richard’s proposed suggestions. In its preface, Shen Yugui pointed out:

余為之捧誦其言，並味其數十則之意，而不禁穆然思、睪然望、

Presbyterian Mission Press, 1878, pp. 160-180.

⁵⁸ Using “Zhongxi-you” as the pen-name probably implied that Richard not only intended to introduce Western learning to Chinese readers, but also intended to make missionaries know more about China, so as to increase bilateral understanding between China and the West.

⁵⁹ The usage of pen-name was common in *Wanguo gongbao*. Shen Yugui used the pen-name “匏隱氏 Paoyinshi” when writing “Jinshi yaowu yanyi 近事要務衍義.” In addition to the pen-name “中西友 Zhongxi-you,” Richard used another pen-name as well. For instance, he used the pen-name “An Old Peacemaker” when advocating world peace in his old age. See “How to End Militarism and War—To the Editor of the North China Daily News,” *North China Herald*, Mar 20, 1915.

⁶⁰ When writing “Jinshi yaowu yanyi,” Shen Yugui used a pen-name, “匏隱氏 Paoyinshi,” literally meant “a hermit.”

喟然嘆曰：中西友誠當今之世能明當務之急者，殊不愧為識時務之俊傑也。茲謹將其數十則尋繹其義、推衍其文，即以每則之文擴充其說而名之曰：近事要務衍義。辭勿嫌夫膚淺，意則取諸顯明，無非以中西友一片情殷、時勢之懷，為之反覆推明以使之家喻戶曉也。

I recited the words and pondered the meanings covered in these tens of chapters. I could not help but contemplate and heave a sigh: “Zhongxi-you” is truly a figure understanding the urgent task of China, and a person with outstanding talent to see the current trend at the time. I decided to write articles entitled “Deduction of ‘Recent Important Affairs’” to deduce his ideas in these tens of chapters and expand his arguments in every chapter. Because of Zhongxi-you’s deep concern about the current situation, I will use plain writing, without superficial words, and repeatedly express meanings that every reader could understand easily.

Shen praised Richard’s “Jinshi yaowu” for his helpfulness to China, and he used many pages in *Wanguo gongbao* to promote Richard’s opinions.

Shen Yugui’s “Jinshi yaowu yanyi” showed several features. First of all, his articles usually started with passages of the classical philosopher Confucius, providing traditional ideas as the background to discussion. Richard’s “Jinshi yaowu” was subsequently cited, being discussed under the context of China’s current situations. Secondly, the length of “Jinshi yaowu yanyi” was larger than that of “Jinshi yaowu.” In some chapters, “Jinshi yaowu” only covered two or three sentences, but in “Jinshi

yaowu yanyi” they were generally expanded to two or three pages. Thirdly, “Jinshi yaowu yanyi” compared Western countries introduced in “Jinshi yaowu” with China, emphasizing that China should learn from the West if they had advantages over China. Although Shen highly praised Richard’s “Jinshi yaowu,” it should be noted that Shen was the editor of *Wanguo gongbao*, who cannot be considered a general reader. What Shen praised in “Jinshi yaowu yanyi” may not, however, reflect the public opinion regarding Richard’s “Jinshi yaowu.” Still, *Wanguo gongbao*’s editor highly valued Richard’s works, which at least showed that Richard’s introduction of Western learning was being recognized by some intellectual readers.

“Jinshi yaowu yanyi” covered a total of 31 articles, published from December 1882 to July 1883. As a writer who cared much about Chinese readers’ responses, Richard was definitely encouraged by these articles. Due to these active responses, he was well aware that his suggestions regarding China’s current needs were welcomed by Chinese intellectuals. This also convinced Richard to write more articles concerning these topics. Understanding that science and technology were essential to China at the time, Richard incorporated them into his periodical publications to meet the new demands of Chinese readers.

When Richard started to introduce Western learning in media, he also introduced it to Chinese officials in person. According to Richard’s memoir, Zhang Zhidong 張之洞 adopted his suggestions of building railways, opening mines, and developing infrastructure when Zhang served as the minister in Shanxi.⁶¹ Zhang also organized an advisory board to work with Richard, planning Shanxi’s future construction in the

⁶¹ *Forty-Five Years in China*, pp. 172-173.

future. Zhang's cooperation with Richard was soon reported by newspapers; their cooperation received positive recognitions as well.⁶² Zhang's positive attitude was important to Richard; it made him believe that Western learning was welcomed by Chinese officials, so he decided to devote more pages to introduce Western learning.

Conclusion

In his early phase Richard's publication in newspapers was similar to those published by other missionaries, which aimed to promote Christianity and preach the Gospel to ordinary people. After experiencing the famines in northern China, Richard adjusted his ways of publication in media. In English newspapers, he encouraged missionaries to pay attention to China's current situation within her own context, proposing several methods to deal with conflicts between missionaries and Chinese officials. In Chinese newspapers, he tried to introduce the knowledge of science and technology, incorporating Western learning into his missionary work for the promotion of Christianity.

Media served as a platform for information exchange from which not only reporters but also readers provided and received information. Especially for those targeting different groups of readers, publishing articles in newspapers made information exchange become more multi-directional. In the beginning Richard published articles which introduced Christianity in Chinese newspapers, communicating only with those interested in Christianity. But when relieving the famine, Richard increased his communication to encompass a wide range of readers;

⁶² "Pao-Ting Fu," *The North China Herald*, October 18, 1881, p. 403. "Summary of News: Retuer's Telegrams," *The North China Herald*, August 11, 1882, p. 138.

he reported the famine both in Chinese and English newspapers, targeting Chinese intellectuals, Chinese missionaries, and foreigners in China at the same time. The feedback he received from readers further encouraged him to rethink his missionary work for China.

Richard was eager to introduce Western learning in his missionary work; however, Western learning was not a field which was obviously compatible with missionary work. Western learning possessed the characteristic of following new trends and breaking old rules; in contrast, missionary work shared the characteristic of obeying traditional rules within Christian frameworks. Western learning, in some cases, might be contradictory to the Christian belief.⁶³ When Richard planned to bring them together, he was destined to face possible contradictions between these two fields. How to properly deal with them, therefore, became the challenge that Richard faced in his next phase of missionary work.

⁶³ For instance, in the mid 19th century Charles Darwin's theory of evolution, arguing that all humans originated (along with other animals) from primate ancestors, was contradictory to the Christian belief that God created mankind.

Chapter 2

The Challenge of Promoting Christianity with Western Learning

Preface

Western knowledge was one of the fields that Chinese intellectuals primarily concerned themselves with in late Qing China, so newspapers issued by missionaries gradually took account of this field. For instance, *Zhongxi wenjian lu*, published by William Alexander Parsons Martin and Joseph Edkins, included many articles regarding science and technology. *Gezhi huibian*, published by John Fryer, aimed to introduce scientific knowledge to Chinese readers.¹ *Wanguo gongbao*, published by Young John Allen, included many pieces related to science and technology as well. On the one hand, missionaries introduced science and technology to China, which was welcomed by Chinese officials, yet on the other hand, they still had to fulfill their duty to promote Christianity, which was doubted by many Chinese officials. For missionaries willing to introduce Western knowledge, the question of how to balance their missionary calling with Chinese readers' interests became a crucial task that they had to face.

After experiencing the famine in northern China from 1876 to 1879, Richard started to introduce Western learning in order to promote Christianity. He regarded

¹ *Zhongxi wenjian lu* was a monthly magazine, published from August 1872 to August 1875 in Peking, totally including 36 issues. *Gezhi huibian* was a monthly magazine but later changed to a quarterly magazine, published from 1872 to 1892 in Shanghai.

Western learning as the key to solving China's current problems. The Western learning he introduced included the knowledge of modern civilization, especially science and technology, and the knowledge of new ideas, thoughts, political and social systems. Richard was famous among Chinese intellectual circles for introducing Western learning. In his memoir, *Forty-five Years in China: Reminiscences*, he pointed out:

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 marvelous 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.²

This paragraph describes Richard's considerations after having experienced the famine in northern China and preparing to introduce Western learning to Chinese intellectuals. In his view, the laws of nature originated from God's creation, the development of

² Timothy Richard, *Forty-five Years in China: Reminiscences*, pp158.

science and technology from the study of the laws of nature, and adopting science and technology was a key to relieve China's sufferings. In this picture, God, nature, science, technology, and the relief of China's suffering were perfectly connected with each other. Science and technology not only shared a common origin with Christianity, but also fit the goal of Christianity, which aimed to save mankind from sufferings. Richard hence integrated Western learning into the context of Christianity.

In Richard's picture, Western learning and Christianity seemed to be smoothly compatible with each other, without any conflict between them. However, this picture was described by Richard in his later years, and hence served only as a retrospective consideration. It should be regarded as an interpretation by Richard when he reflected on his life and published his memoir. In fact, science and Christianity have been intricately intertwined with each other throughout history. In some cases, Christianity, especially Protestantism, provided a suitable cultural background for the promotion of science, but in other cases Christian churches strangled the development of science.³ Although missionary groups in China, for the purpose of promoting Christianity, were open to the introduction of Western learning, in Richard's case he was still harshly criticized by some conservative colleagues due to his introduction of Western learning. The real situation at the time was unlike what Richard described in his memoir in retrospect.

In the memoir, Richard rarely mentioned his colleagues' opposition concerning his decision to adopt Western learning in promoting Christianity. Only in chapter 8, part 3

³ For further discussion on the relationship between Christianity and science, see David C. Lindberg and Ronald L. Numbers eds., *God and Nature: Historical Essays on the Encounter Between Christianity and Science* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1986).

of his memoir, entitled “Disapproval of Colleagues,” did he indirectly mention this experience:

When I returned to Tai-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 acknowledgement 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. ... 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

In this passage Richard pointed out that, for having acknowledged the benefits of other religions, he was criticized by his Christian colleagues. However, according to Richard’s correspondence with the Baptist Missionary Society in London,⁵ this was only a part of the whole story. In fact, another reason why Richard was criticized was because he blurred the boundary between Christianity and other religions, and integrated Western learning with the promotion of Christianity. Following harsh criticisms from his colleagues, Richard even left his original church, the Shanxi branch, showing that the conflict between Richard and his colleagues was serious. This chapter will describe Richard’s experience after he adopted science and technology to promote Christianity, before going on to explain how he reconciled the conflict between Western

⁴ *Forty-five Years in China: Reminiscences*, pp. 205.

⁵ Correspondence, Timothy Richard to the Committee Baptist Missionary Society London, October 17, 1888, no. CH/4, The Angus Library and Archive, Regent’s Park College, University of Oxford.

learning and Christianity.

Introducing Western Learning

According to his memoir, Richard started to introduce science and technology to Chinese officials and intellectuals from 1880.⁶ In order to increase his background knowledge and thereby enhance his persuasion, Richard bought many scientific books covering various subjects, including “Astronomy, Electricity, Chemistry, Geography, Natural History, Engineering, Workshop Tools, Medicine, and various industries.” He also bought several scientific apparatuses for lecturing, including “telescope, microscope, spectroscope, hand dynamo, Wimshurst, machine, induction coil, galvanic batteries, galvanometer, Geissler tubes, voltmeter, electrometer, pocket sextant, and pocket aneroids.” On the basis of these books and apparatuses, Richard arranged a variety of scientific lectures in order to draw Chinese officials and intellectuals’ attention.⁷ According to his memoir, these lectures were highly welcomed by Chinese officials and intellectuals. In response to their inspired interest, Richard relied more on Western learning to promote Christianity than before.

In order to promote Christianity with Western learning, Richard began to publish articles in newspapers. “Jinshi yaowu,” one series of articles published in *Wanguo gongbao*, was Richard’s first trial of introducing Western learning through the form of

⁶ *Forty-five Years in China: Reminiscences*, p. 160.

⁷ The topics of these lectures included: 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. See *Forty-five Years in China: Reminiscences*, pp. 160.

the public media.⁸ On the one hand, he performed practical experiments of science and technology with the help of relevant apparatuses in front of Chinese officials; on the other hand, he presented the miracles of science and technology through publication in the media so as to impress Chinese intellectuals. Because “Jinshi yaowu” was welcomed by Chinese readers, this series of articles was compiled as an independent book with the same title *Jinshi yaowu*, which was published and sold in the reading market thereafter.⁹ One editor of *Wanguo gongbao*, Shen Yugui, even wrote another series of articles “Jinshi yaowu yanyi”¹⁰ to expand upon Richard’s ideas, and praised his work for “meeting the current needs of China at the time.” Obviously, what Shen really praised was Richard’s introduction of science and technology, or the Western learning that Chinese intellectuals were especially interested in.

It was a great challenge for a missionary to connect science with Christianity in order to make his Chinese audience understand and accept the Gospel. After showing scientific miracles concerning electricity and mechanics to Chinese audiences, it became Richard’s next task to discover ways to transform their curiosity and surprise into faith toward God. For example, he made a great effort to connect scientific miracles with God, e.g. by emphasizing God’s grace in blessing mankind through his lectures and articles, but for Chinese readers this connection was weak and dispensable.

⁸ For instance, Chapter 8 “Chuang huashi yi yang yuding 創化食以養餘丁 (Producing Chemical Food to Nurture People),” Chapter 24 “Xing dagong yi li wanshi 興大工以利萬世 (Adopting Great Engineering to Benefit Forever),” Chapter 56 “Xing gezhi yi yi shidao 興格致以益世道 (Promoting Science to Benefit Livelihoods),” Chapter 73 “Jiu dianxue yi zhi weineng 究電學以知未能 (Studying Electronics to Understand Incapability)” and Chapter 82 “Zhong jiangshang yi li kongxing 重獎賞以勵空行 (Offering Rewards to Encourage Air Transportation)” introduced the topics of Western learning in science and technology.

⁹ The book *Jinshi yaowu* was published by Richard himself in 1882, including a preface and 98 chapters that had been previously published in *Wanguo gongbao*.

¹⁰ “Jinshi yaowu yanyi” was a series of articles published from 1882 to 1883 in *Wanguo gongbao*, including a preface and 31 chapters.

According to Richard's memoir, what really made Chinese officials interested were practical subjects, such as electricity, mechanics, mining, railways, and steamers, rather than Christianity and God.¹¹ Although in the beginning Richard could not persuade Chinese officials to accept Christianity, he at least caught their attention by discoursing on subjects from the West. Through the introduction of Western learning, Richard built up relationships between himself and Chinese officials.

Richard's promotion of Western learning was welcomed and supported by high officials, such as Zhang Zhidong 張之洞, an enlightened official who played an important role in promoting Western learning.¹² When Richard started to introduce science and technology in the early 1880s, Zhang was the governor in Shanxi province, where Richard was doing his missionary work.¹³ Zhang was one of the most influential Chinese officials in the late Qing period who supported the self-strengthening movement, in which he adopted an open attitude toward Western civilization. His open attitude indirectly helped Richard as well. Although Richard and Zhang could not reach an agreement on Chinese policies regarding Christianity, they could still co-operate

¹¹ One story in Richard's memoir illustrated this situation: "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'." (*Forty-five Years in China: Reminiscences*, pp. 162.)

¹² Zhang Zhidong proposed "Chinese learning should be the core, and Western learning should be for the practical application," trying to reconcile Western learning with Chinese learning so as to promote China's Westernization and keep the social and political order intact.

¹³ In his memoir, Richard said: "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 Tai-yuan fu some suggestions of mine to the former Governor Tseng Kwoh Chuen 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." See *Forty-five Years in China: Reminiscences*, pp. 172.

with each other in promoting Western learning.¹⁴

Richard's introduction of Western learning to Chinese officials was soon noticed by the *North China Herald*, which reported Richard's introduction of scientific knowledge and advice about building the railway and mining industries in Shanxi.¹⁵ The *North China Herald's* report of Richard's co-operation with Shanxi officials indicated that the news regarding Richard's efforts in peripheral regions had spread to Shanghai, which was one of China's business centers at the time. Compared with other missionaries who mainly preached the Gospel and concerned themselves to a lesser degree with Western learning, Richard's missionary work seemed to be unique, so it attracted the Shanghai media's attention. Through reports in the *North China Herald*, English readers who paid attention to China's inland development came to know about

¹⁴ In many places, Zhang Zhidong was willing to cooperate with Richard. In Richard's memoir, he said: "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 Tai-yuen fu some suggestions of mine to the former Governor Tseng Kwoh Chuen 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, asking me to give up missionary work and enter the Chinese service for the purpose of carrying out my ideas." (*Forty-five Years in China: Reminiscences*, pp. 172.) Several years later, Zhang even supported Richard's introduction of Western learning by donating funds directly. In an article published in the *North China Herald*, Richard openly praised Zhang for his help in supporting the promotion of Western learning: "Sir, -You will be glad to know that his Excellency Chang Chih-tung of Wuchang, the Viceroy of the two provinces, Hupeh and Hunan, has been pleased to send to our Society the sum of one thousand taels for the publication of four of the books which we are now getting ready to bring out. ... Happily, the energetic Viceroy of Central China believes in the principle of the importance of enlightenment and has proved it by contributing this sum." (Timothy Richard, "Tls. 1,000 from the Viceroy Chang Chih-Tung," *The North China Herald*, May 25, 1894.)

¹⁵ In "Pao-Ting Fu," *The North China Herald*, October 18, 1881, it said: "Already the Governor of Shansi has sent one memorial to Peking, praying His Majesty for a railroad to the iron-mines and coalfields of that hardy province. Such a railroad three years ago would probably have saved that afflicted portion of the Empire half a million of souls, by carrying grain over the dreary plains of Chihli and the rocky passes of Shansi. The proposed route was at that time mapped out by the Rev. Timothy Richard of Tai-yuen Fu at the request of the Governor, and the plans he then made are still lying snugly away as a sort of nest-egg for a happier and more hopeful future." In another report, "Summary of News: Retuer's Telegrams," *The North China Herald*, August 11, 1882, it said: "We hear that the Rev. Timothy Richard, of Tai-yuen Fu, is still busily engaged in making a complete survey of that city for the Chinese officials. He has also been consulted by three officers, at the orders of the Governor of the city, as to the best method of developing the resources of the province. Mr. Richard, who is a man of great intelligence and energy, has been devoting a considerable portion of his time to this work, and great hopes are entertained of the beneficial results that may follow."

Richard's special missionary work in Shanxi, making him gradually famous in the mainstream media.

Proposing New Methods

In 1884 Richard published an article entitled "Christian Persecutions in China: Their Nature, Causes, Remedies" in the *Chinese Recorder*, in which he listed a number of persecutions which missionaries suffered in China. In opposition to these persecutions, Richard proposed several remedies, including the strategy of combining science and technology through the promotion of Christianity in China. He said:

This brings us to some of the remedies. First the Chinese must be enlightened by continuing all the good works which are now in operation; ...by benevolent, scientific or literary Societies in which Chinese and Foreigners could easily join. Another important branch of the remedy would be to prepare ourselves better for the duties before us. The medical branch has at last become established in our midst. Astronomy and Mathematics stood high once. Now the time has come when men well up in all kinds of industries and especially engineering are in demand. As in the medical and educational, we meet the physical and intellectual want, so in the manufacturing and engineering we should meet the financial want of China.¹⁶

Richard emphasized that China needed science and technology, and that missionaries

¹⁶ Timothy Richard, "Christian Persecutions in China: Their Nature, Causes, Remedies," *The Chinese Recorder*, July 1, 1884.

should properly adjust their steps and methods to meet China's new needs. This article corresponded with Richard's previous experience in lecturing Chinese officials on science and technology. Because of the Chinese officials' enthusiastic reaction to Western learning, he considered it sensible to call their attention by means of introducing science and technology. This article could be regarded as a formal announcement that Richard was going to adopt Western learning in order to promote Christianity.

Richard's strategy of persuasion, which paid close attention to Chinese readers' responses, is also noticeable in the same article. His tendency of paying attention to Chinese readers was already put on display when he published announcements to propose essay contests in newspapers, as discussed in Chapter 1. The aim of devising essay contests in newspapers was to receive feedback from Chinese readers. Preferring bilateral interactions rather than unidirectional statements, Richard looked forward to hearing his readers' feedback, instead of only presenting opinions in his own words. Following the same tendency, his lectures on Western learning to Chinese officials tended to be concerned more with China's real needs. When lecturing on Western learning, Richard chose these themes as the lecturing focus because he knew that his audience, Chinese officials, preferred to hear about them. Readers' preferences were decisive for him in choosing topics of Western learning. When discussing missionaries' persecutions and their remedies in the article "Christian Persecutions in China: Their Nature, Causes, Remedies," Richard adopted the same attitude, emphasizing that missionaries should adjust their methods according to China's needs. Promoting science and technology, according to Richard, should be adopted as an effective

approach to meet China's requirements.

After Richard's article "Christian Persecutions in China: Their Nature, Causes, Remedies" was published in the *Chinese Recorder*, an article review was soon published in the same year, which discussed Richard's opinions.¹⁷ This article review, however, did not respond to Richard's suggestion of conducting missionary work with science and technology; it seemed still to be waiting for Richard's actual actions. In the following years, especially from 1884 to 1887, because of Richard's actions in promoting science and technology, some conservative missionaries gradually became impatient with him. They were unable to tolerate Richard's inappropriate ways of blurring a missionary's duty any longer.

Criticisms from Colleagues

In 1885 Richard went back to England for his furlough and returned to China in the next year. During his furlough, the Baptist Missionary Society in London appointed other missionaries to replace Richard's position temporarily. Because the newly arrived missionaries were unwilling to accept Richard's preaching methods, contradictions occurred between these missionaries and Richard. In his memoir, Richard described this experience as follows:

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

¹⁷ "Review," *The Chinese Recorder*, October 22, 1884.

against my views as misrepresented by him. ... When I returned to Tai-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 acknowledgement 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 believe 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.¹⁸

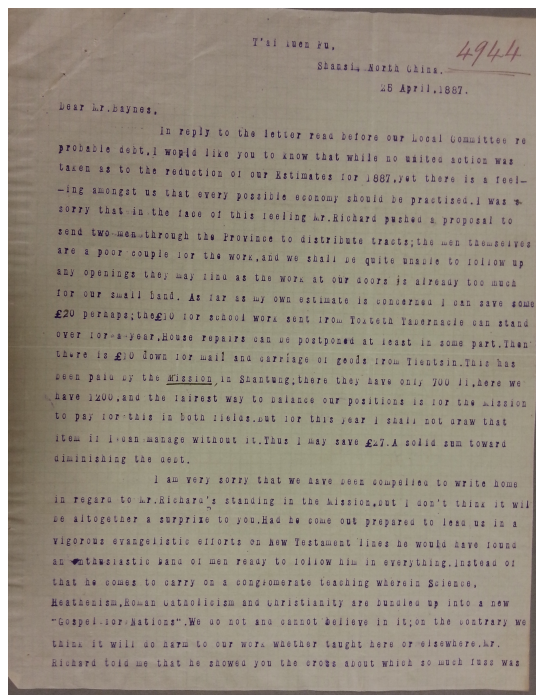
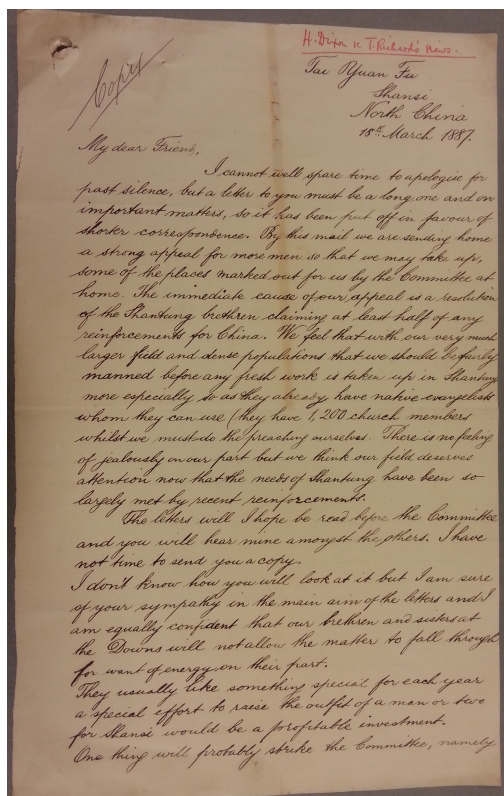
Richard faced a great challenge in 1886-87, since he came into conflict with his colleagues for his "theological views" and "methods of work." His colleagues even wrote several letters back to the Baptist Missionary Society in London, accusing Richard of spreading heretical opinions. Richard, in his memoir, used only a few words in recounting this experience, but in fact the confrontation between Richard and his colleagues was severe at the time. Richard also wrote letters back to the Baptist

¹⁸ *Forty-five Years in China: Reminiscences*, pp. 204-5.

Missionary Society in London in defense of his positions, debating with his colleagues on the theological views and methods of work. This fierce debate was not revealed in Richard's memoir, but was preserved in the correspondence between missionaries and their society in London, which are currently collected in the Angus Library at University of Oxford.

According to the letters in the Angus Library, at least two missionaries had written letters criticizing Richard, namely Herbert Dixon and Joshua Turner. Dixon was a Baptist missionary, who belonged to the same church as Richard. Turner was, originally, a missionary of the China Inland Mission,¹⁹ and later joined the Baptist church, working with Richard in Shanxi. In the Angus Library, five letters written by Dixon are currently preserved, dated March 18, 1887, April 25, 1887, May 13, 1887, October 14, 1887 and November 13, 1888. Another five letters written by Turner are preserved in the library as well, dated February 1887, January 15, 1888, May 23, 1888, May 1888, and December 28, 1888. The transcriptions of the above letters are provided in the Appendix A.1 and A.2 respectively.

¹⁹ The China Inland Mission was an international Protestant Christian missionary society founded by Hudson Taylor in 1865, with the aim of preaching the Gospel to Chinese ordinary people by means of evangelical methods.



1. Dixon's letter, dated March 18, 1887.

2. Dixon's letter, dated April 25, 1887.

Dixon was appointed as a missionary working in Shanxi in 1885, and was denoted as a “young colleague” in Richard’s memoir. Two among Dixon’s five letters harshly criticized Richard’s theological views and his methods of work. The first one, dated March 18, 1887 (illus. 1), said:

One thing will probably strike the Committee, namely the contrast between our ideas of the work and the scheme laid before by Mr. Richard. We almost unanimously condemn that scheme as radically wrong in itself as having already been tried in Hong Kong & failed, as in many instances giving a very misleading impression of Mr. Richard’s standing & relations with the officials & of the work here generally. ... He gave himself to getting at the officials not to preach

the gospel to them, for they would not listen to it, but by means of presents he obtained interviews with some of them & sought to impress on them the benefits of western science. For 5 years he kept at this, supplying any information they wished for, getting estimates for them as to mining, gas making. He did some translation work, & amongst other useful things spent two years & much money on teachers writing a history of music in Chinese. ... Such work as the above (apart from translation work) is not in any sense missionary work. To get four or five expensive machines that can give a spark of electricity or a lathe that costs a hundred pounds & then lies rusting & useless, or a lithographic machine costing I think £ 40 & then is found to be unsuitable for the work required these things to my mind show Mr. Richard's unpractical temperament & point him out as quite unsuited for leader of a mission. ... I quite agree with Mr. Turner that the attempt to reach the officials by means of Western science be given up in favour of preaching the gospel to the people.²⁰

Dixon's opinions represented a general perspective held by many missionaries working in China at the time. The main target of their missionary work was ordinary people, rather than high officials or intellectuals; their ultimate goal was preaching the Gospel, rather than spreading Western learning. The comparison between Richard and Dixon was not without consequence: thereafter Richard changed his focus towards Chinese

²⁰ Correspondence, Herbert Dixon to Vincent Tymms, March 18, 1887, no. CH/1, The Angus Library and Archive, Regent's Park College, University of Oxford.

officials and intellectuals, becoming concerned with China's needs and introducing what Chinese were looking forward to seeing. In contrast, Dixon emphasized that missionaries should pay attention to ordinary people, focusing on preaching the Gospel to local people and fulfilling a missionary's duty.²¹

Dixon considered that Richard's purchase of various expensive instruments in order to attract Chinese officials' attention was useless, because Chinese officials were only interested in science and technology, rather than the Gospel and Christianity. Replacing the Gospel with science and technology was unacceptable to him. Dixon criticized Richard's abuse of the capital from the Baptist Missionary Society, arguing that this inappropriate behavior should be stopped immediately. The fund from the home church was significant for missionaries in supporting their overseas work.²² Considering that Richard did not use it properly, Dixon listed the amount of money which Richard had spent, and criticized his unsuitable missionary work.

In the second letter, dated April 25, 1887 (illus. 2), Dixon said:

I am very sorry that we have been compelled to write home in regard to Mr. Richard's standing in the Mission, but I don't think it will be altogether a surprise to you. Had he come out prepared to lead us in vigorous evangelistic efforts on New Testament lines, he would have found an enthusiastic band of men ready to follow him in everything. Instead of that he comes to carry on a conglomerate

²¹ Regarding the comparison of theoretical views between Richard and his colleagues, Andrew T. Kaiser has discussed it in his monograph; see Andrew T. Kaiser, *Encountering China: The Evolution of Timothy Richard's Missionary Thought (1870–1891)*, Oregon: Pickwick Publications, 2019, pp. 183-222.

²² The capital was a central issue for Richard as well. Even though making profits from conducting literary work, Richard still needed to raise funds from missionary societies to support his work. See Timothy Richard, "Appeal to Missionary Societies to Help in Literary Work (Shanghai, August 1898)," *Conversion by the Million in China, Vol. II*, Shanghai: Christian Literature Society, 1907, pp. 96-100.

teaching wherein Science, Heathenism, Roman Catholicism and Christianity are bundled up into a new “Gospel for Nations”. We do not and cannot believe in it; on the contrary we think it will do harm to our work whether taught here or elsewhere. Mr. Richard told me that he showed you the cross, about which so much fuss was made some time ago, and that you kept it, no doubt thinking it harmless enough in his private room. But Mr. Richard did not tell you that he had the end of the chapel covered with crimson cloth, and in the centre of it a large white satin cross, and at either side two yellow streamer exactly like those used in Buddhist Temples; that with all the people kneeling toward the cross he led them in a chanted litany.²³

In addition to buying expensive instruments for teaching Western learning, Richard was strongly criticized and considered a “heretic,” owing to merging Christianity with other religious elements, such as a crimson cloth of Catholicism, white satin cross, and the yellow streamer emblematic of Buddhism. According to the perspective of conservative missionaries, science, together with “Heathenism” and Roman Catholicism, should be totally excluded from Christianity. In fact, both Richard’s memoir and his periodical articles showed his tolerance toward other religions. Richard was willing to learn from other religions, so merging other religious elements with Christianity was acceptable to him, but Dixon could not accept this. Because Dixon could not tolerate Richard’s way of mixing Christianity with what he perceived as heresies, he suggested the Baptist

²³ Correspondence, Herbert Dixon to Vincent Tymm, April 25, 1887, no. CH/1, The Angus Library and Archive, Regent’s Park College, University of Oxford.

Missionary Society in London should take action:

Of course too I would not dream of dictating to the Committee what course they should adopt, but it seems to me that there are only two possible courses open to Mr. Richard vix. To give up his peculiar views and work on old lines under the Local Committee, or having the courage of his opinion resign his position in a body he is out of sympathy with.²⁴

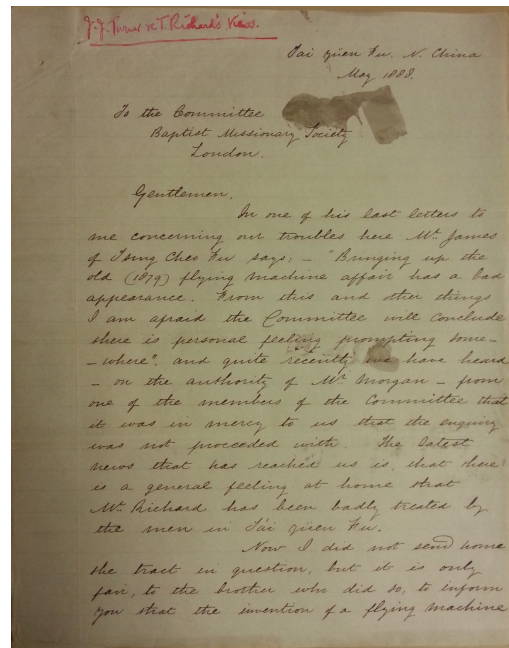
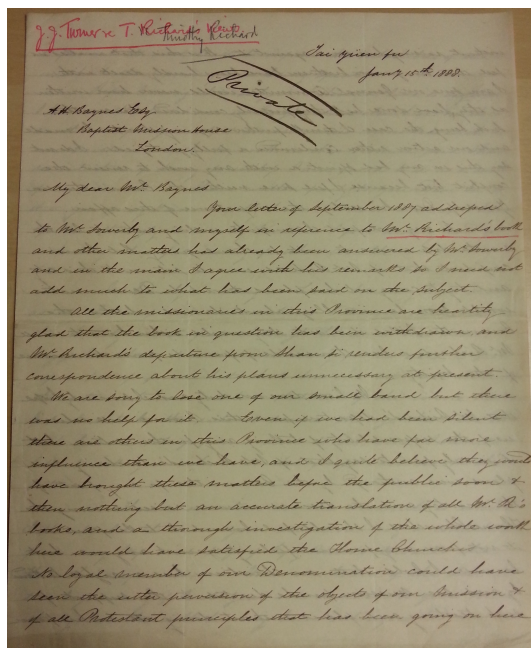
Dixon requested that Richard should obey original rules, otherwise he must be expelled from the Baptist church in Shanxi. This was a strong demand, which indicated that he was unable to work with Richard. Although Richard was willing to adjust his missionary work to meet China's needs, his manner of introducing Western learning did cause a great controversy in his church.

In addition to Dixon, Joshua Turner also sent letters back to the Baptist Missionary Society in London criticizing Richard's missionary work. Since 1875, Turner had served as a missionary in the China Inland Mission, which was a conservative missionary group that aimed to preach the Gospel to local people. Turner worked with Richard when relieving suffering during the period of the famine in Northern China.²⁵ He joined the Baptist church in 1881, becoming Richard's colleague thereafter. Because Turner followed traditional rules of doing missionary work and preaching the Gospel

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ In Richard's memoir, he said: "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," and "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 Shen 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." See *Forty-five Years in China: Reminiscences*, pp. 135 and 142.

for local people, he could not accept Richard's desire of changing the mission's focus to Chinese intellectuals and adopting Western learning to promote Christianity. Among Turner's five letters preserved in the Angus Library at University of Oxford, two letters clearly criticized Richard's missionary work.



3. Turner's letter, dated January 15, 1888.

4. Turner's letter, dated May 1888.

The first one was dated January 15, 1888 (illus. 3), and its recipient was the secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society in London, Alfred Henry Baynes. It said:

In my own part I am quite willing either to let the matter²⁶ drop now, or to wait further enquiry. But I am confident that if Mr. Richard were to return to this city and try to carry out his plans the whole Denomination would soon be in a blaze about it and whether

²⁶ "The matter" meant the contention between Richard and his colleagues about missionary work.

the Committee likes it or not they would either have to recall Mr. Richard or lose thousands of pounds from the income of the Society. ... We have done our duty and I sincerely hope that Mr. Richard's departure from this Province will relieve us of the responsibility of taking any further action, but it is only fair to say that if Mr. Richard's teaching and plans were authorized by the Committee for any part of the country and the discussion were raised among the Home Churches, I should feel bound to take part in it not from any personal feeling against anyone but because I hold that no Christian has a right to stand by and see Mission funds devoted to the support of such teaching and plans without doing all in his power to prevent it, or at least to inform the subscribers of the way in which their money was being spent.²⁷

Abuse of funds was a key ground on which Richard was criticized. As Paul A. Cohen, in his article "Missionary Approaches: Hudson Taylor and Timothy Richard," pointed out, the China Inland Mission's headquarter was established in China and was financially independent; in contrast, Richard's Baptist church in Shanxi was directed by its home church in London and was financially dependent on it. Every significant piece of decision-making in Baptist Shanxi church was therefore obliged to be approved by its headquarter in London. In order to attract the attention of Chinese intellectuals, Richard managed the local church's funds to purchase expensive instruments for the display of Western learning, which was strongly opposed by his colleagues. Due to the

²⁷ Correspondence, Joshua Turner to Alfred Henry Baynes, January 15, 1888, no. CH/65, The Angus Library and Archive, Regent's Park College, University of Oxford.

structural factor that the church's funds came from London and its expenditure should be ratified by the London home church, Turner took up the stance of criticizing Richard.

Richard left Shanxi in October 1887 and arrived in Peking the following month, where he lived during 1888. Although Richard had left Shanxi, Turner still sent letters to the Baptist Missionary Society in London, arguing that Richard should not have moved back to Shanxi and that he should not continue his missionary work of promoting Christianity with Western learning, so that the contention between the local church and Richard continued. Turner also insisted that the Baptist Missionary Society should not endorse Richard's work and must stop providing any funds to him, because what Richard did, according to Turner, was heretical work. Obviously, Richard's departure did not quell the strife in Shanxi; Turner still opposed Richard's viewpoints even though Richard had already left Shanxi.

Due to the fact that Richard had left Shanxi at the end of 1887, a rumor spread, saying that Richard had left the Baptist Missionary Society altogether. In order to dispel this rumor, Richard wrote an open letter in the *Chinese Recorder* at the beginning of 1888:

Dear Sir: I noticed in the last *Recorder* that you state that I had left the Baptist Mission. This is not correct. I am still in connection with our Society, and the Shantung branch of our Mission has unanimously resolved on a new departure, viz., "That as soon as Mr. Richard finds it practicable he shall be free to commence an institution on Christian principles at Tsinanfu (capital of Shantung), the aim of which shall be to afford opportunity whereby men of the

educated and governing classes can receive instruction in subjects suitable to the needs of the situation, using the best Christian literature available, teaching general science and, if deemed desirable, English. ...” You are welcome to make any use of the above information you like.²⁸

In this article, Richard used a formal invitation from the Shantung branch as evidence to show that he had not left but still worked with the Baptist Mission. Furthermore, the Shantung branch recognized Richard’s viewpoint of adopting Western learning to promote Christianity, which showed the strong support which he still maintained.²⁹

This open letter responded to the criticism he had encountered from his colleagues. Although Richard was being criticized, he still believed that his missionary work was appropriate for China’s real needs. The Shantung branch’s endorsement was a clear signal, showing that Richard was still being supported by other branches even though he was opposed in Shanxi. In addition, the open letter successfully published in the *Chinese Recorder* also showed that Richard had influence in Christian circles at the time, so much so that the *Chinese Recorder* was willing to accept Richard’s request and published his open letter. This endorsement could indeed be regarded as a reward due to Richard’s hard work in publishing articles in newspapers for a long time.

²⁸ Timothy Richard, “From Rev. Timothy Richard,” *The Chinese Recorder*, April 1, 1888.

²⁹ Alfred G. Jones, a Baptist missionary in Shantung, supported Richard in promoting Christianity with Western learning. In a correspondence with the Baptist church in London, Jones said: “I now beg to hand you enclosed here with the Resolutions arrived at unanimously by the Shantung mission in relation to this matter of Mr. Richard’s settlement in Shantung, as the result of their most careful & deliberate consultation. The leading features may, for the purposes of this letter be summarized as the appointment of Mr. Richard: (1) To special missionary work among the educated classes in Tsi-nan Fu, (2) To open a book shop for the sale of Christian & Scientific books, (3) To commence a Christian newspaper for circulation through the province, & (4) To begin an educational institute on the principles laid down in the resolutions.” See Correspondence, Alfred G. Jones to Alfred Henry Baynes, March 1, 1888, no. CH/6, The Angus Library and Archive, Regent’s Park College, University of Oxford.

Although Turner, in the letter of January 15, 1888, opposed Richard's missionary work, he did not point out specific mistakes which Richard had made. Perhaps reading Richard's open letter and considering that Richard was still impenitent, Turner decided to extend his criticisms aimed at Richard regarding his unacceptable missionary work. He sent another letter back to London, whose recipient was not the secretary but the "Committee of the Baptist Missionary Society," the central administration of the Baptist Missionary Society in London.

This letter was dated May 1888 (illus. 4), and ran to 26 pages in total; it came to constitute a key document in Richard's life. In the letter, Turner accused Richard of promoting Christianity with Western learning, which was harmful to a missionary's duty of preaching the Gospel so it must be prohibited immediately. After this letter was received by the Baptist Missionary Society, at least two copies of the letter were made: one was sent to the secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society, and another was sent to Richard.³⁰ Richard in his memoir pointed out the following: "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;"³¹ the so called "long letter" was this letter written by Turner. This letter was probably the strongest criticism Richard ever faced after he adopted the method of promoting Christianity with Western learning.

Turner accused Richard of substituting something else for the Gospel of Christ in this letter, wherein the "something else" meant Western learning, encompassing science, technology, political and social systems. This represented a strong accusation against

³⁰ Two copies of Turner's letter dated May 1888 are currently preserved in the Angus Library and Archive at University of Oxford.

³¹ *Forty-five Years in China: Reminiscences*, pp. 205.

Richard. As a missionary working abroad, preaching Christ's Gospel was definitely the ultimate goal. Turner's accusation that Richard had substituted something else for the Gospel implied that Richard was unqualified to be a missionary, because he betrayed a missionary's duty. Turner provided several examples of concrete evidence in the letter to manifest Richard's heretical teachings of science and technology, mentioning his introduction of flying machines, chemical food, balloons for testing winds, and electric power, among others. To take "flying machines" as an example, Turner said:

Now I did not send home the tract in question, but it is only fair, to the brother who did so, to inform you that the invention of a flying machine has been the object of Mr. Richard's efforts for the last ten years, and he has made various models of such a machine. There are stores in this city now, two of which were made in 1887 shortly before Mr. Richard left Tai Yuen Fu. This perhaps is a private affair and I hold that any man has a right to invent flying machines if he please to do so in his spare time. But Mr. Richard's tract offering a reward of Ts 100.00 to any China man who could invent a flying machine was not a private affair. It was issued and stamped by Mr. Richard as a missionary and it was widely circulated by mission agents.³²

For Turner, promoting "flying machines" was not only inappropriate but also harmful to missionary work. He used his witness as an example:

Mr. Farthing and I went to visit Mr. Hu, the Tsin Cheo church

³² Correspondence, Joshua Turner to the Committee Baptist Missionary Society London, May, 1888, no. CH/65, The Angus Library and Archive, Regent's Park College, University of Oxford.

member who has recently opened a preaching station in a market town near his home. The wall of his chapel was adorned with tracts but the flying machine was the one that commanded most attention. I asked Hu's leave to take it down and I will enclose it in this letter. I spoke to Hu privately and advised him not to post such things on his wall. He seemed quite surprised and said "I put it up to show the people what wonderful things God would help them to invent if they only became worshippers of Him". I hold that such an impression is injurious to the work and that opinion is confirmed by the fact that at least one of the fourteen church members in Tai Yuen Fu joined the church solely because he hoped by doing so to find out some "wonderful western invention for making money."³³

Richard's "flying machines" were attractive to Chinese people; science and technology opened their eyes to amazing inventions. However, Turner considered that the mention of these technologies led the Chinese in the wrong direction; what the Chinese consequently aspired to was Western learning rather than Christianity.

Turner also accused Richard of managing a fund and encouraging Chinese officials to invent flying machines. He translated Chapter 82 of *Jinshi yaowu*, "Zhong jiangshang yi li kongxing 重獎賞以勵空行 (Offering Rewards to Encourage Air Transportation)" as his example, and said:

'Offer liberal rewards to encourage travelling in space' Chapter 82.

³³ Ibid.

‘The distance between the Southern and Northern seas of Australia is 6000 odd li, but in between are many dangerous places which men have seldom visited. Therefore from of old till now the North and South have not been connected [had an intercommunication]. The [Ruler] Sovereign had wished to send men to explore but none dared to respond to the [his] commands till rewards were offered and it was proclaimed to all that if any one could go from the South sea right through to the North he should be rewarded with Ts 30,000.00. Then truly there were men brave enough to go. Now Steamers and Locomotives are strings that can travel exceedingly fast by land & sea, still this is not so good as ascending & travelling in space (would be). That would be much more speedy & convenient. Rulers ought to offer rewards and command scholars of great learning to invent the art of travelling in space’.³⁴

Richard’s article introducing flying machines was used by Turner as evidence to criticize his inappropriate missionary work. For Turner, introducing flying machines to Chinese people was not only wasting money but also harmful to promoting Christianity. It only increased the Chinese’s thirst for spectacular objects and led them to leave the path of approaching God.

Turner criticized Richard’s approach of promoting Christianity with Western

³⁴ Its original Chinese passage in the Chapter 82 of *Jinshi yaowu*, “Zhong jiangshang yi li kongxing” is as follows: “奧大利亞洲南海與北海相距六千餘萬里，其中險地最多、人跡罕到，所以自古至今，南北不通，其君欲派人往探，無敢應命者，因懸金示眾，有能自南海直抵北海者賞銀三萬兩，後果有人勇往。今之輪舟、輪車，水陸並行至速之物也，然猶不如騰空而行尤為便捷。君人者亦宜懸金招考，務令多學之士思創其法，以勵空行。”

learning in many ways. In this letter, he cited several chapters of *Jinshi yaowu*, covering the contents of science, technology and the social system as evidence to manifest Richard's inappropriate missionary work.³⁵ Before publishing this book, Richard probably knew that what he had introduced might be controversial, so in the beginning he used a pen-name "Zhongxi-you" to publish these chapters in *Wanguo gongbao*. However, Richard could not anticipate that what he had introduced would be used by his colleague as evidence to criticize his own work so harshly in the end. Because of these chapters in *Jinshi yaowu*, Richard was regarded as a heretic, a missionary disseminating Western learning rather than God's Gospel.

In addition to *Jinshi yaowu*, Turner also criticized another book of Richard's, *Xuedao cixu* 學道次序 (The Order of Learning Doctrine).³⁶ *Xuedao cixu* was designed for those who were beginning to learn Christianity, and its aim was to introduce fundamental knowledge for Christians from a beginner's to an advanced level,

³⁵ They are: Chapter 6 "Wu shuiqi yi jin dili 悟水氣以盡地利 (Understanding Water to Help Cultivation)," Chapter 7 "Chou xinfu yi bei xionghuang 籌新法以備凶荒 (Preparing New Methods to Prevent Famines)," Chapter 8 "Chuang huashi yi yang yuding 創化食以養餘丁 (Producing Chemical Food to Nurture People)," Chapter 9 "Cha shengli yi zhi yangji 察生理以知養機 (Studying Physics to Understand Cultivation)," Chapter 12 "Cha ridian yi fang hanlao 察日點以防旱澇 (Checking Sunspot to Prevent Droughts and Floods)," Chapter 16 "Gai wuyong yi gui youyong 改無用以歸有用 (Transforming Uselessness to Be Useful)," Chapter 24 "Xing dagong yi li wanshi 興大工以利萬世 (Adopting Great Engineering to Benefit Forever)," Chapter 25 "Bi shuigu yi jiu ranmei 辟水穀以救燃眉 (Cultivating Rice to Prevent Emergency)," Chapter 39 "Li xuehui yi xing dali 立學會以興大利 (Establishing Societies to Promote Profit)," Chapter 64 "Guang fapiao yi chang xiaoshou 廣發票以暢銷售 (Increasing Advertisements to Promote Sales)," Chapter 66 "Li xinju yi bian minsheng 立信局以便民生 (Establishing Post Offices to Benefit People)," Chapter 70 "Ji chuansheng yi da wanguo 極傳聲以達萬國 (Using Telephone to Reach All Nations)," Chapter 73 "Jiu dianxue yi zhi weineng 究電學以知未能 (Studying Electricity to Understand Incapability)," Chapter 76 "Li yinhui yi bei huangqian 立銀會以備荒歉 (Establishing Banks to Prepare Funding for Famines)," Chapter 81 "Chu fenghai yi li zhouxing 除風害以利舟行 (Preventing Wind Damage to Promote Sea Transportation)," Chapter 82 "Zhong jiangshang yi li kongxing 重獎賞以勵空行 (Offering Rewards to Encourage Air Transportation)," and Chapter 94 "Ming xinzhì yi shi duoyi 明心志以釋多疑 (Understanding Mind and Will to Resolve Mistrust)."

³⁶ Turner said: "I have already charged Mr. Richard with substituting something else for the Gospel of Christ, and in proof of that charge I would refer to the 'Hsiao tao tiz hsu' (Order of Learning Religion, or Doctrine)." Correspondence, Joshua Turner to the Committee Baptist Missionary Society London, May, 1888, no. CH/65, The Angus Library and Archive, Regent's Park College, University of Oxford.

i.e. from a new learner to a missionary or pastor. It was worth noting that, to be a “qualified” missionary or pastor, according to Richard’s introduction, he or she should also acquire scientific knowledge, e.g. chemistry, physics, astronomy, and geography, in addition to the knowledge covered in the Bible. Theoretically, scientific knowledge did not belong to the scope of the Gospel, but Richard emphasized its importance and considered that a missionary or pastor should learn it in order to meet China’s real needs. This way of mixing the Gospel with scientific knowledge was unacceptable to Turner, so he accused Richard of substituting something else for the Gospel.

Turner opposed Richard’s combination of Western learning with Christianity, arguing that Western learning, especially science and technology, was not compatible with Christianity. Conservative missionaries, such as Dixon and Turner, opposed peculiar ways of preaching the Gospel with Western learning. Christianity and Western learning, in their opinions, should be regarded as independent fields. Richard was, however, unwilling to accept this idea, and considered that introducing Western learning was also a missionary’s duty. After receiving Turner’s letter sent from the Baptist Missionary Society in London, he prepared a long statement in reply to Turner’s criticism.

Responding to Criticisms

Richard was required by the secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society to provide a statement responding to Turner’s criticism. He wrote a long letter, which ran to 32 pages, dated October 17, 1888 (illus. 5), and sent it back to the Baptist Missionary Society in London. The transcription of this letter is provided in the Appendix A.3.

T. Richard

Peking Oct. 17, 1888

To the Committee of the
Baptist Missionary Society,

Dear Brethren,

On the 20th of Sep. I received a telegram from Mr Baynes saying that the Committee would like a reply to Mr Turner's letter of May last. I was very much surprised for I had no knowledge whatever of such a thing. I immediately sent off a special messenger to Mr Turner to obtain a copy of what he had written, and wrote Mr Baynes to say that I expected the messenger would take over twenty days as the distance is so great. Mr Turner's letter came to hand some days ago. He tells me that the failure to get a copy previously was occasioned by the loss of one of the Shanghai Mail bags.

The reading of this letter filled me with the profoundest grief on account of the pain that it will cause all the friends of mission work who know of it. ~~How~~ In a moment of strong feeling deep wounds have been cut, which a long time or even a life time may not heal.

The letter begins with a defence of some brother who sent a copy of the Flying Machine advertisement home. I do not know the name of this brother, nor did I ever hear a word of objection to this form of ~~mission~~ until I saw this letter.

It has a page devoted to the condemnation of the action of the ~~mission~~ of the Shanghai Brethren in printing it.

It has a charge against the B.M.S. for authorizing it.

It has scattered over it charges and ~~subcharges~~ against me to the number of 13. It especially abounds with strange

5. Richard's letter in response, dated October 17, 1888.

Turner criticized Richard "substituting something else for the Gospel of Christ," and considered that the way of introducing science and technology deviated from a missionary's duty. According to Turner's considerations, Richard was unqualified to be a missionary. In response to Turner's criticisms, Richard argued in self-defense by quoting words from the Bible, the ultimate foundation in Christianity. In particular, he argued that promoting Western learning was not only related to, but also consistent with, the teachings of the Bible. In this long letter, he said:

As this seems to be the great point of issue between us, involving the scope of the missionary's work, I hope you will bear with me which I try to make good my position by quotations from Scripture, by reference to the practice of missionaries ancient and modern,

and to the practice of ministers and Christians at home. The following are a few of the passages that show that our Heavenly Father is not indifferent to our present physical suffering. Take a few of the prophecies regarding Messiah's work – Ps. LXX II. 2-4, 12-14. Is XLI. 17-20. LXI. 1-11. "He will judge thy people with righteousness and thy poor with judgment, the mountains and little hills shall bring peace to the people by righteousness. He shall judge the poor of the people, he shall save the children of the needy, and shall break in pieces the oppressor." "For he shall deliver the needy when he crieth: the poor also and him that hath no helper. He shall spare the poor and needy and shall save the souls of the needy. He shall deliver their soul from deceit and violence: and precious shall their blood be in his sigah." "When the poor and needy seek water and there is none, and their tongue faileth for thirst, I the Lord will hear them etc. I will open rivers in high places and fountains in the midst of the valleys.... I will plant in the wilderness the cedar" etc. [note: these are material blessings to be enjoyed in Gospel times.] Again "The Spirit of the Lord God is upon me, because the Lord hath anointed one to preach good tidings unto the meek: he hath sent one to bind up the broken hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound, to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord, and the day of vengeance of our God, to comfort all that mourn", etc [If we merely

spiritualize these passages, do we not limit the scope of the Gospel and rob Christ of much of His glory?]) In the Lord's prayer we say "Thy will be done in earth as it is in Heaven." Where is the Christian Father who cares nothing for the physical, intellectual & social wellbeing of his children?³⁷

According to the Bible, God not only advanced humans' spiritual lives but also improved humans' physical needs and relieved sufferings in the world. In addition to his moral teachings, "physical needs" denoted the field that missionaries should pay attention to; science and technology served as the proper tool to improve humans' physical needs. Therefore, introducing science and technology not only conformed to God's rules, but also corresponded to God's blessings on mankind.

In order to enhance his argument, Richard further quoted practical evidence from Christian history:

Next, consider how the mass of missionaries ancient and modern interpret their duty in practice. In addition to the spiritual and moral work they did, they also worked for the political, the Social, the intellectual and even the material welfare of the people whom they loved, in perfect accord with those passages of Scripture just quoted. Observe –

Political work as in the Sandwich Islands, Polynesia, Madagascar.

Social work as in the stamping out of cannibalism, infanticide,

abortion in all heathen lands; slavery in Africa & America.

³⁷ Correspondence, Timothy Richard to the Committee Baptist Missionary Society London, October 17, 1888, no. CH/4, The Angus Library and Archive, Regent's Park College, University of Oxford.

Securing equality of marriage rights of men & women: equality of town burghers and feudal lords in medieval Europe; and equality of castes in India, etc.

Intellectual work. The missionaries and their pupils were almost the only intellectual light in Europe for about a thousand years, establishing episcopal and monastic schools until superseded by universities. Africa, Polynesia, India, Japan, and even China abound with Mission schools today.

Material work – [such] as clothing for the naked inhabitants of the Tropics, building houses for Polynesians, Africans, Americans, Indians, adorning Europe with Gothic architecture, still the admiration of the world. Agriculture taught by the Benedictines in Europe, by Protestant & Roman Missionaries in Africa; industries in every continent; even commerce to a considerable extent, such as that by Duncan in Columbia, the Paris Mission among the Basutoe, L.M.S. and Neoleyans in Polynesia; and now an American Presbyterian Missionary in China has been laying plans before the government for the regulation of the awful floods of the yellow river.³⁸

In Christian history, moral teachings as well as political, social, intellectual, and material works were all fields that missionaries had devoted themselves to. According to Richard, promoting material works in Christian history, such as agriculture and

³⁸ Ibid.

industries, was identical to what he did at the time. The only difference was that Richard followed the new trend of material developments. Richard used missionaries' work in Christian history as concrete evidence to show that material work, together with political, social, and intellectual work, were as important as moral teachings, and should be achieved for many reasons. In this context, his missionary work, which combined preaching the Gospel with Western learning, stood to reason. His negotiation with Chinese officials was conducted for the purpose of increasing the welfare of the Chinese people; his introduction of Western learning was to enlighten Chinese intellectuals; his promotion of science and technology was to improve China's social environment. All he had done was perfectly supported by concrete evidence in Christian history.

Furthermore, Richard refuted each of Turner's criticisms in the letter to the committee of the Baptist Missionary Society in London. Taking his defense of "flying machines" as an example, Richard said:

The first quotation from this book is on p4 of his letter. "Offer liberal rewards to encourage travelling in space." An instance is given of how on account of rewards offered, men travelled for the first time (in 1862) across the Australian continent before the laying of the telegraph. The province of Shansi offers peculiar difficulties to the construction of railways owing to innumerable gullies, often over a hundred feet in depth, and the geological formation being loess, is constantly giving way; therefore something of this kind, viz. "travelling" in space as Turner translates it is needed for their ordinary traffic. Since I wrote my

book a means for carrying light loads across such valleys and gullies has been invented in England under the name of ‘telpherage.’ For warlike purposes, almost every Government spends annually considerable sums of money for the perfection of “aerial navigation”. Why not for agricultural and other peaceful purposes as well? Thurston, one of the leading Scientists in the United States, who is one of the authors in the International Scientific Series, this year writing of the pressing need for 4 new inventions, mentioned this of “aerial navigation” as one of them. But in this there is no substitution of anything for the Gospel.³⁹

By quoting the description in the Bible and the evidence from Christian history to support his missionary work, Richard argued that in this context his promotion of “flying machines” aimed at improving the lives of people living in Shanxi, and that consequently his work was not only reasonable but also applicable.⁴⁰ Without substituting anything for the Gospel, Richard claimed that what he had done conformed completely to the Bible’s teachings.

Concerning the book *Xuedao cixu*, Richard also provided his response. He argued that this book was only printed for private and special use, and its aim was to offer

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Because “flying machines” were key to Richard’s missionary work in Shanxi, he especially mentioned it in his memoir. He said: “As I have already said, a feather of North China is the loess which covers the surface from hundreds to thousands of feet in depth. ... I therefore spent some time in studying the flight of birds and insects, noting the proportions between 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.” See *Forty-five Years in China: Reminiscences*, pp. 154-155.

intellectual and moral tests for Christian leadership. He said: “On finding strong opposition to the book I offered to modify it so as to meet the wishes of my colleagues, but they would not have that. I offered to lay it aside altogether, but they would not allow that either, and so sent it home.”⁴¹ Richard recognized that this book may not be appropriate for public circulation, so he modified it at a later time. In the Angus Library and Archive, there are two versions of *Xuedao cixu*: one published in 1887, and another one without publication information, but which was probably published in 1885. These two versions of *Xuedao cixu* were both sent back to the home church in London, and they served as evidence criticizing Richard’s inappropriate missionary work. Due to strong opposition from his colleagues, Richard stopped printing this book.

To sum up, Dixon and Turner’s criticisms of Richard comprised three aspects. The first was Richard’s incorporation of other religious elements into Christian rituals, concerning which Richard did not defend himself in the responding letter. The second was the abuse of funds in purchasing expensive scientific instruments, and the third was incorporating Western learning into his preaching of the Gospel. The second and third aspects were actually two sides of the same coin, because the allocation of resources was closely related to the performance of missionary work. Richard had to rationalize and legitimize his purchase of scientific instruments so as to persuade the London church to support his special missionary work. By refuting Turner’s accusation of substituting something else for the Gospel, Richard used many pages in his responding letter to argue that introducing Western learning in missionary work was not only reasonable but also necessary for a Christian to meet China’s needs.

⁴¹ Correspondence, Timothy Richard to the Committee Baptist Missionary Society London, October 17, 1888, no. CH/4, The Angus Library and Archive, Regent’s Park College, University of Oxford.

In his memoir, Richard did not mention that he had written a long letter in response to his colleagues' criticism, but this letter was significant in his life of promoting Christianity with Western learning. Three aspects show its significance.

First of all, it was a turning point for Richard's missionary career in promoting Christianity with Western learning. Although Richard had adopted Western learning to promote Christianity previously, he did not theorize so extensively on his missionary work. Protestants, generally speaking, were open to the introduction of science and technology,⁴² but, due to Turner's criticisms, Richard was forced to theorize on his missionary work by quoting from the Bible and evidence from Christian history. With the Bible, Richard established a legitimate basis for his missionary work; with Christian history, he built concrete support for his missionary work. The only difference was that Richard kept up with the time, choosing the latest knowledge, science and technology, to help China. After presenting his views with biblical references and Christian history in this long letter, Richard in the following years went on to express the same opinions in newspapers, so as to popularize his method of missionary work with Western learning.

Secondly, the view of "establishing [a] heavenly kingdom on earth" was for the first time proposed by Richard. In the letter responding to Turner's criticism, Richard quoted one sentence from the Bible, "Thy will be done in earth as it is in Heaven,"⁴³ emphasizing that the ultimate goal of a missionary was to bring into God's heavenly

⁴² In 1877, for instance, the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China was held in Shanghai, in which missionaries made presentations on the topics of education, arguing the importance of science and technology in Christian education for promoting Christianity. See *Records of the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China, held at Shanghai, May 10-24, 1877*, Shanghai: Presbyterian Mission Press, 1878, pp. 160-180.

⁴³ "Matthew 6:10," *The Bible*.

kingdom on earth. It was a missionary's duty to relieve people from sufferings and encourage them to live in the heavenly kingdom. In his memoir, Richard mentioned that he had been touched and inspired by God several times.⁴⁴ After experiencing the famine in Northern China in 1876-79, Richard further believed that God asked him to establish God's heavenly kingdom in China, by improving China's environment and benefiting Chinese people. This view was also expressed in Richard's later publication in newspapers.

Thirdly, the characterization of "Christianity being the core and Western learning for the purpose of practical uses" was initially proposed by Richard.⁴⁵ In the letter responding to Turner's criticism, he emphasized the importance of political, social, intellectual, and material works, in addition to Christian teachings emphasized by many missionaries. The knowledge of political, social, intellectual, and material works included almost every aspect in Western learning. Being a missionary, it was impossible to challenge the authority of the Bible. Richard cleverly applied the power of the Bible to endorse his viewpoint, propagating the idea that Western learning was not against, but supportive of Christianity, and that it was not harmful, but helpful to missionaries in order to establish God's heavenly kingdom on earth. In this context, Western learning and Christianity were compatible with each other; Western learning did serve as a useful means to promote Christianity. Richard's understanding of "Christianity being the core and Western learning for the purpose of practical uses" was further elaborated in his

⁴⁴ For instance, in Richard's memoir, he said: "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." See *Forty-five Years in China: Reminiscences*, pp. 199.

⁴⁵ Although Richard did not propose any slogan, his thought still could be summarized as "Christianity being the core and Western learning for the purpose of practical uses" according to his viewpoints concerning Christianity and Western learning.

following publications in newspapers as well.

Relevant Discussion in Missionary Circles

Richard's introduction of Western learning and his purchase of scientific instruments caused great controversy in his church, but it was only a special case in the context of nineteenth century China. When China missionaries conducted their missionary work in the early nineteenth century, the knowledge of science and technology was a part of the content that missionaries would disseminate in their periodical publications. Early Chinese periodicals, such as *Chashisu meiyue tongji chuan* 察世俗每月統記傳 (Chinese Monthly Magazine), *Dongxiyang kao meiyue tongji chuan* 東西洋考每月統記傳 (Eastern Western Monthly Magazine), and *Xiaer guanzhen* 遐邇貫珍 (Chinese Serial), all covered knowledge of science and technology. Later Chinese periodicals, such as *Gezhi huibian* and *Wanguo gongbao*, covered this knowledge as well. In Richard's case, even though he was opposed in the Shanxi church, his colleagues in the Shandong church still welcomed him, showing that introducing Western learning was generally acceptable in missionary circles.

Probably due to the debate between Richard and his colleagues, his missionary work came to be discussed in missionary circles. Instead of focusing on whether or not Western learning could be introduced, missionaries discussed whether they should pay more attention to the Chinese upper classes, i.e. officials and intellectuals. Regarding this discussion, one of the most representative articles was written by Gilbert Reid, with the title "The Duty of Christian Missions to the Upper Class of China,"⁴⁶ and published

⁴⁶ Gilbert Reid, "The Duty of Christian Missions to the Upper Class of China," *The Chinese Recorder*, August 1, September 1, and October 1, 1888.

in the *Chinese Recorder* in 1888. This article illustrated five objecting views⁴⁷ and four supportive views,⁴⁸ implying that missionaries held different, even opposing, opinions on this issue. Reid at the time belonged to the Presbyterian Church in the U.S., which had no direct relation with Richard's church, the Baptist Church in London. His argumentation in newspapers about a missionary's duty showed that special missionary work, as Richard had done, had been noticed by many missionaries.

Regarding the issue whether missionaries should preach to Chinese intellectuals or not, traditional missionary groups, e.g. the China Inland Mission, tended to be in opposition; however, progressive missionaries, such as Richard and Reid, tended to support it. Those who held an open attitude towards preaching to Chinese intellectuals generally accepted the method of promoting Christianity with Western learning, because it was effective at getting their attention, especially by introducing science and technology to them. Reid in the same article pointed out:

Knowledge that is spiritual may be higher than scientific or ethical knowledge, and yet the latter may unlock human hearts—be the schoolmaster to lead to Christ. The missionary in his own mind should ever hold in logical proportion all truths and value alright all knowledge; and yet in contact with his fellow man there may be

⁴⁷ Reid said: "The first objection against special attention to the upper class, is that the Scripture seems to give special attention to the poor," "The second objection is the fact that the lower classes are more easily reached than the higher," "A third objection is: We should not seek the upper classes, but wait for them to seek us," "The fourth objection is: As all work cannot be done, the most important should be done first," and "A fifth and final objection is: The Gospel proceeds from the bottom up, not from the top down." See Gilbert Reid, "The Duty of Christian Missions to the Upper Class of China."

⁴⁸ Reid said: "Firstly: Such obligation is the teaching of Scripture," "Secondly: A special attention, even, should be given to the upper class of China because in harmony with the universal sentiment of the nation," "Thirdly: The upper class of China should be influenced for the sake of the lower," and "Finally, the missionary should exert himself for the upper class, for it is in his power alone to meet the felt needs of this class and satisfy the highest aspirations of heart and conscience." See Gilbert Reid, "The Duty of Christian Missions to the Upper Class of China."

a temporary uplifting of the subordinate and emphasis of the auxiliary. If China by Imperial authority is to introduce Western science into all the provincial examinations, the missionary for the sake of higher truth should pre-occupy the ground and forestall still greater events. Indifference or tardiness is not the policy for even conservative China.⁴⁹

Reid considered Western science as the “subordinate” and “auxiliary,” compared with the spiritual teachings, but he supported using Western learning as a guide to lead China’s reform. His attitude toward Western learning was similar to Richard’s.

Regarding the issue of adopting Western learning in missionary work, Reid even quoted Richard’s opinion. He said:

To spread truth in China, whom should we more reasonably seek than the most influential men of literary ability, versed in a pure native style and able to command respect for whatever cause they advocate? Rev. Timothy Richard, in pleading for high educational work in all the centres China, says: “We should meet the awakening thirst of the Chinese for Western Knowledge, and keep before them the true relation of Christianity to all knowledge.” And again: “Officials and scholars are, many of them, even eager to get instruction. Having known personally the chief rulers of eleven of the provinces, I can testify that all of these, without exception, desire more Western knowledge, and the repeated Imperial edicts

⁴⁹ Gilbert Reid, “The Duty of Christian Missions to the Upper Class of China.”

leave no doubt as to the views of the Peking cabinet on the subject.”⁵⁰

Richard at the time was famous for introducing science and technology among Chinese intellectuals, so much so that his opinion was quoted by Reid to discuss the issue of preaching to the upper classes in China. Although Reid took an open attitude toward Western learning, he still adhered to the missionaries’ position: Western learning could only be regarded as “subordinate” and “auxiliary,” and the ultimate goal of a missionary’s work was to preach God’s teachings, the Gospel, among the Chinese. This viewpoint was close to Richard’s thought on the proper relationship between Christianity and Western learning. Even though progressive missionaries, like Reid and Richard, took active steps to introduce Western learning, they were still cautious about a missionary’s ultimate goal and real duty.

Reid’s style of doing missionary work was close to Richard’s; they co-operated with each other in introducing Western learning thereafter. Although Richard was criticized by conservative missionaries, Reid indirectly lent his support to him, by publishing supportive articles in a missionary newspaper to endorse Richard’s way of doing missionary work. Reid’s voice in the media helped to strengthen Richard’s theoretical basis of promoting Christianity with Western learning.

Conclusion

When Western knowledge influenced China in the late Qing period, not only were Chinese intellectuals eager to change themselves in order to meet the great

⁵⁰ Ibid.

transformation in Chinese society, but active missionaries, e.g. Richard and Reid, also adjusted their missionary work in response to this transformation. Richard was criticized by his conservative colleagues when introducing Western learning to China. In order to face these criticisms, Richard adjusted his theoretical viewpoint on missionary work, quoting passages from the Bible and concrete events in Christian history to expound the legitimacy of his missionary work.

The debate between Richard and his colleagues in the Shanxi church had a deep influence on his literary work. Being a missionary, Richard was unable to advocate as freely as he wished in promoting science and technology to Chinese intellectuals. For a missionary, it was difficult to promote Western learning without any restrictions. Richard, on the one hand, had to be content with his duty of being a missionary; on the other hand, he was eager to play the role of an advocator for China's political and social reform. He had to find a balance, responding to criticisms and creating room for his missionary work at the same time.

Promoting science and technology in China relied on purchasing relevant books and instruments. Given that Richard was financially dependent on the London church, what he was able to do was to strengthen his argument for the necessity of promoting Christianity with the introduction of Western learning. In defense of his standpoint, Richard provided further reasons to establish his theoretical viewpoint. The next task for him was to take advantage of the public media to promote Western learning, while still playing the role of being a missionary.

Chapter 3

The Enterprise of Literary Work

Preface

In November 1889 Richard published the article “How One Man Can Preach to a Million” in the *Chinese Recorder*, pointing out that the publication of books, newspapers and magazines in the modern world had facilitated efforts to spread knowledge and influence public opinions on a profound scale. A large number of publications of the Bible, for instance, made Christianity spread rapidly in pre-modern times. It was essential for missionaries to take advantage of using the power of publication to promote Christianity. Richard emphasized that China at the time was at a crucial moment, and many Chinese intellectuals were eager to find new strategies to meet China’s challenges. Missionaries were hence duty-bound to understand Chinese intellectuals’ needs, and played a proper role to provide useful knowledge for them. Therefore, the publications for Chinese intellectuals were not supposed to be limited to the field of Christianity; fields benefiting China should be considered for publication as well.¹

Even though Richard was harshly criticized by his colleagues due to his incorporation of Western learning into missionary work, he still insisted on his own

¹ Richard said: “We need standard historical reference and devotional books, standard class books, high class publications on important topics of every kind...Supposing we had our periodicals and that each one exerted himself to obtain subscribers for them. If these papers met the daily needs of people they would soon win their own way among them and would become heralds of the many other forms of Christian service.” See “How One Man Can Preach to a Million,” *The Chinese Recorder*, November 1, 1889.

approach. One year after “How One Man Can Preach to a Million” was published, in 1890 Richard had a chance to serve as an editor in a Chinese newspaper in Tianjin. After this time, he continued his journalistic work and joined the S.D.C.K. in Shanghai. During this period Richard not only established the theoretical standpoint of his missionary work, but also put his ideas into practice through publication. This chapter will discuss Richard’s efforts and his enterprise in his literary work.

Establishing the Theoretical Standpoint

Richard’s combination of Christianity with Western learning was once a topic of debate in missionary circles. Because of his colleagues’ criticisms, Richard was forced to defend his standpoint in his missionary work. In 1891 he published an article, “The Historical Evidences of Christianity—Present Benefits,” in the *Chinese Recorder*, discussing Christianity’s contributions throughout history.² In this article, he justified his missionary work with a clearer picture, using the viewpoint of “God blessing mankind also by means of science and technology” to harmonize some contradictions between the promotion of Christianity and the introduction of Western learning. He pointed out that, in order to rescue China from suffering, it was a missionary’s duty to proliferate Western learning, especially science and technology:

Electricity, also, during the last few years, has been very greatly developed, and it promises to bring even greater blessings to

² In 1890-91 Richard published several articles, such as “Political Benefits of Christianity,” “Moral Benefits of Christianity,” “The Spiritual Benefits of Christianity,” and “The Historical Evidences of Christianity—Present Benefits,” discussing Christianity’s contributions in history. These articles were also translated into Chinese, entitled “Jiushijiao yi 救世教益 (The Benefit of Christianity),” being published in the Chinese newspapers *Zhongxi jiaohuibao* and *Wanguo gongbao*.

mankind than all the other appliances. It seems also that we are on the eve of aerial navigation, chemical food, etc. But, alas! none of these things are as yet studied in ordinary Chinese schools. China only teaches ancient learning in its general schools, and make little of the study of such important questions as how to support its increasing millions who are now literally bound in poverty and starvation.

The object of the Christian Church, as defined by the ancient prophets and our Lord Himself, is to save the whole world from sin and suffering of all kinds. The prophet also says that “knowledge” is to be the stability of Christ’s kingdom; therefore the best missionaries, in all ages and countries, if unable to take a leading part in education, have always strongly supported it. Their object is to teach the best to all nations alike as brethren of one family, feeling certain that this is the will of God, the great Father of all. If China wishes to be first again among the nations of the earth, it must immediately introduce modern education and adapt it to China’s needs. Among all her friends none are more willing to help her in this than the Christian missionaries and the Churches they represented.³

Richard argued that promoting science and technology conformed closely to the principles of Christianity, and that it was the Christian Church’s duty to fulfill the will

³ Timothy Richard, “The Historical Evidences of Christianity—Present Benefits,” *The Chinese Recorder*, October 1, 1891.

of God. In this context, introducing Western learning not only conformed to Christ's will but also corresponded to God's blessings on mankind. Western learning was key to China at the time, so missionaries should take the responsibility to introduce it.

Richard's manner of argumentation in this article was almost identical to his approach in the letter he had written to the Baptist Missionary Society in 1888, responding to criticisms from his colleagues. The only difference was that, in 1888, only a few people read Richard's viewpoint, but in 1891 Richard's viewpoint was open to the public. By means of this publication in the *Chinese Recorder*, Richard openly recognized his approach of promoting Christianity with Western learning, and continued to adopt this approach in conducting his missionary work.

In 1894, Richard further expounded his viewpoint in another article, "God's Various Methods of Blessing Mankind," also published in the *Chinese Recorder*. By quoting passages from the Bible, he emphasized that missionaries should establish God's kingdom on earth so as to relieve the suffering of mankind. He said:

Take the glorious description given by the prophets of the Kingdom of Heaven to be established by the Messiah. The Messiah was to rule in righteousness; he was to deliver the poor and oppressed, the widow and the needy. There were to be peace and righteousness, salvation and praise. It was to carry out the will of God for all nations. Take again what the New Testament contains. Our Lord came to establish the Kingdom of God on earth; if a kingdom, then all that belongs to a kingdom.

Today more than ever it (the Christian Church) wakes itself up

again as it were from too much sleep and rest in the past and faces all problems and declares again as with the sound of a clarion in reply to God's command to save the world that nothing shall be left undone by it till "His will be done on earth as it is done in Heaven!" As God rules over matter and energy, mind and character, so should the full-grown child of God in his measure.⁴

In order to realize God's kingdom on earth, Richard proposed three great methods: the discovery of the laws of matter and invention, the discovery of the laws of social life and legislation, and the discovery of the laws of divinity and religion. He claimed that each of them owed their source to God. It is worth noting that the first method, the discovery of the laws of matter and invention, included the utilization of science and technology:

Next consider *modern* scientific development and invention, when the mighty *energies* of nature which have been lying idle since creation are being waked up from their eternal sleep and bidden to serve man, to toil night and day, to run over land and sea, to light instantaneously our lamps, in fact, to be our willing slaves as if we possessed Aladdin's lamp, showing us on the one hand vast and undreamt of possibility, and on the other that we are the true sons of God, able to create new worlds! Yet this is but part of the work which God ordained man to do originally, and men now sum up their laws of dominion over nature in two great formulas, viz., That

⁴ Timothy Richard, "God's Various Methods of Blessing Mankind," *The Chinese Recorder*, June 1, 1894.

matter is indestructible and is measured by *weight*. That energy is indestructible and is measured by *work*.⁵

According to Richard, modern science and invention belonged to God's blessings, which should be properly utilized to benefit mankind. Richard regarded science and technology as a means to realize God's kingdom on earth, arguing that missionaries introducing Western learning were not only acting reasonably but also necessarily. In his argumentation, glorifying God was the core and science and technology were its practical uses; spreading Christianity was the goal and Western learning was its assistance. This argumentation helped Richard to establish a theoretical standpoint so as to legitimate his missionary work.

When Western civilization was imported into late Qing China, some Chinese intellectuals were worried about it, proposing the idea that "Chinese learning should be the essence; Western learning should be followed as the practical application"⁶ to reconcile the contradiction between traditional Chinese learning and modern Western learning. This opinion was commonly held by Chinese officials in dealing with foreign issues. When Richard was criticized by his colleagues, he adopted a theoretical standpoint to defend his missionary work, insisting on the promotion of Western learning. Richard co-operated with Chinese officials, such as Zhang Zhidong and Li Hongzhang, in many places; for example, Zhang invited Richard to be the foreign consultant in Shanxi, and Li invited Richard to offer practical advice for China in

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Many scholars considered Zhang Zhidong as one of the representatives to support this opinion. Before Zhang's argument in *Quanxue Pian* 勸學篇 (On Encouraging Learning) proposing "Chinese learning should be the essence, Western learning should be followed as the practical application," some scholars, such as Feng Guifen 馮桂芬 and Sun Jianai 孫家鼐, had proposed similar ideas, emphasizing taking advantage of Western learning and integrating it with Chinese learning.

newspapers. Although they both faced challenges and disagreed with each other on various theological issues, they still could co-operate in promoting Western learning. Their flexibilities in responding to challenges made their co-operation possible.

Dual Role: Author and Publisher

In 1890, on Li Hongzhang's recommendation, Richard served as the editor of *Shibao* in Tianjin, starting thereby his career in a Chinese newspaper company. When working in *Shibao*, Richard published many articles regarding China's current affairs. His readers included Chinese intellectuals and officials, who were seriously concerned with China's new challenges and possible future.⁷

Richard's publications in *Shibao* were compiled and published in an independent book later, entitled *Shishi xinlun* 時事新論 (New Essays on Current Affairs).⁸ The topics in *Shishi xinlun* covered many strategies for China to achieve wealth and power, including modern politics, diplomacy, science, mining, commerce, infrastructure, education, media, finance, military, etc. *Shishi xinlun* included 152 articles, of which only six articles discussed Christianity and religious affairs. Being a missionary with a mission to proliferate God's Gospel, Richard had done his best to cater to China's needs.

⁷ Richard, in one letter to Baynes, said that he intended to publish articles for educated people before serving as the editor in *Shibao*. He said: "In my former letter to you I wrote that I would not accept the invitation of the brethren in Shantung to join them as their conditions were too hard. Now they will write you of the new conditions which they offer. They do not ask the former pledges. They wish me—to start a small newspaper, and to start an Institution for the educated and leading class Tsinanfu." See correspondence, Timothy Richard to Alfred Henry Baynes, March 12, 1888, no. CH/2, University of Oxford, Regent's Park College, The Angus Library and Archive.

⁸ As to the original data of *Shibao*, some of them were lost and incomplete, especially those regarding Richard's publications. The original data of *Shibao* have been microfilmed into three reels, in which the first reel covers the dates from July 31, 1886 to December 15, 1886, the second reel from December 16, 1886 to November 3, 1888, and the third reel from December 1, 1891 to May 13, 1892. The dates of 1890, when Richard worked in *Shibao*, in the reels were empty. However, through the book *Shishi xinlun*, Richard's publications in *Shibao* could still be studied.

Most of the articles introducing Western learning and strategies for China in *Shishi xinlun* corresponded to his long-term interest in understanding China's context.⁹

The topics covered in *Shishi xinlun* were close to what Richard had discussed in *Jinshi yaowu*, such as schooling, newspapers, transportation, politics, language, science, medical science, business, post offices, balloons, electronics, banks, and the military. This range of topics showed that *Jinshi yaowu* served as an important source for the publication of *Shishi xinlun*.¹⁰ Another source for the publication of *Shishi xinlun* was probably Robert Hart, a British diplomat and official in China's Imperial Maritime Custom Service from 1863 to 1911. According to Richard's memoir, Richard met Hart in 1884 to discuss China's current affairs, and Hart shared his strategies for China's benefits with Richard: "securing of able men, opening of mines, river improvements, railways, organization of a postal system, government banks, and organization of

⁹ In his previous article, "How One Man Can Preach to a Million," published in the *Chinese Recorder* in 1889, Richard emphasized the importance of understanding China's context again.

¹⁰ Introducing these subjects, for instance, *Jinshi yaowu* included the articles: "Guang xuexiao yi mou minsheng 廣學校以謀民生 (Establishing Schools to Benefit People's Livelihood)," "She baoguan yi bo jianwen 設報館以博見聞 (Opening Newspaper Offices to Spread Knowledge)," "Tong shuilu yi bian wanglai 通水陸以便往來 (Constructing Transportation to Help Communication)," "Ji geguo yi qiu zhidao 稽各國以求治道 (Visiting Foreign Nations to Seek Great Statecrafts)," "Xi xiyu yi bian fanyi 習西語以便翻譯 (Learning Western Languages to Translate)," "Xing gezhi yi yi shidao 興格致以益世道 (Promoting Science to Benefit Livelihoods)," "Guang yishu yi jie xianzheng 廣醫術以解險症 (Promoting Medical Treatments to Cure Dangerous Diseases)," "Jiao shanggu yi zhi Xinglong 教商賈以致興隆 (Encouraging Business to Pursue Prosperity)," "Li xinju yi bian minsheng 立信局以便民生 (Establishing Post Offices to Benefit People)," "Zhi qiqiu yi yan fengdao 制氣球以驗風道 (Designing Balloons to Measure Wind Routes)," "Jiu dianxue yi zhi weineng 究電學以知未能 (Studying Electronics to Understand Incapability)," "Li yinhui yi bei huangqian 立銀會以備荒歉 (Establishing Banks to Prepare Funding for Famines)," "Zhuo bingfa yi bao guomin 酌兵法以保國民 (Studying Military Tactics to Protect People)." Correspondingly, *Shishi xinlun* included the articles: "Lun xuexiao 論學校 (Discussion of Schools)," "Lun baoguan 論報館 (Discussion of Newspaper Offices)," "Lun jiedao 論街道 (Discussion of Streets)," "Lun xiuhe 論修河 (Discussion of Maintaining Rivers)," "Xifa youyi yumin lun 西法有益於民論 (Discussion of Western Methods Beneficial to People)," "Yixi yingyu shuo 宜習英語說 (Discussion of Learning English)," "Lun Zhongguo yiqiu gezhi zhixue 論中國宜求格致之學 (Discussion of Studying Sciences in China)," "Shuoyi 說醫 (Discussion of Medicine)," "Xiguo fuhu limin shuo 西國富戶利民說 (Discussion of the Prosperity of Western Countries)," "Lun youzheng 論郵政 (Discussion of Post Offices)," "Qiqiu kao 氣球考 (Study of Balloon)," "Dianxue kao 電學考 (Study of Electronics)," "Lun yinhang 論銀行 (Discussion of Bank)," "Shuo bing 說兵 (Discussion of Military)."

navy.”¹¹ Most of the strategies corresponded to Richard’s ideas regarding China’s reform, and these strategies recurred many times in Richard’s periodical publications.¹²

Through the publication in *Shibao*, Richard provided useful strategies for China’s improvement, directly helping enlightened Chinese officials to promote the movement of westernization in late Qing China. Richard knew that China needed Western learning for its national improvement. For example, in the preface of *Shishi xinlun*, he pointed out:

今中國大開海禁，中外一家，為三千年未有之變局。...外憂未已，內患迭乘...推原其故，皆由新學之未立，聞見之不廣。若果以新學為訓，不獨外患可消，亦內災可弭。兵法云：「知己知彼，百戰百勝」，此之謂歟？歐洲各國報館林立，各國利弊無不周知，故新學中以報館為教育人材之一端。

China has canceled the ban on maritime trade, and all nations belong to one family, which is a changing situation that has never happened for 3000 years. ... China currently faces not only internal troubles but also external difficulties. ... Tracing the cause of this situation, it is definitely because new learning has not been established and knowledge has not been popularized. If new learning is truly adopted as the guideline, not only internal troubles but also external difficulties can be extinguished. The *Art of War* said: “Knowing yourself and your enemy is the best way to win the

¹¹ Timothy Richard, *Forty-five Years in China: Reminiscences*, pp. 191.

¹² Hart’s strategies for China’s benefit were welcomed by Chinese officials, e.g. Li Hongzhang and Zhang Zhidong, who recognized Western learning. These Chinese officials cooperated with foreigners, e.g. Richard and Hart, to promote China’s reform.

wars,” suitably fitting this situation. In every European country, newspaper companies are abundantly established so that each country understands [the] others’ pros and cons extensively. In new learning, therefore, establishing newspaper companies is one aspect in educating people.¹³

Since the “new learning” had not been established in China, it was still living in poverty and fell behind. Apparently, “new learning,” according to Richard, was “Western learning,” which aimed to help China catch up with the leading nations in the modern world. Richard especially emphasized the importance of newspaper companies because he had witnessed the power of publication in the circulation of knowledge. He believed that his publication in the media would present a new tool to influence China and change her destiny.

In 1891 Richard started to work in the S.D.C.K., serving as the secretary of the society. In the same year he proposed seven plans for the society to proliferate Western learning in China, aiming to help Chinese intellectuals understand new developments in the West. Out of these seven plans, the first two were related to the utilization of publication, showing that Richard highly valued the power of disseminating knowledge.¹⁴

¹³ Timothy Richard, “Shishi xinlun bianyan 時事新論弁言 (The Preface of New Essays on Current Affairs),” *Shishi xinlun*, Shanghai: The S.D.C.K., 1894. This article was written when Richard collected his articles in *Shibao* and published them as an independent book, presumably in 1891.

¹⁴ They are: 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 able services of Dr. Allen as editor for these; and 2. A series of books and pamphlets it is hoped will be also provided to show the bearing of educational and religious development on industries and trade and on every department of national progress. See “Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge Among the Chinese,” *The North China Herald*, December 11, 1891. *Cassell’s Popular Educator* was a periodical medium founded by John Cassell (23 January 1817 – 2 April 1865) in 1852, aiming to introduce useful information for every class in England. Richard intended to follow the example of *Cassell’s Popular Educator*, providing useful knowledge and the latest information for

Richard's awareness of the power of disseminating knowledge closely corresponded to his strategy, taking advantage of media, when playing the role as a publisher in the S.D.C.K. He knew how to promote the circulation of the S.D.C.K.'s publications through media effectively, i.e. by posting attractive advertisements in newspapers to draw Chinese intellectuals' attention. *Shenbao*, for instance, carried an advertisement on June 30, 1896 in its front page:

今年以來，各省歲科考場、各處書院兼考時務策論，視制藝詩賦為尤重。廣學會新著《中東戰紀本末》八卷，凡泰西新政之可作掌故者，精心考訂，言皆有物，實與去年所繹之《泰西新史攬要》同屬投時利器，應試諸君奉為藍本，大可名利雙收，而其價只一圓五角，廉莫甚焉。

Since this year, imperial examinations and academies of classical learning in every province have tested questions on current affairs, occupying more proportions than the compositions of essays and poems. *The Sino-Japanese War*, 8 volumes, is currently published by the S.C.D.K., introducing new Western politics that could be used for reference. Being meticulously compiled and covering solid information, this book and *An Outline of New Western History*, translated last year, are useful books for seizing opportunities in examinations. Students using them as reference books will succeed in examinations, gaining both fame and fortune. It costs only 1.5

Chinese readers as well. He ranked periodical and book publications in the first two places, showing that he highly valued their power.

luan, which is an extremely cheap price.¹⁵

On August 13, 1897, *Shenbao* carried another advertisement in its front page:

若更合《泰西新史攬要》、及《時事新論圖說》以揣摩各國百年來之政策，中國十年來之情形，悉入條對之中，元魁由此其選也。

If *An Outline of New Western History* and *The Illustrations of New Essays on Current Affairs* could be used together to study the policies of every country in the last hundred years, with China's situation in the last ten years being completely described in examinations, it leads to pass the examinations and to be selected as the best scholar.¹⁶

Zhongdong zhanji benmo 中東戰紀本末 (The Sino-Japanese War) was written by Young John Allen, introducing the background, documents, and discussions concerning the conflicts between China and Japan. *Taixi xinshi lanyao* 泰西新史攬要 (An Outline of New Western History) was one of the best-selling books in China at the time. In 1894 Richard published some chapters of *Taixi xinshi lanyao* in *Wanguo gongbao*, introducing how Great Britain had become powerful and influential in the modern world. *Shishi xinlun tushuo* 時事新論圖說 (The Illustrations of the Reprinted New Essays on Current Affairs) was published on the basis of maps and diagrams, illustrating China's current situation and comparing it with foreign countries.¹⁷

¹⁵ “Kaoshi shiwuchang zhong bibeishu fanke bijiu 考試時務場中必備書翻刻必究 (An Essential Book for the Test of Current Affairs, Reproduction of the book will be prosecuted),” *Shenbao*, June 30, 1896.

¹⁶ “Xiangshi tiaodui bishu 鄉試條對秘書 (A Secret Book for Local Examinations),” *Shenbao*, August 13, 1897.

¹⁷ For instance, a map of the Earth was introduced by Richard, being marked with names of every continent and its surrounding ocean. Beneath the picture followed a description introducing China's

When these books were published in 1894-5, they coincided with the time in which China was advocating for reforms because of its defeat in the first Sino-Japanese war. Consistent with this atmosphere, imperial examinations in many provinces began to test the knowledge of current affairs in the West. These advertisements were aimed at passing examinations, which was probably the most important issue that every Chinese intellectual was concerned with. Because these books covered many pieces of information regarding China's strategies and current affairs around the world, they became important reference-books for Chinese intellectuals in the preparation of examinations. In matching Chinese intellectuals' concerns, these books were popular and successful in the reading market.

Richard's marketing strategy, which consisted of repeatedly posting advertisements in newspapers and precisely meeting Chinese intellectuals' needs, contributed to the popularization of the S.D.C.K.'s publications in Chinese intellectual circles.¹⁸ Through the advertisements in *Shenbao*, Richard successfully promoted the S.D.C.K.'s publications, making his reputation spread even further.

location in the world. With this picture, Chinese readers were apt to have an image in mind regarding China's real position in the world. See "Diqiu tu 地球圖 (The Earth Picture)," *Shishi xinlun tushuo*, Shanghai: The S.D.C.K., 1894, Chapter 1. In another diagram, China's population numbers were compared with other nations, including Great Britain, Russia, U.S.A., France, Germany, Austria, Japan, Turkey, etc. By means of this diagram, Richard made his readers know China's situation from an international scale, providing a complete world view to Chinese readers. See "Geguo renshu tu 各國人數圖 (The Population Numbers of the Nations)," *Shishi xinlun tushuo*, Chapter 6.

¹⁸ Although these advertisements were published in the name of the S.D.C.K., Richard was actually the person responsible for it. Since 1891, Richard had served as the secretary of the S.D.C.K., taking charge of its publication. In the preface of *Taixi xinshi lanyao*, he pointed out: "請皇上降旨，繼自今凡學院考取生童，主考、總裁取中舉人、進士必究西史命題條對，如生童考經古，及鄉、會試第三場策問之類，必其洞晰無遺，始克題名各榜。We kindly ask the Emperor to issue an imperial edict: from now on assigning Western history as the topic in examinations when students are tested with classics, and raised men and eminent scholars are selected, according to their knowledge of Western history, by presidents and examiners in the third tests of local and metropolitan examinations. They are required to clearly understand so as to pass the examinations." Because of having lived in China for a long time and having interacted with Chinese officials many times, Richard knew the importance of examinations for Chinese intellectuals. He, therefore, knew how to promote Western learning by taking advantage of China's examination culture.

Richard's Literary Work

In 1890 the S.D.C.K. published only 20 books; by 1900 it had published 176 books, and by 1911 it had reached approximately 400 books, in which 184 books were non-religious books, occupying 46% of all publications in the S.D.C.K. In addition to books, the S.D.C.K. also published newspapers, e.g. *Wanguo gongbao*, *Zhongxi jiaohui bao*, and *Datong bao*. The total number of *Wanguo gongbao*'s circulation increased from 10529 volumes in 1889 to 54400 volumes in 1903, *Zhongxi jiaohui bao*'s circulation increased from 6600 volumes in 1897 to 13400 volumes in 1903, and *Datong bao*'s circulation increased from 8000 volumes in 1904 to 195000 volumes in 1908.¹⁹ Due to Chinese intellectuals' demand for Western learning, the S.D.C.K. achieved a remarkable success in the reading market.

The S.D.C.K.'s success in the reading market made Richard believe that his missionary work, promoting Christianity with the introduction of Western learning, was effective and accurate. In 1898 he published an article, "The Crisis in China, and How to Meet it," in the *Chinese Recorder* to propagate his missionary work. He entitled his missionary work as "The Literary," juxtaposing it with other traditional missionary works: "The Evangelistic," "The Educational," and "The Medical." It should be noted that the term "literary work" was not invented by Richard; before him, other missionary had used this term to describe the method that missionary groups could apply to promote Christianity. For instance, a China medical missionary, H. T. Whitney, used this term in his article "Medical Missionary Work in Foochow" to argue that small tracts

¹⁹ Wang Shuhuai, "Qingji de Guangxuehui," *Bulletin of the Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica*, Vol. 4 (1), May, 1973, pp.193-227.

and translated books were useful in promoting missionary work.²⁰

Compared with other missionary works, Richard considered that literary work had several advantages, such as speedy, widespread, and profound effects.²¹ Although Richard's literary work had achieved great success in Chinese intellectual circles, he nevertheless pointed out that his work was only supported by a few missionaries.²² He

²⁰ It said: "Literary Work. —Dr. Osgood, in connection with his other duties, prepared two small tracts, one to use in connection with sabbath worship in the hospital, and the other, "Prayer," containing the Lord's Prayer, Decalogue, Apostles' Creed, etc. This last has had a very wide sale, and has been of great service to help the heathen to get at the fundamentals of the Christian religion, and so prepare the way for the Bible and other books. During the last three years of his life, he spent his available time in translating Gray's *Anatomy* for the use of Chinese medical students. This was perhaps the most important work of his life as a medical missionary, as it is a standard work in English, and will probably become such in Chinese. One edition has already been sold out and a second is now in the press." See H. T. Whitney, "Medical Missionary Work in Foochow," *China Medical Missionary Journal*, Vol. 3, No.3, 1889, pp. 88-89.

²¹ It said: "(a) They are speedy. ... At the close of the (Sino-Japanese) war our chief periodical had quadrupled its circulation. After the peace with Japan was signed, when Reform Societies were formed by the highest statesmen in Peking and Shanghai, they frequently asked advice of us. (b) The results are widespread. Although our headquarters are at Shanghai, many influential Chinamen as well as missionaries in Peking, Hangchow, Foochow and Canton on the coast, and in Honan, Shensi, Szechuan and Hunan in the interior... have written friendly letters to us thanking us for the work of our society. (c) Our work has touched very important classes. Many officials, high and low, have now promised us protection and help for Christians. Many of the Hanlins (i.e. doctors of Chinese literature) thank us for the light already given, and are asking for more. (d) The results are also profound. ... The former conservatism is considered a mistake, and leading members of the Chinese Government and many of the leading thinkers are cultivating friendly relationship with Protestant missionaries. (e) Consider also the bearing of the literary method on self-support. It introduces an **automatic method**. Instead of appealing apparently without end to the Churches at home for funds to carry on missionary work in China, the Chinese when once convinced of the value of Christianity may do what the higher classes in Europe long ago did ... in order that they may not be behind other nations." See Timothy Richard, "The Crisis in China, and How to Meet it," *The Chinese Recorder*, February 1, 1898.

²² Richard's way of promoting Christianity with Western learning was unacceptable to traditional missionary groups. This situation also arose in the case of another missionary, Gilbert Reid (1857-1927). Reid's thoughts on promoting Christianity were close to Richard's. In 1888 he published an article, "The Duty of Christian Missions to the Upper Class of China," in the *Chinese Recorder*, emphasizing the importance of knowledge dissemination and advocating for spreading the Gospel to the upper class of China. Reid's opinion, however, was not accepted by his Christian group, the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (P.C.U.S.A.), so he left the P.C.U.S.A. in 1894 to put his ideas into practice. Richard and Reid were close friends. When Reid founded the International Institute of China in Shanghai in 1903, he frequently invited Richard to participate in the institute's activities. In fact, when Richard started to promote Christianity with Western learning in 1888, a rumor of Richard leaving the Baptist Missionary Society was widely spread. In order to deny this rumor, he even made a statement and published it in a newspaper. Even though Richard proposed an efficient approach, "The Literary," to promote Christianity, he still could not be recognized by most missionary societies in China. Because the literary approach was opposed by Christian groups, missionaries who insisted on this approach would pay for what they did. Reid leaving the P.C.U.S.A. and Richard defending his ideas in public were both examples. Probably due to carrying the risk of being asked to leave missionary groups, many missionaries were unwilling to adopt the new approach, even though it was much more effective. Evangelistic, educational, and medical works were still the choices that most missionaries would make.

said:

In view of the remarkable results of the *Literary* method being more rapid, more widespread, more profound and more final, should not the missionary societies reconsider the relative value of the different methods? There are in China about 1000 missionaries mainly given to the Evangelistic method; there are some hundreds devoting themselves mainly to Educational work; there are some hundreds devoting themselves mainly to Medical work. But the number of those who are wholly devoted to the preparation of Christian literature you can count on the fingers of one hand—viz., two American, two German, and only one British missionary! This shows that literary work has been enormously underestimated.²³

Believing that his literary work did have a great influence on Chinese intellectuals, Richard earnestly appealed to missionary societies to adopt this approach in order to promote Christianity in China.

The S.D.C.K.'s publications played a significant role in the late Qing period, and Richard's success in the S.D.C.K. in particular provided a role model for Chinese intellectuals who aimed to promote China's reform. Before serving as the secretary of the S.D.C.K., Richard had had a good relationship with Chinese officials. After serving as the secretary, he increased his interactions with them by taking advantage of his position in the S.D.C.K. Li Hongzhang, for instance, praised Richard for translating

²³ Timothy Richard, "The Crisis in China, and How to Meet it," *The Chinese Recorder*, 1 February 1898, p. 84. According to Wang Shuhuai's study, two American missionaries were Alexander Williamson and Young John Allen; two German missionaries were Ernst Faber and Paul Kranz; the only one British missionary was, of course, Timothy Richard. See Wang Shuhuai, "Qingji de Guangxuehui," p. 200.

useful Western books into Chinese, recognizing his contribution in running the S.D.C.K.²⁴ Zhang Zhidong listened to his advice on China's current needs and the way that China could compete with other countries.²⁵ Weng Tonghe 翁同龢 met Richard several times, discussing political situations around the world. He recognized Richard's eloquence and considered him a "Shuiké 說客 (lobbyist)."²⁶ Due to his knowledge of China's current needs, Richard's work in the S.D.C.K. made his advice precious to Chinese officials.

In addition to Chinese officials, Richard also developed a good relationship with Chinese intellectuals. Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao appreciated Richard's introduction of Western learning. Song Shu 宋恕, Zheng Guanying 鄭觀應, and Huang Zunxian 黃遵憲 appreciated Richard's work as well. Song Shu was given *Taixi xinshi lanyao* when he met Richard; Song recommended this book for his friend and considered it "excellent" and "worth reading."²⁷ Zheng Guanying recognized Richard's articles concerning Western learning, and included them in his book *Shengshi weiyao* 盛世危言 (Words of Warning to a Prosperous Age). He talked to Richard in person, saying that "people in twenty-one provinces of China will appreciate if the government can adopt the suggestions covered in the *Shengshi weiyao*."²⁸ Their

²⁴ Gu Tinglong 顧廷龍 and Dai Yi 戴逸, comp., *Li Hongzhang quanji* 李鴻章全集 (The Complete Works of Li Hongzhang), Vol. 36, Hefei: Anhui Education Press, 2008, p.81.

²⁵ Fan Shuyi 范書義, Sun Huafeng 孫華峰 and Li Bingxin 李秉新, comp., *Zhang Zhidong quanji* 張之洞全集 (The Complete Works of Zhang Zhidong), Vol. 3, Shijiazhuang: Hebei People's Publishing House, 1998, pp. 2039-2040.

²⁶ Chao Chungfu 趙中孚, comp., *Weng Tonghe riji* 翁同龢日記 (The Diary of Weng Tonghe), Taipei: Cheng Wen Publishing Company, 1970, p. 1981.

²⁷ Hu Zhusheng 胡珠生, comp., *Songshu ji* 宋恕集 (The Works of Songshu), Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1993, p. 539.

²⁸ Xia Dongyuan 夏東元, comp., "Zheng Guanying nianpu jianbian 鄭觀應年譜簡編 (The Brief Chronicle of Zheng Guanying)," *Zheng Guanying ji-Jiushi jieyao* 鄭觀應集—救時揭要 (The works of Zheng Guanying-The Scheme for Rescuing the Age), Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 2013, p. 637.

descriptions showed Richard's reputation as a prominent writer and publisher. When Chinese intellectuals began to organize their own publishing houses and translate Western books, Richard was considered a significant advisor for providing valuable information. Huang Zunxian, for instance, asked Wang Kangnian 汪康年 to consult with Richard when selecting books for translation, showing Richard's prominent status among Chinese intellectuals.²⁹

After China was defeated in the first Sino-Japanese war, many Chinese intellectuals, in co-operation with enlightened officials in court, appealed indignantly for China's reform and improvement, leading to the movement of constitutional reform and modernization in 1898. Being interrupted by the Empress Dowager and her ruling group, this movement only lasted for approximately one hundred days. However, the desire for reform and modernization still continued in society, especially in the public sphere.

Before 1896, only a few newspapers, such as Liang Qichao's *Shiwu bao* 時務報 (The Chinese Progress), aimed at the discussion of political and social reforms. It was not until 1898 that the number of newspapers focusing on these topics had largely increased. Many newspapers, such as *Zhixin bao* 知新報 (The Reformer China), *Guowen huibian* 國聞彙編 (The Light Seeker), *Xiangxue xinbao* 湘學新報 (The New Newspaper of Hunan Learning), *Yu bao* 渝報 (The Newspaper of Chongqing), *Wuxi baihua bao* 無錫白話報 (Wuxi Vernacular Newspaper) and *Changyan bao* 昌言報 (The Newspaper of Public Opinions), dedicated themselves to advocating new learning

²⁹ Huang Zunxian 黃遵憲, "Zhi Wang Kangnian han 致汪康年函 (A Letter to Wang Kangnian)" in Chen Zheng 陳錚 comp., *Huang Zunxian ji (I) 黃遵憲集(一)* (The Works of Huang Zunxian), Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 2019, p. 725.

and the theme of China's political and social reforms.³⁰ This movement was both directly and indirectly stimulated by the S.D.C.K. and Richard's literary work. Although Richard complained that only a few missionaries participated in his work, he still exerted a great influence on Chinese intellectual circles by means of periodical publications.³¹

Strategy of Balance

In addition to topics of Western learning, Richard published several articles concerning religious topics as well. He had proposed that "Christianity being the core and Western learning for the purpose of practical uses," emphasizing that Western learning originated from the blessing of God on mankind. Even whilst he played an active role in disseminating Western knowledge, he still paid attention to promoting Christianity through periodical publications. When working in the S.D.C.K., Richard published many religious articles in Chinese, such as "Jiushijiao yi 救世教益 (The

³⁰ *Zhixin bao* was founded by He Tingguang 何廷光 in February 1897 in Macau. *Guowen huibian* was founded in December 1897 in Tianjin. *Xiangxue xinbao* was founded by Jiang Biao 江標 in April 1897 in Changsha. *Yu bao* was founded by Song Yuren 宋育仁 in October 1897 in Chongqing. *Wuxi baihua bao* was founded by Qiu Tingliang 裘廷梁 in May 1898 in Wuxi. *Changyan bao* was founded by Wang Kangnian 汪康年 in August 1898 in Shanghai.

³¹ Although Richard's thought was only recognized by a few missionaries, some of them still expressed their support for Richard publicly. For instance, one missionary, Immanuel Genähr, published the article "Ways Leading to the Goal of Christianity in China" in the *Chinese Recorder* in 1900 to support Richard's missionary work. He said: "The well known English missionary, Mr. Timothy Richard, is at the head of the Society. He finds the task of his life in producing and propagating Christian and general knowledge amongst Chinese, and is indefatigably active in recruiting missionaries for this so badly neglected branch of missionary labour. If one considers that about one thousand missionaries are mainly given to evangelistic activity in China, hundreds mainly to educational work, and again hundreds mainly to medical work, whilst the number of those who are wholly devoted to the preparation of Christian literature can be counted, according to Mr. Richard, on the fingers of one hand, one cannot but admit that literary work has been enormously underrated. Again, Mr. Richard is quite right in saying that now when there is such a universal demand for Western learning, the time to cultivate this branch of effort is more propitious than ever. If one takes into consideration the fact that besides Protestant missions there are other powerful competitors for the sympathy and suffrages of the yellow race, there is, if we are not to leave the field clear for them to possess, indeed no time to lose."

Benefit of Christianity),”³² “Dedao youfa 得道有法 (The Way to Enlightenment),”³³ “Wuzhou jiaowu 五洲教務 (Christian Affairs in Five Continents),”³⁴ “Yudao yaozhi 喻道要旨 (Essential Ideas of Enlightenment),”³⁵ and “Shengjing jiyao 聖經輯要 (Main Ideas in the Bible).”³⁶ These articles were all published in a new newspaper focusing on religious issues, *Zhongxi jiaohui bao*, founded by Young J. Allen in 1891. In contrast, his articles concerning Western learning were mostly published in *Wanguo gongbao*. Richard deliberately separated his religious articles from those of Western learning, showing that he was aware of catering to Chinese intellectual and missionary groups separately.

When publishing articles in newspapers, Richard not only sought a balance between Christianity and Western learning, but also achieved a balance between the Chinese and foreigners. Through periodical publications, he introduced China’s affairs to foreigners living in China. For instance, in the articles “St. John’s College Shanghai”³⁷ and “Education in Shanghai,”³⁸ Richard introduced the latest development in education in Shanghai, pointing out that St. John’s College integrated Western learning with Chinese education so as to provide modern training for Chinese students. In the article “To the Editor of North China Daily News,”³⁹ he focused on the issue of missionary work, introducing regulations which were closely related to missionaries’ rights and obligations in China. Richard also provided useful information

³² Timothy Richard, “Jiushijiao yi,” *Zhongxi jiaohui bao*, Vol. 1-12, 1891-92.

³³ Timothy Richard, “Dedao youfa,” *Zhongxi jiaohui bao*, Vol. 3, 1891.

³⁴ Timothy Richard, “Wuzhou jiaowu,” *Zhongxi jiaohui bao*, Vol. 16, 1892.

³⁵ Timothy Richard, “Yudao yaozhi,” *Zhongxi jiaohui bao*, Vol. 22, 1892.

³⁶ Timothy Richard, “Shengjing jiyao,” *Zhongxi jiaohui bao*, Vol. 24, 1893.

³⁷ Timothy Richard, “St. John’s College Shanghai,” *The North China Herald*, January 29, 1892.

³⁸ Timothy Richard, “Education in Shanghai,” *The North China Herald*, May 26, 1893.

³⁹ Timothy Richard, “To the Editor of North China Daily News,” *The North China Herald*, October 20, 1893.

for foreigners conducting business in China. In the articles “How to Multiply Trade in China,”⁴⁰ he pointed out that the modern education system ought to promote commercial developments because knowledge of trade and industry was being acknowledged by more and more Chinese people.

In addition, instead of criticizing Chinese officials’ calumniations on Christianity, Richard praised Chinese officials for their friendly behavior toward missionaries. In the article “Some Noble Chinaman,”⁴¹ he introduced several local officials who had always in his experience helped missionaries overcome difficulties. He emphasized that these officials were not few; many officials contributed their efforts to help missionaries and foreigners in trouble. In the article “TLS. 1000 from the Viceroy Chang Chih-Tung,”⁴² Richard especially appreciated Zhang Zhidong’s generosity because Zhang donated funding to support the S.D.C.K.’s publication. He considered that Zhang was in favor of Western learning, so he intended to work with him in order to build up a bridge of communication between China and the West.

When China met the West during the expansion of Western power, a “negotiator” or “mediator” was needed so that China and the West could interact with each other smoothly. Richard, through his periodical publications, introduced the latest information of the West to Chinese readers; at the same time, he introduced China’s current affairs to Western readers. Through his periodical publications, Richard successfully played the role of a cultural mediator, increasing the mutual understanding between China and the West.

⁴⁰ Timothy Richard, “How to Multiply Trade in China,” *The North China Herald*, March 9, 1894.

⁴¹ Timothy Richard, “Some Noble Chinaman,” *The North China Herald*, July 28, 1893.

⁴² Timothy Richard, “TLS. 1000 from the Viceroy Chang Chih-Tung,” *The North China Herald*, May 25, 1894.

The Influence on Chinese Newspapers

The number of Chinese newspapers gradually increased from 1875 to 1894, but during the reform movement in 1895-98 the number went up dramatically.⁴³ At the time, “new learning” or “Western learning” was a topic that Chinese intellectuals constantly discussed and debated.⁴⁴ In this atmosphere, Richard’s opinions on China’s reforms and his strategies for China’s improvement were keenly welcomed by Chinese intellectuals and officials. His publications introducing Western learning, such as *Shishi xinlun* and *Taixi xinshi lanyao*, also achieved a great success in the reading market.⁴⁵ His publications were not only read by Chinese intellectuals, but also cited by many newspapers.

Newspaper editorials, during the reform movement, frequently discussed China’s current issues, reflecting Chinese intellectuals’ concerns for China’s future. “New learning,” for many Chinese intellectuals, represented one of the possible solutions to meet this situation. Along with an interest in the reform movement at the time, *Shenbao* published editorials discussing the topic of “new learning” as well; this discussion lasted until the movement was terminated in 1898. Because he had published several articles discussing China’s affairs and strategies, Richard’s articles were largely cited

⁴³ Li Renyuan, “Chuanbo meiti de zhengzhizhuan,” *Wanqing de xinshi chuanbo meiti yu zhishifenzi*, p. 104.

⁴⁴ During the reform movement, many newspapers, such as *Shenbao*, *Xunhuan Ribao* 循環日報, joined the discussion about the issues of reform; see Natascha Gentz (Vittinghoff), “Useful Knowledge and Appropriate Communication: The Field Journalistic Production in Late Nineteenth-Century China,” in Rudolf G. Wagner ed., *Joining the Global Public: Word, Image, and City in Early Chinese Newspapers* (New York: SUNY Press, 2012), pp. 47-104. After the reform movement, this discussion still continued; see Joan Judge, *Print and Politics: ‘Shibao’ and the Culture of Reform in Late Qing China* (California: Stanford University Press, 1996), and Terry Narramore, *Making the News in Shanghai: ‘Shenbao’ and the Politics of Newspaper Journalism, 1912-1937* (Ph.D. dissertation, Australian National University, 1989).

⁴⁵ Xiong Yuezhi, “Litimotai: ‘Guizi daren’,” *Xixue dongjian yu wanqing shehui*, pp. 466-489.

by editorials in *Shenbao*.

For instance, in 1895 the editorial “Guang xuexiao yi 廣學校議 (Proposal for Extensively Establishing Schools)” cited Richard’s introduction of school systems and the funds for operation, advocating that China should establish modern schools to strengthen its national power.⁴⁶ Another editorial, “Lun Zhongguo yi guangshe cangshu zhi yuan 論中國宜廣設藏書之院 (The Propose of Extensively Establishing Libraries in China),” cited Richard’s introduction of the rules of running a library, considering that China should establish modern libraries to broaden its access to knowledge.⁴⁷

In 1896 the editorial “Lun kaikuang zhili 論開礦之利 (Discussion on the Benefit of Mining)” cited Richard’s introduction of rich minerals in China and the ways to utilize them, arguing that China should mine for minerals with the help of modern machines to strengthen its national power.⁴⁸ Another editorial, “Zhongguo zhongjian

⁴⁶ “Guang xuexiao yi 廣學校議 (Proposal for Extensively Establishing Schools),” *Shenbao*, June 9, 1895, said: “抑又聞之英儒李提摩太君謂：中國人最多至四百兆，若以英、德、法、俄、美、日六國規制推之，小學生宜有四千萬人，中學生宜有一百一十八萬四千餘人，大學生宜有十六萬五千餘人，其費小學每年需洋銀二百六十兆圓，中學每年需五十九兆餘圓，大學每年需七十一兆餘圓，計共需三百五十六兆餘圓。The English scholar Timothy Richard pointed out: China has a population of more than 400 million. If according to the systems of England, Germany France, Russia, USA and Japan, China should have 4000000 elementary school students, 1184000 secondary school students, and 165000 college students. The funds for elementary schools per year are 260 million Tls., for secondary schools 59 million Tls., and for colleges 71 million Tls. Totally it needs 356 million Tls.”

⁴⁷ “Lun Zhongguo yi guangshe cangshu zhi yuan 論中國宜廣設藏書之院 (The Propose of Extensively Establishing Libraries in China),” *Shenbao*, November 6, 1895, said: “適有英國李提摩太所著《時事新論》，有記藏書院制度章程一篇，閱之不禁喜甚。按博物院內書樓建於西歷一千七百五十九年，初創之人名噶瑞，立法美善，毫無弊病，其章程十七條，簡明切要。It was a great pleasure to read the Englishman Timothy Richard’s book, *New Essays on Current Affairs*, in which one article discussed library system. According to this article, one library building was built in a museum in 1759, whose founder was called Gerry. He made the charter with well intention, without any disadvantage. The charter included 17 rules, which were concise and to the point.”

⁴⁸ “Lun kaikuang zhili 論開礦之利 (Discussion on the Benefit of Mining),” *Shenbao*, July 2, 1896, said: “泰西李提摩太君考各國礦務，按圖核算，雖約略言之，然經地學家查考，確有把握。存煤之數，以中國為首推一，則中國地大物博，蘊藏獨富，且從來未經開取，故藏煤之地，核算有二十萬英方里之廣。煤礦如此，則別礦亦可想而知。The Westerner Timothy Richard studied mining industries in every nation on the basis of calculations and maps. Although he approximately deduced the calculations, his deduction was reliable according to geographers’ explorations. China ranks the first in

haijun yiduo chu zhanjian biantong zhangcheng yi 中國重建海軍宜多儲戰艦變通章程議 (Proposal for Holding more Warships to Rebuild China's Navy Force),” cited Richard's introduction of navy forces in the West and his comparison of navy forces between China and the West, emphasizing the necessity of improving navy forces.⁴⁹

In 1898 the editorial “Xing kuangwu yi kailiyuan lun 興礦務以開利源論 (Discussion on Developing Mining to Bring Benefits)” cited Richard's report of the richness of coal mines in Shanxi, arguing that the minerals in Shanxi should be well utilized with the help of Westerners.⁵⁰ Another editorial, “Baoji Zhongguo renshu yin tui lun zhi 報紀中國人數因推論之 (Inference about China's Population Reported in Newspapers),” cited Richard's introduction of China's population to discuss the population growth in the last hundred years.⁵¹ The other editorial, “Jiuhe xiren yikai

the amount of coals. China has vast territory and abundant resources, and those resources have not been exploited. It is estimated that China has 200000 square miles of coals in total. The coal mine is rich, not to mention other resources.”

⁴⁹ “Zhongguo zhongjian haijun yiduo chu zhanjian biantong zhangcheng yi 中國重建海軍宜多儲戰艦變通章程議 (Proposal for Holding more Warships to Rebuild China's Navy Force),” *Shenbao*, August 30, 1896, said: “查泰西各國海軍，所儲大小兵艦少必數十艘，多或數百，英國李提摩太君於一千八百九十暨九十一兩年間嘗博稽各國戰艦，著為圖說。以今考之，又幾易寒燠，日新月異，諒必各有所增。Every Western nation, accordingly, has a navy force of at least 10 large or small warships; some nations even have more than one hundred warships. In 1890-91 the Englishman Timothy Richard studied navy forces in every nation, publishing a book about it with illustrations. After several years, nowadays their developments should change rapidly, and the numbers of their warships definitely increase.”

⁵⁰ “Xing kuangwu yi kailiyuan lun 興礦務以開利源論 (Discussion on Developing Mining to Bring Benefits),” *Shenbao*, February 10, 1898, said: “西人李提摩太君言，二十年前曾經著名熟悉地脈之德人遊歷至山西，據稱省中煤鐵之礦，不特為上上之品，且甲於地球五大洲，多至十三萬餘英里，如果開挖，即合五洲之大用之二千餘年，亦復有餘而無不足。According to the Westerner Timothy Richard's introduction, 20 years ago a famous German, who specialized in topography, visited Shanxi, pointing out that coal and iron mines in Shanxi were not only the best in China but also the best in the world. It covers more than 130000 square miles. The whole world can use them for 2000 years without any insufficiency if they were exploited.”

⁵¹ “Baoji Zhongguo renshu yin tui lun zhi 報紀中國人數因推論之 (Inference about China's Population Reported in Newspapers),” *Shenbao*, April 12, 1898, said: “李提摩太君曾將中國人數列為圖表，始自乾隆六年即西歷一千七百十一年，計一萬四千三百四十萬一千五百五十九人，增至道光二十二年，即西歷一千八百四十二年，計四萬一千四百八十八萬六千九百九十四人。一百年中，增至三倍，照算合數，迄今又五十餘年，應增一萬萬餘，當不止四百兆矣。Timothy Richard made a chart illustrating China's population. The population increased from 143401559 in the 6th year of the Qianlong reign, i.e. 1711, to 414886994 in the 22nd year of the Daoguang reign, i.e. 1842. Within 100 years, the population increased three times. After 50 years up to now, the population as a whole might rise by 100

Zhongguo zhukuang shuo 糾合西人以開中國諸礦說 (Discussion on Cooperating with Westerners to Open Mines in China),” used Richard’s introduction of the rich coal mine in Shanxi again to propose that China should develop mining industries.⁵²

These editorials were all published on the front pages of *Shenbao*, the most eye-catching place that readers would notice when reading the newspaper. During the reform movement, Richard’s opinions were the most frequently cited ones in *Shenbao*’s editorials in comparison to other missionaries in China. These opinions regarding education, mining, military, social and political affairs were mainly cited from his book *Shishi xinlun*. They were repeatedly adopted by *Shenbao*’s editorials, making Richard’s opinions spread further within Chinese intellectual circles.

In addition to *Shenbao*, other newspapers also cited Richard’s opinions. In *Shiwu bao*, for instance, Liang Qichao emphasized the importance of newspaper companies:

覘國之強弱，則于其通塞而已。...去塞求通，厥道非一，而報館其導端也。... 其有助耳目、喉舌之用，而起天下之廢疾者，則報館之為也。

The power of a nation can be observed according to whether it has effective communication or faces obstruction. ... Several ways lead to effective communication so as to remove obstruction; one beginning way to accomplish it is to establish newspaper

million, totally more than 400 million.”

⁵² “Jiuhexiren yikai Zhongguo zhukuang shuo 糾合西人以開中國諸礦說 (Discussion on Cooperating with Westerners to Open Mines in China),” *Shenbao*, November 15, 1898, said: “李提摩太《時事新論》謂山西礦產曾經德人遊歷，稱合省煤鐵之礦，多至三十餘萬方英里，此皆經彼所遊歷之地，故能詳言之也。In *New Essays on Current Affairs*, Timothy Richard pointed out that, according to a German’s exploration in Shanxi, the coal and iron mines in the province covered more than 300000 square miles. Because the German had visited these places by himself, he could introduce them in details.”

companies. ... Newspaper companies can serve the functions of eyes, ears, and the mouthpiece of society, spotlighting severe problems under heaven.⁵³

This viewpoint was basically borrowed from Richard's opinion regarding the importance of newspaper companies:

欲通上下亦有四事焉：一曰立報館。欲強國必須富民，欲富民必須變法，中國苟行新政，可以立致富強，而欲使中國官民皆知新政之益，非廣行日報不為功。

Four things lead to promote communication between upper and lower classes, in which the first one is to establish newspaper companies. Strengthening a nation's power relies on making people prosperous, and making people prosperous relies on political reform. If China adopts new policies, it can reach power and prosperity immediately. In order to make Chinese officials and people know the benefits of new policies, nothing is more efficient than extensively publishing daily newspapers.⁵⁴

Richard's belief in promoting communication through newspaper companies was adopted by Liang Qichao; his opinion was one of the important references for Liang to consider China's current affairs.

Furthermore, many start-up newspapers, especially those focusing on China's political and social affairs, introduced or republished Richard's works as well. In April

⁵³ Liang Qichao, "Lun baoguan youyi yu guoshi 論報館有益於國事 (Discussion on Newspaper Companies Beneficial for the Statecraft)," *Shiwu bao*, August, 1896.

⁵⁴ Timothy Richard, "Xin zhengce 新政策 (New Policies)," *Wanguo gongbao*, 1895.

1897, *Xiangxue xinbao* started publication. In its first volume, the article “Shixue shumu tiyao 史學書目提要 (Bibliographic Summary on Historiography)” introduced Richard’s *Taixi xinshi lanyao*; in its seventh volume, while another article, “Zhanggu shumu tiyao 掌故書目提要 (Bibliographic Summary on Classical Stories),” introduced Richard’s *Shishi xinlun*. In October 1897, *Yu bao* started publication, in which the first volume included Richard’s articles, such as “Zhongguo ge baoguan shimo 中國各報館始末 (The History of Chinese Newspaper Companies),” “Lun baoguan 論報館 (Discussion on Newspaper Companies),” “Waiguo xinwen baoguan 外國新聞報館 (Foreign Newspaper Companies);” its second volume also covered Richard’s articles, e.g. “Lun xuexiao 論學校 (Discussion on Schools),” “Waiguo xuexiao shumu 外國學校數目 (The number of Schools Abroad),” “Waiguo xuexiao feiyong 外國學校費用 (The Cost of Schools Abroad).” In May 1898, *Wuxi baihua bao*⁵⁵ started publication, in which Richard’s article “Yangmin xinfa 養民新法 (New Strategy to Educate People)” was republished as a serial in volumes 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 23, and 24; another article “Ehuang bide bianfa ji 俄皇彼得變法記 (The Reform of Russian Emperor Peter the Great)” was also republished as a serial in volumes 9, 10, 21, 22, and 23.

In the beginning, Richard’s articles regarding Western learning and China’s current affairs were only published in Tianjin’s *Shibao* and Shanghai’s *Wanguo gongbao*. As these articles were welcomed by Chinese intellectuals, the S.D.C.K. published them as independent books, i.e. *Shishi xinlun* and *Taixi xinshi lanyao*. After

⁵⁵ From the issue 5, it was renamed as “Zhongguo guanyin baihua bao 中國官音白話報 (The Chinese Official Vernacular Newspaper).”

1896, many inland provinces, in addition to coastal cities, also had their own newspapers, such as Hunan's *Xiangxue xinbao* and Sichuan's *Yu bao*. Introducing Western learning and discussing China's current affairs, they cited and republished Richard's articles. Due to these local newspapers, Richard's articles were disseminated and read by more inland Chinese intellectuals. The power of the media promoted the dissemination of information in peripheral areas, and the reproduction of Richard's publications served as a typical example of this phenomenon.

Inclusion in *Huangchao jingshi wenbian*

In addition to citations in newspapers, Richard's publications were also collected by *Huangchao jingshi wenbian* 皇朝經世文編 (Collected Essays about Statecraft of the Qing). The "statecraft of the Qing," due to the invasions of foreign powers into China, had become a significant subject since the mid-nineteenth century, during which time *Huangchao jingshi wenbian* was one of the representative books on this topic. The book was popular among Chinese intellectuals,⁵⁶ so its sequels were continually compiled by scholars.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Yu yue 俞樾 said: "數十年來風行海內，凡講求經濟者，無不奉此書為矩矱，幾於家有其書 This book has been popular for decades. When discussing the statecraft, people regard this book as the model. Almost every house has this book." See "Huangchao jingshiwen xubian xu 皇朝經世文續編序 (The Preface in the Sequel of Collected Essays about Statecraft of the Qing)." About the study of *Huangchao jingshi wenbian*, see Huang Kewu 黃克武, "Jingshi wenbian yu Zhongguo jindai jingshi sixiang yanjiu 經世文編與中國近代經世思想研究 (*Jing Shi Wen Bian* and the Study of Modern Chinese Statecraft Thought)," *Jindai Zhongguoshi yanjiu tongxun* 近代中國史研究通訊 (Newsletter for Modern Chinese History), Vol. 2 (1986.09), pp. 83-96; Han Chenghua 韓承樞, "Pingjie liangan xuejie jinshinian youguan Jingshi wenbian de yanjiu gaikuang 評介兩岸學界近十年有關《經世文編》的研究概況 (*Jing Shi Wen Bian* Studies in Taiwan and China during the Last Decade)," *Shih Yuan* 史原, Vol. 2 (2011.09), pp. 205-238; Andrea Janku, "Preparing the Ground for Revolutionary Discourse from the Statecraft Anthologies to the Periodical Press in Nineteenth-Century China," *T'oung Pao*, Vol. 90, Fasc. 1/3 (2004), pp. 65-121.

⁵⁷ For instance, Rao Yucheng 饒玉成, Ge Shijun 葛士濬, and Cheng Kang 盛康 respectively compiled *Huangchao jingshiwen xubian* 皇朝經世文續編 (The Sequel of Collected Essays about Statecraft of the Qing) in 1882, 1888, and 1892. Chen Zhongyi 陳忠倚 compiled *Huangchao jingshiwen sanbian* 皇

After the first Sino-Japanese war, “new learning,” “new politics,” “reform,” and “self-strengthening” were among the topics that Chinese intellectuals mainly discussed and argued about, so “statecraft” accordingly became the subject that they focused on especially.⁵⁸ Because Richard had been introducing Western learning and publishing articles on China’s current affairs for a long time, his publications came to be one of the important sources that Chinese intellectuals paid attention to. Extensive republication of Richard’s articles in the series *Huangchao jingshi wenbian* further reflected his popularity at the time.

In 1898 Mai Zhonghua 麥仲華 published *Huangchao jingshiwen xinbian* 皇朝經世文新編 (The New Version of Collected Essays about Statecraft of the Qing), which included 36 articles from Richard. In this book, the number of Richard’s articles was the second highest,⁵⁹ only second to Liang Qichao’s 43 articles. 1898 was also a year in which the reform movement comprehensively proceeded, so *Huangchao jingshiwen xinbian* accordingly covered articles on this topic. This included Richard’s 36 articles,

朝經世文三編 (The Third Sequel of Collected Essays about Statecraft of the Qing) in 1898; Shao Zhitang 邵之棠 compiled *Huangchao jingshiwen tongbian* 皇朝經世文統編 (The Complete Sequel of Collected Essays about Statecraft of the Qing) in 1901; He Liangdong 何良棟 compiled *Huangchao jingshiwen sibian* 皇朝經世文四編 (The Fourth Sequel of Collected Essays about Statecraft of the Qing) in 1902. Qiushizha 求是齋 and Mai Zhonghua 麥仲華 respectively compiled *Huangchao jingshiwen sanbian* 皇朝經世文三編 (The Third Sequel of Collected Essays about Statecraft of the Qing) in 1902. These books had a large circulation and exerted a great influence over Chinese intellectuals.

⁵⁸ Ting-yee Kuo, and Kwang-Ching Liu, “Self-strengthening: The Pursuit of Western Technology,” in John K. Fairbank, ed., *The Cambridge History of China, Vol.10: Late Ch'ing, 1800-1911*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978, pp. 491-542.

⁵⁹ The *North China Herald* also reported that Mai Zhonghua’s *Huangchao jingshiwen xinbian* covered Richard’s articles: “In February of the present year (1898) the ‘Reform Society of China’ published in Shanghai a ‘New Collection of Tracts for the Times’ (皇朝經世文新編). It is edited by 麥孟華 and contains an introduction by Liang Chi-chao (梁啟超), Editor of *Chinese Progress*. The work consists of 20 volumes comprising 580 essays and documents. 160 of the essays are anonymous, the remaining 420 being the work of 135 different authors whose names are attached. ... But especially interesting is the third selection, consisting of 31 essays from the pen of the Rev. Timothy Richard, the able and energetic secretary of the ‘Christian Literature Society in China,’ more generally known in China as ‘The Diffusion Society. That a foreigner, and he a missionary, should be given so prominent a place in what is virtually an official publication, is surely unique in the annals of Chinese literature.” See “Tracks for the Times Recently Published Chinese Essays on Reform King Shih Wen,” *The North China Herald*, July 25, 1898.

in which 26 articles were from *Shishi xinlun*, and 5 from *Ouzhou bada diwang chuan* 歐洲八大帝王傳 (Eight Emperors in Europe). In 1902 Mai Zhonghua revised *Huangchao jingshiwen xinbian*, in which the number of Richard's articles was increased to 40.⁶⁰ The number of Richard's articles became the highest in the revised edition of *Huangchao jingshiwen xinbian*, since Liang Qichao had been exiled by the Qing court and this new version correspondingly deleted all of Liang Qichao's articles. Richard's articles, as collected in the first edition of *Huangchao jingshiwen xinbian*, are shown in the Appendix B.1.

In 1898 Chen Zhongyi 陳忠倚 published *Huangchao jingshiwen sanbian* 皇朝經世文三編 (The Third Sequel of Collected Essays about Statecraft of the Qing), which covered 39 articles from Richard. In this book, Richard's articles was the third highest in number, only fewer than Zheng Guanying's 53 articles and Xue Fucheng 薛福成's 47 articles. Among Richard's articles collected in the book, 37 of them were from *Shishi xinlun*. Richard's articles collected in *Huangchao jingshiwen sanbian* are shown in the Appendix B.2.

In 1901 Shao Zhitang 邵之棠 published *Huangchao jingshiwen tongbian* 皇朝經世文統編 (The Complete Sequel of Collected Essays about Statecraft of the Qing) covering Richard's 26 articles. Richard's articles was the fourth highest in number, only

⁶⁰ In Vol. 5, it added "Lun gezhixue yuanqi 論格致學緣起 (Discussion on the Origin of Science)," "Zhongguo yiqiu gezhi zhixue lun shang 中國宜求格致之學論上 (Discussion on China Should Study Science I)," "Zhongguo yiqiu gezhi zhixue lun xia 中國宜求格致之學論下 (Discussion on China Should Study Science II)," "Gezhi shumu shuolue 格致數目說略 (Brief introduction of the Number of Scientific Subjects)," and "Lun xue gezhi bixian qiu fuguo 論學格致必先求富國 (Discussion on the Priority of Making a Country Wealthy in Learning Science);" in Vol. 11, it added "Lun geguo xingyong jinbi 論各國行用金幣 (Discussion on Adopting Gold Coins in Every Country)." In Vol. 10, it deleted "Lun Zhongguo yi teshe shangbu yi zhengdun shangwu 論中國宜特設商部以整頓商務 (Discussion on China Should Establish the Administration of Commerce to Deal with Commercial Affairs);" in Vol. 11, it deleted "Zhongwai yinlou zhangluo shuo 中外銀樓漲落說 (The Price Fluctuation of Silverware Shops in China and Abroad)."

fewer than Zeng Guofan 曾國藩's 40 articles, Lin Zexu 林則徐's 38 articles, and Zhang Zhidong's 31 articles. Among Richard's articles in this book, 17 were from *Shishi xinlun* and 5 from *Ouzhou bada diwang chuan*. Richard's articles collected in *Huangchao jingshiwen tongbian* are shown in the Appendix B.3.

In the same year, Yijinshi zhuren 宜今室主人 published *Huangchao jingjiwen xinbian* 皇朝經濟文新編 (The New Version of Collected Essays about the Qing's Statecraft), which covered Richard's 21 articles. In this book, Richard's articles was the fourth highest in number, only fewer than Chen Shi 陳識's 62 articles, Wang Tao 王韜's 44 articles, and Xue Fucheng's 32 articles. Among Richard's articles in the book, 19 were from *Shishi xinlun*. Richard's articles collected in *Huangchao jingjiwen xinbian* are shown in the Appendix B.4.

In 1903 Yu Baoxuan 于寶軒 published *Huangchao xuai wenbian* 皇朝蓄艾文編 (Collected Essays about the Preparation of Statecraft for the Qing) covering Richard's 52 articles, which was only second to Wang Tao's 80 articles. Among Richard's articles in this book, 27 articles were from *Shishi xinlun*, 15 were from *Taixi xinshi lanyao*, and 4 from *Ouzhou bada diwang chuan*. Richard's articles collected in *Huangchao xuai wenbian* are shown in the Appendix B.5.

Richard's articles on new learning and new strategies directly met China's need for reform and transformation, so the series of *Huangchao jingshi wenbian* largely collected his articles. The number of Richard's articles in these books not only ranked in first place compared with other foreigners, but also competed with many influential Chinese intellectuals. Most of his articles collected in these books were from *Shishi xinlun*, showing the significance of this book in the topics of "new learning," "new

politics,” “reform,” and “self-strengthening.”

Richard provided plenty of information introducing the latest news in the West and China’s possible strategies to meet new trends, so his articles, especially those from *Shishi xinlun*, were included in the series of *Huangchao jingshi wenbian*, coming to represent an important reference for Chinese officials and intellectuals to rethink China’s statecraft. Many scholars had previously considered that *Taixi xinshi lanyao* was one of Richard’s most influential books in the late Qing period.⁶¹ However, *Shishi xinlun* occupied far more pages than *Taixi xinshi lanyao* in the series of *Huangchao jingshi wenbian*, so this might be Richard’s most influential book at the time.

The series of *Huangchao jingshi wenbian*, which largely republished Richard’s articles, made Richard’s opinions more pervasive than before, but this was an unexpected moment for him. In the past, he had criticized *Huangchao jingshi wen xubian* in newspapers, because it covered many articles calumniating foreigners and missionaries in China. For instance, in one article in the *Chinese Recorder*, Richard pointed out:

The missionaries, however, could be of far greater service to China were it not for the circulation of disgraceful anti-Christian libels, which is regularly done by the re-publication of King-shih-wen-shü-pien (經世文續編), Pi-shie-shih-lu (避邪實錄) and others like them. As some of these are sold in government book-stores, and as the authors and publishers of the books are not punished according to law, not only the ignorant but also intelligent scholars and

⁶¹ Xiong Yuezhi, “Litimotai: ‘Guizi daren,’” *Xixue dongjian yu wanqing shehui*, pp. 466-489.

mandarins come to believe that these libels are true.⁶²

In another article, he pointed out:

Moreover, to counteract the growing friendliness of Chinese towards foreigners the government continues to permit the circulation of the vile and horrible calumnies against foreigners and Christians, which are in their Blue Books (King sheh wen su pien) and other books like it. Thus fresh prejudices against foreigners and Christians are daily sown throughout the empire, and therefore when anything has only the *appearance* of evil the ignorant masses are easily fanned into wild passions and riots.⁶³

One reason to devote himself to publication in newspapers was that Richard wished to disseminate correct and useful information to his Chinese readers. He publicly criticized *Huangchao jingshiwen xubian* in the early 1890s, but ironically, the series of *Huangchao jingshi wenbian* largely published his articles in the 1900s; even articles regarding the topic of “mission,” Richard’s core concern, were included as well.⁶⁴ The large collection of his articles in the series of *Huangchao jingshi wenbian* hence represented an unexpected result for him.

Extensive Exposure in Media

⁶² Timothy Richard, “The Historical Evidences of Christianity—Present Benefits,” *The Chinese Recorder*, November 1, 1891.

⁶³ Timothy Richard, “Editorial Comment,” *The Chinese Recorder*, August 1, 1893.

⁶⁴ For instance, “Yumi jiaohuo shuo 豫弭教禍說 (Preventing Attacks on Christians in Advance)” was collected in *Huangchao jingjiwen xinbian*; “Jiaowu benmo shang 教務本末上 (Questions and Answers Concerning Religious Issues I),” “Jiaowu benmo zhong 教務本末中 (Questions and Answers Concerning Religious Issues II)” and “Jiaowu benmo xia 教務本末下 (Questions and Answers Concerning Religious Issues III)” were collected in *Huangchao xuai wenbian*.

Due to his popularity in China, Richard's influence on Chinese intellectuals was extensively reported by the media; especially in 1896-98, many media reported his participation in the reform movement.⁶⁵ Because of his leading position and close connections with Chinese activists, Richard was regarded as a key man in this movement. His publications concerning Western learning and engagement in the movement turned him into the icon of a reform promoter.

Not only did the media in China report Richard's involvement in the movement, but so too did the media in England. For example, the *Times* (London, England) in 1898 interviewed Kang Youwei, mentioning Richard's help in this political transformation:

He (Kang) freely admitted his own personal indebtedness to the advice and assistance of the Rev. Timothy Richard, and to the help he had derived from standard works published by the Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge among the Chinese, notably the translations of Mackenzie's "Nineteenth Century" and the "Life of Peter the Great." These works, as he acknowledged, have had a marked influence, not only upon his own views, but upon the whole work of the Reform party and upon

⁶⁵ For instance, "Peking," the *North China Herald*, November 15, 1895, reported: "A band of some fifty Hanlin scholars at the capital bent on the introduction of reforms have started a small newspaper, issued every other day, in the style of the *Peking Gazette*. ... Mr. Richard is here at present and they avail themselves of his advice and experience in the management of their enterprise." "Latest Intelligence," the *North China Herald*, January 10, 1896, reported: "This month's *Kungpao* also contains the prospectus—if we may use such a word in this connection—and aims of the new Reform Club or Self-Improvement Society, which was inaugurated by the Rev. Timothy Richard last July amongst the Hanlins and other literati of Peking." "Peking," the *North China Herald*, April 2, 1896, reported: "Reform was strongly in the air at the time of its inception. The Rev. Timothy Richard was also here at the time, and he had much to do with its formation, and it is needless to say that his name is well-known among the official and literary classes, through his books and long and strenuous effort at initiating salutary changes. ... The Hanlin scholars talk of inviting Mr. Richard to join them as a sort of Vice-President."

the recent policy of the Emperor.⁶⁶

Nineteenth Century and *Life of Peter the Great* were both the books published by the S.D.C.K. The chapters of these books, translated by Richard, were originally published in *Wanguo gongbao*. Because of their popularity, they were published as single books later. Kang's personal statement recognized Richard's contribution and his great influence on the reform movement.

Although the movement failed in the end, Richard still continued to participate in other activities to push through reforms, co-operating especially with a few enlightened local officials to promote China's modernization. The *Times* reported Richard's effort in local areas,⁶⁷ another mainstream media source, the *Manchester Guardian*, reported it as well.⁶⁸ Thus the English mainstream media introduced Richard's work promoting China's modernization, praising him for promoting new learning and establishing a new system in China.

In 1908 Richard published an article, "A Modern Mission Trip in China," in *The Times*, using the development in Shanxi as an example to describe China's transformation:

Thirty years ago Joshua Turner, myself, and others were bearers
and almoners of about £60,000 raised by the Lord Mayor of

⁶⁶ "The Situation in China," *The Times* (London), November 26, 1898, p. 6.

⁶⁷ "Reform Work in China," *The Times*, October 10, 1901, p. 6, reported: "The Governor of Shantung, for instance, has asked its secretary, Mr. Timothy Richard, to draw up for him a programme of instruction in foreign learning, and to furnish him with the necessary text-books in order that all expectant officials may be examined in these subjects. This is, of course, a gigantic task, but its effects upon the rising generation of Chinese officials would be of incalculable benefit."

⁶⁸ "The Advance of China-Knowledge of Western Writers," *The Manchester Guardian* (Manchester), March 19, 1907, reported: "The native Chinese paper 'Hoei Pao' of the 26th January says that the Governor of Shan Si has recommended the Emperor to confer the 'first button' rank on the Rev. Timothy Richard for his services in connection with the Shan Si University. Quite recently Dr. Richard was instrumental in presenting to the library of Owens College a Chinese History of the West in 35 volumes."

London and foreigners in China in the greatest famine ever recorded in history. We then suggested the building of railways, the opening of mines, the starting of new industries and modern education as capable of averting any repetition of such a famine. But after two years of famine relief and six years of preaching and teaching and lecturing to the leaders of the province I found only a few intelligent ones ready to reconsider the value of their civilization and to adopt some of the institutions of Christendom, while the rest were wrapped in dense ignorance and inveterate prejudice against everything foreign. I left the province 20 years ago with a sad heart at the prospect. But today I find that a marvellous change has taken place there. They have not forgotten the charity of foreigners Christians. On arriving at the station in Tai-yuen-fu near midnight, I found that all the leading officials and gentry had sent their servants with cards of welcome. I was invited to address over 2000 students from 25 different schools and colleges in the capital, but with students from every county in the province.⁶⁹

He compared the situations before and after 30 years, illustrating a great change in Shanxi. In the past, local officials ignored his advice for China's modernization; 30 years later, Shanxi officials regarded him as a distinguished advisor, looking forward to hearing his valuable advice. They even mobilized local students to hear Richard's

⁶⁹ "A Modern Mission Trip in China," *The Times*, July 22, 1908, p. 19.

speech, expecting his enlightenment for students. The advance over 30 years in Shanxi showed a great development. For a missionary who was actively advocating Western learning for a long time, Richard definitely felt pleased to see this great transformation.

Richard's success in China not only made him popular among Chinese intellectuals, but also garnered attention from the media of his home-country. The English mainstream media reported Richard's efforts in introducing Western learning and promoting China's modernization, regarding him as a significant figure in the Far East. However, as Richard expanded his exposure in the English media, a new challenge was waiting for him: a dramatic change in China's reading market. Chinese intellectuals were going to replace foreigners, especially missionaries, to be the main players in the Chinese publication and reading market.

Time to Change

Publication in the media had the capacity to proliferate new ideas and shape public opinions in a society. After reformist groups witnessed the power of periodical publications, they organized their own media, instead of just reading missionaries' newspapers, to promote China's reform. Many reformist newspapers, such as *Shiwu bao*, *Zhixin bao* and *Xiangxue xinbao*, were published during the reform movement. While Chinese intellectuals acquired new knowledge from the S.D.C.K. and Richard, they utilized it to develop their own words, expressing their ideas by means of periodical publications. Even though they might be suppressed by the authority, they still continued to claim their appeals. Regarding this change, Richard was in total support and had his own observation:

It was thought by many that when the Reform Club was closed in Peking in the winter of 1895-6, all the reform spirit had been crushed too, but that is a mistake. So far as information is available now, the chief leaders in the reform movement, finding that there was no freedom in Peking, removed their headquarters to Shanghai, and have a magazine published every ten days called *Chinese Progress*. They have a staff of about forty writers, and in different parts of China there are 280 students who have pledged themselves to aid in the reform of China. ... The tiny paper of only four narrow leaves, with which reform began in Peking, has now grown into thirty broad leaves, and the circulation from being only a thousand in the capital has grown into 10,000 throughout all the provinces. ... This *Chinese Progress* is going to be a daily paper after this month (April 1898). Besides the above magazine there are now in Shanghai alone no less than twenty secular magazines and papers, whereas before the war there were only four! The Christian religious papers which were the forerunners of the secular papers, have, however, only increased from seven to nine in number. Some of these secular papers are devoted to special subjects, such as the *Children's Educator*, the *Agriculturist*, *Chinese and Western News*, etc.⁷⁰

The number of reformist newspapers was greatly increasing, showing that the appeals

⁷⁰ Timothy Richard, "Reform in China," *The North China Herald*, April 18, 1898.

for reforms were resolute even though under the pressure of the authority. Their appeals, such as increasing useful learning, printing scientific books, and studying the laws of Western countries, basically corresponded to what Richard had advocated in the past years. His opinions regarding Western learning and China's strategies were largely adopted by reformist newspapers.

As Chinese intellectuals came to be familiar with how to manage periodical publications, not only did the number of Chinese newspapers focusing on China's current affairs grow, but the issues covered in the newspapers also enlarged from political reforms to cover education, economy, and people's livelihoods. Chinese intellectuals, therefore, came to employ their own media to express their opinions.

After the reform movement was suppressed, some reformists fled abroad and continued to publish newspapers advocating China's reform. Among those involving themselves in periodical publications, Liang Qichao was probably the most famous and influential one. He fled to Japan in 1898 and published *Qingyi bao* 清議報 (The China Discussion) in Yokohama, propagating civil rights, public roles, and a liberal government. In 1902 he published *Xinmin congbao* 新民叢報 (Miscellany for New Citizens), covering a variety of topics such as politics, economy, military, law, education, religion, history, geography, etc. *Xinmin congbao* was successful in the reading market; its circulation was twice as much as *Wanguo gongbao*, and counted as one of the most successful newspapers in the 1900s. Huang Zunxian said: "*Qingyi bao* is far better than *Shiwu bao* ... *Xinmin congbao* is hundred times better than *Qingyi bao*,"⁷¹ praising Liang Qichao for his outstanding periodical publications in quality as

⁷¹ Huang Zunxian's letter to Liang Qichao, see Ding Wenjiang 丁文江 and Zhao Fengtian 趙豐田 eds.,

well as in quantity.

In addition to exiled Chinese intellectuals publishing newspapers in Japan, many Chinese students studying in Japan published their newspapers as well. In 1901, the number of Chinese students in Japan was only 274, but this increased to 1300 students in 1903, 8000 students in 1905, and approximately 12000 students studying in Japan in 1906.⁷² Among these groups, active students not only translated Japanese books which were originally translated from the West into Chinese, but also organized publishing houses to introduce new thoughts originally from the West and to express their viewpoints. These publications were both circulated in Japan and China. For these students, it was feasible to follow the new trends in the West through Japan's publications.

These active students and exiled Chinese intellectuals in Japan enabled the introduction of the latest information from the West by means of periodical publications, gradually replacing the position of the S.D.C.K., which previously occupied the market of importing knowledge from the West. Because of this transition, the influence of the S.D.C.K. decreased gradually. The circulation of *Wanguo gongbao*, for instance, declined from 40000 volumes in 1897 to 25000 volumes in 1901. Although in 1902-04 its circulation shortly increased to 50000 volumes, this sharply declined to 30000 volumes in 1906, and only 20000 volumes in 1907.⁷³ In 1907 *Wanguo gongbao* stopped its publication.

Liang Qichao nianpu zhangbian 梁啟超年譜長編 (The Chronicle of *Liang Qichao*), Shanghai: Shanghai People's Publishing House, 1983, p. 274.

⁷² Xiong Yuezhi 熊月之, "Xixue cong dongfang yonglai 西學從東方湧來 (Western Learning Pouring from the East)," *Xixue dongjian yu wanqing shehui*, p. 508.

⁷³ Wang Shuhuai, "Qingji de Guangxuehui," pp. 219-220.

Being a publisher involving himself in China's reading market, Richard definitely knew the trend that Chinese intellectuals' newspapers were gradually replacing missionaries' media to be the main channels which transmitted new knowledge for China. After 1900, he published fewer articles in Chinese concerning China's affairs; his opinions were less quoted by Chinese newspapers as well. *Shenbao*, for instance, reported Richard's news, such as establishing new schools, mediating confrontations between missionaries and Chinese officials, and delivering lectures to Chinese intellectuals,⁷⁴ but it seldom cited his opinions in its editorials. In contrast, during the reform movement, Richard's viewpoints were frequently quoted in *Shenbao*'s front pages. Richard's role of providing Western knowledge passed to Chinese intellectuals, who actively disseminated new knowledge through periodical publications.

Due to this change, Richard, therefore, sought another way for his next stage of life. According to his memoir, he participated in several activities advocating for peace in his old age. The last chapter of the memoir, "My Connection with the Peace Movement," introduced his participations in various activities, including "in 1900 attending the Ecumenical Conference in New York to propose a Parliament of Man," "in 1903 discussing with the Japanese Prince Konoye concerning the federation of ten leading nations," "in 1905 speaking about the international situation in the Peace Congress at Lucerne," "in 1906 meeting with the U.S. President Roosevelt to advocate the scheme of federation," "in 1908 meeting with the Japanese Prince Ito to discuss the

⁷⁴ For instance, "Chuangshe shuyuan 創設書院 (Establishing Schools)," *Shenbao*, March 3, 1900; "Zhuanlu yingru Litimotai suoni ping Shanxi Yesujiao huo 轉錄英儒李提摩太所擬平山西耶穌教禍 (A Cited News Concerning the Englishman Timothy Richard's Proposal of Dealing with the Attack on Christians in Shanxi), *Shenbao*, June 21, 1901; "Qingling weilun 請聆偉論 (Listening to Great Speech)," *Shenbao*, June 29, 1903.

scheme for federating the leading nations in the world,” and “in 1910 speaking at the annual meeting of the Peace Society in London.”⁷⁵ It was noted that after 1900 Richard’s focus shifted from China’s internal affairs to international issues.

For Richard, shifting his focus to international affairs was inevitable. Since Chinese intellectuals possessed skills and approaches to transmit new knowledge by themselves, they no longer needed a “mediator” to receive information from the West. Richard was an acute publisher, and he anticipated that China’s reading market had changed. After 1900 Chinese readers preferred to read a variety of new founded newspapers, especially those published by Chinese intellectuals or students in Japan, to acquire new knowledge. The S.D.C.K. and Richard’s publications gradually lost their popularity in China’s reading market. When facing the shrinkage of circulation in the reading market, Richard, then, searched for another stage to express his expertise and maintain his exposure. International issues, such as peaceful movements and international co-operation, suitably met his interests. Therefore, expressing opinions concerning international issues and promoting peaceful movements around the world became Richard’s reasonable choice in his old age.

Conclusion

Through introducing Western learning, Richard built up connections with Chinese officials and intellectuals. With regard to his own interests, Richard needed to establish a theoretical standpoint to introduce Western learning; as for the Chinese officials and intellectuals, they needed to fit Richard’s introduction of Western learning into China’s

⁷⁵ Timothy Richard, “My Connection with the Peace Movement,” *Forty-five Years in China: Reminiscences*, pp. 376-376.

context. Western learning became a medium through which Richard and Chinese officials and intellectuals interacted with each other.

Richard's articles were frequently cited by Chinese newspapers when the reform movement was ardently proceeding in 1896-98. His opinions occupied many front pages of *Shenbao*, turning into one of the most famous figures in intellectual circles. After 1900, as Chinese intellectuals and students started to organize their own media, Richard's influence on the reading market gradually declined and was replaced by Chinese publishers.

Although Richard gradually lost his exposure, he still had a certain status and fame in Chinese media; some newspapers even used the title “Mingshi 名士 (Eminent scholar)” or “Xiru 西儒 (Confucian scholar from the West)” to call him.⁷⁶ “Shi 士” and “Ru 儒” in a Chinese context denoted honorific titles, referring to scholars who possessed cultural literacy and high education. Richard's acquisition of these titles in newspapers showed that he was regarded as a scholar with profound knowledge and literary accomplishment. Compared with his previous title in newspapers, Richard was usually called “Xijiaoshi 西教士 (Western missionary),” which was a neutral or somewhat pejorative title in a Chinese context. From “Xijiaoshi” to “Mingshi” and “Xiru,” Richard's image was greatly advanced in intellectual circles.

Another case showed Richard's status and fame in media. In 1904 Richard, by co-operating with Chinese businessmen, established the “International Federation of Red Cross,” raising funds to help Chinese people injured in Manchuria, where Russia and

⁷⁶ For instance, “Qingling weilun 請聆偉論 (Listening to Great Speech),” *Shenbao*, June 29, 1903; “Xingli xiansheng 興利先聲 (Profit in the First Place),” *Shenbao*, July 16, 1904; “Litimotai zhi waibu dian 李提摩太致外部電 (Timothy Richard's Foreign Correspondence),” *Shenbao*, August 12, 1906.

Japan fought a war in 1904. James Webster, a missionary responsible for the relief in Manchuria, wrote open letters in newspapers to Richard, reporting first-hand news there and asking for funds.⁷⁷ In the past, Richard also did the same thing. In 1878-79, he wrote open letters to Muirhead, the head of the Committee of China Famine Relief Fund, asking for funds to rescue people in the famine of northern China. When writing open letters to Muirhead, Richard was just a local missionary working in Shanxi; however, when being written open letters by Webster, Richard had already become a famous figure that others might publicly make inquiries to.

Facing the shrinkage of his popularity in the reading market, Richard changed his focus to international issues, as is shown not only in his memoir describing his participations in international affairs, but also in a news cuttings book currently collected in the Angus Library and Archive at University of Oxford. This book, covering a variety of news clippings from English newspapers, serves as a significant document to study Richard's periodical publications in his old age.

⁷⁷ For instance, “Zhu Liqi yi Yingkou hongshizihui zongdong Weiboshide zhi Litimotai xin 朱禮琦譯營口紅十字會總董魏伯施德致李提摩太信 (The General Director James Webster of Yingkou Branch of the International Committee of the Red Cross Writing a Letter to Timothy Richard, Translated by Zhu liqi), *Shenbao*, May 31, 1904; “Zhujun Liqi yi Niuzhuang Wanguo hongshizi fenhui xidong Weiboshide zhi Litimotai han 朱君禮琦譯牛莊萬國紅十字分會西董魏伯施德致李提摩太函 (The Western Director James Webster of Niuzhuang Branch of the International Committee of the Red Cross Writing a Letter to Timothy Richard, Translated by Zhu liqi), *Shenbao*, September 8, 1904.

Chapter 4

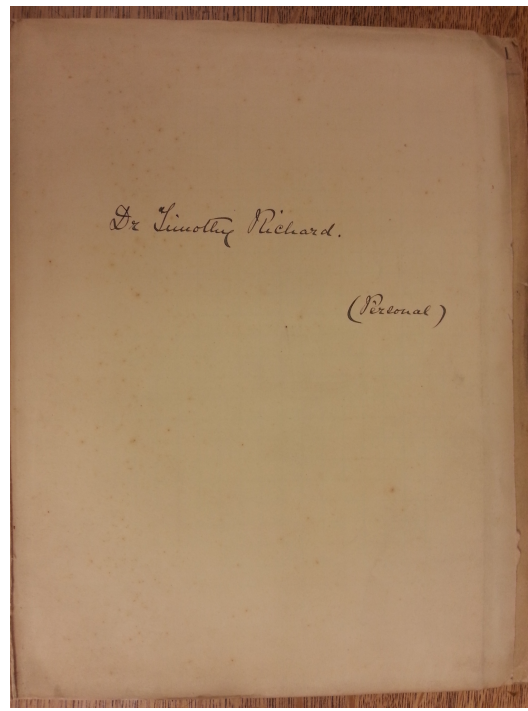
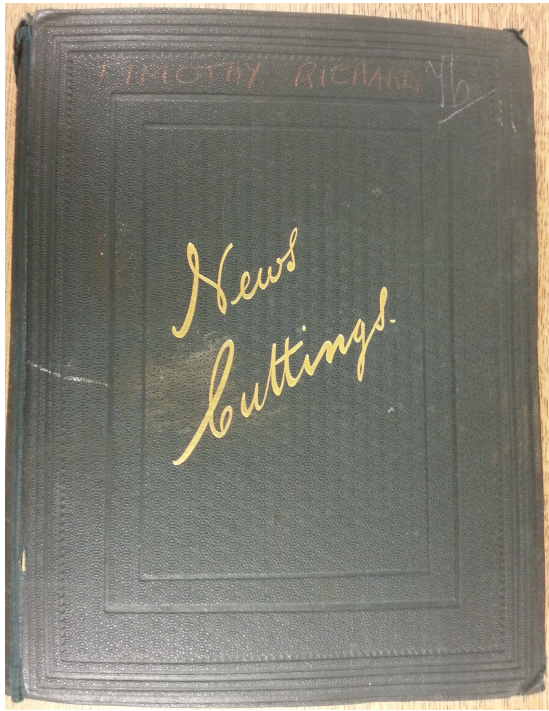
Personal Memento: The News Cuttings Book

Preface

In 1905 Richard went back to England for his furlough, where he was interviewed by several local media. Because of his great success in China, the English media recognized Richard's accomplishments as well. He had worked in China for a long time, not only spreading the Gospel but also engaging in China's reform movement. The English media were therefore interested in Richard's experience of working in China and his viewpoint on China's possible development. Although Richard was no longer the focus of the Chinese media, he seemed to find another stage, the English media, to express his thoughts and ideas, continually playing the role of an information-provider in newspapers.

The Angus Library and Archive at University of Oxford currently holds a news cuttings book with the cover page (illus. 6) marked "News Cuttings," on the first page (illus. 7) of which is written "Dr. Timothy Richard (Personal)." It includes a variety of Richard's personal data, including letters, manuscripts, and news clippings. The collection of news clippings is dated from 1905, the year Richard returned to England, and it ends in 1919, the year Richard died. These news clippings were collected from newspapers and magazines in the U.K., China and Japan. Most of them were marked with a handwritten source and date. Because of the consistent editing style, the news cuttings book seems to have been compiled by the same person. News clippings in the

book were arranged sequentially according to their publication dates, from 1905 to 1919. Each page was marked with a page number, from page 1 to 112, with some pages being left empty.



6. The cover of the news cuttings book.

7. The first page of the news cuttings book.

The news cuttings book has 199 documents, including 11 reports, 2 drafts, 4 telegraphs, 21 letters, 4 photographs, 2 notes, and 155 news clippings. The reports were printed in pamphlet format; some of them, within a complete pamphlet, were attached to the news cuttings book, while others were partially extracted from pamphlets. One of the two drafts was typewritten by Richard, and the other was hand-written by Richard's colleague, S. Couling. The 21 letters were either hand-written or typewritten, by Richard and others. Among the 155 news clippings, 77 were extracted from newspapers published in the U.K., 70 from China, 7 from Japan, and 1 from the U.S.

Most of them were written in English, except one from *Zhonghua ribao* 中華日報 (Chinese Daily News) that was written in Chinese, and one from the *Welsh Missionary Herald* written in Welsh. The collection of news clippings is dated from 1905 to 1919, covering Richard's later years, which are significant in studying his concerns and periodical publications in old age. The catalog of the news cuttings book is shown in the Appendix C.

Compilation

The news cuttings book covers the news regarding Richard's death, showing that this book was not compiled by Richard himself. In the book, no information regarding the book is mentioned, and the compiler did not leave any word regarding this compilation. This book, however, was collected in the same box (CH/4B) with Richard's wife Mary Martin's diaries in the Angus Library and Archive. They were originally collected by the Baptist Missionary Society in London and then sent to the Angus Library for academic research.

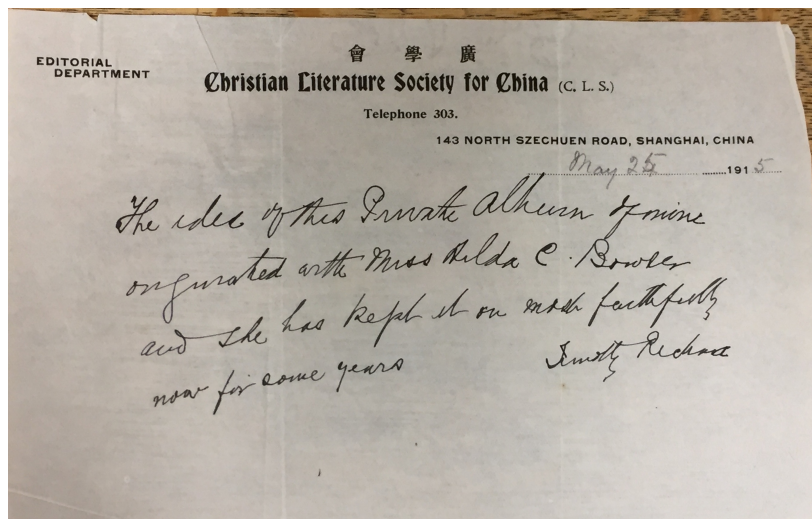
According to currently available information, the compiler of this book is likely to have been Hilda G. Bowser, who was Richard's secretary and who worked in the S.D.C.K.¹ On the back of the book are found pieces of documents, among which some were written by Richard. One note (illus. 8) mentioned:

The idea of this Private album of mine originated with Miss Hilda
C. Bowser and she has kept it on most faithfully now for some

¹ William E. Soothill, *Timothy Richard of China: Seer, Statesman, Missionary & The Most Disinterested Advisor the Chinese Ever Had*, London: Seeley, Service & Co., Ltd., 1924, p. 180.

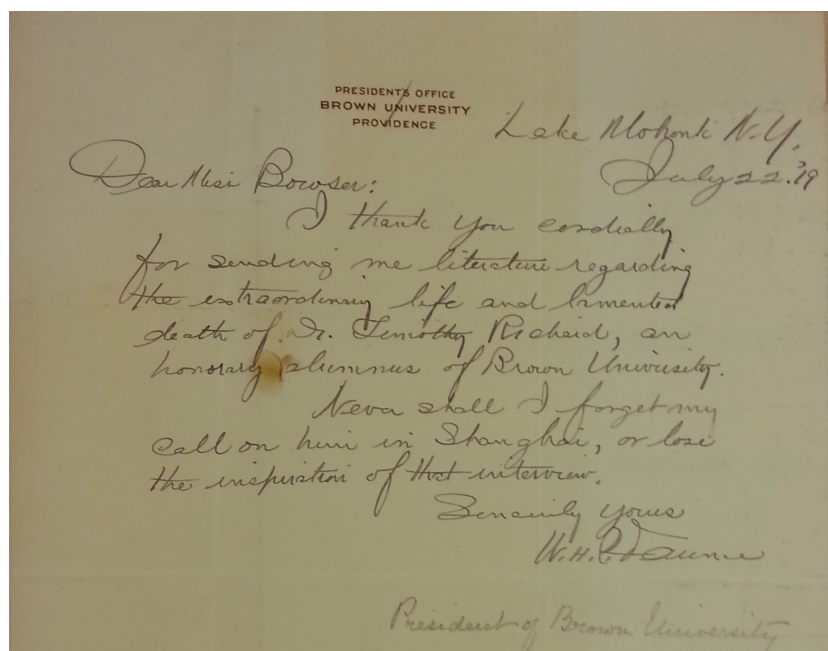
years.²

The reference to a “private album” is likely to be to this news cuttings book. This document was originally Richard’s note, on which the date “May 25, 1915” was noted. If this is so, Bowser had the idea of compiling this news cuttings book for a long time. In addition, two documents were attached on the last page of the book: one is the thirty-second annual report of the Christian Literature Society for China, which covered a series of articles in commemoration of Richard, and another was a letter (illus. 9) sent from the president’s office of Brown University and written by William H. P. Faunce, the president of Brown University at the time. Richard was awarded an honorary degree by Brown University. After receiving Bowser’s message about Richard’s death, Faunce sent a letter to Bowser, expressing his condolences. Since the letter sent from the president of the Brown University was commemorative, Bowser included it in the news cuttings books.



8. Richard’s note about “Private album.”

² Timothy Richard’s Note (dated on May 25, 1915), included in the news cuttings book, no. CH/4B, The Angus Library and Archive, Regent’s Park College, University of Oxford.



9. William H. P. Faunce's letter.

Additional evidence shows that Bowser had read the news clippings in the news cuttings book. In Chapter 21, Part 13 of Richard's memoir, it says that Richard was invited, in May 1905, to deliver a speech on the topic of the contemporary international situation at the annual meeting of the Peace Society in London.³ He suggested that leading nations could come together and organize a Supreme Court to deal with international difficulties. In the same meeting, Mr. Carnegie also gave a speech mentioning President Taft's attitude toward international problems. The memoir said: "[The] 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'."⁴ The above content was basically rewritten from a news clipping in the news

³ Timothy Richard, *Forty-five Years in China: Reminiscences*, p. 375.

⁴ *Ibid.*

cuttings book.⁵ Although the publication date of this news clipping was not noted by the compiler, the date “May 25th, 1910” was noted in the news clipping and was attached to the page where other news clippings were dated with the year 1910, which means the compiler considered that they had been published in 1910, prior to the year in which Richard’s memoir was published.

In 1914 Bowser published a book, *Timothy Richard, D.D., Litt.D., LL.D.: An Outline of His Life and Work in China*, which introduced Richard’s missionary work in China. Because of serving as Richard’s secretary, Bowser was familiar with his work. In the preparation of publishing Richard’s memoir, Bowser also participated in its process of editing, obtaining photographs and typing the memoir. The news cuttings book included many documents related to Richard’s work in China; being Richard’s secretary, Bowser very likely hoped to leave a book commemorating Richard, so she had the idea of compiling this news cuttings book.

Bowser might be the compiler of the news cuttings book, but who collected these news clippings? It is likely that Richard himself mainly collected the news clippings. These news clippings were attached in the book together with Richard’s personal

⁵ “The Bed-Rock of Universal Peace, (publication agency unknown), May 25, 1910,” in Richard’s news cuttings book, p. 35, said: “On May 25th, 1910, the day after the Peace Breakfast and the grand Peace Evening at the Guildhall, London, when Mr. Carnegie led by reading a memorable Lecture, *The Morning Post* leader says: ... ‘Mr. Carnegie’s quotation on the words of President Taft, when he expressed the opinion that matters of national honour might just as well be referred to arbitration as matters of property or national proprietorship. This is a weighty utterance. If Mr. Taft during his presidency should have the opportunity to act in the spirit of those words, and should be supported by the American nation in so acting, he will have done more for the peace of the world than any man has ever yet accomplished. But though President Taft’s words go nearer to the root of the matter than most of the speeches made at Peace Societies, they do not quite touch the bed-rock. This was, however, achieved yesterday by Dr. Timothy Richard, who made a proposal based on a real grasp of his subject.’ *The Morning Post*’ report of the speech of Dr. Richard is as follows: ‘In order to get rid of that terrible calamity to the human race—armaments—suggested that all the leading nations of the earth should federate on the basis of reciprocity and equal opportunity, and should be prepared to lay all international difficulties before a Supreme Court of the Federated World. Let there be one army and navy to insist that the decisions of this Supreme Court of Justice and Peace should be carried out, and let the nations which decline to federate be subject to high tariffs, from which all the rest should be free.’”

documents, such as letters, manuscripts, and telegraphs, showing that these news clippings likely belonged to Richard's private collection. More importantly, the source and date of these news clippings corresponds closely with Richard's personal activities in his later years. In 1905 Richard returned to England; after staying there for one year, he went back to China. In the news cuttings book, from 1905 to 1906, 25 of the 27 news clippings were extracted from newspapers published in England, and only 2 from newspapers published in China. In 1908 Richard visited Japan, meeting with Japan's Prince Ito Hirobumi. Accordingly, news clippings from Japan started from 1908, and the news clippings regarding Prince Ito Hirobumi were collected thereafter. In 1910 Richard traveled between China and England again, and news clippings were alternately collected from England and China's newspapers at the time. In 1916 Richard returned to England due to his serious illness, and died in 1919. In this period, except for the news clippings in 1919 which reported his death, 17 of the 21 news clippings were extracted from England's newspapers, while only 4 news clippings from China's newspapers. It is obvious that the source and date of the news clippings closely followed Richard's traveling route in his old age. Richard read local newspapers in his traveling; whenever he found news relevant to himself or the issues he was concerned with, Richard collected them as private collections.

Aside from the news clippings reporting Richard's death in 1919, the collection of news clippings began from 1905 and ended in 1919, lasting 12 years and including newspapers from the U.K., China, and Japan. Due to its duration over 12 years and the places across Europe and Asia, probably no one, except Richard himself, could have collected these news clippings. Similar to other private documents, they were most

likely collected by Richard himself.

The news clippings in the news cuttings book could be classified in two parts: (1) interviews with Richard and his articles published in newspapers, e.g. *Baptist Times*, *Christian World*, *Chinese Recorder*, and *North China Daily News*; and (2) book reviews discussing Richard's books, i.e. *Conversion by the million in China*, *The New Testament of Higher Buddhism*, *A Mission to Heaven*, *Forty-Five Years in China: Reminiscences*, and a book introducing him, *Timothy Richard, D.D., China Missionary, Statesman*. These news clippings reflected Richard's viewpoints of public affairs and personal concerns in the latter part of his life.

Report and Advice from the Far East

Richard shifted his focus to the reading market in the U.K., due to the great change in China's reading market. After the reform movement in 1898, Kang Youwei was interviewed by the U.K.'s media, discussing the movement and the current situations in China. In the interviews Kang especially mentioned Richard's help and considered that the publications introduced by Richard and the S.D.C.K. were influential in promoting China's progress. These interviews were published in the *Times* and the *Manchester Guardian*, respectively.⁶

In the interviews, one detail was worth noting. In the *Times* and the *Manchester Guardian*, Richard was called "an American missionary," which was an obvious error, but these two newspapers did not notice and published it directly. Moreover, other regional newspapers did not notice this error either, calling Richard "an American

⁶ "The Situation in China," *The Times* (London), October 7, 1898, p. 3; "The Deposition of the Chinese Emperor," *The Manchester Guardian* (Manchester), November 23, 1898, p. 6.

missionary.”⁷ This phenomenon showed that Richard was unknown to the editors of these newspapers when he was mentioned in the U.K.’s media at the time. Several days later, one reader pointed out this error in a newspaper, saying that Richard was a British missionary rather than an American missionary.⁸

After the Boxer Rebellion in 1900, Richard was asked for help by Chinese officials, due to the fact that he was familiar with China’s situations and able to negotiate with missionary groups and the Chinese government. His co-operation with Chinese officials was reported by the U.K.’s mainstream media.⁹ In addition, other regional media reported his activities as well.¹⁰ Through the reports in media, English readers in the U.K. came to know Richard, understanding that he was an influential figure in China.

When Richard was in the U.K., his participations in public meetings and delivered speeches were reported by English newspapers.¹¹ In these reports, Richard was called “The Eminent Chinese Baptist Missionary” and “The Distinguished Baptist Missionary to China;” some reports even provided further information about his achievements and contributions in China, showing that he had been recognized by the British media at that time.

In the news cuttings book, Richard’s interviews and published articles occupied

⁷ “The Situation at Peking,” *Belfast News-Letter* (Belfast, Antrim), October 8, 1898, p. 5; “The Chinese Situation,” *Dublin Daily Nation* (Dublin), October 10, 1898, p. 5; “Chinese Affairs,” *The Elgin Courant and Courier* (Elgin, Moray), October 11, 1898, p. 3.

⁸ “China—Kang Yu Wei,” *The Scotsman* (Edinburgh), October 11, 1898, p. 8.

⁹ “China,” *The Times*, May 7, 1901, p. 5; “Reform Work in China,” *The Times*, October 10, 1901, p. 6; “Missionary Work and Reform in China,” *The Times*, November 15, 1901, p. 6.

¹⁰ “A Veteran Missionary,” *Evening Express* (Cardiff), July 5, 1900, p. 2; “Carmarthen Missionary,” *Evening Express*, January 25, 1902, p. 3; “A Welsh Missionary in China,” *Evening Express*, August 15, 1902, p. 3.

¹¹ “The Free Churches,” *The Manchester Guardian*, March 30, 1905, p. 4; “Notable Men and Women,” *Bournemouth Daily Echo* (Bournemouth), March 31, 1905, p. 4; “Visit of Dr. Timothy Richard,” *Eastern Evening News* (Norwich), May 25, 1905, p. 3.

roughly one third of news clippings. From the interview entitled “Thirty-Five Years in China—A Talk with Rev. Timothy Richard” published in the *Christian World*, and dated in February 1905, to the article entitled “Great Openings for Women’s Work in China” published in *B.M.S. Herald*, and dated in January 1917, these clippings showed Richard’s concerns in his later years. Richard was interviewed by many local media, e.g. *British Weekly*, *Baptist Times*, *Christian Commonwealth*, and *Christian World*. In the news cuttings book, there were 24 newspaper clippings dated in 1905, half of which were Richard’s interviews. One press even reported media’s great interest in Richard, showing his popularity at the time:

His (Richard’s) arrival in England last week, after an absence of nine years naturally, therefore, created quite a flutter in journalistic circles, and when I met him by appointment in the writing-room of a quiet hotel in one of the streets branching off from Russell Square, I found him almost in a stage of siege. He looked, I thought, hale and strong, but somewhat wearied, and I was not surprised at this when I learnt that half a dozen of my Press colleagues had already interviewed him during the day.¹²

Because of his first-hand experience in the Far East, English media were interested in Richard’s introduction, interviewing him one after another.

English media were enthusiastic about Richard’s observation and welcomed his articles concerning the Far East and China. Being an acute observer, Richard was able to provide key information, providing the latest information from the Far East for

¹² “(No title), *The Baptist Times & Freeman*, February 3, 1905,” in the news cuttings book, p. 2.

Western readers. In the early twentieth century, the most important issue in China was its political transformation from monarchy to republic. Concerning this great change, Richard reported that the Chinese government had been adopting new policies to learn from the West, so he suggested that missionary groups should accordingly adjust to this new trend.¹³ In order to meet this new trend, the importance of the media was further emphasized, because the periodical publication of Chinese newspapers served as a significant tool to promote China's modernization.¹⁴ In interviews, Richard repeatedly stressed the important influence of newspapers and magazines, arguing that they should be well utilized by missionary societies.¹⁵

¹³ In an interview of *The Christian Commonwealth*, it said: "To a question concerning the changes now proceeding in China, Dr. Richard replied:--'Many great changes are going on at this moment. For instance, not very long ago all the authorities were everywhere vehemently opposed to railways, but these are now being planned in all directions. When we consider that a quarter of the human race is going to start off on an amazing revolution in education we may feel assured that thirty years hence there will be a new world in existence. Therefore, there will be a new army of intellectual men that work on the problems of mankind, and this vast army changes in progress we must devise new plans if we wish to move with the times. So we want the missionary societies to adopt fresh methods on account of the crisis through which the colossal Empire is now passing.'" See "The Fate of China—A Chat with Rev. Dr. Timothy Richard, *The Christian Commonwealth*, March 23, 1905," in the news cuttings book, p. 3.

¹⁴ In the same interview, it reported: "He (Richard) edited two monthly magazines in Chinese. The effect of these can never be adequately estimated, but it is certain that the new ideas in these periodicals and books excited profound interest, created a great ferment, and initiated a reform movement among the students everywhere." See "The Fate of China—A Chat with Rev. Dr. Timothy Richard, *The Christian Commonwealth*, March 23, 1905," in the news cuttings book, p. 3.

¹⁵ Following his previous opinion that missionary societies should take advantage of media and modern science, in his old age Richard still continued to emphasize their importance. In an article, "Some of the Greatest Needs of Christian Missions," published in the *Chinese Recorder*, April, 1907, he said: "The Press—In Christendom the Pulpit and the Press are the right and left arms for guiding public opinion, the greatest forces. But in China the Missionary Societies have spent all their money practically on one only and neglected the other, i.e., there are 3500 missionaries, male and female, in China, but not ten devoting all their time to the Press or to provide literature for the leaders of thought in the land. During the last ten years the Japanese have seen our neglect of this opportunity and great power and have got possession of the greater part of the Press and literature in China to propagate their non-Christian materialistic views. ... The Science of Missions—Modern science has in so many ways proved that those who know the science have been able to improve their departments a hundred fold. It is quite plain to the missionary seers, of which God still has a few (in this age as well as in the past, though the ignorant do not recognise them till they are dead), that twenty missionaries who know the science can easily do more than 2000 without that knowledge." This article echoed his continuing argument in favor of adopting new approaches to promote Christianity. It was published in 1907, but in the 1880s Richard had expressed the same ideas. Over twenty years, even though only a very few missionaries followed in Richard's footsteps, he still insisted on spreading his ideas concerning new approaches for missionary work in China. Preaching the Gospel to Chinese people and preaching the benefits of adopting new approaches to missionary societies were both Richard's central concerns.

In addition to interviews, Richard also wrote articles reporting China's great transformation. China started to adopt the parliamentary system in 1910, which was a great political transformation in Chinese history;¹⁶ meanwhile, China extensively adopted Western methods for modernization, such as constructing railways, telegraphs, armies, and developing its education system.¹⁷ Regarding this great change, Richard provided his first-hand observation and instantaneous news in the Far East for English readers.¹⁸

In the early twentieth century, Japan was a rising power, gradually exerting her

¹⁶ In one article published in *British Weekly*, Richard said: "The latest news from China, announcing the establishment of a National Assembly, is another milestone marking one of its gigantic if not rapid stride. We have often complained of the slowness of China's progress compared with Japan and the Western nations, but during the last ten years enormous changes have taken place there, which few nations can match in the same short time. A year ago there were provincial assemblies, each representing a population of twenty millions on an average, inaugurated throughout the Empire of twenty provinces, where representatives of the people met to discuss national affairs." See "The China Giant Awake, *British Weekly*, October 13, 1910," in the news cuttings book, p. 37.

¹⁷ In another article published in *The Baptist World*, he said: "The outlook in China at present is somewhat like the outlook on chaos at the beginning of creation. The old order in every department of life has passed, or is passing away. There is to be a new order produced at a very early date, but what that order will—no man can forecast. Still, in the material development of the country we see the adoption of Western methods, and consequently railways, telegraphs, postoffices, armies, navies and commercial fleets, together with mines and manufacturers all follow very rapidly. The ancient education has given way to modern, but it is only in the initial stage of primary, secondary and normal schools; universities are only in preparation, and not yet fully founded." See "The Outlook in China, *The Baptist World*, January 12, 1911," in the news cuttings book, p. 45.

¹⁸ In fact, in addition to reporting, Richard also provided suggestions concerning this transformation. In an article, he suggested: "1. Let the present officials, whether Imperial or Revolutionary, remain in their respective posts to keep order and administer justice on the existing lines until the will of the people is ascertained. 2. Let every county, (chow or hsien) choose one man to represent them in the Provincial Assembly. If the county has a population of more than half a million let an additional member be elected. 3. Let the election of the provincial assemblies take place at the earliest possible date. The sooner the better. 4. Let every province be self-governed and take control of its own provincial finances as a provisional government. 5. Let every Provincial Assembly choose from its own number ten men to represent them in the nation's Parliament, and let a two thirds majority be considered the voice of the people. 6. Let there be no distinction of races, but Manchus, Mongols and Chinese to be equally eligible for positions. 7. Let the Parliament choose twenty men to form a Cabinet whose duty shall be to superintend the nation as a whole in all national and international affairs. 8. Meanwhile let the Government and Revolutionary Parties agree not to use any military force against each other, but simply keep the people from lawlessness, and have a Truce until the will of God, by conscience of the whole nation, shall be declared, and then let all the military forces unite to uphold that will." See "Needed A Great Truce, *North China Daily News*, November 11, 1911," in the news cuttings book, p. 52. Richard was not only a reporter providing immediate news concerning China to English readers but also an advisor who were willing to provide his opinions for China's reference on the basis of his practical experience.

influence and replacing China's leading position in the Far East. In order to follow and imitate Japan's success, China gradually shifted her focus from the West to Japan, paying more attention to Japan's modernization. Richard noticed this change as well, so he was eager to ask missionary societies to adopt new approach to meet it.¹⁹ In an interview of the *Western Daily Press*, he pointed out Japan's growing influence:

Interrogated respecting the influence that is being exerted by Japan at the present time in China, Dr. Richard said that this influence was tremendous, adding. "...The Japanese are practically doing what they are partly for their own defence and partly for their neighbors. That is a thing which unites nations in friendship and gratitude, and seeing that the Japanese are able single-handed to cope with Russia, which was supposed to be almighty, that makes the Chinese ask advice from the Japanese as to reforms in all departments of government."²⁰

Because Japan was able to compete with Russia, this made China believe that Japan was the right model to learn from, instead of the model of the West. Being a seer who paid close attention to China's development, Richard was acutely aware of China's changing attitude.

¹⁹ In an interview of *British Weekly*, he pointed out: "'A great impression is gaining ground,' added Dr. Richard. 'that Japanese civilisation is better for China than that of Christendom. In Shanghai fifty different bookshops, which have agencies all over the Empire, are devoted to the spread of this idea.' 'Japanese officials have been placed at the head of most of the Government departments. The friends of missions at home must realise that we are now confronted another army of missionaries who will look eastward rather than westward for inspiration. If we cannot cope with their efforts the new China will not be a Christian China.'" See "A Great Chinese Missionary—Interview with Dr. Timothy Richard, *British Weekly*, February 2, 1905," in the news cuttings book, p. 1.

²⁰ "Is There A Yellow Peril?—Dr. Timothy Richard Interviewed in Bristol, *The Western Daily Press*, May 15, 1905," in the news cuttings book, p. 7.

Due to Japan's rise and China's transformation, the nations in the Far East were considered a danger which might threaten Western countries, the so-called "Yellow Peril." Richard also touched on this issue in his interviews.²¹ When explaining the situation in the Far East, he became the spokesman of the Far East communicating with Western countries. He was familiar with China and Japan's situations, so he could provide precise information and made proper suggestions on these themes. In facing the "Yellow Peril," Richard emphasized that Eastern and Western countries should cooperate with each other, so as to build up mutually beneficial relationships and prevent accidental misunderstandings.

In order to build up mutually beneficial relationships, Richard proposed "a league of world leading nations," a framework that could achieve global peace and prosperity.²² He not only proposed the idea of establishing a world federation but also

²¹ For instance, an interview reported: "Dr. Richard wisely remarked that the Yellow Peril is balanced by the White Peril. 'The greater the White Peril,' said he, 'the greater the Yellow Peril will be. If the nations of Christendom will be more considerable for the Far East, then there is less danger likely to arise from the Far East. I say this simply because the Western nations are the most powerful today; which would be most powerful fifty years hence is difficult to foretell. In my opinion,' added the doctor, 'what is for the good of all the world is best for every nation individually. Love begets love; hatred begets hatred. Peace and goodwill is the great need of mankind today as much as ever it was.'" See "(no title), *The Baptist Times & Freeman*, February 3, 1905," in the news cuttings book, p. 2. Another interview reported: "'Then you believe in a Yellow peril?' 'I believe in it certainly. The Yellow peril may be just in proportion to the White peril, just as in electricity the positive and negative are equal. So the Yellow peril will be in relation to the White peril. If we deal righteously with them we shall have peace, but if we try to again to partition China, as we have done in the past, we shall have another Boxer rising, for the Chinese in their present state of comparative ignorance will be at the mercy of any powerful man who wishes to control them.'" See "Is There a Yellow Peril?, *The Western Daily Press*, May 15, 1905," in the news cuttings book, p. 7.

²² In the article entitled "The Doctrine of Reciprocity," Richard wrote: "It was the opinion of President McKinley expressed on his dying bed that there never could be peace between nations until they agreed to reciprocity and he bequeathed this greatest of political insights to President Roosevelt who repeated again and again that it would be his principle also. For twenty years I have advocated this in the Chinese and Foreign Press. I got the consent of the Chinese Government to adopt this principle, I presented a Draft of a League of Princes for the Peace of the World, I advocated reciprocity at the International Peace Congress and had its thorough approval. ... Since then I have sent proposals to ten of the leading Governments of the world suggesting that instead of short-lived alliances a federation of these Governments should be formed on the basis of mutual defence and reciprocity." See "The Doctrine of Reciprocity—To the Editor of the North China Daily News, *North China Daily News*, April 23, 1909," in the news cuttings book, p. 27.

designed several approaches to achieve it. In an article entitled “How to End Militarism and War,” he suggested:

(a) To establish one Central Government for the whole world, where the best and wisest men of all nations shall form a Grand Council and Parliament to rule, not in the interests of any one nation, but in the equal interest of all. (b) To form one military and naval force to police the world, taxing all nations for its support in proportion to the life and property to be protected. (c) To regard any nation which seeks to support a private army or navy—say of more than one tenth the size of the forces of the Central Government—as a rebel, and to be treated as such. (d) To punish the nations that began the war, trusting in Might versus Right, by requiring them to restore say three times the value of the property destroyed. For the lives lost there can be no compensation, but these nations should not be entitled to a share in the counsels of the World Parliament for at least twenty years. (e) To reward those nations and races who volunteered to help in putting down lawless Might by making them eligible for a place in the World Parliament as soon as they are qualified by universal education and benevolent service.²³

Five approaches were proposed in order to build up a world federation to achieve peace

²³ “How to End Militarism and War—To the Editor of the North China Daily News, *North China Daily News*, March 17, 1915,” in the news cuttings book, p. 77. This article was signed with the name “An Old Peacemaker,” but near the article in the news cuttings book it was hand-written with the words “T. R.,” showing that this article should be written by Richard.

and prosperity, showing Richard's serious concerns on this issue.

The advice of establishing a league of world leading nations was also repeated in Richard's interviews.²⁴ In addition to proposing a plan, he practiced it with great effort, canvassing Chinese and Japanese statesmen to support it.²⁵ According to Richard, the peace of the world could be secured with the framework of leading nations. In his old age, international issues became the topics which Richard paid special attention to. By expressing opinions in the media, Richard continually played the role of an active information-provider, maintaining his media exposure in the latter part of his life.

Book Reviews and a New Readership

In addition to Richard's interviews and published articles, the news cuttings book also covered book reviews of his publications, *Conversion by the Million* (1907), *New Testament of Higher Buddhism* (1910), *A Journey to Heaven* (1913), *Forty-five Years in China* (1916), and the biography, *Timothy Richard, D.D., China Missionary, Statesman and Reformer* (1911), written by Rev. B. Reeve. In comparison to ordinary readers, Richard was probably more delighted to see his publications discussed by professional readers, so he especially collected these book reviews when seeing them

²⁴ In the interview of the *Christian World*, it reported: "As illustrative of this he (Richard) cites the declaration made to him by both Chinese and Japanese statesmen of the highest rank, that they are prepared for a concordat between the seven or eight leading nations, under which they should create a Supreme Court whose decisions, based in every case on sheer justice, should be binding, in place of the decisions of mere national selfishness and brute force." See "Dr. Richard on China—A conversation, *The Christian World*, July 20, 1905," in the news cuttings book, p. 7.

²⁵ In the interview of *The Christian Commonwealth*, he discussed the benefit of a league of leading nations for China: "'In this way,' continued Dr. Richard, 'China would not only get back Manchuria, but all the Empire would be secured from any fear of future partitions, and all the world would enjoy peace. Since then I have had opportunity of knowing the mind of the leading statesmen in Japan, and I discovered that they also would be delighted if such an arrangement could be arrived at. Now, the peace of world, which it is one of the aims of Christianity to conserve, would be its strongest recommendation to all non-Christian nations to join this veritable kingdom of God on earth.'" See "The Fate of China—A Chat with Rev. Dr. Timothy Richard, *The Christian Commonwealth*, March 23, 1905," in the news cuttings book, p. 3.

in newspapers.

Richard's purpose of publishing the book *Conversion by the Million in China* was to provide useful information for new missionaries who planned to work in China. On the basis of his experience in China, he emphasized that it would be astonishing if new missionaries could adopt his suggestions in missionary work.²⁶ In the news cuttings book, one book review entitled "Conversion by the Million" highly praised Richard's missionary work, without filing any criticisms against it.²⁷ Richard, obviously, selected book reviews according to the contents covered in the reviews.²⁸

²⁶ In the preface of this book, Richard mentioned: "Now that China has established modern schools and colleges, in twenty years it will have a large army of qualified men to lead it. Meanwhile the leaders of reform in the government are calling out for immediate light on all problems of universal progress. God has given the Christian Church the light which China needs. Shall we not at once help China by making the literary department as large and as worthy as the other departments? Having had some experience in every department of mission work, I am in an advantageous position of estimating the relative value of each. I reprint many Essays of the past because most if not all the problems discussed are still unsolved. If their republication will help young missionaries to adopt methods by which **20 can do more work than 200** or at least prevent them from wasting their time by attempting to begin mission work, *de novo for the thousandth time*, they will not have been written in vain." See "Preface," *Conversion by the Million in China*, Shanghai: Christian Literature Society, 1907.

²⁷ It said: "The title is certainly startling, and in the body of the book will be found things almost more startling still. As everyone who has followed the author's career knows, he is a dreamer of dreams, and among the visions he cherishes are those of the universal abolition of Poverty and Ignorance, of War and 'Devilry,' visions whose realization seems to him so entirely practicable that he has formulated a scheme of immediate action which was forwarded to the chief powers in Christendom a few years ago by way of 'preparing their minds' for the coming federation of the world. ... The remarkable success which Dr. Richard's labours in this direction, chiefly through the medium of the Christian Literature Society, have met with is known to everyone—he can count literally by the million the educated natives who within recent years have been at least converted to a large part of the programme of reform which he would fain see adopted by the nation as a whole. ... This book ought not to be missed by any one interested in the Christian education and uplifting of the Far East." See "Conversion by the Million, (publication agency unknown), April, 1907," in the news cuttings book, p. 16. This book review was written by Rev. Alex Martin, a professor of New College, Edinburgh.

²⁸ One book review, which was not collected in the news cuttings book, clearly showed Richard's consideration. The book review "Conversion by the Million in China" published in the *Chinese Recorder*, August 1, 1907, said: "While criticism in detail of so heterogeneous a collection of sketches as are included in this work is impossible, there are some points about the work as a whole that are bound to strike the reader. Among them will be loose use of words and phrases of great content, the frequent misuse of 'universal,' for instance, and the airy treatment of 'millions.' ... So also when Dr. Richard tells us that Christian literature ought to be co-extensive with the works of God his readers must not think the C.L.S. desires to open a depot on the moon and issue pamphlets for planets. What is meant of course is that the *subject matter* of this literature should have such a scope. It is to looseness of statement and lack of adequate revision (to be condoned in a busy man) that some of the slips to be found in the volume are due. ... When he tells us that the too long neglected method of literature and the press has proved in the experience of the Christian Literature Society the possibility of such success, then we are constrained to ask, "Is this what Christ and Paul and the New Testament mean by conversion? Is it conversion or a renaissance or a reformation that the author has in mind and view?" ... Let us be thankful that in our

Another book, *The New Testament of Higher Buddhism*, consisted of two parts: the first part was the introduction and translation of *The Awakening of Faith in the Mahayana School*, and the second part was the introduction and translation of *The Essence of the Lotus Scripture*.²⁹ Throughout this book, Richard intended to deliver one message: interaction between religions, e.g. Christianity and Buddhism, was common in history. He emphasized that, although religions might be different in theory, they still shared several precious values in common. In Richard's view, Buddhism and Christianity were the representatives of Eastern and Western civilizations; hence, if Buddhists and Christians could co-operate with each other, Eastern and Western countries might have a chance to work together to meet problems in the modern world.

Regarding this book, there were seven book reviews collected in the news cuttings book.³⁰ Echoing Richard's viewpoint that the East and West should co-operate with

midst there is one such as Dr. Richard, whose voice and example are so insistent in their exhortation to enlarge the borders of our tents and makes all knowledge our helpmeet in the service of the eternal God, but let us too be careful that we neither confuse our own minds nor those to whom we are sent with the thought of His kingdom as simply a vision of plenty or a year of jubilee." It criticized Richard's method of literature and the press, arguing that they might not be what Christ and Paul and the New Testament meant by conversion. This book review was published in *Chinese Recorder*, a missionary newspaper that Richard frequently read. He had very likely read this book review. Probably due to its negative comment, Richard neglected this book review, only collecting the positive one in his news cuttings book.

²⁹ In the general introduction of *The New Testament of Higher Buddhism*, Richard said: "Firstly, I hope to dispel some of the confusion of thought regarding the relation of Buddhism to Christianity. On this subject the translation of *The Awakening of Faith in the Mahayana School* throws most important light. For a century past in Europe, it has been well known to students that there were two schools of Buddhism, the Hinayana and the Mahayana. That Christianity and Buddhism had many truths in common was also well known. Superficial students, however, assumed that because Sakyamuni was born five centuries before Jesus Christ, Christianity had therefore borrowed these truths from Buddhism, not knowing that the Hinayana form of Buddhism was comparatively local and short-lived, while it was Mahayana school of Buddhism which was so widely adopted in China, Korea, and Japan, lasting to this day. Nor do they know that the Mahayana school, of which Edwin Arnold wrote so beautifully in his *Light of Asia*, was not founded by Sakyamuni five centuries before Christ, but by Ashvagoshā at the close of the first century of the Christian era, when communication between East and West was frequent and extensive. Secondly, I hope to show that in *The Essence of the Lotus Scripture*, as interpreted by Chinese and Japanese 'initiated' Buddhists (but not as by the enlarged version in Kern's translation in the *Sacred Books of the East*), we find the same teaching as in the Gospel of St. John in regard to Life, Light, and Love, a teaching which forms a wonderful bridge crossing the chasm between Eastern and Western religion and civilization." See *The New Testament of Higher Buddhism*, Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1910, pp. 1-2.

³⁰ They are: "Review—New Testament of Higher Buddhism, *Shanghai Mercury*, December, 1910," "Higher Buddhism, *North China Daily News*, (publication date unknown)," "Reviews—Higher Buddhism, *The National Review*, December, 1910," "The New Testament of Higher Buddhism,

each other, many book reviews cast a critical light on it.³¹ Richard, in collecting these book reviews, showed that he valued the reviews which echoed his viewpoint of promoting communication between the East and West. The early twentieth century was a time in which conflicts between the East and West began to occur. To meet this new challenge, Richard mediated between Eastern and Western countries, playing the role as an interpreter and communicator, which was a new mission for him. These book reviews corresponded to Richard's viewpoint, making him believe that his efforts in communication was valuable.

Richard's biography, *Timothy Richard, D.D., China Missionary, Statesman and Reformer*, was written by B. Reeve,³² about which three book reviews were collected in the news cuttings book.³³ In the preface of this book, B. Reeve mentioned that many

(publication agency and date unknown),” “Richard—Timothy, D.D., Litt.D., China—The New Testament of Higher Buddhism, (publication agency and date unknown),” “Christianity and Buddhism, *The Christian Commonwealth*, June 28, 1911,” and “The New Testament of Higher Buddhism, *Manchester Guardian*, November 21, 1910,” in the news cuttings book, pp. 43-45.

³¹ For instance, one book review said: “The object of the translation of both books by the author is clearly stated by him, in several places, to be that the leaders of the East and the West may understand each other better, as they come to realize that all truths has a common origin. ‘When the devotion of the East and the West is united, then the kingdoms of this world will soon become the Kingdom of our God and of His Christ.’ ... He has, however, the supreme qualification for doing this work of translation in the sympathetic attitude with which he approaches the essential truths of another religion.” See “Review—New Testament of Higher Buddhism, *Shanghai Mercury*, December, 1910,” in Richard's news cuttings book, p. 43. Another book review said: “Dr. Timothy Richard is just the man to act as interpreter between West and East. The devout believer in the Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, has dwelt for forty years in the atmosphere of the Chinese mind, and has pondered long upon its inner spiritual history. Too often the writer on comparative religion is supposed to require as an essential characteristic a neutral attitude to Christianity. As a fact, the broad horizons of Christianity and its boundless charity are needed that the whole landscape may lie clear, well-outlined, duly proportioned with sunlight and shadow.” See “The New Testament of Higher Buddhism, (Publication agency and date unknown),” in the news cuttings book, p. 44.

³² B. Reeve wrote this book by adopting the structure of chapter arrangement as follows: “The Great Famine,” “The Personal Transition Period,” “The Christian Literature Society,” “The Reform Crisis and The Boxer Rising,” and “The Shansi University.” See *Timothy Richard, D.D., China Missionary, Statesman and Reformer*, London: S. W. Partridge and Co., Ltd., 1911. This structure of introducing Richard's life was common at the time. For instance, one news clipping, “The Fate of China—A Chat with Rev. Dr. Timothy Richard (*The Christian Commonwealth*, March 23, 1905)” in the news cuttings book, p. 3, introduced Richard's work in China, adopting similar structure of arrangement.

³³ They are: “Timothy Richard, D.D., China Missionary, Statesman and Reformer. By the Rev. B. Reeve. Pp. 160. 1s. 6d. (S. W. Partridge and Co., Ltd.), *The English Christian*, November 23, 1911,” “Timothy Richard, D.D.—By the Rev. B. Reeve. Partridge, London 1911. Price 1s. 6d. net., *China*, January, 1912,” and “Timothy Richard, D.D. By the Rev. B. Reeve. London: S. W. Partridge and Co., *The National*

readers expected Richard to publish his own memoir,³⁴ showing that Richard was still popular in the English reading market. This expectation was also noticeable in the book reviews.³⁵ From these book reviews, Richard perceived that his experience in China was attractive to English readers, so he started to prepare his own memoir after B. Reeve's book was published. Five years later, in 1916, Richard published his own memoir. These book reviews helped him to make the decision to publish his memoir so as to meet readers' needs.

The other book, *A Mission to Heaven—A Great Chinese Epic and Allegory*, was a translation of a Chinese classical fiction, *Xiyouji* 西游記 (Journey to the West). In this book, Richard sought to argue that Chinese Buddhism, the Great Vehicle, was influenced by early Christianity, and *Xiyouji* could serve as evidence to support it. There were four book reviews³⁶ concerning this book in the news cuttings book, two of which

Review, April 13, 1912," in the news cuttings book, pp. 55-56.

³⁴ B. Reeve said: "Dr. Richard has been urged from several quarters to publish his Reminiscences, and contemplates doing so 'when he can find time.' Meanwhile this short 'Life' is offered in the belief that it will supply a chapter hitherto unwritten in the history of Modern Missions, and in the hope that it will whet the public appetite for some more substantial work from Dr. Richard's own pen." See "Preface," *Timothy Richard, D.D., China Missionary, Statesman and Reformer*, p. 6.

³⁵ For instance, one book review said: "The author tells us in the Preface that Dr. Richard contemplates publishing his reminiscences at some future date. We venture to hope he will be led to adopt the Chinese method of perpetuating history, i.e. by sealing up the records until the dynasty in power at the time has come to an end, by which means an impartial representation of facts is secured. There must be many items of information stored up in the arcanum of Dr. Richard's memory, which diplomatic caution would reserve so long as the present regime continues, but which would be of supreme interest and value when the opportune season arrives." See "Timothy Richard, D.D.—By the Rev. B. Reeve. Partridge, London 1911. Price 1s. 6d. net., *China*, January, 1912," in Richard's news cuttings book, p. 55. Another book review said: "Editor, translator, author, friend of viceroys, advisor of reformers, counsellor-extraordinary (tremendously extraordinary) of an Emperor, teacher of truth, preacher of peace, all these and many other things—all in the interests of China and the world—Dr. Richard has been, and in these pages we have the fascinating and inspiring story of his career told for us. ... Those who want to know something of what a force Dr. Richard has been in China for more than a generation must read Mr. Reeve's volume; and these who read it will hope and pray that many years will yet pass before the time come for the writing of the complete biography." See "Timothy Richard, D.D. By the Rev. B. Reeve. London: S. W. Partridge and Co., *The National Review*, April 13, 1912," in the news cuttings book, pp. 55-56.

³⁶ They are: "A Chinese Pilgrim's Progress, *The Christian World*, January 15, 1914," "Book Review, *Peking Gazette*, April 9, 1914," "Review on 'A Mission to Heaven,' *The Expository Times*, March, 1914," and "A Mission to Heaven, *The Far East*, December 20, 1913," in the news cuttings book, pp. 63-65, 68.

echoed Richard's viewpoint.³⁷ It might be an excessive interpretation to contend that the Great Vehicle Buddhism originated from early Christianity. However, for an active missionary who aimed to "establish the Kingdom of God on earth"³⁸ and had paid much attention to Chinese religions for a long time, it seemed only natural that Richard would make an effort to connect Chinese Buddhism with Christianity by means of tracing their genealogies. No matter whether Richard's argument was correct or not, he was supported by book reviews in newspapers. For an author who highly valued readers' responses, these supportive voices seemed to be more important.

The last book is Richard's own memoir, *Forty-five Years in China*, which introduced his life and missionary work in China. In the preface of this book, Richard proposed the combination of China's modernization with the concept of the Kingdom of God, and connected his effort of introducing Western learning with the spreading of Christianity.³⁹ When theorizing his special missionary work, Richard proposed the

³⁷ One book review said: "Now he has issued in Shanghai, at the Christian Literature Society's Depot there, *A Mission to Heaven* (\$6.00). And by the issue of that book he demonstrates his scholarship and—a much greater matter—the fact that China has been already captured for Christ, and now only awaits recapture by the right method. ... It seems to lack all the features that make Buddhism Buddhism. It seems to possess all the features that would make Buddhism Christianity. Dr. Richard believes that it is Christianity. He believes that the Nestorian Christians personally, and yet more by books, converted China to Christ, and this Higher Buddhism is the Christianity which the Chinese were prevailed upon to practise." See "Review on 'A Mission to Heaven,' *The Expository Times*, March, 1914," in Richard's news cuttings book, p. 65. Another book review said: "Dr. Richard believes in the possibility of reviving the long-lost Christianity of China, of 'winning over more than two hundred millions of Higher Buddhists and Taoists to cooperate in the salvation of the whole world.' It is a grand and inspiring belief, and ought to make a strong appeal to the Christians of Europe and America. In any case, Dr. Richard has made a very notable addition to our knowledge of Oriental literature and of medieval religious thought." See "A Chinese Pilgrim's Progress," *The Christian World*, January 15, 1914, in the news cuttings book, pp. 63-64.

³⁸ Being a missionary intending to "establish the Kingdom of God on earth," Richard held the same standpoint in his interpretation and translation of the Chinese classical fiction. In the "Dedication" of this book, Richard said: "To all devout and intelligent brothers and sisters both of the East and of the West who endeavour to understand and co-operate with one another in the upholding of righteousness and the suppression of all wrong so that the Kingdom of God shall be established throughout the world this Epic and Allegory is affectionately dedicated." See "Dedication," *A Mission to Heaven—A Great Chinese Epic and Allegory*, Shanghai: The Christian Literature Society's Depot, 1913.

³⁹ He said: "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

ideas of “God blessing mankind also by means of science and technology,” and noted that “glorifying God was the core and science and technology were its practical uses” many times.⁴⁰ In his old age, Richard still insisted on these viewpoints, even though he received limited support from missionary groups.

Concerning this book, there were five book reviews collected in the news cuttings book.⁴¹ Because of Richard’s legendary experience in China, many readers were interested in his story and expected to read his memoir, the popularity of which two book reviews anticipated in the English reading market.⁴² With the publication of this

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.” See “Introduction,” *Forty-five Years in China*, pp. 7-8.

⁴⁰ For instance, in “The Historical Evidences of Christianity—Present Benefits,” *The Chinese Recorder*, October 1 and November 1, 1891, Richard said: “Electricity, also, during the last few years, has been very greatly developed, and it promises to bring even greater blessings to mankind than all the other appliances. It seems also that we are on the eve of aerial navigation, chemical food, etc. But, alas! none of these things are as yet studied in ordinary Chinese schools. China only teaches ancient learning in its general schools, and make little of the study of such important questions as how to support its increasing millions who are now literally bound in poverty and starvation. ... The object of the Christian Church, as defined by the ancient prophets and our Lord Himself, is to save the whole world from sin and suffering of all kinds. The prophet also says that ‘knowledge’ is to be the stability of Christ’s kingdom; therefore the best missionaries, in all ages and countries, if unable to take a leading part in education, have always strongly supported it. Their object is to teach the best to all nations alike as brethren of one family, feeling certain that this is the will of God, the great Father of all. If China wishes to be first again among the nations of the earth, it must immediately introduce modern education and adapt it to China’s needs. Among all her friends none are more willing to help her in this than the Christian missionaries and the Churches they represented.” In “God’s Various Methods of Blessing Mankind,” *The Chinese Recorder*, June 1, 1894, Richard said: “Take the glorious description given by the prophets of the Kingdom of Heaven to be established by the Messiah. The Messiah was to rule in righteousness; he was to deliver the poor and oppressed, the widow and the needy. There were to be peace and righteousness, salvation and praise. It was to carry out the will of God for all nations. Take again what the New Testament contains. Our Lord came to establish the Kingdom of God on earth; if a kingdom, then all that belongs to a kingdom. ... Today more than ever it (the Christian Church) wakes itself up again as it were from too much sleep and rest in the past and faces all problems and declares again as with the sound of a clarion in reply to God’s command to save the world that nothing shall be left undone by it till ‘His will be done on earth as it is done in Heaven!’ As God rules over matter and energy, mind and character, so should the full-grown child of God in his measure.”

⁴¹ They are: “Dr. Timothy Richard in China, *The Christian World*, October 19, 1916,” “Forty-Five Years in China, *Supplement to the London and China Express*, November 1, 1916,” “Forty-Five Years in China, *North China Daily News*, January 9, 1917,” “Forty-Five Years in China, *The Concord*, December, 1916,” and “Forty-Five Years in China, *The Christian*, November 16, 1916,” in the news cuttings book, pp. 85-87.

⁴² One book review said: “We may be sure that this published record will have a large and appreciative circle of readers. It is, indeed, an interesting story of part success and part failure that unfolds itself in the volume before us, and it exhibits the author as a man of many parts: missionary, colporteur, interviewer, newspaper editor, famine relief distributor, and amateur diplomatist. Like the apostles of old,

memoir, Richard caught readers' eyes again by contributing his story, which was probably the last value he could extract from his life. After publishing his memoir, Richard's life, finally, came to an end.

In the news cuttings book, 20 book reviews were covered; they were published in China and England's newspapers. China's newspapers included *North China Daily News* and *Shanghai Mercury*, which were the two main English newspapers in China. England's newspapers included *Christian Commonwealth*, *Christian World*, and *English Christian*, which were mainly Christian newspapers in England. Richard's books were discussed by several reviewers, showing that he was still subject to publicity in the English reading market.

Richard's four books, *Conversion by the Million*, *New Testament of Higher Buddhism*, *A Journey to Heaven*, and *Forty-five Years in China*, were all written in English, instead of Chinese, with which he was familiar in the past, showing that he had transferred his focus from Chinese to English readers in the latter part of his life. The book reviews in the news cuttings book correspondingly witnessed this transition. By summarizing his experience in China, translating Chinese classics, and publishing his memoir, Richard opened up a new reading market in the English world. English critics, in the end, replaced Chinese intellectuals' original position, to be Richard's

he has been ready, when persecuted in one province or city, to flee unto another; and the record of his travellings in China, throughout his long stay in that country, must be a very heavy one." See "Forty-Five Years in China, *Supplement to the London and China Express*, November 1, 1916," in Richard's news cuttings book, p. 85. Another book review said: "It will be a reflexion on the foreigners in the Far East as well as on all that large section of people in Britain and America, which has the progress of mankind at heart, if a new edition of this book is not promptly called for. We can see it in the near future taking its place in the innumerable shilling series of popular books. It appeals to the travellers, the philanthropist, educationalist, and the missionary enthusiast and the young fellow who loves a story of adventure and daring." See "Forty-Five Years in China, *North China Daily News*, January 9, 1917," in the news cuttings book, pp. 85-86.

noteworthy readers. These new readerships made Richard feel that he was still holding a significant position in the public sphere. Readers still needed his opinions and suggestions; with this transition, he successfully prolonged his life in the reading market.

In Contrast to Previous Publications

Firstly, the absence of Chinese newspapers was an obvious feature of the news cuttings book, in contrast to Richard's previous publications. Richard was famous for his influence on Chinese intellectuals, publishing various articles in Chinese newspapers to promote China's reform. Serving as the secretary of the S.D.C.K., he published several books which introduced Western learning in China. Even though shifted his focus to the English reading market, he still published articles in Chinese newspapers.⁴³ These pieces of news, however, were not collected in the news cuttings book. In addition, prior to 1905, Richard was already a well-known figure among Chinese intellectuals, and Chinese newspapers, such as *Shenbao*, frequently reported Richard's work and the activities he participated in.⁴⁴ These pieces of news were not collected in the news cuttings book as well. The only collected Chinese news was "Lun

⁴³ For instance, in *Datong bao* Richard published "Dongxiqiu zhidao datong 東西球至道大同 (The Ultimately Great Harmony in Eastern and Western Hemispheres)" and "Datong shijie jiaohua lun 大同世界教化論 (Discussion on the Cultivation of the Great Harmony World)" in 1907, "Geguo xiang quanqiu zhi liyi shuo 各國享全球之利益說 (Every Country Sharing the Benefit of the Globe)" and "Yuchou Zhongguo shiernian xinzhengce 預籌中國十二年新政策 (Proposing China's 12 Years New Strategies in Advance)" in 1908, "Diqiu gonghe taiping tushuo 地球共和太平圖說 (The Illustrations of Republicanism and Peace on Earth)" and "Haiya pinghehui qiangpo gongduan zhi wenti 海牙和平會強迫公斷之問題 (The Problem of the Hague Peace Conference Insisting on Jurisdiction)" in 1909.

⁴⁴ For instance, *Shenbao* published "Chuangshe shuyuan 創設書院 (Establishing Schools)" in March 3, 1900, "Zhuanlu yingru Litimotai suoni ping Shanxi Yesujiao huo 轉錄英儒李提摩太所擬平山西耶穌教禍 (A Cited News Concerning the Englishman Timothy Richard's Proposal of Dealing with the Attack on Christians in Shanxi) in June 21, 1901, and "Qingling weilun 請聆偉論 (Listening to Great Speech)" in June 29, 1903, introducing Richard's work and activities.

Meiguo nizai Haiya Baohehui sheli zuida caipan gongtang shi 論美國擬在海牙保和會設立最大裁判公堂事 (Discussion on the America's Plan of Establishing a Supreme Court in Hague Peace Conference),⁴⁵ which was an international issue that Richard paid attention to in his old age.

The absence of Chinese news in the news cuttings book showed that, after 1905, Richard was concerned less with China's internal affairs and more with international issues. One reason for this shift might be that, after the reform movement in 1898, Chinese intellectuals had replaced missionaries as the main players in promoting China's reform, either by publishing periodicals or organizing societies to appeal for China's political and social reform. Missionaries, therefore, were replaced by Chinese intellectuals, e.g. Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao. The originally popular newspaper, *Wanguo gongbao*, was also replaced by new Chinese newspapers, e.g. *Shiwu bao* and *Qingyi bao*. Being a sensitive observer in new trends, Richard must have noticed this transition. After 1905, Richard advocated less for China's reform in newspapers, which coincided with the absence of Chinese news in the news cuttings book.

Secondly, in the news cuttings book, the number of news clippings from the *North China Daily News* is larger than that of the *Chinese Recorder*. The *North China Daily News* was the daily edition of the weekly *North China Herald*; many articles published in the *North China Daily News* were published in the *North China Herald* as well.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ “Lun Meiguo nizai Haiya Baohehui sheli zuida caipan gongtang shi 論美國擬在海牙保和會設立最大裁判公堂事 (Discussion on the America's Plan of Establishing a Supreme Court in Hague Peace Conference), *Zhonghua ribao* 中華日報 (Chinese Daily News), January 17, 1910,” in the news cuttings book, pp 38-39. According to Richard's memoir, he had advocated that leading nations could organize a Supreme Court to maintain world peace. This Chinese news corresponded to Richard's appeal so that it was collected and attached in the news cuttings book.

⁴⁶ Frank H. H. King and Prescott Clarke eds., *A Research Guide to China-Coast Newspapers, 1822-1911*, p. 78.

The *North China Daily News* and the *North China Herald* were the main English newspapers with large circulations in China, whose readers included merchants, missionaries, and diplomats; even Chinese officials and intellectuals read it. The *Chinese Recorder* was the press for especially missionary groups in China, whose readers were basically missionaries. From 1890 to 1905, Richard published 32 articles in the *Chinese Recorder* and 19 articles in the *North China Herald*; the average length of the articles in the *Chinese Recorder* was also longer than those in the *North China Herald*, showing that Richard paid more attention to the *Chinese Recorder*. For him, communicating with missionary groups seemed to be more important than sharing opinions with Westerners in China at that time. However, the opposite seems to be so in the news cuttings book. In the book, 38 news clippings were extracted from the *North China Daily News*, 21 of which were published in the *North China Herald*; in contrast, only 7 news clippings were extracted from the *Chinese Recorder*. This change seemed to indicate that, in his old age, Richard cared less about religious issues and paid more attention to secular news. In the past Richard had to argue in defense of his literary work, adopting Western learning to promote Christianity, so he wrote many articles in the *Chinese Recorder* in order to persuade more missionaries to support his approach. However, only a few missionaries identified with his ideas and joined his group. Richard, in his old age, shifted his focus from missionary work in China to international issues, which coincided with the collection of the *North China Daily News*, which was larger than that of the *Chinese Recorder* in the news cuttings book.

Thirdly, in the news cuttings book, half of the news clippings, or 77 pieces of news, were extracted from the U.K.'s newspapers. Among the 77 news clippings, 13 pieces

were numbered from the *British Weekly*, 9 from the *Christian World*, 8 from the *Baptist Times*, and 6 from the *B.M.S. Herald*. These 77 news clippings can be divided into two groups: Richard's introduction of China's current issues, and the introduction of Richard's missionary work in China.

In the first group, Richard became a spokesman for China, introducing China's current political and social situation to English readers. In the past Richard was well-known for disseminating Western learning to China. Conversely, in the introduction of China's current issues, Richard introduced China's situation back to England and the English reading market became his main target. The second group, the news clippings about the introduction of Richard's missionary work, might have been more important for him. Although Richard was quite famous in China, especially in Chinese intellectual circles, he did not receive much recognition and endorsement from his Christian colleagues. However, in the news clippings about Richard's missionary work, he was praised, especially for his dissemination of Western knowledge in China, by the English media. It is noteworthy that the *British Weekly*, *Christian World*, *Baptist Times*, and *B.M.S. Herald* were all Christian newspapers. According to these news clippings, Christian presses in England were highly interested in Richard's experience in China, and eager to know more about China's current affairs from his description. This warm welcome from local missionary presses compensated the disapproval of China missionaries against Richard, making him feel confirmed by the Christian community.

Many news clippings from the Christian presses in England showed that Richard still needed recognition from missionary circles, even though in the past he had been highly recognized by Chinese intellectuals. Being a missionary who utilized Western

learning to promote Christianity, loneliness in his literary work seemed to be Richard's destiny. The praise Richard received from local newspapers was a belated approval for him, even though it was not from China but from England. As a missionary, the most valuable recognition seemed to receive approval from Christian groups. This might be the reason why Richard collected many news clippings from England's Christian newspapers.

Conclusion

This chapter uses Richard's news cuttings book to study his transition of focus in the old age. The collection of the news clippings began in 1905, and from 1909 Richard started to write his memoir. Richard might have arranged his personal data in order during this time. In his old age, Richard shifted his focus to international issues, participating in the International Committee of the Red Cross, visiting high officials of Japan and the U.S., and taking part in several world religion conferences. This shift was also reflected in the news cuttings book, which can be viewed as a snapshot of Richard's latter life.

After having left Chinese periodical circles, Richard tried to search a new stage to maintain his exposure in media. Shifting his focus to English media, Richard introduced China's current affairs to English readers and continually provided suggestions about China's political and social reforms. In his early age, Richard regarded media as a tool to exert his influence on Chinese intellectuals, but in his old age media became a focus which he came to rely on. Publication in newspapers was no longer a mere tool to demonstrate his personal ability, but a spiritual sustenance to settle his later life. Richard

collected various news clippings, especially those of his interviews, articles, and book reviews, to commemorate his long-term effort and accomplishment of working as a missionary in the Far East.

In his old age, Richard frequently received great recognition from media. These media even compared Richard with Robert Hart,⁴⁷ a British diplomat and high official who served as the second Inspector-General of China's Imperial Maritime Custom Service. In charge of Chinese Customs for half a century, Hart was probably the most influential foreigner in late imperial China. Richard was mentioned in the same rank with Hart, showing that his contribution to China was highly recognized and respected.

⁴⁷ For instance, one article said: "He (Richard) is unquestionably the most distinguished Chinese missionary now living, and probably knows more about the country of his adoption than any other authority, with the possible exception of Sir Robert Hart." See "(no title), *Baptist Times & Freeman*, February 3, 1905," in Richard's news cuttings book, p. 2. Another article said: "Dr. Timothy Richard is one of the three British subjects who for a generation have laboured for China, and to whom posterity will probably ascribe greatness. Sir Robert Hart has worked for it financially; Dr. Morrison has done it yeoman service politically; while Dr. Richard has struggled for its spiritual and intellectual enlightenment." See "A Great Welshman: Dr. Timothy Richard, *Liverpool Daily Post and Mercury*, December 3, 1910," in the news cuttings book, p. 42.

Conclusion

Preface

In 1929 an American missionary, Lewis S. C. Smythe, published an article in the *Chinese Recorder*, summarizing three models of missionary work in China: “Evangelization,” “Cultural and Social Approach,” and “Sharing in a Cooperative Quest,” of which Richard was the representative of the “Cultural and Social Approach.”¹ Richard’s literary work, which promoted Christianity with Western learning through periodical publications, made him become one of the most influential missionaries in late Qing China.

Through his skillful management of publications in the media, Richard simultaneously played the roles of a missionary, observer, reform promoter, and world peace advisor. His success in the media was due to his sensitiveness concerning the trend of the reading market and readers’ needs, no matter whether they were Chinese or British. Richard was aware of his target readers, and was able to provide corresponding information to his audiences. He chose the *Chinese Recorder* and

¹ Lewis S. C. Smythe, in “The Changing Missionary Message,” *The Chinese Recorder*, March 1, 1929, said: “The facing of stupendous human need and the failure of the old gospel to get the desired results led Timothy Richard, Gilbert Reid, David Hill, and others to reinterpret the teachings of Jesus as meaning the kingdom of God on this earth. They set about capitalizing the mechanical technique developed in the West for the purpose of relieving suffering and poverty in China. It was assumed that this technique was a direct result of Christianity and, consequently, the superiority of Christianity was based upon the supremacy of western civilization. Timothy Richard, in particular, worked out a very comprehensive program for the transfer of western civilization to China to act as a means of general cultural uplift of the Chinese people. From the conception of realizing the ideals of the kingdom, he moved over to the idea of missions as being that of Changing the ideals in the minds of the people. The cultural and social approach developed a ‘social application of Christianity’ and later an interest in social reconstruction. In attempting this almost overwhelming task of building a new social order, the missionaries developed a greater spirit of comradeship with the Chinese and their religions.”

Zhongxi jiaohui bao to communicate with China missionaries, used the *North China Herald* and *North China Daily News* to provide opinions for foreigners working in China, and utilized *Wanguo gongbao* to introduce Western learning to Chinese intellectuals.

Richard was well known not only in China but also in his native land, the U.K., thanks to the media's power of disseminating information. He captured the trend of the time when media started to flourish in China, and used publication in the media as a tool to enhance his influence in Chinese society. Richard built up a stage on which he could display his ability in periodical publications, successfully exerting his influence in late imperial China.

Summary of the Dissertation

The present dissertation uses Richard's life as the framework to discuss his literary work, from his early adulthood to his old age. The introduction introduced the background where Richard developed his literary work over time. Missionaries in the mid-nineteenth century actively introduced Christianity and Western learning in China, but only a small number of Chinese intellectuals welcomed them. It was not until the first Sino-Japanese war that a large number of Chinese intellectuals urgently studied Western learning. When working in the S.D.C.K., Richard coincided with the time that China started to embrace Western learning. By publishing many articles in newspapers and magazines, he acted as one of the advocators to promote Western knowledge in China.

In the literature review about Richard's literary work, it was shown that his

periodical publications in Chinese newspapers, e.g. *Wanguo gongbao* and *Shibao*, were frequently discussed; however, his publications in English newspapers, e.g. the *Chinese Recorder* and the *North China Herald*, were less studied. In order to achieve a successful literary work, Richard actually engaged both in Chinese and English publications to achieve a balance between Chinese and English readers. He also made efforts to deal with the tension between promoting Christianity and introducing Western learning.

Previous studies discussing Richard's literary work have focused on his theoretical thought and his effort at China's reform. This perspective typically neglected that a missionary also had his own context: his working style might change corresponding to the transformation of Chinese society. In addition, the Angus Library and Archive at University of Oxford currently holds correspondence between Baptist missionaries and their home church, and a news cuttings book showing Richard's concerns in his old age. Studying Richard's publications in media only reflected one facet of his literary work, which deserves to be supplemented with the discussion of these archival materials.

Concerning the methodology, the present research adopted both transcultural and micro-historical approaches to study Richard's literary work. Richard worked in China for 46 years, during which his literary work changed over time. These approaches were used to study Richard's effort in the promotion of Christianity, and to study Richard's conflict with his colleagues when promoting Western learning, as well as his transition and adaptation to a new situation in the old age.

Chapter 1 discussed Richard's literary work in the early stage, from 1874 to 1884, by studying his attempts at disseminating Christian knowledge in China. At the time

Richard tried several topics and styles in his periodical publications, including the introduction of Christianity, devising essay contests, reporting conditions of the disaster in northern China, raising funds for relief, and reflecting on missionary works, and other things.

The debut of his publication in newspapers was a series of articles in *Wanguo gongbao*, “Jiushi dangran zhili,” which introduced topics regarding the power of God, the principles of Christianity, and the journey of becoming a Christian. These articles aimed to present a whole picture of Christianity for Chinese readers, making readers familiar with God and Christianity. In comparison with other news and articles in *Wanguo gongbao*, Richard’s “Jiushi dangran zhili” was quite traditional when *Wanguo gongbao* had been already transformed from a Christian newspaper to a general newspaper, which focused on world news and new developments in the West.

In newspapers, devising essay contests was one of Richard’s strategies to attract the attention of Chinese intellectuals around Christianity. By devising essay contests, newspapers were not a unilateral but a bilateral information platform whereby an author and his readers could exchange information with each other. The essay contests which he proposed included “using an approachable style, e.g. local melody songs, to promulgate the Bible’s teachings,” and “soliciting poems introducing the Gospel which were affectional and easily understood by local people.” It was noted that at the time Richard’s targeted readers were ordinary people, rather than Chinese officials and intellectuals.

Richard encountered a turning point when he carried out relief work in 1876-78 for the famine in northern China. During the famine, he reported disaster conditions at

the same time in both Chinese and English newspapers, and asked for donations from the outside world. Due to the dissemination of information via the media, he successfully raised funds to save victims in time. In addition to his report on relief work, the media reported Richard's involvement in relief work as well. His name was frequently mentioned in the news of the famine and relief work in northern China, giving to him increased exposure in newspapers. This experience made him witness the power of media.

After experiencing the famine in northern China, Richard adjusted his missionary work and proposed that only missionaries who comprehensively understood China's situations could conduct their missionary work effectively. One of his adjustments was his introduction of science and technology in newspapers, in addition to his familiar topics of religion. "Jinshi yaowu" was Richard's first trial of introducing science and technology. This series of articles in *Wanguo gongbao* was praised by Chinese intellectuals, and Richard was encouraged to write more articles on these topics. Because he understood that science and technology were essential to China at the time, Richard decided to combine the introduction of Western learning with the promotion of Christianity.

Although Richard felt it necessary to introduce science and technology to his interested readers, he was unable to abandon his mission of spreading the Gospel. Emphasizing that God was that from which science and technology originated became his limited way of argumentation. However, Western learning and missionary work were not fields which were necessarily perfectly compatible with each other. When combining them, Richard was destined to face possible contradictions between these

two fields.

Chapter 2 discussed the challenge Richard faced when adopting the method of promoting Christianity with Western learning. According to his memoir, from 1880 Richard started to introduce science and technology to Chinese officials and intellectuals. To increase his background knowledge and thereby to enhance persuasion, Richard bought not only scientific books covering various subjects, but also several scientific apparatuses for further lecturing. On the basis of these books and apparatuses, Richard successfully caught the eyes of Chinese officials and intellectuals on Western learning.

In 1885 Richard went back to England for his furlough, during which time the Baptist Missionary Society in London appointed other missionaries temporarily to replace his position. Because the newly arrived missionaries opposed Richard's theological views and methods of work, conflicts emerged between these missionaries and Richard. His colleagues wrote several letters back to the Baptist Missionary Society in London, accusing Richard of carrying out "heretical" missionary work.

According to the letters currently collected in the Angus Library at University of Oxford, at least two missionaries had written letters criticizing Richard: Herbert Dixon and Joshua Turner. Dixon in the letters considered that the main target of the missionary work should be ordinary people, rather than high officials or intellectuals, and the goal was preaching the Gospel, rather than spreading Western learning. He criticized Richard for buying expensive instruments, which was useless due to the fact that Chinese officials were only interested in science and technology, rather than the Gospel and Christianity. He argued that this inappropriate behavior should be stopped

immediately.

Turner in the letters criticized Richard for promoting Christianity with Western learning, which was harmful to a missionary's duty of preaching the Gospel. He argued that the Baptist Missionary Society should not endorse Richard's work and must stop providing any funds to him. In one letter, Turner even accused Richard of "substituting something else for the Gospel of Christ," wherein "something else" meant Western learning, such as science and technology. Turner's accusations against Richard implied that Richard was unqualified to be a missionary because he was betraying a missionary's duty.

Richard was required by the secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society to provide a statement responding to Turner's criticism. In his letter of response, Richard argued in self-defense by quoting passages from the Bible, the ultimate foundation in Christianity. He argued that God not only advanced humans' spiritual lives but also improved humans' physical needs and relieved sufferings in the world. Richard also quoted practical evidence from Christian history, arguing that promoting material works, such as agriculture and industries, was identical to what he did at the time. With the description in the Bible and concrete examples in Christian history, Richard considered that his missionary work, by combining preaching the Gospel with Western learning, stood to reason.

This letter of response was significant for Richard's literary work. It was the first time that Richard theorized his missionary work. The view of "Christianity being the core and Western learning for the purpose of practical uses" was initially proposed on the basis of the idea of "establishing heavenly kingdom on earth." From this viewpoint,

Western learning and Christianity were compatible with each other, and Western learning served as a useful means to promote Christianity.

Chapter 3 discussed the enterprise of Richard's literary work, studying his influence of periodical publications on China's intellectual circles. In the 1890s, Richard further justified his missionary work with a clearer picture, using the viewpoints of "God blessing mankind also by means of science and technology" and "realizing God's kingdom on earth" to harmonize contradictions between promoting Christianity and introducing Western learning. Promoting science and technology, according to Richard, did conform to the principles of Christianity, and it was the duty of Christian societies to fulfill the will of God.

In 1891 Richard started to work in the S.D.C.K., serving as the secretary of the society. In the same year he proposed plans for the society to proliferate Western learning in China, with the aim of helping Chinese intellectuals understand the new development in the West by means of periodical publications. Richard's awareness of the power of the media corresponded closely with his strategy of repeatedly posting advertisements in newspapers to meet Chinese intellectuals' needs. He knew how to effectively promote the circulation of the S.D.C.K.'s publications via the media when playing the role as a publisher in the S.D.C.K.

Richard's literary work exerted a great influence on Chinese intellectuals' publications. During the reform movement, newspapers frequently discussed China's current issues, citing Richard's opinions to strengthen their arguments. *Shenbao*, for instance, largely cited Richard's articles in editorials, which were mostly published in the front pages of the newspaper. His opinions regarding education, mining, military,

social and political affairs were repeatedly adopted by *Shenbao*'s editorials, making his opinions spread further among Chinese intellectual circles.

In addition to citations in newspapers, Richard's publications were also collected by *Huangchao jingshi wenbian*. His articles concerning new learning and strategies directly met China's needs for reform and transformation, so *Huangchao jingshi wenbian* largely collected them. The number of Richard's articles in these books not only ranked among the highest when compared with other foreigners, but also competed with many influential Chinese intellectuals. Most of his articles collected in these books were from *Shishi xinlun*, showing the significance of this book in the topics of new learning and political reform.

Due to his popularity in Chinese intellectual circles, Richard's influence was extensively reported by newspapers; especially in 1896-98, many newspapers regarded him as a key man and reported his participation in the reform movement. However, after reformist groups witnessed the power of periodical publications, they organized their own media, instead of just reading missionaries' newspapers, to promote China's reform. Although the reform movement was suppressed in China, active students and exiled Chinese intellectuals in Japan continued to introduce the latest information from the West by means of periodical publications, gradually replacing the position of the S.D.C.K., which had previously occupied the market of importing knowledge from the West.

Regarding this transformation, Richard observed it and complied. After 1900 Richard shifted his focus from China's internal affairs to international affairs, seeking another way for his next stage of life. Expressing opinions concerning international

issues and promoting peaceful movements around the world became Richard's choice in his old age. This experience was shown in a news cuttings book that is currently collected in the Angus Library and Archive at University of Oxford.

Chapter 4 discussed Richard's transition in literary work through the news cuttings book. The collection dated from 1905, the year Richard returned to England for furlough, and ended in 1919, the year in which Richard died. The book includes 155 news clippings, 77 of which were extracted from newspapers published in the U.K., 70 from China, 7 from Japan, and 1 from the U.S. This book was very likely compiled by Richard's secretary, Hilda G. Bowser, who was most familiar with Richard's experiences. These news clippings showed Richard's considerations and concerns in the latter part of his life.

The news clippings in the book included Richard's observations concerning the Far East. In 1910 China started to adopt the parliamentary system, which was a great political transformation in Chinese history. Regarding this great change, Richard provided his first-hand observations to English readers, serving as an active reporter by providing instantaneous news from the Far East. In the early twentieth century, Japan was a rising power, gradually exerting her influence and replacing China's leading position in the Far East. China gradually shifted her focus from the West to Japan, paying more attention to Japan's modernization. Richard noticed this change as well, and asked missionary societies to adopt new approaches to meet it. Due to Japan's rise and China's transformation, the so-called "Yellow Peril" rose, a danger that might threaten Western countries. Facing these new situations, Richard proposed "a league of world leading nations," comprising of mutually beneficial relationships between

Eastern and Western countries, to achieve global peace and prosperity.

The news clippings in the book included a variety of book reviews which illustrated Richard's new readerships in his old age. In the book review of *Conversion by the Million* (1907), Richard's missionary work was praised due to the success of his literary work. In the book reviews of *New Testament of Higher Buddhism* (1910), his viewpoint that the East and West should co-operate with each other was further emphasized, making him believe that his effort of communicating between the West and the East was valuable. From the book reviews of *Timothy Richard, D.D., China Missionary, Statesman and Reformer* (1911), Richard perceived that his experience in China was attractive to English readers, so he started to prepare his own memoir. In the book reviews of *A Journey to Heaven* (1913), his effort of connecting Chinese Buddhism with Christianity was echoed due to their genealogies. In the book reviews of *Forty-five Years in China* (1916), Richard's legendary experience in China, especially his literary work, was further praised.

The content covered in the interviews and book reviews showed that after 1905 Richard came to be concerned less with China's internal affairs and more with international issues. It was also noted that Richard transferred his focus from Chinese to English readers in the latter part of his life. By providing observations from the Far East, summarizing his experience in China, translating Chinese classics and publishing English books, Richard opened up a new reading market in the English world. These news clippings correspondingly witnessed Richard's transition to a new situation in his old age.

Reflection on Transcultural and Micro-historical Approaches

The present dissertation adopted two methodologies, transcultural and micro-historical approaches, to study Richard's literary work.

In the study about Richard, he was generally considered as a knowledge-provider, providing useful information to his receivers, the Chinese intellectuals. Knowledge was transmitted from the provider to receivers, from a unidirectional perspective. In transcultural studies, interaction between a knowledge-provider and receivers, i.e. a multidirectional perspective, is encouraged. From this perspective, not only does a knowledge-provider influence receivers, but receivers also influence the provider at the same time. In addition to studying Richard's influence on Chinese intellectuals, Richard's adjustment in his theological thought is also focused in the context of his contact with Chinese intellectuals. Many studies discuss Richard's contributions to China's modern transformation; in contrast, Richard's adjustment in another context, through the challenges he faced from his missionary groups, is less touched upon. Through a transcultural perspective, Richard's participation in China's transformation is studied in connection with other considerations.

From a transcultural perspective, contacts between different cultures are the object of focus, in which language is a key issue. Languages, insofar as they serve as a medium for cultures, highly influence their expressions. In the present dissertation, the difference of language plays a significant role in the first-hand and second-hand materials. Concerning the first-hand materials, Richard's style of publishing articles in English and Chinese newspapers was distinctive; his attitudes toward English and Chinese readers were also different. Concerning the second-hand materials, the study

of Richard written in Chinese is generally different from that which is written in English. The research papers written in Chinese pay more attention to Richard's contributions in Chinese modern history; in contrast, those written in English focus more on Richard's theological thought and his religious concerns. Because languages are embedded in specific cultural contexts, language users will be restricted, consciously or unconsciously, when he or she uses a specific language in writing an article.

A transcultural perspective opposes the conception of culture as a closed, internally cohesive, and linguistically homogeneous sphere, considering that culture should not be defined by linguistic boundaries. Even though the present dissertation adopted a transcultural perspective, it still views language as an important factor in cultural expressions. When different languages are adopted, their implied readers differ as well. For a group of readers using the same language, their habits of understanding this language are explicit due to the fact that they are embedded in the same cultural background. In Richard's case, for example, language draws a clear distinction in his communications with Chinese intellectuals and China missionaries; his articles published in Chinese and English newspapers, which target different readers, show this distinction.

Culture should not be defined by the boundaries of language according to a transcultural perspective, but language still plays a significant role in the study of intercultural interactions as characterized by different languages. The transcultural perspective, therefore, should not ignore the power of language even though it emphasizes transcending the view of culture as "a closed, internally cohesive, and linguistically homogeneous sphere."

Microhistory emphasizes “the reduction of the scale of observation, on a microscopic analysis and an intensive study of the documentary material,” accentuating individual lives and events by means of closely studied key materials.² In microhistorical research, key materials are essential because they stand at the core on which relevant research is conducted. However, if the credibility of key materials is challenged, the foundation of the research will be affected.

In the present dissertation, two research materials are used: the correspondence between the Baptist missionaries in China and their home church in London, and Richard’s news cuttings book. The credibility of the correspondence is very likely beyond doubt, because every correspondence has conveyed clear information, which can be related to their writers and receivers. In comparison, relating the news cuttings book to Richard is somewhat subject to doubt, because there is no evidence which conclusively confirms that Richard actually participated in the compilation of this news cuttings book. What we do know is that Richard’s secretary, Hilda G. Bowser, might be the compiler of the news cuttings book. To what extent this news cuttings book constituted Richard’s personal consideration of organizing these news clippings is highly dependent on his participation in the compilation of this book. On the basis of current evidence, unfortunately, this question cannot be answered conclusively. Since microhistory is based on the selection of key materials, the credibility of its evidence highly influences argument.

Historical research relies on materials or documents to develop arguments; being one field of historical research, microhistory also has this limitation. The purpose of

² Giovanni Levi, “On Microhistory,” *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, p. 95.

historiography, however, is to explore unknown fields in history. Even though some materials' authorship may not be clearly traced, using these materials can still promote the study of untouched topics.

Further Studies of Timothy Richard

Serving as the foundation of historiography, historical materials are still essential in opening a new academic field. Richard's first-hand materials, for instance, are currently collected in the Angus Library and Archive, which have been utilized in the present dissertation. These materials were originally collected by the Baptist Missionary Society in London; they were Richard and his colleagues' official documents when they worked in Shanxi and the S.D.C.K.

In addition to these documents, Richard had still other first-hand documents that were rarely touched by scholars. Firstly, the Angus Library has private documents relating to Richard, such as his correspondence with family and his wife's diaries. Secondly, the national library of Wales has Richard's correspondence with family as well. Thirdly, Richard's descendants also have his correspondence, which has not been provided to any academic institute. If these documents are further utilized, the study of Richard can be furthered in the future.

Adopting a different perspective can also promote the study of Richard. In the past Richard was studied mainly from the perspective of Sino-Western cultural interaction and from the context of China's transformation, as shown in the literature review of the present dissertation. The present dissertation adopts transcultural and micro-historical perspectives to study Richard's literary work, utilizing the materials collected in the

archive. For further study of Richard in the future, “family history” might be a topic that could be applied to it. According to the oral account of Richard’s descendants, there was an interesting family anecdote between Richard and his colleagues. Even though Richard and his colleagues, i.e. Dixon and Turner, disagreed with each other in respect of their theoretical viewpoints, their descendants still had good relationships; a few of them were even tied to each other in bonds of matrimony. By utilizing Richard’s correspondence with family members, new topics about Richard might be conducted in view of family history.

Moreover, the present dissertation discusses Richard’s literary work in China and England, paying less attention to other regions, such as Japan. In fact, Richard visited Japan in his late years, building relationships with Japanese officials. In his memoir, for instance, Richard mentioned that he met Ito Hirobumi in Tokyo, discussing the scheme for connecting together the leading nations of the world. In the news cuttings book, news clippings originally published in Japan were also included, besides those which were published in China and England. He regarded Japan as a strong opponent which competed for China’s intellectual influence and reading market. His observations about Japan were also reported by the media. Richard’s interaction with Japan, therefore, could be a topic to be further explored in the future.

Epilogue

In his early age, Richard regarded the media as a tool to express God’s blessing on mankind, preaching the Gospel among the Chinese; in his midlife, he utilized publication in newspapers to introduce Western learning for China; in his old age,

media became a focus which he came to rely on, in order to provide a spiritual sustenance to settle him in his later life. Richard's literary work, and his engagement with publication in the media, played an important role in every stage of his life, helping him to achieve the goal of promoting China's modernization and spreading Christianity in the Far East.

Richard travelled between Europe and Asia, the U.K. and China, wandering between Western and Chinese civilizations. Through his periodical publications, he not only helped China to understand Western civilization, especially with regard to science and technology, but also made the British further understand the Far East, especially China and Japan. With his literary work, Richard promoted cultural interactions between China and the West. In history, when different civilizations meet, misunderstandings and conflicts frequently occur. However, there was always someone making an effort to mediate these conflicts so as to increase mutual understanding. When China in the late Qing faced the impact of Western civilization, Richard was one of the mediators promoting exchange of information. His literary work, in the end, helped him to accomplish fruitful communication between the Far East and the West.

Appendix A

1. Herbert Dixon's Correspondence

1.1 Dixon to Tymms, March 18, 1887

P1

Tai Yuan Fu

Shansi
North China
18th March 1887

My dear Friend,

I cannot well spare time to apologise for past silence, but a letter to you must be a long one and on important matters, so it has been put off in favour of shorter correspondence. By this mail we are sending home a strong appeal for more men so that we may take up, some of the places marked out for us by the Committee at home. The immediate cause of our appeal is a resolution of the Shantung brethren claiming at least half of any reinforcements for China. We feel that with our very much larger field and dense populations that we should be fairly manned before any fresh work is taken up in Shantung more especially so as they already have native evangelists whom they can use (they have 1,200 church members whilst we must do the preaching ourselves. There is no feeling of jealousy on our part but we think our field deserves attention now that the needs of Shantung have been so largely met by recent reinforcements.

The letters will I hope be read before the Committee and you will hear mine amongst the others. I have not time to send you a copy.

I don't know how you will look at it but I am sure of your sympathy in the main aim of the letters and I am equally confident that our brethren and sisters at the Downs will not allow the matter to fall through for want of energy on their part.

They usually like something special for each year a special effort to raise the outfit of a man or two for Shansi would be a profitable investment.

One thing will probably strike the Committee, namely

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the contrast between our ideas of the work and the scheme laid before by My Richard. We almost unanimously condemn that scheme as radically wrong in itself as having already been tried in Hong Kong & failed, as in many instances giving a very misleading impression of Mr. Richard's standing & relations with the officials & of the work here generally.

I may preface my remarks by saying that I knew nothing of Mr. Richard previous to his recent return here but was very favourably inclined towards him. Since his return I have had many serious conversations with him about his work here & in Shantung and about his more receive views of things. I confess I am deeply disappointed. He is not open & straightforward about it, is reserved as to details, not to say evasive; and unless he changes his views there cannot but be very painful friction between himself and almost all of us. I shall say nothing to you that I have not already told Mr. Richard himself. I see no remedy short of him resigning unless he changes his views.

Mr. Richard's work in Shantung was of the ordinary preaching kind, and was very successful; the result is seen in the present large church there. But when he had gathered some 60 at Ching Chou Fu he himself thought it better for them that he should leave them; Mr. Jones came in and as far as I can make out saved the work here from the dangers Mr. Richard's policy was leading it into. Mr. Richard did some good work here in the famine as did Turner & Hill at Ping Yang Fu. He then determined to come & settle here. I think his connection with the officials during the famine relief work must have turned his head. He has not once preached on the streets since he came to settle in '78 he says he does not believe in

P3

it. He gave himself to getting at the officials not to preach the gospel to them for they would not listen to it, but by means of presents he obtained interviews with some of them & sought to impress on them the benefits of western science. For 5 years he kept at this, supplying any information they wished for, getting estimates for them as to mining, gas making etc etc.

He did some translation work, & amongst other useful things spent two years & much money on teachers writing a history of music in Chinese.

The work is never likely to be printed & if published only some half dozen men would ever read it. I asked if he ever brought to the notice of a single official his personal relation to Christ, he said plainly 'no'. It was remarked that no official had ever attended a public service. Mr. Richard declared it an utterly untrue statement. On being questioned more closely he said he includes his (so called) scientific lectures in the term services; he tried hard to prove that some officials had attended our Sunday services, but could only instance some clerks in government employ who were engaged by us as teachers had occasionally attended.

During the above 5 years Mr. Richard had some evangelists from Shantung going about the province but their work could not be followed up & the candidates baptised on their recommendation to Mr. Richard have proved a very sorry lot. Such work as the above (apart from translation work) is not in any sense missionary work. To get four or five expensive machines that can give a spark of electricity or a lathe that costs a hundred pounds & then lies rusting & useless, or a lithographic machine costing I think £ 40 & then is found to be unsuitable for the work required these things to my mind show Mr. Richard's unpractical temperament & point him out as quite unsuited for leader of a mission.

The result of his work at the present time is seen in a church

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nominally of 14 members but whenever the list is revised it will show I think some light & these of very poor quality, indeed there is not a single student amongst them so it is useless to talk of educating them before we have them. You may think I write bitterly. I wish you could come & see for yourself. Mr. Glover must have some very erroneous notions when he speaks as he did at Bristol of Mr. Richard enjoying the intimacy & confidence of the rulers of the provinces. If getting a few interviews by means of bribes & the showing of toys is enjoying the intimacy of the officials then indeed Mr. Richard has it. I really thought much more highly of his influence before I saw him, but he himself has reluctantly & only under close questioning quite disillusioned me. I would like to disillusion our home friends they think we have a splendid work going on here. The only work worth anything has chiefly been done by Lowerly & Turner.

I quite agree with Mr. Turner that the attempt to reach the officials by means of Western science be given up in favour of preaching the gospel to the people.

But the most serious part is to come. Ever since Mr. Richard's return it has been a continual struggle to get him to work as a member of the mission. No, he wants to do as he likes & we may do as we like. Such a plan cannot end in anything but ruin to the mission. Surprise has followed surprise. One Sunday morning I saw some books handed round to the people at service (our own servants & one or two outsiders) I glanced at it & thought it a catechism. On kneeling to pray I was surprised to see Mr. Richard this book, but imagine my further surprise when the responses were chanted by the people. It was a chanted litany, I got up & went out. I could not stand it. I do not believe in it at home it tends Romeward & I believe in it still less for Chinese who naturally are formal & whose own religion consists in this very chanting

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of litanies. This particular litany is itself as near heathen as it can be. I protested against its use & it is in abeyance for a time, but I think it will be referred home as Lowerly comes from Church of England that used it so will not care to vote against it. Before he went home Mr. Richard constantly used it & had a large white satin cross on red ground hung up over the reading table in the chapel. Mr. Turner when he came out protested against it & it was removed. A Sunday or two ago a book was issued in Chinese without consulting the Committee (& is against the rules) & Mr. Richard handed each a copy it looked innocent enough & professed to be a guide to enquirers but on examining it there was not a word of repentance faith or grace, only, do this so long, learn so much of this book, so much of that, but not a mention of Christ or Christianity. Then it went further & built up a system of pastors & ministers, county superintendents over these, Prefectural Superintendents over the county bishops, Provincial Bishops over these, National Bishops over these & one head Bishop over these. It was most barefaced popery. This was to be issued as a guide to enquirers in Tai Yuen Fu & this without consulting anyone of us.

Mr. Turner and I met Mr. Richard, heard his translation of it with his own comments attached. When he had finished, I asked if he still intended circulating it. He said "yes he should certainly use it" He had printed & use a similar thing some seven years before & this was a revision of that.

I asked if he held by the principles of church government laid down in it & he answered "he certainly held by them." I replied then "he was quick out of sympathy with our Denomination & ought in all fairness to lay his views before the Committee of the

BMS.” He preferred they should not know his views (He had previously told me that he thought the Denomination could not possibly judge what was good for the Chinese; that was over the Litany. I rejoined that this was a most

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serious matter for if this book were accepted & these principles approved by the Committee at home, that then I was out of place & must resign, if on the other hand the Committee decided against them, as I think they must, then he was out of place & should resign, joining those who held similar views to his own. Under this pressure from the two of us he promised to withhold the book from circulation. We are all unanimous in condemning the book & Mr Richard would like to withdraw it but that won't meet the difficulty that he believes in these things & means to work on these lines. The affair stands over until our Quarterly Committee meeting I could enlarge on many more similar matters but I think you will appreciate the difficulty of our position with regard to Mr. Richard. I do not care to bring the matter before the Society at present hoping Mr. Richard will himself do so but if you wish to show this letter to Mr. Baynes or to anyone else you are perfectly at liberty to do so, this affair has not been going on privately but is open & before the mission I would like Mr. Rickett to see the letter if you can conveniently show it to him as I cannot write him just now

With very kind regards, I am, Yours sincerely

Rev T. Vincent Tymms

Herbert Dixon

PS. The mail leaves in the morning & I have been sitting up to write this, hence the abrupt ending. When Mr. Turner's letter was first read before me Mr. Richard objected to it as a personal attack on him & his work. Mr. Turner afterwards consented to some alterations in suppressing some of his statements as to the present condition of the work here. This makes Mr. Turner's letter somewhat illogical in regard to his proposal to give up the work Mr. Richard is supposed to carry on amongst the officials. The past work here is in my mind a failure being on wrong & eccentric lines. An advertisement was issued by Mr. Richard some years ago offering a reward for the best flying machine.

This was to stimulate thought.

1.2 Dixon to Baynes, April 25, 1887

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T'ai Yuen Fu

Shansi, North China

25 April 1887

Dear Mr. Baynes,

In reply to the letter read before our Local Committee re probable debt. I would like you to know that while no united action was taken as to the reduction of our Estimates for 1887, yet there is a feeling amongst us that every possible economy should be practiced. I was sorry that in the face of this feeling Mr. Richard pushed a proposal to send two men through the Province to distribute tracts; the men themselves are poor couple for the work, and we shall be quite unable to follow up any openings they may find as the work at our doors is already too much for our small band. As far as my own estimate is concerned I can save some £20 perhaps; the £10 for school work sent from Toxteth Tabernacle can stand over for a year. House repairs can be postponed at least in some part. Then there is £10 down for mail and carriage of goods from Tientsin. This has been paid by the Mission, in Shantung; there they have only 700 li, here we have 1200; and the fairest way to balance our positions is for the Mission to pay for this in both fields. But for this year I shall not draw that item if I can manage without it. Thus I may save £27. A solid sum toward diminishing the debt.

I am very sorry that we have been compelled to write home in regard to Mr. Richard's standing in the Mission, but I don't think it will be altogether a surprise to you. Had he come out prepared to lead us in a vigorous evangelistic efforts on New Testament lines he would have found an enthusiastic band of men ready to follow him in everything. Instead of that he comes to carry on a conglomerate teaching wherein Science, Heathenism, Roman Catholicism and Christianity are bundled up into a new "Gospel for Nations". We do not and cannot believe in it; on the contrary we think it will do harm to our work whether taught here or elsewhere. Mr. Richard told me that he showed you the cross about which so much fuss was

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made some time ago, and that you kept it, no doubt thinking it harmless enough in his private room. But Mr. Richard did not tell you that he had the end of the chapel covered with crimson cloth, and in the centre of it a large white satin cross, and at either side two yellow streamer exactly like those used in Buddhist Temples; that with all the people kneeling toward the cross he led them in a chaunted litany. The cross was taken down to meet Mr. Turner's "weakness"; the litany has been revived but again suspended under a warm protest from myself supported by Mr. Turner. Halt truths are extremely mischievous. Of course the cross and all the rest are capable of being explained away, but so is everything else including even the Bible itself.

Of course too I would not dream of dictating to the Committee what course they should adopt, but it seems to me that there are only two possible courses open to Mr. Richard vix. To give up his peculiar views and work on old lines under the Local Committee, or having the courage of his opinion resign his position in a body he is out of sympathy with. There may be a simple way of bringing matters to a point without touching on beliefs, that is if Mr. Richard's courage does not fail; he has said that if the Committee at home finally decide that the Local Committee is authoritative on the field (as arranged in the Shantung suggested amendments to the Supplemental regulations) then he will at once resign. But I confess I put but little reliance in his courage or he would have resigned long ago. We are all of us pained by Mr. Richard's action, and would gladly have escaped the unpleasant task of referring matters home, but we had no choice.

Things are going on very quietly here in the work, openings on every side if only we could follow them up. I day after day have to send sick people off to Mr. Sowerby or to Dr. Edwards of the C.I.M. One opening I hope to follow up. All around the city there are groups of villages, each village usually having its "rich man" or men, who control the people in everything. Outside the North gate there is one called Chien Ho Tsun where

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reside two or three such "rich men". One of them is known to my Teacher and so hearing of our skill in medicine invited me to see his wife who had been ill some months. Twas only a case of bad indigestion, but also aggravated by opium smoking which had been resorted to for relief. They have a large well-built house but only half occupied as they have only one little daughter; hearing that we like to get away to the hille for a

change in Summer they have invited to occupy a courtyard in their house, begging it a favor. I have made it quite clear that my business is to preach the Gospel and that if we go to them we shall expect them to learn. but they still pre press us to go. The lady will give up opium while we are there to help her, and we can have a large room for services if we wish it. But dear Mr. Baynes don't expect too much; it may be the beginning of a large work north of the city; it may be broken off in a whim of fantasy. One thing is against us, the Roman Catholics are there in force with a daily service I hear. Still the Gospel will triumph over even priestcraft; I think I can at least get a hearing from them, and if converted they will need no pressing to leave the Church of Rome.

This is only a specimen of many such openings which are to be had on all sides; and from this one I already see my way to another member of the same family 10 miles further north, whenever I have time at my disposal. Chien Ho t'sun is about five miles from our door, but my pony trots it easily 28 minutes so that I run out occasionally to keep the offer open and there is always a warm welcome.

My wife unfortunately is in bed again, this time from inflammation of the spine, from a chill I think, but possibly from my old enemy Congo fever – I pray it may soon be over and prove of slight account. My own health improves steadily but I have not yet fully recovered from that old Congo attack. I feel far less energetic than I did out there.

With Christian love and regards I am

Yours affectionately

A.H. Baynes Esq.

Baptist Missionary Society, London.

1.3 Dixon to Baynes, May 13, 1887

P1

T'ai Yuen Fu

Shansi, North China

13 May 1887

Dear Mr. Baynes,

I hold the position of the Post master to the Community in Shansi, and noticing this morning in making up the mail that our "Copy of Minutes of the last Committee meeting" (here absent;) I sent a note round to Mr. Richard pointing out the mistake, as I thought. He replied "The minutes came to hand so late that I had no time to reply to the remarks made on me."

"Thank you however for kindly inquiring about them, for it might have been an oversight."

I at once consulted Mr. Turner (Mr. Sowerby is away at Hsiao Tien) and said that I thought the minutes most important and that I should therefore send home a copy to yourself—I cannot communicate officially with the Society, but I may at least write you privately Mr. Turner thinks I am quite right in the course I am taxing, as to call a special meeting of Local Committee would delay the whole mail for three days, whereas my course only delays it two hours.

Our meeting was held in the sixth, today is the thirteenth, Mr. Richard might have seen the minutes at any time had he taken the trouble to do so, and I think the course he has taken is an altogether unfair advantage of his position between ourselves and the committee at home. We specially agreed to pass our minutes at the end of each meeting so as to ensure them always going home at the earliest possible moment.

Now for a few remarks as brief as I can make them on the minutes themselves.

Wang Kuei Chang. Here was a thoroughly good for nothing man, taken into Mission employ at Mr. Richard's request; a letter

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comes from Mr. Jones pointing out the man's character, were all agreed that he must be dismissed in accordance with our understanding at the time of taking him on; Mr. Richard alone was silent, the dismissal of the man rests with the Local Committee, but the carrying out of the L.C. resolutions rests with the L. Secretary. None of our resolutions are operative till we have the approval of the Home Committee (at least so the Regulations say, and so Mr. Richard holds). I accordingly quietly asked Mr. Richard if he would dismiss the man on the past understanding. He declined to reply. I then pointed out that not to dismiss the man would be dishonest to us all, I did not think Mr. Richard would act so dishonorably, and if he meant to agree to his dismissal why not end the question by frankly saying so Mr. Richard again decline to answer. He then got up and walked out in a passion, saying he would be glad to know what we decided. I again asked if he would carry out what we might decide. He gave no answer, but slammed the door behind him. How can we carry on business with one who loses his temper immediately some one differs with him. It is only a specimen of similar explosions on L. Committee.

Mr. Richard's letter to the L. Committee.

This letter was not handed to us till a week after it was written.

Mr. Richard affirms again his intention of circulating the "Hsiao tao tiz hsu" and the Roman Catholic Books, in all the Province, except where Turner and Sowerby are working. I think common decency would suggest waiting the decision of the Home Committee before doing what we believe in common with all the other missionaries in the Province will injure the work of all the Missions.

The only books objected to by Mr. Richard are some tracts

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by the Rev. Griffith John of the L.M.S. in which idolatry is condemned as sinful (Mr. Richard thinks this statement might hurt the feelings of the Chinese – but in truth they themselves ridicule idolatry.

As to publication; we are five of us agreeable to refer everything to the L.C. Mr. Richard alone cannot agree to do so because he knows we cannot approve of many of his things. For instance an advertisement of a reward for the best "flying machine" (I

enclose you copy), printed at Mission expense: it can do no good, as the thing is to lift a man and a load of goods as heavy as itself, and to be worked by manpower! It is an impossibility; but the reward of £30 probably induced some one to waste time over it.

Then as to small tracts – that is just what Mr. Richard called his tract that has caused so much stir. He cannot be trusted to publish what he thinks fit.

The reference to the Scotch Bible Society will mislead no one here, it can only have been put in to mislead you at home. No one has ever objected to their books. What we do object to is to the buying of books from the Roman Catholics &c for circulation by our mission.

I would like to ask you kindly to bear in mind that in writing plainly and strongly I do so only from a sense of duty toward the Mission and toward ourselves. It is very painful to all of us to be thus obliged to defend ourselves against such unfair attempts to force upon us what we ourselves cannot support and what we believe the Society at home cannot allow to be taught but its missionaries.

With Christian love, and asking you kindly to send the approval of our resolutions as soon as convenient

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(my paper ended unexpectedly)

I am, Yours affectionately,

Herbert Dixon

A.H. Baynes Esq.

Baptist Missionary Society,

London.

P. S.

You will see from the case of the above Wang Kuei Chang how necessary it is that our resolutions should be operative and binding on all of us (not excepting even the L. Secretary) until “disapproved by the Home Committee.” We all took that for granted till Mr. Richard came and stood out against it when it suited his convenience. H.D.

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Shansi Local Committee.

Copy of Minutes.

Special Meeting, May 6, 1887.

Present;—Rev. Richard, Sowerby, Turner, Dixon, Morgan.

Rev. A. Sowerby in the Chair.

Meeting opened with prayer.

Letter from Mr. Jones to Mr. Richard about Wang Kuei Chang.

After some discussion on this letter Mr. Dixon asked Mr. Richard through the Chair whether he intended to abide by the understanding come to on April 13, that Wang Kuei Chang should be dismissed if we receive an unfavorable report about him from Shantung. Mr. Richard declined to answer; and on being pressed to answer, again declined. Mr. Richard then withdrew from the meeting.

Mr. Jones's letter is as follows;—

22 March '87.

My dear Richard,

I hear Wang Kuei Chang is gone to Shansi to get employment.

Whoever employs him will do well to keep two things in mind, vix.

Keep him away from money

“ “ “ “ Christians

These and as close an eye as possible after his general morals will help him and help the cause.

Yrs.

(signed) A. G. J.

Read a letter from Mr. Richard, April 28.

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Mr. Richard's letter was as follows:—

T'ai Yuen Fu,

28 April, 1887.

To the Committee

Shansi Baptist Mission.

Dear Brethren,

I very greatly regret to say that the action lately taken by you Committee compels me to inform them that I no longer consider myself bound by any other constitutional Rules than those of the Regulations of Jan. 1885 until we hear from the Home Committee. The Supplementary ones of January 1886 in deference to the objections of my brethren I have from the beginning laid aside till we also hear from home.

I wish however to thank them very much for the benefit of their counsels and advice, and shall endeavor as far as possible to act according to them.

As to the books and tracts which are objectionable to the views of my brethren I shall be glad to promise not to distribute any of them within the districts assigned to my brethren and shall be much obliged if they can see their way to adopt a similar rule in regard to the districts assigned to me.

Nor will I use any funds for the publication of any large books without consulting the Local Committee; but one's efficiency will be very seriously fettered, I think, if small and temporary tracts or notices are not allowed to be printed, or any books bought for distribution from other Societies, such as the National Bible Society of Scotland (which publishes other books beside Scriptures), Tract Societe &c., without having to call a special Committee to authorize

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the action. The financial regulations of course put a limit to this freedom.

I remain, dear Brethren,

Yours sincerely

(Signed) Timothy Richard.

Whereas our Local Committee has held many meetings since the receipt of the Regulations of 1885 (Jan.21) the minutes of which have been regularly forwarded to England, and Whereas no authorization of any of the resolutions of the local Committee has reached us, and Whereas according to (Reg.3.5) the Regulations no resolution is binding till it be authorized ;Resolved that we respectfully beg the Home Committee to authorize all the resolutions of our Local Committee up to date, and to Rule that in the future the decisions of the Local Committee shall be binding upon all Members till disapproved by the Home Committee.

Carried unanimously.

Resolved That Wang Kuei Chang be dismissed from the employ of the of the Mission.

Carried unanimously.

The above Minutes were read and passed.

(Signed) Arthur Sowerby.

1.4 Dixon to Baynes, October 14, 1887

P1

T'ai Yuen Fu
Shansi, N. China
14th October 1887

My dear Mr. Baynes,

I must first send you a line before I close the mail to let you know of fresh reinforcements in the shape of a little boy born on the morning of the 11th instant, and who will probably bear the name of Charles Dixon Dixon. I am thankful to say it is a pleasure to see mother and child, they are doing so well; I do pray that seasons of our illness may be past.

I suppose I must put on a supplementary Estimate for this unforeseen arrival say for this year £3. Local Committee is deadlocked. So I must send direct. Am sorry to cripple my economy towards reducing debts will now stand at £24 not £27.

I presume Mr. Sowerby will have written you about a kind of spiritual renewal here. I am thankful to say that we have all felt and had a blessing and fresh views of Consecration on old views Confirmed – May hope not are lost the better and happier for all.

As to Mr. Richard he has sent me a note saying he is going away temporarily till our troubles are over. I am sorry to say he was apparently unbenefited by our meetings for prayers; he spoke several times, but it was like Cold water thrown on me, but took no effect on any one.

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I notice several of my letters began here to come before its Sub. Committee, I have re-read them thinking them a little strongly and perhaps; but on re-reading I find they are more too strong and I am thankful I wrote them. Where Mr. Richard really stands is a mystery to me. He came round the other day to see where matters stood now, and I had occasion to confront him with several cases in which to my mind has flatly tried to mislead myself or others by misstatements; he Certainly failed to convince me of his

straightforwardness – He apparently has been trying to disarm opposition by agreeing with everybody’s views all around. He argues with one against Circulating the Scriptures and yet tells the Bible Society’s Agent—he believes in it as much as he does to ex. He is selling off to Chinese or fellow missionaries most of his temp. books & apparatus included, so he evidently does not think of coming back again. His prices however are too high to sell much, being considerably more than he can get new things for.

As for his family away, he has not consulted me about it. He simply announced he should go on the autumn, but he would wait for a telegram from home as to where to go to.

He has told the Chinese he is going to Peking—On his telling me he was going. I said plainly I should be thankful to see his face as his presence influence cripples all evangelistic efforts in and around the City. I can’t stand inquiries to his services, to be held to do good works.

All are well in the mission. And we so have a single lady on too. There are four arrivals come or coming this Year, it is impossible for the ladies to help one another under such circumstances, and we are dependent on the C. & M. (all thanks to them) or else have to give our own precious time to nursing. And for Mr. Richard’s foolish action in the past he might not only have had help just now

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and not only him but we might have had a hard work. Army of the women mislead of nothing. The C. & M. in spite of Constant Changes in their staff, have yet some 50 to 70 Women Army & Services tc. We have not one! (except those in our pay). But never mind the past; please try and remedy it. We must have simple ladies here as the C. & M. won’t think of hiring if mr. so please don’t let us mix the great benefit they are on account of somebody’s couples. Young married ladies cannot possibly supply the need.

But I must close with Christian love

I am, My dear Friend

Yours Affectionately

Herbert Dixon

A.H. Baynes Esq.
Baptist Mis. Society,

London.

1.5 Dixon to Baynes, November 13, 1888

P1

T'ai Yuen Fu
Shansi, North China
13th November 1888

PRIVATE & CONFIDENTIAL.

My dear Friend,

Mr. Richard's letter of 17th, Oct. in reply to Mr. Turner's of 16th, May has just reached us today. I think you will like to know what I think of it and as I have one hour before mail closes I give you my criticism of it; but of course cannot go into details. As I am supposed to be debarred from writing the Com. I address you, and do confidentially as I can speak plainly and simply. I know what I say is capable of proof but also know that the witness would prefer my not naming them.

Richard's reply is no doubt clever, but is not honest. That is, his insinuation that he did a lot of ordinary missionary work in addition to all this scientific work and that the fruits of his work are numerous would mislead anyone not acquainted with the state of affairs here on my arrival in '85. He himself told me that he in dealing with the upper classes could not introduce Christ as their God and Saviour. As the teaching, so is the result;—the only fruit I have seen of that work is one son of an official who has learnt to photograph and electroplate and one of the teacher class has made a living out of photography, by means of loans from Mr. Richard, but who now cares nought for Christ; the rest of them hold aloof from us unless they want something, or in case of opium poisoning. No doubt if we followed Mr. Richard in giving presents and talking of western wonders they would be fairly friendly, especially out-of-office men who were hard up and wanted a loan.

Mr. R told me distinctly his aim is to persuade the officials to establish Christianity as the State Religion of China, and then we shall have the whole nation converted; that our way is slow and painful, that his is rapid and to be preferred.

Mr. R said to me in my own house that the B.M.S are not judges

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of what is best for China, and that it is not well to let them know all one is doing. This he has acted on, and hence your (pardon me) ignorance of his position and doings, and hence also our present attempts to enlighten you.

His means of course differ from ours for his aims are different. I could not conscientiously work on his lines, but I am sure I can conscientiously do anything the B.M.S. can conscientiously authorize (the Committees have no conscience if I remember rightly.)

Our contention is not that Mr. R. has been doing immoral things, but that he has done and would still do things that are not in harmony with his position as a missionary of the B.M.S. and which the B.M.S. could not conscientiously (supposing them to have a conscience) allow him to do their time with their funds.

He may be a member of the same body but so are many more with whom Baptists agree to differ and toward whose work they would declare it malappropriation to give B.M.S funds.

We believe in science, railways etc. but the Gospel the GOSPEL is our business, compared with which these things are as dross. did our forefathers need them before they could understand and receive salvation? Did not conversions precede these blessings in Madagascar, Polynesia &c.?

Mr. Richard on page 26 of his reply refers to two or three mandarins who came to him or did something or other. He quite fails to give an iota of proof that this was in all cases fruit of HIS labour. But still more does he fail to see that this proves our point that he preached science (?) to the exclusion of the Gospel. Mark that word is EXCLUSION not substitution. What did these officials want? CHRIST? NO. NO. They wanted Mr. R to develop the MATERIAL RESOURCES OF THE PROVINCE Another CONTRIBUTED to SCHOOL and TEXT BOOK SERIES. Another WANTED FOREIGN TEACHERS FOR SCIENCE. Another kindly offered him a personal favor (as he thought). Another wanted HIS SON EDUCATED, but as Mr. R told me there was no mention of religion either for or against it.

P3

On Page 27 he speaks of success in preventing disturbances in this Province. Now Mr. Turner and Mr. James spent about a year in the Province before Mr. R. came near it. They had no troubles. But more convincing proof is to be seen in Baron Richtofen's letters dated Shansi 1870 and 1872 I think. I cannot get them at the moment but will quote the purport of the passages.

Baron Richtofen wrote "IT IS AS SAFE AS IN PEKING AND IN WALKING ABOUT THE STREETS OF T'AI YUAN FU THERE IS NO MORE ANNOYANCE THAN IN PEKING ITSELF."

"THE PEOPLE OF SHANSI GAVE THE QUALITY POSSESSED BY NONE OTHER OF THE CHINESE OF BEING ABLE TO REASON THAT THOSE WHO CAN MAKE SUCH WONDERFUL THINGS CANNOT BE BARBARIANS, AND THEY TREAT FOREIGNERS WITH RESPECTFUL CURIOSITY.

That disposes of Mr. R's claim on that score; but even here in this Province persecution has followed for those who have been converted as witness the beating and degrading of a graduate on the south at Ta Ning Hsien.

But my time is gone. I will say this That no Baptist of my acquaintance could possibly approve of B.M.S funds going in support of what Mr. R was doing here, JUDGING HIM SOLELY FROM WHAT HE HIMSELF HAS TOLD ME CONCERNING IT, KNOWING AT THE TIME THAT MY ATTITUDE WAS HOSTILE TO HIS IDEAS, AND THAT I WANTED THE INFORMATION TO USE AGAINST HIS IDEAS IF NECESSARY.

No doubt Mr. Turner will write you further. One point before winding up. Mr. R. seems to think by calling Cambridge Graduates Salvation Armyists, calling (I suppose Mr. Piggot,) Plymouth brother, and styling us Evangelists, he will discount the force of our almost (Mr. Morgan alone excepted) unanimous condemnation of his ideas and doings. His discourtesy in this and not using the Mr. before Mr. Turner's name will I trust fail in there object of discrediting us. We all have had superior education to Mr. R himself; his chief acquirements being made in the six years he was supposed to be preaching the gospel here. I am my dear friend yours most.

2. Joshua Turner's Correspondence

2.1 Turner to the Committee, February, 1887

P1

Feb. 1887
Tai Yuen Fu
Shansi, N. China

To the Committee
Baptist Missionary Society
London

Dear Brethren

It has been resolved by our local committee here, to send you a statement of facts showing the extent, and importance, of this Province, as a mission field. It has also been resolved that the members of the local Committee should write you, on the needs of the work, as indicated in the statement referred to above.

In accordance with this resolution I beg to invite your attention to the urgent need of a large reinforcement of men, who feel called to preach the Gospel to the people. This is the one great need of the work, and to my mind it is far more important than all China's, so called, "special needs."

The fact that it is one of the avowed principles of your mission, to lay great stress upon such work, gives one confidence in urging this claim. In your Annual Report for 1885 (page 9) we read—

"With regard to mission work, not only in India but in all lands, it cannot be too distinctly

P2

stated, that the one great aim of the missionary is to Christianize, by means of the fearless, loving, proclamation of the blessed Gospel of the grace of God. To preach this Gospel all the world over, is the one great object of the missionary enterprise".

On the next page a missionary of 50 years experience in India, is quoted to the same effect. He says—

“Of this I am fully convinced, after a long life of work in India, there is no power equal to preaching,— the loving, faithful, letting out of the Gospel message. Other forms of Christian work have doubtless their special advantages, but so far as my experience goes, no method has been so much blessed of God to the Conversion of souls in India as that of the plain, patient, loving preaching of the Glad Tidings”

Does the same hold true in regard to China, with its different form of Civilization, and its peculiar circumstances? With very few exceptions, I think the great body of missionaries in China would answer most emphatically, Yes!

At the missionary conference held at Shanghai in 1876 The Rev. Griffith John, one of the best known, and most successful missionaries in the land said—

“As missionaries, we believe we are in China, in obedience to the Command of our Lord, and the purpose of our mission is

P3

to disciple, or make Christians of this great nation. Whatever others may do, this is our work. We are here, not to develop the resources the country, not for the advancement of commerce, not for the mere promotion of civilization, but to do battle with the powers of darkness, to save men from sin, and conquer China for Christ.

(See Conference Records p82)

“Secular literature is good, but the Gospel is better. To teach the science may be an important work, but most of us think we have something better to do. We have been sent to China by the Churches, and by Christ Himself, not to promote secular learning, but to make known the truth as it is in Jesus”.

“If our aim in China is the promotion of intellectual culture, then let us go in for secular learning with might and main. If however our aim is the salvation of souls, let us preach Christ. While I allow the value of secular literature, and while I would rejoice to see the Chinese mind enriched with a knowledge of the Arts, and sciences, of the West, still I do maintain, that, the pressing need of this people, is a knowledge of the way of salvation, and it is plainly our duty to devote our time, and energies, to the supreme work of importing this knowledge to them”.

P4

“We have been reminded of the importance of influencing, and elevating the nation as a nation, and there is something grand, and stimulating in the thought. But we should never forget that Christ’s plan was to deal with individual souls. If we forget the individual soul, we are very likely to go in for everything, rather than the preaching of the glorious Gospel of Christ.

(See Conference Records p286)

These words were spoken ten years ago, but I do not think the speaker has found cause to change his opinion yet.

We have heard much of late about a “National Mode” in distinction from the individual mode of conversion. Certainly our object is to love China for Christ, and nothing short of a “National Conversion” will satisfy our hearts but I will submit that a kingdom can become the Kingdom of Christ only so far as its individual member are brought to love, and serve Him. Individual conversion then is our aim. We do not want a nominal change of religion brought about after the fashion of the African Chief who undertook to make his whole tribe Christians, in a few hours, by means of a big stick, neither do we want a National Conversion, brought about by rulers, who imagine that modern civilization, of Christianity are one, and the same thing.

P5

The world sneers at the idea of converting such a nation as China, by the preaching of the Gospel; and advises us to change our methods, but the Gospel is the power of God unto salvation, and we can make very little change in our methods, without departing from our proper object, as missionaries of the Cross.

Now turn me to our special field the Province of Shan Si. It is a great country lying in heathen darkness. Given in the few places where missionaries are working, the light is so feeble, that it can scarcely be discerned; but apart from such places, there is an area of more than 40 000 sq. miles, with a population of 8 000 000 or more souls, quite unreached by missionary effort.

What can be done to meet the need of such Province?

Before discussing this question it is necessary to know, what has already been accomplished, what is the present condition of the work here, and what force of missionaries native Christians we can bring into the field.

In past years books have been distributed by our native agents over nearly the whole of the Province. For a person of some years, evangelists from Shan Tung, regularly visited a large tract of country around Tai Yuen Fu. But a distribution of books over a province, two or three times in ten years, or the occasional visit of a native Christian from another part of the country to a Chinese city

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cannot result in much. This kind of work has not been carried on lately, and in the immediate future it cannot be resumed, as the Brethren in Shan Tung feel that it injures their work, to send a number of men, as paid agents, to another Province; and we have no Christians equal to take their place.

Our real work now centers in Tai Yuen Fu, Hsin Cheo, and Hsiao Tien, their places in the main road, within 60 miles of each other.

Hsin Cheo, and Hsiao Tien have only been opened as outstations, since the beginning of 1885. Before that time they were visited by the evangelists. At present there is a small band of engineers at each place, who are regular in their attendance at the Sunday service. Whether they are sincere engineers after truth, or not, we cannot tell; some of them seem to promise well, but they are not proved yet. Two men have been baptized at Hsin Cheo.

The evangelistic work in Tai Yuen Fu is not encouraging. This station was opened in 1878. There are now 13 names on the church book. Three of the members are employed as helpers at the out stations. Of the rest, two are regular attendants at the service, the others live at a distance and we scarcely ever see them. Our Sunday service is usually

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attended by the two church members, our teachers, and servants; and sometimes by a few strangers; but it can hardly be said, so far, to have been of much use in attracting or influencing the public. Beside this we have no public preaching at present, either in the city, or in the neighboring villages.

We have no native Christians capable of receiving a high class education. Of course circumstances may be different now in our Shan Tung mission. I am speaking of present need here in Shan Si. I mention these things because it is impossible for you to form an opinion as to what should be done in the immediate future, unless you know the present state of the work.

Now what shall we do?

With such a field, with so little advance made, with so little native help to be expected, yet, with so vast an object before us, as the Conversion of a Province, what shall we do?

After many months of anxious thought, and earnest prayer upon the subject; and with all respect to those who take a different view; I suggest, that the attempt to reach the officials by means of Western science be given up, and that we devote ourselves to the work of preaching the Gospel to the people; or at least, let our main strength as a mission be devoted to the latter, and only a small proportion of it to the former kind of work.

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In request to the field at large let us give up the idea of immediately reaching the whole Province, by means of paid native agents, and let us concentrate our efforts, for a time, on the present (work) and outstations.

If we have no native Christians to do evangelistic work let us do it ourselves. In public chapels, in the streets, if need be, and in the neighboring village by any means we can devise to reach the people, let us preach till we do get converts. Then let us train them in the truths of Christianity, and in the duty of making known the glad tidings of salvation to others.

I believe such work carried on for a few years, would result strong central Churches, that would become a blessing to the whole Province.

We are quite strong enough to begin such work at once. With these missionaries fully equipped, and three others beginning to talk the language, surely we could do much in the direction indicated. But we must have strong reinforcements to carry on the work.

The need of Tai Yuen Fu, with its 60 000 inhabitants, and the villages within a few miles of the city, would be barely supplied by the missionaries, and a large band of native helpers wholly devoted to the Evangelistic work. The same may be said of Hsin Cheo and the

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same again of the county of which Hsiao Tien is situated. But I will not trespass when your time by giving details as to the exact number of men we need, and the places they should occupy, as this subject is able set forth by some of the other Brethren in their letters.

All I would add in closing is. You cannot send us men enough to meet the need, but, Dear Brethren, send us some. Let them be men of high attainments, and splendid education if possible, but above all, let them be men who have a clear conception of what a missionary's one object should be, and an unbounded faith in the power of the Gospel, to that they may be prepared to give up their whole strength to this work, in the spirit of the great Apostle who determined to know nothing among men save Jesus Christ, and Him crucified.

Commending this subject to your most earnest consideration,

Believe me

Dear Brethren

Yours sincerely

Joshua J. Turner

February 1887.

2.2 Turner to Baynes, January 15, 1888

P1

Tai Yuen Fu
January 15th, 1888

A.H. Baynes Esq.
Baptist Mission House
London.

My dear Mr. Baynes,

Your letter of September 1887 addressed to Mr. Sowerby and myself in reference to Mr. Richard's book and other matters has already been answered by Mr. Sowerby and in the main I agree with his remarks so I need not add much to what has been said on the subject.

All the missionaries in this Province are heartily glad that the book in question has been withdrawn and Mr. Richard's departure from Shan Si renders further correspondence about his plans unnecessary at present.

We are sorry to lose one of our small band but there was no help for it. Even if we had been silent there are others in this Province who have far more influence than we have, and I quite believe they would have brought these matters before the public soon and then nothing but an accurate translation of all Mr. R's books and a thorough investigation of the whole work here would have satisfied the Home Churches.

No loyal member of our Denomination could have seen the utter perversion of the objects of our mission and of all Protestant Principles that has been going on here

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without raising his voice against it. It is this that makes us feel that our junior brethren have been hardly dealt with. I am sure our General Committee would never have written as they have done had they properly considered its matter heck being the case I think further enquiry should be made and our action either condemned or fully justified. I do

not say this in any bad spirit or with any wish to renew the conflict but because I feel sure neither the Committee nor Yourself, Dear Sir realize the importance of this affair.

In my own part I am quite willing either to let the matter drop now, or to wait further enquiry. But I am confident that if Mr. Richard were to return to this city and try to carry out his plans the whole Denomination would soon be in a blaze about it and whether the Committee likes it or not they would either have to recall Mr. Richard or lose thousands of pounds from the income of the Society.

We have done our duty and I sincerely hope that Mr. Richard's departure from this Province will relieve us of the responsibility of taking any further action but it is only fair to say that if Mr. Richard's teaching and plans were authorized by the Committee for any part of the country and the discussion were raised among the Home Churches I should feel bound to take part in it not from any personal feeling against any one but because I hold that no Christian has a right to stand by and see Mission funds devoted to the support of such teaching and plans without doing all in his power

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to prevent it or at least to inform the subscribers of the way in which their money was being spent.

Before leaving this subject I should like to say that I have written to no one in England or elsewhere in this matter except yourself and missionaries connected with our own mission or with the work in this Province and share no intention of doing so unless I am faced to it as a matter of conscience.

I have written freely to you Dear Sir so that you may know exactly how I stand and if I have spoken strongly it is only because I feel deeply and not with any idea of causing further trouble.

Mr. Sowerby is acting as Local Secretary here and as all business communications between ourselves and the Society are to pass through him, it has been suggested that it is not necessary for us each to fill up a set of forms but that his one set will include the estimates, accounts and statistics of the whole station. If such is to be the rule it seems strange that we should each have a set of forms sent to us, and I should like to ask you what is the proper course for the future. There is one item in the accounts to which I should like to draw your attention [v.i.z.] a contribution from my wife and self of fifty pounds towards the Hsin Cheo expenses. When we heard of the debt at the

beginning of last year we decided to give something, but the debt having been extinguished, we felt

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we should like to contribute to that part of the work that is most dear to us personally. Of course we might have done this by simply paying those expenses without letting them appear upon the accounts and I have done so in regard to Freight and Teacher items not entered into accounts at all but I felt such a course in regard to the expenses would hardly be fair to any one who might take up the Hsin Cheo work.

I wish we could send more! When I read in “the Lord loveth a cheerful giver” of the self denial of some of our contributors I feel almost ashamed to take anything at all from the Mission and I often wish I could support myself while engaged in the work. I am not able to do that but I can least give back some part of my lawful salary and thus contribute to the work as I should have done had I remained in business at home. I am able to make this contribution larger because I have a little money now besides what I received from the Society and the prospect that my Wife and children would not be entirely unprovided for in case of my death. I only mention this in fairness to my brethren lest it should thought that if one could save money and give it back to the Mission that others ought to do the same. Please pardon me for saying so much about the matter. I only wished to explain it freely on this first occasion so as to render explanation unnecessary if I am able to send

P5

some more another time and I wished you to know that the decision to send a contribution at the end of the year was made before our troubles with Mr. Richard began and therefore it has no bearing whatever upon that matter although unfortunately the two things have to come in the same letter.

The time for making reports has come round again and I have been in charge of Hsin Cheo during the past year I must send you some account of the work there and if I can possibly manage it I will do so by this same mail but as this is a purely private letter to yourself I will make my report on another sheet.

You will be glad to hear that we all quite well, but I am sorry to say two of our small community (Mr. and Mrs. Edwards) are down with Typhus fever and one never knows how far fever is going to spread when it once breaks out among us.

It has been decided by our Local Committee to do more work in this city and consequently we are still unable to make Hsin Cheo a resident station but I am to carry on the work as in the past which means that I shall spend more than 6 months of the year there D.O. and work here the rest of the time. This seems to be the best we can do at present but we do long for the time when we shall have men enough to work both places thoroughly.

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I hope to leave for Hsin Cheo tomorrow. My Wife meanwhile remains here and she is throwing his energies into the work among the women in connection with Mr. Morgan.

Mr. Farthing is living with us so I shall not have to leave my Wife quite alone while I am away at Hsin Cheo.

I trust Dear Sir that you are quite well and that you will have a very happy New Year.

Yours very Sincerely

Joshua J. Turner

Dec. 19th

P.S. Dear Mr. Baynes,

I have written my report and enclose it in another cover. My journey to Hsin Cheo has been delayed by an outbreak of Typhus fever. It is very common among the natives and both Mr. Edwards and his wife are down with it. (They are both dangerously ill) Two other members of the C.L.M. are thought to have the same fever and another lady is dangerously ill with another complaint. Under the circumstances the strength of our small community is taxed to the uttermost in nursing and one does not show who may go down next. So I must stay for a time and do what I can here.

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The mail must leave in the morning, so I cannot stay to rewrite this letter but I should like to say that my wife tells me that my sentence about Mr. Richard's "utter provision of the objects of our mission and of all Protestant principles" is too strong. I should be sorry to be unfair to Mr. R, so I tell you this. But I must confess that to my mind it is true and say opposition to Mr. Richard's lacking all rest upon the firm belief that it is just that in its tending.

In haste yours sincerely

Joshua J. Turner

2.3 Turner to the Committee, May, 1888

P1

Tai Yuen Fu. N. China
May 1888.

To The Committee
Baptist Missionary Society
London.

Gentlemen,

In one of his last letters to me concerning our troubles here Mr. James of Tsing Cheo Fu says:— “Bringing up the old (1879) flying machine affair has a bad appearance. From this and other things I am afraid the Committee will conclude there is personal feeling prompting somewhere.” and quite recently we have heard on the authority of Mr. Morgan—from one of the members of the Committee that it was in mercy to us that the enquiry was not proceeded with. The latest news that has reached us is that there is a general feeling at home that Mr. Richard has been badly treated by the men in Tai Yuen Fu.

Now I did not send home the tract in question, but it is only fair, to the brother who did so, to inform you that the invention of a flying machine

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has been the object of Mr. Richard’s efforts for the last ten years, and he has made various models of such a machine. There are stores in this city now, two of which were made in 1887 shortly before Mr. Richard left Tai Yuen Fu. This perhaps is a private affair and I hold that any man has a right to invent flying machines if he please to do so in his spare time.

But Mr. Richard’s tract offering a reward of Ts 100.00 to any China man who could invent a flying machine was not a private affair. It was issued and stamped by Mr. Richard as a missionary and it was widely circulated by mission agents. Neither can it be fairly called “old”. Even in England it would be unfair to exclude all

tracts written ten years previously in estimating the nature of a living author's influence, though a tract published there so long ago, would be almost forgotten now. But here in Shan-si new publications are so rare that it takes more than ten years to make them "old", and this one is so curious that it is likely to exert its influence for many years to come. I had an illustration of this only last week. Mr. Farthing and I went to visit Mr. Hu, the Hsin Cheo

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church member who has recently opened a preaching station in a market town near his home. The wall of his chapel was adorned with tracts but the flying machine was the one that commanded most attention. I asked Hu's leave to take it down and I will enclose it in this letter. I spoke to Hu privately and advised him not to post such things on his wall. He seemed quite surprised and said "I put it up to show the people what wonderful things God would help them to invent if they only became worshippers of Him". I hold that such an impression is injurious to the work and that opinion is confirmed by the fact that at least one of the fourteen church members in Tai Yuen Fu joined the church solely because he hoped by doing so to find out some "wonderful western invention for making money".

If this flying machine tract were the only thing of the sort I do not think it would have been sent home. Such however is not the case. Mr. Richard was not content with himself offering a reward of Ts 100.00 but he also urged the officials of the Province to offer liberal rewards for the invention.

P4

In his speech at Exeter Hall in 1885 Mr. Richard said "In Tai Yuen Fu there were four hundred officials. A book was written for them containing more than one hundred suggestions for improvements in various departments. Some of these suggestions the Government is bent on carrying out "as soon as it can". See 15 years work in China.

That book was published in 1879 or so and it was brought up before our Local Committee here by Mr. Richard in 1887 as a "Political Economy" which ought to be circulated. It contains one hundred chapters each giving a suggestion or two. The one on the flying machine was thus

“Offer liberal rewards to encourage travelling in space” Chapter 82. “The distance between the Southern and Northern seas of Australia is 6000 odd li, but in between are many dangerous places which men have seldom visited. Therefore from of old till now the North and South have not been connected [had an intercommunication]. The [Ruler] Sovereign had wished to send men to explore but none dared to respond to the [his] commands till rewards were offered and it was proclaimed to all that if any one could go from the South sea right through to the North he

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should be rewarded with Ts 30,000.00. Then truly there were men brave enough to go. Now Steamers and Locomotives are strings that can travel exceedingly fast by land & sea, still this is not so good as ascending & travelling in space (would be). “That would be much more speedy & convenient. Rulers ought to offer rewards and command scholars of great learning to invent the art of travelling in space” or: (“Rulers ought to offer rewards to incite to investigation and cause scholars etc.”)

Chapter 12 is on a kindred subject—vi.z

“Make balloons in order to test the course of the winds.” The course of the water is a (already well known) & is it only the course of the wind that is difficult to [ascertain] know? This simply rests with scholars who investigate things to [discover it by them and] make a plan for testing it (or with natural philosophers or scientists). [Formerly] Anciently America tested the current of the ocean by a large corked bottle which was put into the sea and it floated with the current straight over to England. Imitate this and test the course of the wind. Let balloons [perhaps by making] and in them arranging instruments

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that will indicate height and direction. Let the date of the ascent be recorded and watch the places where they fall. Examine the instruments and the course [of the wind] will be known.”

It seems remarkably easy and I suppose that these are two of the suggestions which the “Government is bent on carrying out as soon as it can.”

Now whatever opinion may be held as to the advisability of giving the officials a good Scientific Education I maintain that it is unjust to cast suspicion on our motives

in opposing Mr. Richard's plans because a copy of that flying machine was sent home for that tract was only a small experiment in regard to a matter urged upon the Chinese officials in a book specially prepared for them and both book and tract are still in circulation.

As to the change of personal feeling I must confess that throughout this unhappy affair there has been a considerable amount of personal feeling on both sides. More I think on Mr. Richard's than on ours. But when men discuss such important matters as were discussed between us

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it seems inevitable that personal feeling should be roused, though I assure you that the discussion was not caused by personal feeling. It was caused by the firm belief that Mr. Richard was working towards ends not within the proper object of the B.M.S. and substituting something else for the Gospel of Christ. That conviction is still rooted in the minds of all the missionaries in this Province, English & American (with perhaps one exception Mr. Morgan, who has not read Mr. Richard's books) and if the discussion is now carried on in a more public manner it will not be because of any personal feeling against Mr. Richard but simply because duty compels all true friends of the B.M.S. to protest against what they believe to be a misappropriation of its funds.

We did our duty, as agents of the Society when we sent you a translation of the "Hsiao tao tiz hsu" and asked that an enquiry might be made into the state of affairs in Tai Yuen Fu. You have seen fit to order the complete suppression of that book but have advised the author of it to go to Shantung, although

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he has plainly stated that the teaching of the book is the result of fifteen years in China and that he is not prepared to give it up though the book itself may be withdrawn. When Mr. Richard left Shan-si and, as we were informed, resigned his connection with the B.M.S. I wrote to Mr. Baynes that I was quite content to let the matter drop though I claimed the right to renew the discussion if Mr. Richard's teaching were authorized for any other part of the country. We have just heard that Mr. Richard has decided to go to Shan-tung, where he is to start an educational work for officials, and he edit a newspaper—that the B.M.S. has been asked to supply £1500 to start the Institution and £300 per annum for working expenses besides the personal

allowances of Mr. Richard and two junior brethren who are to be associated with him, and this is why I venture to address you again upon the subject.

If our action in regard to the “Hsiao tao tiz hsu” were at all justifiable—and the fact that you have ordered its complete suppression does certainly seem to favour supposition—we have no right

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to let the matter rest simply because it has ceased to affect us personally. If our former action had been prompted by personal feeling because of the difficulty of working in harmony with Mr. Richard we should have been perfectly satisfied now that the teaching and methods we disapproved are removed to a distant part of the field. But it was not so. We opposed Mr. Richard’s teaching because we believed to be wrong. All your agents here stood together in that opposition, as you know, and though we have been blamed for it still we feel that we acted a true and honorable part. But after the answer received from the China sub-committee and the rumors of disapprobation on the part of leading men in the denomination that have reached us, I feel that it is better for each man to stand alone in this matter, thus this letter is the expression of my own opinion and does not in any way involve my brethren here.

As an agent of the Society perhaps it would be wiser to hold my peace but I feel that I am more than a mere agent. From

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earliest childhood I have been a contributor to the funds of the B.M.S. and as such I have a right to speak, and moreover as a Christian and a missionary I feel that I must raise my voice against a system which I believe is doing incalculable harm to the cause of Christ in this land.

My opposition to Mr. Richard ceased when he left the mission but since he is to be connected with it again and have large sums of money for the support of his teaching, I submit, that the subscribers, or at least all the members of the Committee should know what that teaching is before authorizing further expense in connection with it, and my firm conviction is, that the teaching found in Mr. Richard’s books is such that no Committee could authorize and which the great map of the subscribers would decline to support.

Of course I may be wrong in this opinion and I suppose a Committee has the right to authorize any teaching or methods it may please provided that they are in accordance with the object for which the society was formed and for which the funds it uses are subscribed. But is Mr. Richard's system in accordance

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with the object of the B.M.S. as stated in its publications? For instance if an accurate translation of the "Hsiao tao tiz hsu" and that tract on the flying machine with the passages that I have just quoted were printed and circulated among our subscribers would one in a thousand support them? And if not these would they support the other things I am about to quote I wonder. Would they support Mr. Richard's so called "special work" if they knew what it was? I believe not and that belief is shared by nearly every missionary in this Province and by an increasing number of missionaries of all parts of China connected with the best missions of England & America.

I underline the word accurate above because Mr. Richard's translation of the "Hsiao tao tiz hsu" was not accurate. His translation of the title itself was wrong according to the best Chinese Scholars in Peking and Lieou Tsiu. Mr. Richard's books should be judged not by his translation nor by ours but by the translation of an able Chinese scholar who would translate not what the author says he meant but what the words really convey to the

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brethren who read them.

But it may be said that the brethren in Shan-tung have invited Mr. Richard to go and work with them. Is not this sufficient proof that the men in Shan-si overestimate the importance of their differences with Mr. Richard? Not at all. None of the men in Shan-tung have ever worked with Mr. Richard for any length in time. Only two of them even now have read the book that has been suppressed. None of them have ever read the other books which contain worse teaching than that one. The brethren in Shan-tung professedly know nothing about the matter. To use their own expression "We are in happy ignorance of the cause of your troubles with Mr. Richard". They invited him there simply as a matter of personal good feeling. Now I maintain that it would be unfair to allow such personal feeling to involve the expenditure of large sums of mission money and it would be unjust to allow such an invitation

to outweigh the evidence of men who have read Mr. Richard's books, and have worked with him and are able to judge by personal observation of the effects of his system.

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But what is Mr. Richard's system? I would not attempt to describe it in my own words, nor do I think that anyone else here would do so. I have already charged Mr. Richard with substituting something else for the Gospel of Christ, and in proof of that charge I would refer to the "Hsiao tao tiz hsu" (Order of Learning Religion, or Doctrine). For further proof I would refer to some of Mr. Richard's printed statements in English taken in connection with the "Political Economy" before mentioned. If more were needed I would refer to the three other books for the officials which I forward by this mail, and if still more were wanted I would ask for a translation of all Mr. Richard's books including the Roman Catholic Lives of the Saints, and even still further I would ask you to look at the wonderful instruments and machines that are stored up here and to find out their use.

But I do not ask for all this just now. All I ask for is, an impartial translation of the books which I now send and an assurance from the Committee that it approves of them—or else a clear expression of disapproval and if

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need be, further enquiry so as to prevent the expenditure of mission funds on such teaching in the future.

But to be a little more explicit. In his "Theme for Mission work in China" published for the Committee in 1886 Mr. Richard says "True you are now sending new men but you are not meeting China's special needs. When a man is dying of starvation will a box of pills save him? In his "Political Economy" Mr. Richard has done something to meet those "special needs". China has just had a great famine – What does Mr. Richard offer instead of a box of pills? Let us see.

"Invent chemical food for the nourishment of the surplus population." C.8 Suppose a place is only able to nourish ten persons and there be twenty odd mouths in the family the productions will not be sufficient and some other plan must be devised for the sustenance of life. As with a single family so it is with a nation. At the present time there are not many vacant fields on the globe that can be opened up, & unless some plan based on Chemistry be devised it will be difficult to nourish

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the people as they increase.”

“Now seeing that metals are able to heal disease how do we know that they are not able to nourish people. Few articles of food are eaten raw (or moreover few is) they must be transformed by fire before they can nourish man. If we enquire the [into] reason of this, it is doubly to change the original substances in order to render them easily digestible. Now according to the principles of chemical change it is not only fire that can transform things what fire cannot change chemicals can. Can they not then change other things in order to nourish man? I only hope that some who will to be pastors of the people will specially institute this work (or that those who have the will to shepherd the people i.e. the officials) in order to contrive chemical food [food by chemical transformation]. Then will food be more than sufficient and there will be no fear of the surplus population being without nourishment.

Again.

“Avoid food in order to save from distress.” (Or do without water and grain in order etc) C.25. “Food nourishes life and there are no living things that do not eat. But I have heard that in India there are constantly men who

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go without food for many days. This principle is hard to understand, but the animals which lie torpid, during the three winter months do not eat, and there must be some mysterious principle in it. Now I have thought of a new plan for saving from distress, exceedingly efficacious but dangerous [hazardous]. (or now think of it) In meeting with a year of great dearth when nine-tenths of the people die and the time comes round when the crops are nearly ripe but there is no way to borrow and only enough food left for one full meal, then with all the strength inhale a breastfull of air: close the mouth & nose and violently urge the breath of the pubic regions right through to the heart. The heart will then stop, the breath will become congealed and the blood will cease to circulate & (one will) rest in a still house as through dead, but not dead. For twenty or thirty days, the food in the stomach will not be transformed [digested], the abdominal functions will cease and the colour will not change. After waking the health will be as yesterday, and (I shall) still be the same as ever. This plan must only be occasional, not continuous

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if it is continued the vital energies (lit. the breath) will be famished and death ensue.”

These probably are some more of the things which the Chinese Government is bent on carrying out as soon as it can.

In the Annual Report for 1885 Mr. Richard has a long piece on the special needs of China. He says “Many of the present methods do not meet the greatest needs of China now. - - - Officials from a political point of view ask for bread. Shall the officers of the Kingdom of God give them a stone?”

What did Mr. Richard give those hungry officials in this book specially prepared for them? He gave them suggestions which if carried out, would according to him make China, more wealthy, more powerful, and more learned than any other nation. That is the aim of the book as set forth in the preface.

I say for the present scheme foreign books ought speedily to be translated and Colleges extensively established. Plans should be devised to cause traders to invent and manufacture all kinds of things and work, as a means for the production of wealth. (Or merchants to invent...and the

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workmen to attain means for the production of wealth) Those who rule (or Superintend) these things should be men of great ability (or best capacity) (who would) imitate Heaven’s liberality in benevolence to all. Let the wise sayings of all the worthies of China and the West be collected and what is [superior] lasting taken & compiled. The people will daily flourish, and the Nation daily become wealthy & powerful. Is not this God’s great impartial [way of saving this world from starvation?] doctrine of Salvation? (A strong affirmative “This is it”)

This one aim is kept prominently in view all through the book. Missionaries are to be encouraged, chemical food, flying machines, post offices, churches and good works are all to be established (by the Government) as a means to this end. Some of the suggestions in this book are no doubt very good e.g. Chapter 70.

“Perfect the transmission of sound so that it can extend to all nations.” At the present time we have telephones & although (separated) several hundred li can converse

as if face to face. Follow up this and who knows (or what do we know) that presently one man shall be able to speak so that all nations shall together hear

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such a mysterious plan as this should be developed to the highest degree. All should exert their ability and wisdom. Following out the old produce new in order to perfect the prosperity of the times. The chapters upon “Post Offices” (66) “Banks”(76) and “Advertisements” (64) though it is rather strange to find a missionary advising the officials of Tai Yuen Fu to follow the example of Mr. Holloway and extend the knowledge of their medicines to other countries nor do I think that the B.M.S. was formed to help the Chinese government become wealthy by the establishment of Railways, mines and other public works.

But no words of mine can do justice to the utter folly of some of these suggestions one of them is as follows:—“Suppose you invent a new plan not dependent upon wind and rain, some kind of food that will flourish in spite drought: or a plan for transforming earth into food after the plan by which at present earth is transformed into oil.” (C.7) or Why not think of the plan by which the sun shines on the water and the water rises in vapour and becomes clouds to gather and disperse rain and accommodate it (this than) for irrigation of the fields. Thus

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skillfully [imitations] take by force Heaven’s ingenuity [labours].

Would not this be excellent? (Chap. 6.) or to turn the great valleys of Central Asia into lakes (Chap. 24.) or to find out how men could do without eating and live as do the trees by absorbing from the atmosphere nourishment (Chap. 9.) or this—

“Invent a machine to store up this power (spontaneous power) so that it might be available whenever needed. Thus store up the power of the wind so that when there is no wind they could fail, or the power of the water so that when (or where) water is lacking it (the power) could be used. Thus the spontaneous power of all such things would be stored up for use. Would not this be good? (Or it would be used in all affairs that require strength is not this spontaneous power good?) Chap. 16.

“China is truly a learned country and ought also to study electricity, so as to be able to do what other countries are unable to do & to know what other countries do not

know.” Chap. 73—So Mr. Richard advises them to “Study the spots in the Sun”. (See Chap. 12) To find out how to utilise Cyclones (Chap. 81) and to do many other impracticable things of which I will only give one more specimen.

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“Explore the Volcanoes of Asia and the snow and ice of the mountains and see if the volcanic fires and the ice could not be connected so that the ice might be melted and become rivers to flow down & irrigate the fields, and change the severe cold of the earth into the harmony of the four seasons. The benefit of this would extend to all ages.

If the great Yu was able to govern the waters and William of Holland the sea surely the celebrated scientists of all the countries could govern the volcanoes and the ice of the mountains and the deep places of the earth and sea. The benefit of scheming in this direction would be great and it is what all nations must rely on.” (Chap. 39)—

In his scheme for missionary work in China 1886 Mr. Richard says “We should meet the awakening thirst of the Chinese for Western knowledge and keep before them the true relation of Christianity to all knowledge- - - Where are the men qualified for giving advice in all the various high departments of vast Empires?” Now I hold that a Missionary Society does not exist for such an object but surely if we do pretend

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to give these ignorant officials scientific instruction it should be based upon bound principles. It makes one blush to think that such wild absurdities have been offered to them by a Christian Missionary as a part of “God’s impartial plan of salvation” God’s ways of relieving mankind.

The religious part of this book I hardly care to touch. In my opinion it is rotten to the core and the book would be far less harmful if that part of it had been left out. The description of the missionary’s object in Chapter 94 is utterly misleading because it is made to include all the other things in the book. Chapter 98 on the establishment of the temples to God is certainly a strange production to come from the pen of a Baptist Missionary.

Mr. Richard closes his book thus—“What I have set forth in thousands of words (is this)—wishing to attain wealth and power the important things are two. The first

consists in the extension of learning and experience, and the development of the arts & sciences—the completion of human affairs. This is the branch.

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The second consists in the completion of religion and virtue, and the worship of God—listening to heaven's command. This is the root. All know that to neglect the root and attend to the branch will not do, wishing to be wealthy and powerful you must begin from the root. Root & branch must both be attended to, both are indispensable: this is to say “The Superior man attends to the root. When the root is established and blessings flow down from God what trouble will there be (a blessing will of course flow down from God and this will be no trouble - - - If China wishes to exceed all Nations it must also establish unnecessary.” Then follow some rules for the establishment of unnecessary in all the Provinces – “Thus the learning of the West would be added to what China already has—Would it then be inferior to other Nations?”

The other books were published in 1884 I think. They all in my opinion put forward religion and civilization as parts of the same thing, and as the one means by which China may become rich and powerful. The religious part

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of them is vague and obscure but the secular plain and unmistakable. One of them does not profess to be religious at all but is simply a “new scheme for enriching Shan si.” In another Mr. R. that he was invited by a Society of Heaven's Nobility to come to China to look for good men to manage good affairs.” And on the same page he states that his work amongst the officials of Tai Yuen Fu consisted in talking about the military science of all nations, mining, the making of steel, construction of railways, electricity, chemistry, astronomy, geology, mathematics, machinery, comparative religion, etc.

Gradually the air is being filled with the music of the cross and the minds of the Chinese are becoming saturated with the story of Christ's love.” Annual report 1885

“The blessed Gospel of the grace of God is still the sovereign and only remedy for the sin and woe of the world. The Gospel of Jesus Christ, unmodified by human speculation and proclaimed in all its Divine simplicity is still the power of God unto Salvation. Annual Report 1887

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How refreshing such words sound after reading these books intended to meet China's greatest needs. These are the the sentiments that rouse the enthusiasm of the churches at home, and that incite our brothers and sisters in England to noble lives of self-denial that they may be able to give to the great missionary cause. It makes one tremble with indignation to shrink that thousands of pounds of their hard earned money have been spent here during the last ten years to support such teaching as these books contain. Is it right? Is it honest to let such things go on? Yet, when we speak of them, we are charged with personal feeling and told that it is in mercy to us that they are not enquired into. Never mind us. Make the enquiry. Read the book for yourselves. I do not ask you to accept either my translation or my opinion of them. Have a good translation made by the best Chinese scholars and let it be calmly and impartially considered by all the members of our Committee and I have little fear of the result. These

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books will share the fate of the "Order of learning Religion" which has been "completely suppressed and absolutely withdrawn from circulation." And you Gentlemen, I feel sure will agree that it is unwise to authorize the expenditure of further large sums of mission money upon this kind of "special education for the Officials."

Apologising for having trespassed so long upon your time.

I remain

Gentlemen

Yours Sincerely

Joshua J. Turner

2.4 Turner to Baynes, May 23, 1888

P1

Tai Yuen Fu
May 23rd 1888

To A. H. Baynes Esqre
Baptist Mission House
London E. C.

My dear Mr. Baynes,

I take the liberty of sending you a letter addressed to the Committee of the Baptist Missionary Society and I should be much obliged if you would present it in due course. The letter explains itself so I need not add anything to what is already written except to assure you that I have acted in this matter from a sense of duty and I think the importance of the case warrants the course I have taken.

I shall of course send a copy to Mr. Richard who is away just now on an educational tour in Japan.

I had thoughts at one time of asking you to have my letter printed and sent to every member of the Committee same terms before the date of meeting so that they might have leisure to consider it. But I came to the conclusion that by reason of the influential position you hold as the head of the mission it would be impossible

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for you to comply with such a request without seeming partiality to our cause before it is judged. I have therefore made several copies of the letter and sent them to members of the Committee so that when this matter is brought forward there may be some at least who are prepared to discuss it.

I trust Dear Sir, you will not take this to mean any want of confidence in yourself. I have the greatest confidence in your love and sympathy but throughout this affair you have carefully refrained from giving any expression of your private opinion on the

subject and I feel that it would be unfair to ask you to do what would seem like an act of partiality to those who oppose Mr. Richard's schemes.

Trusting that this may meet with your approval.

I remain,

Dear Sir,

Yours sincerely.

Joshua J. Turner

P.S. Mr. Pigott has asked me for a copy of my letter to send to her mother Mr. Kemp and I have given her one.

2.5 Turner to Baynes, December 28, 1888

P1

Tai Yuen Fu
December 28th, 1888

A.H. Baynes Esgre
Baptist Mission House
London E.C.

My dear Sir,

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of September 21st informing me of the resolutions adopted by the Committee of the Baptist Missionary Society after reading my letter of last May and other communications concerning Mr. Richard's publications. You will know long in this reaches you that I supplied Mr. Richard with a second copy of my letter and that he sent me of his reply to it. I may have something more to say about that reply in the future if the Committee wish at present I would only remark that some of its statements are very misleading (I think untrue) while the main part of it fully confirms the charges I made.

In regard to my having given a copy of my letter to Mr. Pigott—I certainly think it was a mistake—and much more than a mistake—If I had no “right” to do it

P2

but apart from the question of right (which it would hardly become me to discuss under present circumstances) the fact that my action caused you annoyance is quite sufficient to convince me that it was a mistake. I am much obliged to you for expressing your opinion so freely and yet so kindly and you may rest assured that I shall respect that opinion in the future.

Herewith I enclose a report of the [work] at Hsin Cheo. Accounts and Estimates are exact as usual by Mr. Sowerby. You will notice that my estimate is increased £12 on account of the birth of another little boy. He was born on the 19th inst. And I am thankful to say that my wife and the baby are both getting on very well. My wife and I

are glad she able to send you a contribution of £50. again this year towards the expenses of the work at Hsin Cheo. And I trust the efforts to increase the income of the Society will be very successful.

With many thanks for your kind wishes and earnest prayers for your increasing happiness through the New Year.

I remain Dear Sir
Yours very Sincerely
Joshua J. Turner

3. Timothy Richard's Correspondence

3.1 Richard to the Committee, October 17, 1888

P1

Peking Oct. 17 1888

To the Committee of the Baptist Missionary Society,

Dear Brethren,

On the 20th of Sep. I received a telegram from Mr. Baynes saying that the Committee would like a reply to Mr. Turner's letter for May last. I was very much surprised for I had no knowledge whatever of such a thing. I immediately sent off a special messenger to Mr. Turner to obtain a copy of what he had written, and wrote Mr. Baynes to say that I expected the messenger would take over twenty days as the distance is so great. Mr. Turner's letter came to hand some days ago. He tells me that the failure to get a copy previously was occasioned by the loss of one of the Shansi Mail bags.

The reading of this letter filled me with the profoundish grief on account of the pain that it will cause all the friends of Mission work who know of it. In a moment of strong feeling deep wounds have been ache, which a long time or even a life time may not heal.

The letter begins with a defence of some brother who sent a copy of the Flying Machine advertisement home. I do not know the name of this brother, nor did I ever hear a word of objection to this from anyone until I saw this letter.

It has a page devoted to the condemnation of the action of the Shantang brethren in inviting one there.

It has a charge against the B.M.S for authorizing it.

It has scattered over it charges and subscharges against me to the number of 13. It specially abounds with strange

P2

versions of many things to show that my teaching is so utterly unsatisfactory as to make him “tremble with indignation to think that thousands of pounds of hard earned money should have been spent on it here during the last ten years.” P. 25 of his letter. This is a very serious charge indeed. The side issues which it contains I shall endeavour to pass by, except some of the most misleading ones and will confine myself to defense against his main charge which he says is –That I substitute something else for the Gospel of Christ. (See p13) In proof of this he addresses 5 classes of proofs

1. A book which he calls the Order of learning religion.
2. Printed statements of mine in English in connection with a book which he calls Political Economy.
3. Three other books for officials which he sends home.
4. All my books including Lives of the Saints.
5. The wonderful instruments and machines stored up in Shansi.

As it is so much easier to mar a thing than to mend it, I crave the indulgence of the Committee if I am compelled to be more lengthy than Turner was in order to fully meet everything he says.

Before discussing the question he raises it is necessary to define what is meant by the terms used. Turner has not done this, and therefore it is impossible to know what standard he adopts for the scope of the Gospel. Great difficulties at once spring up when we attempt this. Then so many of the ablest and holiest men at home are not agreed on this question and when feeling runs high even in England and America, I fear that no definition of Turner’s or mine will satisfy every contributor to the B.M.S., still if the explanation in the main will satisfy the majority, it may be sufficient for our present purpose. Because this has an important bearing on the charge of malappropriation of the Society’s funds I shall frankly state my belief independent of consequence and leave you to judge thereon.

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With these preliminary remarks I shall proceed to explain what I consider to be the aim and scope of the Gospels; then examine Turners letter; justify effort in the line I took of their necessity and success; after that, give my other teaching not mentioned by Turner; and finally add a remark or two in conclusion.

I An explanation of what I understand to be the aim and scope of the Gospel. I regard the Gospel of Christ as remedial – undoing the work of the fall – destroying the works of the devil – a Salvation from sin and suffering wherever found, so that where sin has abounded grace shall much more abound. It begins by the conversion of individual souls through belief in the incarnation, the life, death and resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ, and then proceeds to lead these individuals to benefit their fellow men by the bearing of the various fruits of the Spirit, and as conversions multiply the converts will ultimately become a blessing to all the world. I also note this, that belief in Christ's death for as is not the end of our religious life, but a means. It is difficult to find a passage anywhere in Scripture which tells the object of Christ's death to be other than Holiness. E. G. Our Lord gave himself for us that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works. I hold also that our personal complete Salvation is indissolubly, connected with saving others.

Turner agrees with me that Christ saves the soul and gives immortality, and so far destroys the works of the devil: but I believe that as sin brings a whole train of misery into the present world as well as into the next, often involving numberless other people, spiritually, morally, materially, socially, and politically, Christ's Salvation is not a half Salvation, but will deliver the world in the long run, and is now delivering it, from all sin and misery of the present life, whether brought on as by ourselves or by others.

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As this seems to be the great point of issue between us, involving the scope of the missionary's work, I hope you will bear with me which I try to make good my position by quotations from Scripture, by reference to the practice of missionaries ancient and modern, and to the practice of ministers and Christians at home.

The following are a few of the passages that show that our Heavenly Father is not indifferent to our present physical suffering. Take a few of the prophecies regarding Messiah's work – Ps. LXX II. 2-4, 12-14. Is XLI. 17-20. LXI. 1-11. "He will judge thy people with righteousness and thy poor with judgment, the mountains and little hills shall bring peace to the people by righteousness. He shall judge the poor of the people, he shall save the children of the needy, and shall break in pieces the oppressor." "For he shall deliver the needy when he crieth: the poor also and him that hath no helper. He shall spare the poor and needy and shall save the souls of the needy. He shall deliver their soul from deceit and violence: and precious shall their blood be in his sigah."

“When the poor and needy seek water and there is none, and their tongue faileth for thirst, I the Lord will hear them etc. I will open rivers in high places and fountains in the midst of the valleys.... I will plant in the wilderness the cedar” etc. [note these are material blessings to be enjoyed in Gospel times.] Again “The Spirit of the Lord God is upon me, because the Lord hath anointed one to preach good tidings unto the meek: he hath sent one to bind up the broken hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound, to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord, and the day of vengeance of our God, to comfort all that mourn”, etc [If we merely spiritualize these passages, do we not limit the scope of the Gospel and rob Christ of much of His glory?]

P5

In the Lord’s prayer we say “Thy will be done in earth as it is in Heaven.” Where is the Christian Father who cares nothing for the physical, intellectual & social wellbeing of his children? If we being evil give good gifts to our children how much more our Heavenly Father, as he has promised in the prophecies? In that XXV, giving the scene of the judgment, the relief of suffering is the test of discipleship in that great and awful day. I shall refer to only one more passage. James II 15-17. “If a brother or sister be naked & destitute of daily food and one of you say unto them Depart in peace, be ye warmed & filled: notwithstanding ye give them not those things which are needful to the body; what doeth it profit? Even so faith of it hath not works, is dead, being alone.”

Only spiritualize such passages seems to me to come perilously near, however unintentionally to handling the word of God deceitfully. This I believe is also often unwittingly done by the taking isolated texts apart from their connection.

The isolation which is involved in a life in the interior of China exposes us to peculiar dangers of this kind. I have known this to go to such an extent that I could tell before going to a meeting, that, whatever the text might be, the subject would be invariably one of three or four. To guard against such dangers I have made it a rule for many years to make an analysis of whole books of Scripture, whether Prophets, Gospels, or Epistles, and give a running commentary on whole chapters. This preserves better the symmetry of Scripture teaching, though it appears often not to emphasize so much of what is very popular in some quarters. But if I analyze faithfully, opposition to me on that account, is really opposition to Scripture teaching itself. It is only those who

have practiced it who know its great value, though it may not deliver him from a charge of heterodoxy – especially when mainly

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surrounded by Plymouth Brethren, Salvation Armyists and Evangelists of only one school of religious thought as was the case with me in Shansi. This, though a seeming depression, is necessary to the full understanding of how adverse rumours have arisen.

Next, consider how the mass of missionaries ancient and modern interpret their duty in practice. In addition to the spiritual and moral work they did, they also worked for the political, the Social, the intellectual and even the material welfare of the people whom they loved, in perfect accordance with those passages of Scripture just quoted. Observe –

Political work as in the Sandwich Islands, Polynesia, Madagascar.

Social work as in the stamping out of cannibalism, infanticide, abortion in all heathen lands; slavery in Africa & America. Securing equality of marriage rights of men & women: equality of town burghers and feudal lords in medieval Europe; and equality of castes in India, etc.

Intellectual work. The missionaries and their pupils were almost the only intellectual light in Europe for about a thousand years, establishing episcopal and monastic schools until superseded by universities. Africa, Polynesia, India, Japan, and even China abound with Mission schools today.

Material work – [such] as clothing for the naked inhabitants of the Tropics, building houses for Polynesians, Africans, Americans, Indians, adorning Europe with Gothic architecture, still the admiration of the world. Agriculture taught by the Benedictines in Europe, by Protestant & Roman Missionaries in Africa; industries in every continent; even

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commerce to a considerable extent, such as that by Duncan in Columbia, the Paris Mission among the Basutoe, L.M.S. and Neoleyans in Polynesia; and now an American Presbyterian Missionary in China has been laying plans before the government for the regulation of the awful floods of the yellow river.

Are all these missionaries and missionary Societies wrong in their interpretation of Scripture?

Look further to the practice of ministers and other servants of God in all times. I believe it was our great Father in Heaven who bade Moses go down to Egypt & deliver a nation of slaves. I believe William of Orange did the work of God when he delivered Europe from the tyranny of the diabolical inquisition. I believe William Trich and Dr. Livingstone were doing the work of Christ when they raised their voices for the physical, social and political deliverance of the African races. I believe Dr. Dale, and Canon Baynes, and other Christmas ministers, are doing God service when they sympathize with the poor and encourage sound socialism, for it is not the will of Christ that any of the least should suffer unnecessarily. I believe Mr. Spraycow was doing the work of the Prophet of God when he raised his great voice against the Franco-Prussian War which brought so much physical suffering on our fellow man, and is acting the part of True Shepherd by his constant fatherly care of poor orphans. I believe the nonconformists are doing the work of the Gospel of Christ when supporting Mr. Gladstone in a measure whose ultimate end is the removal of that terrible rack in Ireland. I believe all this, and why?

P8

Because I believe that the removal of an iniquitous oppressive law is conferring infinitely more charity on the poor than the driblets of half crowns from generous Christians, here & there, or even any amount of spasmodic effort on great occasions of famines and epidemics: and because I believe men do not cease to be citizens when they become Christians, but that, with the wisdom and love from above, they are able to suggest such just & humane laws and beneficent institutions as could not possibly enter the minds of merely worldly men. Such work I believe to be part of the holiness (whole-ness) Christlikeness, or Godlikeness to which we have been called and for our attainment of which Christ died. If we know how to relieve the poor and do not make it known, are we blameless? If we give no practiced proof of our love what avails the profession of it?

So much regarding the aim and scope of the Gospel.

II Now I proceed to consider Mr. Turner's main charge, viz. That I substitute something else for the Gospel of Christ.

1. The first class of proof he gives is in the book which he calls the Order of learning religion. Some copies of it were printed for private and special use only. A copy was given to each of the missionaries in Shansi on the very day they came from the printer. On finding strong opposition to the book I offered to modify it so as to meet the wishes of my colleagues, but they would not have that. I offered to lay it aside altogether, but they would not allow that either, and so sent it home. The book mainly deals with the intellectual and moral tests for Christian leadership, and is a curriculum of study at the same time. I still believe that there are in the main the same tests as are in universal use.

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But whatever faults that Pamphlet may have, it is difficult to see how it can be taken as proof of the substitution of anything for the Gospel, since in it I recommend the learner to the study of the Gospel from the Scripture itself, and from the same catechism and Hymn Book which our missions both in Shantang and Shansi use for the teaching of the Gospel.

This proof of his charge then fails to substantiate it.

2. We now proceed to examine his second class of proofs, viz. Those in the book which he calls 'Political Economy,' the literal title of it would be 'Present Needs.'

He tells you what the occasion of writing that book was. It was the famine, at which both he and I worked together. At the close of the famine it occurred to me, that if I could show to the authorities the causes of their famines and the way to remove them, I would really be rendering them a far greater service than we did during the famine relief. The remedies I suggested were – the Christian religion, Education, Science & invention & investigation, new manufactures, new industries, engineering and better means of communication & distribution, and such things. But mark this, the end of all was the relief of the poor from starvation. This Turner seems to have overlooked altogether. But to proceed.

(I) The first quotation from this book is on p4 of his letter. "Offer liberal rewards to encourage travelling in space." An instance is given of how on account of rewards offered, men travelled for the first time (in 1862) across the Australian continent before the laying of the telegraph. The province of Shansi offers peculiar difficulties to the

construction of railways owing to innumerable gullies, often over a hundred feet in depth, and the geological formation being loess, is

P10

constantly giving way; therefore something of this kind, viz. “travelling” in space as Turner translates it is needed for their ordinary traffic. Since I wrote my book a means for carrying light loads across such valleys and gullies has been invented in England under the name of ‘telpherage.’ For warlike purposes, almost every Government spends annually considerable sums of money for the perfection of “aerial navigation”. Why not for agricultural and other peaceful purposes as well? Thurston, one of the leading Scientists in the United States, who is one of the authors in the International Scientific Series, this year writing of the pressing need for 4 new inventions, mentioned this of “aerial navigation” as one of them.

But in this there is no substitution of anything for the Gospel.

(2) The next quotation is on p5 of his letter. “Make balloons in order to test the course of the winds.” Among other things to be done by the Meteorological Stations established during the last few years on the highest mountains in the world, is not the observation of the course of the winds one of them? As one of the practical benefits already derived from it, the Jesuit observatory in Shanghai has discovered the course of the typhoons, and by its ability to foretell their arrival, many ships, lives and much property have already been saved. Self recording instruments are generally used in these observatories now. Here again I do not see the substitution of anything for the Gospel.

Here Mr. Turner has another charge about the accuracy of my language. After quoting from my speech in Exeter Hall that the government was bent on carrying out some of my hundred suggestions in this book, he selects two,

P11

and then says “I suppose that these are too of the suggestions which the Government is bent on carrying out as soon as it can.” Any one can see the worthlessness of such reasoning for he has said nothing of the other 98 as yet; and as these are actually the subjects of research by various other governments, they are not so ridiculous as he fancies they are. Several of the things such as railways, telegraphs, a college, a travelling mission, and a change in Educational subjects are already accomplished facts.

(3) The next quotation is on p14 of this letter. “Invent Chemical food for the nourishment of surplus population”. The question how to deal with the support of increasing population is discussed on all books on Political Economy, Muelthuis, who by the way was a Christian minister, considered the question insolvable except by the suspension of the law of the sexes. But many scientific men consider that much more can be done before we come to that stage. The study of Chemistry is both synthetic and analytic. The manufacture of beautiful candles from dirty shale, and many oils and wonderful dyes from black coal are all well known. Chemical food is only one step further. Professor Liebig believed in the possibility of it. I believe that British Association not long ago said a great deal on the possibilities of this, but I am sorry that I have no public library at hand to refer to as you have at home. The Emperor Napoleon III believed it, and under his encouragement artificial butter was produced. And if one thing why not another?

The phrase “pastors of the people” given in this passage by Turner does not convey to the Chinese what it may to you, for it is not missionaries but mandarins

P12

who are honoured by that name in Chinese books.

But I cannot see the substitution of anything for the Gospel here.

(4) The next quotation from my book is on p15 of his letter. He gives 2 readings of the text, one is – “Avoid food in order to save from distress,” other “Do without water & grain in order to save from distress.” The case supposed is famine time, and the crops are nearly ripe, but there is no way to borrow and only enough food left for one full meal. When there is this certain death staring people in the face, unless some means be found of tiding over the interval, can we wonder that in this dire necessity they often discussed many receipt for the purpose of tiding it over? These were put up by benevolent natives who thought they had discovered the secret on the walls of all the chief cities. The only thing I knew of as at all likely to meet the difficulty in question was to tell them how to produce trance artificially. This method is given in Huxley’s 4/6 book on Physiology. Is there any other way?

But where is the substitution of anything for the Gospel here?

(5) The next quotation is from the preface of my book given on p17 of his letter. I have already stated that one of the objects of the book was to remove the causes of

famine and to institute such measures as would make the people independent of relief by the wealth brought in. This quotation confirms that part of my object. Besides the importance of the study of material things, I taught that religion after all was the foundation of even material prosperity. This you will find translated on p23.

P13

of Turner's letter, where I sum the teaching of the whole book.

But in the passage on pp17 & 18 there are 2 expressions that might at first sight be misunderstood. viz 1. the suggestion that the wise sayings of all the worthies of China & the rest be collected and what is lasting taken & compiled. Would that not be an immense advance on the present attitude of the Chinese Mandarins and Scholars who despise everything that is not Chinese as barbarian and think that their own books are perfection itself? If they take what is wisest and most lasting from the most will that not contain the inspired teaching of our own Holy Scriptures? 2. The other expression is in the question is not this "God's great impartial doctrine of Salvation?" Please carefully examine the whole passage. It includes the study of Scripture where we think we got the Gospel. It includes following the example of God in Christ. It includes the prosperity of the people and is not God's great impartial doctrine of Salvation to be seen here? And further in every reference to salvation we are not bound to define it fully except where that is the special object of our book as for instance in a Christian Catechism. But that is not the special object of this book.

Here again I do not see the substitution of anything for the Gospel.

(6) The next quotation from my book is on p18 of his letter.

"Perfect the transmission of sound so that it can extend to all nations". I cannot see that national & international communication by telegraph or telephone substitutes anything for the Gospel but this seems to me to have a very important bearing on the promotion of the welfare of the people & the cessation of famine. Banks, Post offices & wide advertisements are necessary agents of large commerce such

P14

as China needs now.

(7) The next quotation from my book is on p19 of his letter, concerning which he uses very strong language, when he says that no words of his can do justice to the utter folly of some of the suggestions E.G.

A new plan [for producing food] not dependent on wind & rain. This occurs in chap 6. on the necessity of original investigation in regard to what could supply food under such circumstances as presented themselves in China during the late famine. However foolish this may appear to Mr Turner one of the possible solutions that occurred to me then has already become an accomplished fact on an immense scale and is far more productive than the ordinary methods. It is called the physiological method of agriculture and quite recently described by Prince Krapotkin in the 19th cent. As to the other solution the army of investigators in the Chemical department have also already given first fruits and earnest of their future harvests. They persevere in their work although it may be foolishness to many.

But there is no substitution of anything for the Gospel here.

(8) The next thing is on p20 of his letter on the folly of suggesting that an automatic method of irrigation can be devised from the study of the laws of clouds wind and rain. If I were not a missionary and had time to go in for such matters I know I could do it myself. I speak with some confidence because I have succeeded in inventing one or two little things with automatic adjustments.

(9) Again p20 of this letter the folly of turning the valleys of central Asia into lakes is referred to. I leave Engineers to decide whether it is foolish to do it on a large scale but the Scotch Presbyterian Missionaries in Rajpootrana during

P15

an Indian famine set the famine stricken people to construct immense reservoirs of this kind and succeeded. Valleys in England & other parts of Europe are constantly utilized when it is desirable to store up water. As to the wisdom or folly of investigating whether chemical elements may not some day be made to support animal life directly I leave to investigators of Chemistry and Biology, not to the mere students of these Sciences to decide.

(10) As to storing of energy. Turner seems not to be aware that we have it in many forms. A mill pond is one, a watchspring is another. Still less does he seem to know that one of the most brilliant discoveries of the century is the storage of energy

by means of electricity as in the secondary batteries. By means of this the running stream or fitful wind can be made to store their otherwise wasted strength when we are asleep and then on the morrow give forth their accumulated strength in various ways – ready to become our drag horses, over swift messengers or to do almost any work we wish. Niagara falls will soon be lighting the town of Buffalo as many an idle stream already lights many mansions in England – all by the means of storage of energy.

In none of these things do I see the substitution of anything for the Gospel nor the offering of anything very foolish.

(11) On the same page in his letter he refers to the sunspots. As such famines as we had then in China are declared by many scientific men to have a distinct periodic relation to the spots of the sun which regulate the quantity of heat in evaporating the clouds from the oceans then their study is not so very foolish in a book that professes to deal with the causes of the famine not is this study a proof that anything has been substituted for the Gospel.

P16

(12) On the same page too he refers to the folly of investigating how to utilize cyclones. Clever captains of vessels will tell you how this is often done in Navigation. By the new means we have now of transforming energy such a thing is already become one of the easiest things in electrical engineering. So you see that this too is neither foolish, impracticable, nor substituting anything for the Gospel.

(13) We have now come to Turner's last quotation from this book. It is given on p21. of his letter and is about the utilization of the colds on the mountains and the heat of volcanoes for agricultural purposes. If the direct conversion of heat into electricity be possible as many believe and on which Mr. Edison and a number of the most distinguished Electricians in the world are now at work, then we are bewildered at the thought of the innumerable new applications of it to all departments of life. And the utilization of these vast stores of energy & treasure now laid up in the extremes of temperature, for purposes of agriculture, will be among the first to suggest themselves to people living in their neighbourhood and suffering from insufficiency of food. Interesting as the consideration of these subjects for the purposes of investigation may be the question we have now to consider is whether this or any other quotation is a proof that I substitute anything for the Gospel. I at least cannot see any proof of this.

(14) The next quotation is from my Scheme for Mission work in China, asking for “men qualified for giving advice in all the various high departments of vast Empires” and is on p21 of his letter. In regard to this he says I hold that a Missionary Society does not exist for such an alyech, and adds that he blushes to think that such wild

P17

absurdities have been offered to the Chinese as part of God’s impartial plan of salvation? I agree with Turner that a Missionary Society does not exist to give advice in regard to all the details of high departments, (though the more the better) but I believe it does fall within the scope of a Missionary Soc. to supply men capable of stating the great fundamental principles of sound government, which has a close bearing on the salvation of man, body & soul, individually and collectively. As to the “wild absurdities”, though they may appear so to him, I think I have shown that they are not so to those acquainted with science, and I have already explained what I mean by “God’s impartial plan of Salvation.” But there are questions beside his main argument. We proceed.

(15) He says on p22 that the religious part of the book is “rotten to the core,” and therefore he does not care to quote it. In proof of his charge he refers to chaps. 94 & 98 of my book.

Now please listen to these and judge for yourselves. No 94 is headed “Understand motives, in order to remove many suspicions” It goes on to say – “The missionaries of whatever country, wherever they go invariably engage themselves in many good works, such as teaching what the people do not know. From the beginning till now there were hundreds of nations great and small originally without letters, and they invented letters for languages of the various nations, and provided books to instruct them. They also set on foot measures to release slaves. On the African slaves were spent from first to last, for about a thousand years, immense sums of money, and when they were [finally] liberated, as additional sum of Seventy Million Taels [£ 20 million] was spent for their redemption to freedom

P18

Again [wherever] there is sickness and suffering from flood or drought they all do their best to save. When war broke out among the nations the missionaries were peacemakers. When there were bad customs and unsuitable laws the missionaries have had these changed, and translated books for each nation far and near to the extent of 200

languages so as to extend knowledge. In this many missionaries were pioneers. In thinking how to stop the use of opium the missionaries took the lead, but got the hatred of the Western merchant. They bear the toil and the malice willingly. The [one] among the Chinese who best understood a foreign language and who holds a high position in the government is also the result of the missionary's teaching from his tenderest years. During the famine in China although the several provinces received repeated grants from the Imperial favour, the missionaries could not sit still and [merely] look on. There were those who raised subscriptions. There were those who visited the famine districts and distributed relief. There were also those who sacrificed their lives by the fever, not seeking fame or wealth, but only thinking of loving their fellow men. There are keys conferred by missionaries, and each item can be easily verified. We dare not boast of these, but because those who do not know suspect and think there never was such a thing – that there must be some ulterior motive, I am compelled to explain.

As to the origin of the idea of the missionary, it is in obedience to the command of our Saviour whom he ascended to Heaven – So ye to all the world and

P19

preach the Gospel; to all men, not only to save one man but whole regions and nations of man; therefore the missionary's footsteps have reached nearly every part of the globe.

The Saviour also clearly stated that in coming to the world it was only to fulfill the law and not to destroy the law. We missionaries in obedience to the instructions left us by our Lord, wherever we go on no account put away any good that men have, but desire to add to it the highest good and the highest excellence. The Saviour was willing to leave Heaven's glory and come down to the world to accomplish the work of redemption. All missionaries of whatever country follow our Lord's Holy example, and reckon the Salvation of men, body & soul, as most important. All love God & love men to the utmost of their ability. Although unable to be perfect, they do the best they can. What harm is that to any [nation]? Those who have doubts may dismiss them.”

That is the whole chapter. Where is the rottenness? Certainly no substitution of anything for the Gospel.

The other chap. is the 98th. It is headed “Increase religious buildings for the service of God.” and says – “God is the fountain of all happiness; the Confucianists also hold the worship & fear of God [Heaven] as important, [therefore] places of worship should

be specially built. One says 'Each may worship in his own house, why should there be a chapel?' It is not so. [True] the Scripture says God is a Spirit, everywhere present, and those who worship him must so do in spirit & in truth; therefore [in a sense] there is no need of selecting a [special] place. But this is

P20

spoken in reference to those who understood religion, and we wish to lead others to return to the truth, therefore without a chapel there is no place to teach people. At present most people do not know God, but perpetually speak of fame & wealth, and forget their origin, constantly begging favours from wooden idols & glorify false Gods. If those who do understand religion don't teach it to others, how can evil customs be reformed and people's heart be rectified? Moreover, as to the men of the past who did good to the people, whether they met great calamities or were surrounded by great trouble, they worshipped them [the idols.]. The Confucianists had the Confucian temple, the Buddhist & Taoist had their respective places of worship, but to God there was no place of worship. Besides, God is the great Ruler who created heave & earth & all things, and supports all generations and all nations. Life & death, happiness & misery, are all in his hand. He is the King of kings & Prince of princes. In dignity without an equal, His grace & goodness are infinite. Is His goodness to the people only local or temporary? That He transcends all, and is entirely different from all men is what is well known. Why then without anything, why not establish chapels to show the gratitude of your heart & to lead people to know where they can go for real

Now the preaching of the Holy Religion of Jesus [Protestenia] has been in China for some tens of years. It speaks of Divine & human duties, of body & soul, of this world & of the world to come. It has all the virtues of the three religions [of China] and all that these lack it has in completeness. Yet beyond the establishment of hospitals & small schools the Mandarins & gentry contribute but little. The Chinese and foreign preachers & medical men number over 1000.

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The expense of their salaries, medicines, & the printing & distribution of books are mainly (9/10th) from the contributions of the good people in the West. I hope that the Chinese who like to gain in doing good will also be moved of the Holy Spirit, so that they may join in all – sacrificing self to save others, and specially erecting chapels to serve God & reform men. This is my ardent wish.”

The rest of the chap. is really the conclusion of the whole book, & Turner has already translated it. It is there that I say that even the wealth of a people is to be got by religion as well as knowledge, & that religion is the root, & all the rest but branches.

In the religious part of the book one chapter commences ‘What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?’ Another asks them to consider the four last things – death, judgment, heaven, hell. Another speaks of sin as one of the causes of their famines & calls them to repentance & points them to the Saviour. Are these things rotten to the core? This expression of his, & the aim of his whole letter will be sufficient proof that he chose the weakest parts of the book, and if I have been able to justify those I need not say anymore about the rest.

When I review the whole book I can see that many places might be much improved; only those who have composed books in the higher style of Chinese know how difficult it is to express exactly what one means; but I fail to see anywhere the substitution of anything for the Gospel in it.

This finishes the bulk of Turner’s letter.

Now we come to the other classes of proofs which he gives us – nos. 3.4 & 5 which will be disposed of more briefly.

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3rd Class. It consists of three pamphlets referred to by him on p23. One of them was written on account of the persecution which we were suffering from at that time, when Mr. James and I were instructed from home to go to Peking and see Sir Harry Parks about this matter. The Pamphlet was shown to the Chairman of the North China Tract Society and he thought it would be useful, and spontaneously offered to lay it before their Committee to have it printed as one of their publications. Our cause was urgent, and I could not wait till their next meeting.

Another was drawn up on account of the French war, then going on, when 18 chapels were destroyed in the South of China. Its main object was to urge peace and to ward off attacks from ignorance & prejudice. I have always thought that peacemaking lay within the province of the missionary.

Turner's translation of a certain phrase as "Society of Heaven's nobility" in it, is etymologically correct, but the meaning attached to such an expression, current for 2 thousand years in China, is better rendered in English by 'a Society of Religious people.'

That Pamphlet does not state that any work among the officials of Tai Yuen Fu "consisted" of such things as he says. What is stated is this, "that when any inquired of me about military science, education, manufacture of iron or steel, the construction of railways & openings of mines among all nations, I invariably told them, and that with care, & never hid anything." This is the translation of the passage & shows that this book, like the others,

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is a part of Apologetics, justifying missionaries in the style of the Mandarins, showing that we have no ulterior motives which we hide from the Chinese; a very different thing from saying that my work 'consisted' in it.

The third Pamphlet is not a religious one at all as he says. The way I came to write it was this. The third chief mandarin of the province of Shansi – generally called the provincial judge, because he is the chief judge of the whole province called on me one day, & sat for about 4 hours asking me various questions as to how to develop the resources of the province. I promised him to write out a sketch of what I deemed best. This pamphlet is that sketch.

But Turner has not shown where in the books I substitute anything for the Gospel.

4th Class. All my books including the Lives of the Saints. In training the native Evangelists I often felt the need of a Church Hist. given in the concrete with examples of Holy Lives as well as dry fact. We have no such thing in Chinese as yet. My wife had translated a few from Alban Buttes Lives, leaving out what she thought Romish. A few copies of these few Lives were printed for our students. Afterwards my colleagues thought that more might be left and or explained. I at once agreed to that to their own satisfaction before I went home to England. There was no training of Evangelists going on after my return, & therefore the volume in questions has never been used since.

But this is a very different thing from proving that in them I substitute anything for the Gospel.

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Having already considered the books which Turner specifically mentions to prove his point, and found them not to be proofs, you will probably be safe to conclude that you will not find the proof in the other either.

5th Class. The wonderful instruments & machines stored up in Shansi. On this he himself does not say a single word to show how they are a proof that I substitute anything for the Gospel; therefore I will not say anything about this just now.

I have at last come to the end of his letter & after having examined everything he addresses in proof of his charge, I cannot see that he substantiates it in any point; but it is for you to judge.

III Now although this letter is already very long, I pray the Committee will further bear with me, and will listen to my version of the case.

1. Something on the line I adopted for the conciliation of the Mandarins & Scholars I believe was necessary – Because of the intense prejudice & hatred causes by the Taiping rebellion, which as you know originated with Protestant missions, and had only been just put down when I arrived in China. Because of the violent of the hatred to missionaries in particular, which broke out in that fearful massacre at Tientsin a few months after I arrived in China.

Because of frequent & general persecutions over the Empire after that. Because of instructions issued by the British government and sent out to the missionaries through the Secretaries of the Missionary Societies, that if we went to the interior we did so at our own risk. The Consuls could only protect us at the open Ports.

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Because so late as 1884 no less than 18 chapels in a few weeks were destroyed as the Mandarins believed that the missionaries were at the bottom of their political troubles again.

Because work among rulers in China has a double claim on us; first the Gospel is for all classes; & neglect the rulers is to disobey our Lord's plain command. Next if we can make the rulers to be God-fearing, like kings David, Josiah, Albredetes, then, besides their own conversion, we ensure deliverance of the mass of Christians under their care from persecution, and are sure to get them to frame more humane & intelligent laws for the amelioration of the condition of the poor and the toiling classes.

In regard to this idea, which is one of the distinguishing features in my Scheme of Mission work, Turner says (p11) that an increasing number of missionaries in all parts of China share the belief that my so called “special work” would not be supported by one in a thousand; but of this he gives no proof whatever. Suppose if even so, perhaps the thousandth would; & how does he know so infallibly that that one may not also be helping a most important part in the grand work of saving men, for we are many members in one body, and all members have not the same office.

Further, I could prove to you that amongst my acquaintances there is an increasing number of missionaries in China believing that it ought to be done. But this is one of his side issues, and your time is too precious to follow it further. When Turner criticizes these books & my Scheme in justice to him, I believe he does not know what their main object was,

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otherwise he might be as zealous to help in this as he was in the famine relief, for Apologetics has always been a recognized branch of Christian teaching. But I return.

2. Again, the measures that were adopted for the conciliation of the Mandarins & scholars God has been pleased to bless with success, in gaining for us greater freedom to preach the Gospel.

The highest Mandarin in the province – the Governor – asked me to accept a situation to superintend the development of the material resources of the province, but I declined, saying that I came out to do what would be still more beneficial to them than that.

The second Mandarin in the province contributed money towards printing the School & Text book series, brought out by the China Missionary Conference, & of his own accord offered to do more for the same kind of work in the future.

The third Mandarin in the province came in person & asked for advice, as I have already mentioned above, & further asked if I could procure foreign teachers for a school on Western principles that he wanted to establish in Shansi.

Another who is now a prefect – a ruler of several counties – hearing of persecutions of Christians & believing them to be my converts, of his own accord went to a friend of his who was appointed to settle the matter, & charged him to be sure I take my part.

Another prefect brought a letter from a friend of his asking me if I would take his son & educate him, without

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any restrictions about religion.

The goodwill of others of less importance I need not mention. But the greatest evidence of success is perhaps this: – Tai Yuen Fu is 400 miles away from the nearest Consul, and far beyond his protecting care, yet the missionaries live in perfect peace. About 60 missionaries are in the province now, where there was not a single one residing when I arrived there 11 year ago; – all living & working without molestation from the heathen. But the missionaries in the surrounding provinces – Shansi, Szchwen, Honan, have been driven out from their cities & from some of them repeatedly. The Shantang brethren, though not driven away from their work, still complain of much opposition from the Mandarins & Scholars there. And it is this enlightenment & conciliation of the Mandarins & Scholars, as far as I know, that is the chief cause of the difference between Shansi & these other provinces. It pains me to unite in this strain, for it seems like vain-glorious boasting, but I have been forced to it. There are besides as many converts as Turner can show for the same time.

IV. We have disposed of the Apologetics in my work, now for the Dogmatics. These of course are of a totally different character. It is by these that I try to produce in men a sense of sin, to awaken in them a cry ‘what shall I do to be saved’? and tell them of the glad tidings of reconciliation to God through Jesus Christ, as the means of their individual salvation, and as the foundation of the kingdom of God which is ultimately to bless all men – in this world as well as in the next. The books I use are those of Dr. Milne, or Marten, Dr. Williamson, Dr. Allen, Willian Burns,

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Mr. John, Mr. Faber, and all the leading books published by the Religious Tract Societies in China, as they appear from time to time. I also use my own Catechism, Hymn Book portions of Jeremy Taylor’s Holy Living, and of course the Scriptures. Does Turner use much more? I think not.

Besides using these books I gave regular instruction in the religious services. These were twice & sometimes thrice on Sundays, other weekly services for prayer &

religious instruction. Occasionally I made visits to the country, to see how Evangelistic work has prospered and to help in the work.

When I was at home I knew also that there were scores of missionaries peaceably at work in Shansi, having free access to all classes of the people, and that each of these generally had some native assistants to help in preaching or teaching, that all the leading Christmas books published in China were being distributed throughout the whole province, and that Sunday Services & family worship were being rapidly multiplied in the northern, southern, & central parts of the province; you may consider the passage quoted by Turner on p24 about “the air being gradually filled by the music of the cross”, & judge whether I was not perfectly justified in using such an expression. I might say much more about this suppression of what I consider the most important part of my teaching, but I forbear.

Here is the place too to consider the sweeping charge he makes about waste of money for ten years. Of these ten years part of them I devoted to family relief, 2 were spent in going & returning & staying in England, more than a

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year was spent in work in Shantung & for Shantung in Peking, there remains then only the expenditure of about 5 years to consider. Please look at this again. It may be divided into the Personal (salary) the Evangelistic, the Literacy, the Instruments. As to the Personal, it is the same as what is allowed to Turner. As he teaches no essential truth of the Gospel that I do not teach, the waste therefore cannot be there, unless equally so with him. As to the Evangelistic, he uses the same Evangelists & the same books, therefore the waste cannot well be there either. As to the Literacy work, if Turner has not been able to show that the weakest parts of the books may not be useful, and if the reasons I gave for their necessity and the proofs I gave of their success be sound, then the expenditure on them is also justified. As to the Instruments – the Society granted £ 200 for them, but the instruments are still in existence and can be sold if the Society so desires. As for the many other instruments beyond that sum, they were partly bought with money left me in a legacy & partly with my own money, for beyond a plain living for myself & family I used all my salary for mission purposes, books, & apparatus to help in my work included. As to time, I work from 12 to 14 hours daily and scarcely ever have a holiday. What then becomes of the sweeping charge he makes of the waste

of thousands of pounds of hard earned money during the last ten years, at the thought of which he “trembles with indignation”? I leave the Committee to judge.

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A comparison of expenditure per Missionary, which his letter may assume, is nothing to the point. When Turner can show how the same amount of missionary result, including the necessary conciliation over an equally wide area, can be produced by any other means cheaper, I shall be delighted to hear it, and will be ready to put it into practice at once, if God so lead me. But I cannot see what good can come out of destroying what we have, or even casting suspicion on it, until he can show us something better.

I think I have now answered the most serious side issues as well as the main charge, and if these are unsustained by evidence then it is probably unnecessary to follow up the rest. But there remains one proof which is so unique that I shall answer by an analogy. The astonishment I felt in reading it in a serious letter made me wonder what it was like. On the table before me was the Baptist Magazine & Missionary Herald for Aug. It has bound with it an advertisement headed by an illustration of 3 dogs & occupy 4 pp. It begins with the quotation from Coleridge

“He prayeth best who loveth best

All creatures great & small.”

and ends with – PearsSoap!

What would be thought of any one bringing that up as a Tract, and a proof that the Editions of the Baptist Magazine & the Missionary Herald were substituting something for the Gospel of Christ? Some may smile at this. But on second thought we must feel sad that

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it was ever made in seriousness. This I believe is what has been done with the Flying Machine Advertisement, which by the way I only distributed once, many years ago along with something else. I confess that I have never thought that Science and Investigation could do “incalculable harm” to missions. This concludes all I have to say in defence.

Now just a word or two in conclusion.

How is this weary strife to come to an end? Can it be by substituting a Theoretical for a Practical test? Are the words of John the Baptist & our Saviour to have only an antiquarian interest or is it true still as of old that by their fruit ye shall know them? If every one of us here were to adopt this high-handed judging & fault finding policy, and were to substitute it for the observance of the 11th Commandment, I fear the conversion of the heathen would be a hopeless dream.

I cannot tell you what pain the whole affair has cost me. You will judge whether it was uncalled for. I am sorry on my own account I own, but I am also very sorry on Turner's account. He did splendid work during the famine, he astonished us by his rapid movements, often travelling night & day in order to save the perishing, & endeared himself to us generally. I am sorry that in defending the necessity of various methods in missionary work, harmonizing with the various gifts with which God has endowed us, Turner himself should compel me to write things that put a fellow labourer in an unfavourable light before you.

If this letter be not a sufficient explanation of my

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position, I pray the Committee to send out a deputation to make any further inquiries instead of the present method which is so terribly destructive.

With these words I leave the whole matter in your hands. Ignorance & sin must have been the cause of the strife here as elsewhere. My prayer is that the light & love of God may come to us through you, and that these may stream through our lives once more, so that the heathen seeing our good works, may glorify our Father who is in heaven.

I remain

Yours faithfully

Timothy Richard

Appendix B

1. Richard's Articles in the First Edition of *Huangchao jingshiwen xinbian*

Volume	Title	Origin
1	Xin zhengce zixu 新政策自敘 (The Preface of the New Policies)	<i>Wanguo gongbao</i>
	Xin zhengce 新政策 (The New Policies)	<i>Wanguo gongbao</i>
2	Xila dadi Yalishanda chuan 希臘大帝亞歷山大傳 (The Biography of the Greek Emperor Alexander)	<i>Ouzhou bada diwang chuan</i>
	Luoma huang Gaisa chuan 羅馬皇該撒傳 (The Biography of the Roman Emperor Caesar)	<i>Ouzhou bada diwang chuan</i>
	Desheng Weiliang chuan 得勝偉良傳 (The Biography of the Conqueror William)	<i>Ouzhou bada diwang chuan</i>
	Shaoyan Wweiliang chuan 少言偉良傳 (The Brief Biography of William)	<i>Ouzhou bada diwang chuan</i>
	Fahuang Napolun diyi chuan 法皇拿破崙第一傳 (The Biography of the French Emperor Napoleon I)	<i>Ouzhou bada diwang chuan</i>
	Ehuang Dabide chuan 俄皇大彼得傳 (The Biography of the Russian Emperor Peter the Great)	
5	Lun xinxuebu jiyi sheli 論新學部亟宜設立 (Discussion on New Schools Should be Established soon)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
	Lun Yingguo Lundun bowuyuan shulou 論英國倫敦博物院書樓 (Discussion on London Museum's Library in England)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
6	Lun licai yi qingli kuanmu 論理財宜清釐款目 (Discussion on Making Clear Account in Financial Management)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
7	Nongren xinfu jilue 農人新法紀略 (The Brief Strategies for Farmers)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
	Wuzhou yuren shengji shuo 五洲漁人生計說 (Fishers' Means of Making Livelihoods in Five	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>

	Continents)	
9	Lun gongren yi jianfu 論工人宜漸富 (Discussion on Workers Should Make Profits Gradually)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
10	Lun Zhongguo yi teshe shangbu yi zhengdun shangwu 論中國宜特設商部以整頓商務 (Discussion on China Should Establish the Administration of Commerce to Deal with Commercial Affairs)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
11	Zhongwai yinlou zhangluo shuo 中外銀樓漲落說 (The Price Fluctuation of Silverware Shops in China and Abroad)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
	Lun jinyin zhangluo jiyou guanji 論金銀漲落極有關繫 (Discussion on the Price Fluctuation of Gold Highly Relevant to That of Silver)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
12	Shui kao 稅考 (The Research of Taxes)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
	Jiashui pidi yi 加稅關地議 (The Proposal of Increasing Taxes and Opening up Lands)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
13	Lun jiedao 論街道 (Discussion on Streets)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
	Lun xiuhe 論修河 (Discussion on Renovating Rivers)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
	Xiulu naineng zushi lun 修路乃能足食論 (Discussion on Renovating Roads to Make Food Sufficient)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
	Jiancang chumi moru tuiguang tielu lunzhou shuo 建倉儲米莫如推廣鐵路輪舟說 (Promoting Railways and Ships is Better than Building Storehouses and Storing Rice)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
	Yushui zhenji moru tuiguang tielu shuo 禦水賑飢莫如推廣鐵路說 (Promoting Railways is Better than Preventing Floods and Relieving Poverty in Famines)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
	Zao tielu jiyi jiuzai shuo 造鐵路即以救災說 (Building Railways is to Relieve Sufferings in Disasters)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
	Tielu qindi shuo 鐵路侵地說 (Railways and Land)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>

	Exploration)	
	Chuangzao tielu yi xianshi minren xianzhi liyi shuo 創造鐵路宜先使民人咸知利益說 (Making People Know the Profit of Railways Should be Prior to Railway Construction)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
	Lun fangzhen buru fangzai 論放賑不如防災 (Discussion on Preventing Disasters Better than Providing Relief Funds)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
	Ji xiguo songxin zhangcheng shimo 紀西國送信章 程始末 (The History of Postal Regulations in the West)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
18	Xiguo fuhu limin shuo 西國富戶利民說 (Profiting People's Wealth in the West)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
	Yangmin shuolue 養民說略 (Brief Introduction of Raising People)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
	Dawen yangmin shiyi 答問養民事宜 (Questions and Answers Concerning the Issues of Raising People)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
	Lun pinmin youwang 論貧民有望 (Discussion on Poor People Having Hopes)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
	Youmin youye lun 游民有業論 (Discussion on Vagrant People Having Jobs)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
	Mibing huiji 弭兵會記 (Discussion on Terminating Wars)	
21	Taixi xinshi lanyao xu 泰西新史攬要序 (The Preface of <i>Taixi xinshi lanyao</i>)	<i>Taixi xinshi lanyao</i>

2. Richard's Articles in *Huangchao jingshiwen sanbian*

Volume	Title	Origin
2	Yixi xiwen shuo 宜習西文說 (Advice on Learning Western Languages)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
10	Lun Gezhixue yuanqi 論格致學緣起 (Discussion on the Origin of Science)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
	Lun xue gezhi bixian qiu fuguo 論學格致必先求富國 (Discussion on the Priority of Making a Country Wealthy in Learning Science)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
12	Dianxue kao 電學考 (The Research of Electrical Science)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
25	Shu edu kaipi quanchu liyuan shihou 書鄂督開闢全楚利源示後 (Letter to Hubei Governor Concerning the Profit in Hunan Province after Mining Exploration)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
	Lun Zhongguo yiyu fuqiang 論中國易於富強 (Discussion on China Easy to be Prosperous and Powerful)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
	Lun gongren yi jianfu 論工人宜漸富 (Discussion on Workers Should Make Profits Gradually)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
27	Tianxia sidazong lun 天下四大宗論 (Discussion on Four Sects under Heaven)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
28	Jiashui pidi yi 加稅闢地議 (The Proposal of Increasing Taxes and Opening up Lands)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
30	Lun yinhang 論銀行 (Discussion on Bank)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
34	Lun min 論民 (Discussion on People)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
	Dawen yangmin shiyi 答問養民事宜 (Questions and Answers Concerning the Issues of Raising People)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
	Lun pinmin youwang 論貧民有望 (Discussion on Poor People Having Hopes)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
	Youmin youye lun 游民有業論 (Discussion on Vagrant People Having Jobs)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>

	Xifa youyi yumin lun 西法有益於民論 (Discussion on Western Strategies Beneficial to People)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
	Zhuanyi jihuan shuo 轉移積患說 (Transmitting Accumulated Burdens)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
	Nongren xinfa jilue 農人新法紀略 (The Brief Strategies for Farmers)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
38	Shangyu geguo shichen dingqi chaojian jinshu yuhou 上諭各國使臣定期朝見謹書於後 (Comments on the Emperor Notifying Every Country's Ambassadors to Regularly Come at Court)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
	Liangjun xiangjian lun 兩君相見論 (Discussion on the Meeting of Two Countries' Leaders)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
	Jinjian shichen guanhu zhenxing shuo 覲見使臣關乎振興說 (Meeting Ambassadors Relevant to Develop Vigorously)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
39	Qinwang yi youli geguo shuo 親王宜游歷各國說 (Princes Should Travel Around Countries)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
41	Lun xuexiao 論學校 (Discussion on Schools)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
	Lun xinxuebu jiyi sheli 論新學部亟宜設立 (Discussion on New Schools Should be Established soon)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
44	Lun zhongwai jiaojie qi lianluo weichi zhifa jiuying ruhe banli 論中外交接其聯絡維持之法究應如何辦理 (Discussion on How to Manage the Methods to Maintain the Relationships Between China and Foreign Countries)	
54	Shuo bing 說兵 (Discussion on Military)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
55	Ji xiguo songxin zhangcheng shimo 紀西國送信章程始末 (The History of Postal Regulations in the West)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
58	Tielu qindi shuo 鐵路侵地說 (Railways and Land Exploration)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
62	Li qi 利器 (The Benefit of Equipment)	
	Qiqiu kao 氣球考 (The Research of Balloon)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>

63	Tielu xinzhang sheng jiaojia fa 鐵路新章省腳價法 (New Regulations of Railways in Saving Transportation Prices)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
64	Xiulu naineng zushi lun 修路乃能足食論 (Discussion on Renovating Roads to Make Food Sufficient)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
	Jiancang chumi moru tuiguang tielu lunzhou shuo 建 倉儲米莫如推廣鐵路輪舟說 (Promoting Railways and Ships is Better than Building Storehouses and Storing Rice)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
66	Lun xiuhe 論修河 (Discussion on Renovating Rivers)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
	Yushui zhenji moru tuiguang tielu shuo 禦水賑飢莫 如推廣鐵路說 (Promoting Railways is Better than Preventing Floods and Relieving Poverty in Famines)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
68	Lun kai meikuang zhiyi 論開煤礦之益 (Discussion on the Benefit of Coal Mining)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
	Shanxi kaikuang yi 山西開礦議 (The Proposal of Coal Mining in Shansi)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
71	Ouzhou geguo kaipi Feizhou kao 歐洲各國開闢非洲 考 (The Research of European Countries' Explorations in Africa)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>

3. Richard's Articles in *Huangchao jingshiwen tongbian*

Volume	Title	Origin
8	Lun xinxuebu jiyi sheli 論新學部亟宜設立 (Discussion on New Schools Should be Established soon)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
38	Xiguo fuhu limin shuo 西國富戶利民說 (Profiting People's Wealth in the West)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
	Yangmin shuolue 養民說略 (Brief Introduction of Raising People)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
	Lun pinmin youwang 論貧民有望 (Discussion on Poor People Having Hopes)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
	Youmin youye lun 游民有業論 (Discussion on Vagrant People Having Jobs)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
55	Xila dadi Yalishanda chuan 希臘大帝亞歷山大傳 (The Biography of the Greek Emperor Alexander)	<i>Ouzhou bada diwang chuan</i>
	Luoma huang Gaisa chuan 羅馬皇該撒傳 (The Biography of the Roman Emperor Caesar)	<i>Ouzhou bada diwang chuan</i>
	Desheng Weiliang chuan 得勝偉良傳 (The Biography of the Conqueror William)	<i>Ouzhou bada diwang chuan</i>
	Shaoyan Weiliang chuan 少言偉良傳 (The Brief Biography of William)	<i>Ouzhou bada diwang chuan</i>
	Fahuang Napolun diyi chuan 法皇拿破崙第一傳 (The Biography of the French Emperor Napoleon I)	<i>Ouzhou bada diwang chuan</i>
	Ehuang Dabide chuan 俄皇大彼得傳 (The Biography of the Russian Emperor Peter the Great)	
56	Lun licai yi qingli kuanmu 論理財宜清釐款目 (Discussion on Making Clear Account in Financial Management)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
57	Lun Zhongguo yi teshe shangbu yi zhengdun shangwu 論中國宜特設商部以整頓商務 (Discussion on China Should Establish the Administration of Commerce to Deal with Commercial Affairs)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
59	Zhongwai jinyin zhangluo shuo 中外金銀漲落說	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>

	(The Price Fluctuation of Gold and Silver in China and Abroad)	
	Lun jinyin zhangluo jiyou guanji 論金銀漲落極有關繫 (Discussion on the Price Fluctuation of Gold Highly Relevant to That of Silver)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
66	Shui kao 稅考 (The Research of Taxes)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
86	Mibing huiji 弭兵會記 (Discussion on Terminating Wars)	
87	Lun gongren yi jianfu 論工人宜漸富 (Discussion on Workers Should Make Profits Gradually)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
90	Jiancang chumi moru tuiguang tielu lunzhou shuo 建倉儲米莫如推廣鐵路輪舟說 (Promoting Railways and Ships is Better than Building Storehouses and Storing Rice)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
	Yushui zhenji moru tuiguang tielu shuo 禦水賑飢莫如推廣鐵路說 (Promoting Railways is Better than Preventing Floods and Relieving Poverty in Famines)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
	Zao tielu jiyi jiuzai shuo 造鐵路即以救災說 (Building Railways is to Relieve Sufferings in Disasters)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
	Tielu qindi shuo 鐵路侵地說 (Railways and Land Exploration)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
	Chuangzao tielu yi xianshi minren xianzhi liyi shuo 創造鐵路宜先使民人咸知利益說 (Making People Know the Profit of Railways Should be Prior to Railway Construction)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
94	Ji xiguo songxin zhangcheng shimo 紀西國送信章程始末 (The History of Postal Regulations in the West)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
102	Xin zhengce zixu 新政策自敘 (The Preface of the New Policies)	<i>Wanguo gongbao</i>
	Xin zhengce 新政策 (The New Policies)	<i>Wanguo gongbao</i>

4. Richard's Articles in *Huangchao jingjiwen xinbian*

Volume	Title	Origin
2	Xin zhengce 新政策 (The New Policies)	<i>Wanguo gongbao</i>
6	Ehuang Dabide chuan 俄皇大彼得傳 (The Biography of the Russian Emperor Peter the Great)	
23	Wuzhou yuren shengji shuo 五洲漁人生計說 (Fishers' Means of Making Livelihoods in Five Continents)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
26	Shanxi kaikuang yi 山西開礦議 (The Proposal of Coal Mining in Shansi)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
28	Lun gongren yi jianfu 論工人宜漸富 (Discussion on Workers Should Make Profits Gradually)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
34	Zhongwai jinyin zhangluo shuo 中外金銀漲落說 (The Price Fluctuation of Gold and Silver in China and Abroad)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
	Lun jinyin zhangluo jiyou guanji 論金銀漲落極有關繫 (Discussion on the Price Fluctuation of Gold Highly Relevant to That of Silver)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
37	Lun Zhongguo yi teshe shangbu yi zhengdun shangwu 論中國宜特設商部以整頓商務 (Discussion on China Should Establish the Administration of Commerce to Deal with Commercial Affairs)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
44	Shui kao 稅考 (The Research of Taxes)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
	Jiashui pidi yi 加稅關地議 (The Proposal of Increasing Taxes and Opening up Lands)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
45	Ji xiguo songxin zhangcheng shimo 紀西國送信章程始末 (The History of Postal Regulations in the West)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
47	Tielu qindi shuo 鐵路侵地說 (Railways and Land Exploration)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
48	Dianxue kao 電學考 (The Research of Electrical Science)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
58	Xiguo fuhu limin shuo 西國富戶利民說 (Profiting	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>

	People's Wealth in the West)	
	Yangmin shuolue 養民說略 (Brief Introduction of Raising People)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
	Dawen yangmin shiyi 答問養民事宜 (Questions and Answers Concerning the Issues of Raising People)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
	Lun pinmin youwang 論貧民有望 (Discussion on Poor People Having Hopes)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
	Youmin youye lun 游民有業論 (Discussion on Vagrant People Having Jobs)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
59	Yumi jiaohuo shuo 豫弭教禍說 (Preventing Attacks on Christians in Advance)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
61	Lun Annan 論安南 (Discussion on Vietnam)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
62	Shuo yi 說醫 (Discussion on Medicine)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>

5. Richard's Articles in *Huangchao xuai wenbian*

Volume	Title	Origin
2	Qiu ru jiumin shuo 求儒救民說 (Begging Confucians to Save People)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
11	Riermanhuang Shaliman chuan 日耳曼皇沙釐曼傳 (The Biography of German Emperor Charles)	<i>Ouzhou bada diwang chuan</i>
	Yingjili dawang Yalefei chuan 英吉利大王亞勒腓傳 (The Biography of English King Alphaeus)	<i>Ouzhou bada diwang chuan</i>
	Shali diwu chuan 沙力第五傳 (The Biography of Charles V)	<i>Ouzhou bada diwang chuan</i>
	Fahuang Napolun xingzhuang 法皇拿破崙行狀 (The Biography of the French Emperor Napoleon)	<i>Ouzhou bada diwang chuan</i>
18	Shengli fenli zhibie lun 生利分利之別論 (Discussion on the Difference between Wealth Production and Wealth Consumption)	<i>Wanguo gongbao</i>
	Shengli fenli zhibie zailun 生利分利之別再論 (Further Discussion on the Difference between Wealth Production and Wealth Consumption)	<i>Wanguo gongbao</i>
20	Nongren xinfa jilue 農人新法紀略 (The Brief Strategies for Farmers)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
23	Meiyou shulue 煤油述略 (Brief Introduction of Kerosene)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
26	Zhizao gangtie jilue 製造鋼鐵紀略 (Brief Description of Manufacturing Iron and Steel)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
28	Zhenxing jingjin maoyi shuo 振興京津貿易說 (Promoting Trade in Peking and Tianjin)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
41	Lun shuishi yi 論水師一 (Discussion on Navy I)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
	Lun shuishi er 論水師二 (Discussion on Navy II)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
	Lun shuishi san 論水師三 (Discussion on Navy III)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
	Lun shuishi si 論水師四 (Discussion on Navy IV)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
53	Ji youli Xicang 紀游歷西藏 (Traveling in Tibet)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
	Tuiguang Manzhou xingwang zhiyou 推廣滿州興旺之由 (Deducing the Reasons Why Manchuria)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>

	Became Prosperous)	
57	Eshi zhuanhuo weifu lun 俄事轉禍為福論 (Discussion on Turning Calamity into Blessing in Russia)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
	Lun Chaoxian yiqiu Zhongguo baohu 論朝鮮宜求中國保護 (Discussion on Korea Should Ask China for Protection)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
62	Maoqi jiangjun shilue 毛奇將軍事略 (Brief Introduction of the General Moltke)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
	Ji Eluosi jinshi 紀俄羅斯近事 (Current Affairs in Russia)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
	Echao shulue shang 俄朝述略上 (Brief Introduction of Russian Empire I)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
	Echao shulue xia 俄朝述略下 (Brief Introduction of Russian Empire II)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
	Deguo zashi jilue 德國雜事紀略 (Miscellaneous Issues in Germany)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
	Faguo suoji 法國瑣紀 (Miscellaneous Issues in France)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
	Yingguo jiekuan ji 銀國借款記 (Asking for Loans in Silver Countries)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
	Lun Miandian 論緬甸 (Discussion on Myanmar)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
	Lun Annan 論安南 (Discussion on Vietnam)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
63	Ying chu jibi yi 英除積弊一 (Eradicating Accumulated Burdens in England I)	<i>Taixi xinshi lanyao</i>
	Ying chu jibi er 英除積弊二 (Eradicating Accumulated Burdens in England II)	<i>Taixi xinshi lanyao</i>
	Ouzhou bainianqian qingxing 歐洲百年前情形 (The Situation of Europe 100 Years Ago)	<i>Taixi xinshi lanyao</i>
	Ouzhou zhanshi 歐洲戰事 (European Warfare)	<i>Taixi xinshi lanyao</i>
	Zhizhi zhilong yi 鄧治之隆一 (The Prosperous Governance I)	<i>Taixi xinshi lanyao</i>
	Zhizhi zhilong er 鄧治之隆二 (The Prosperous	<i>Taixi xinshi</i>

	Governance II)	<i>lanyao</i>
	Yindu 印度 (India)	<i>Taixi xinshi lanyao</i>
	Faguo fuli junzhu 法國復立君主 (King Enthroned Again in France)	<i>Taixi xinshi lanyao</i>
	Faguo zaili huangdi 法國再立皇帝 (Emperor Enthroned Again in France)	<i>Taixi xinshi lanyao</i>
	Deyizhiguo 德意志國 (Germany)	<i>Taixi xinshi lanyao</i>
	Yidaliguo 義大利國 (Italy)	<i>Taixi xinshi lanyao</i>
	Eluosiguo 俄羅斯國 (Russia)	<i>Taixi xinshi lanyao</i>
	Tuerqiguo 土耳其國 (Turkey)	<i>Taixi xinshi lanyao</i>
	Meiguo 美國 (The U.S.A.)	<i>Taixi xinshi lanyao</i>
	Jiaohuang 教皇 (The Holy Father)	<i>Taixi xinshi lanyao</i>
64	Lun Yaxiyaren bufu Eluosi 論亞細亞人不服俄羅斯 (Discussion on Asian People Disobedient to Russia)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
65	Ying qianxiang Gelansidun xiaochuan 英前相格蘭斯敦小傳 (The Brief Biography of the Former Prime Minister Gladstone in England)	
	De qianxiang Bishimai wang chuan 德前相俾士麥王傳 (The Biography of the Former Prime Minister Bismarck in Germany)	
67	Jiaowu benmo shang 教務本末上 (Questions and Answers Concerning Religious Issues I)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
	Jiaowu benmo zhong 教務本末中 (Questions and Answers Concerning Religious Issues II)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
	Jiaowu benmo xia 教務本末下 (Questions and Answers Concerning Religious Issues III)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
70	Xulun Gexue 續論格學 (Further Discussion on	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>

	Science)	
	Gezhi yi chuangxin jiqi shuo 格致宜創新機器說 (Science Replying on the Invention of Machines)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>
78	Shu rendi jinchan zhutu hou 書人地金產諸圖後 (Comments on the Diagrams of Population, Lands, and Minerals)	<i>Shishi xinlun</i>

Appendix C

The Catalog of Richard's News Cuttings Book

In the catalog below, “Page” is the original page numbers noted by the compiler, “Source” and “Date” are according to the compiler’s hand-written information, “Title” is directly written from the title of each news cutting, and “Note” is remarked in order to provide further information. The mark #, between “Page” and “Source,” denotes the publication in China, whereas the mark * denotes the publication in the U.K.

Page	Source	Date	Title	Note
1 #	The Record	May 5, 1905	The Rev. Dr. Timothy Richard	Reporting Richard’s speech at the annual meeting of the British Foreign Bible Society
1 *	The Times	1905	The Awakening of China— To the Editor of The Times	1. Mentioning the China Missions Emergency Committee that was formed by Richard 2. A typescript stored in the National Library of Wales
1 *	Baptist Times	Feb 24, 1905	(no title)	Reporting Richard met the Baptist committee for spreading the Gospel in China
1 *	Christian World	Feb 2, 1905	Thirty-Five Years in China—A Talk with Rev. Timothy Richard	
1 *	Liverpool Daily Post	Mar 14, 1905	(no title)	Reporting Liverpool people had an opportunity of meeting B.M.S., including Richard
1	Annual Meeting of the Friends	Jun 16, 1905	(no title)	Reporting Richard’s speech at the Bible Society

Mission in Leeds					
1	*	British Weekly	Feb 2, 1905	A Great Chinese Missionary—Interview with Dr. Timothy Richard	A typescript stored in the National Library of Wales
2	*	The Baptist Times & Freeman	Feb 3, 1905	(no title)	Introducing Richard's missionary work in China
3	*	The Christian Commonwealth	Mar 23, 1905	The Fate of China—A Chat with Rev. Dr. Timothy Richard	
3	*	The Welsh Gazette	May 11, 1905	Dr. Timothy Richard at Aberystwyth—A Distinguished Missionary	
4	*	Christian World	Feb, 1905	The Future of Missions—A Prophei's Forecast—Dr. Timothy Richard Home again	
4	*	Baptist Times	Sep 15, 1905	Three Surprising Facts	Written by Richard
5	*	The Christian Age	Feb 22, 1905	Thirty-Six Years' Labour in China—Special Interview with Dr. Timothy Richard, the famous Baptist Missionary	From the front page of the newspaper
5		Christian Literature Society for China	Mar 17, 1905	Speech of Dr. Richard	1. Speech at the thirteenth annual meeting of the Christian Literature Society for China, held in Edinburgh 2. In pamphlet format
5	*	The Baptist	Feb 23, 1905	Chat with Timothy Richard	
5	*	Liverpool Daily Post	Apr 12, 1905	(no title)	Introducing the Christian Literature Society for China and Richard's work

5	*	Liverpool Daily Post	Mar 14, 1905	The Rev. Dr. Timothy Richard	Introducing Richard's work in China
5	*	The Baptist	Feb 23, 1905	Chat with Dr. Timothy Richard—China and the War in the Far East—Is another Boxer rising possible?	
6	*	Baptist Times	May 5, 1905	The Baptist Missionary Society—Annual Public Meeting	Reporting Richard's speech in the meeting
7	*	The Western Daily Press (Bristol)	May 15, 1905	Is There A Yellow Peril?—Dr. Timothy Richard Interviewed in Bristol	A typescript stored in the National Library of Wales
7		(unknown)	Nov, 1905	Woman's Work in the Far East—In Memoriam, Miss Marietta Melvin	1. In pamphlet format 2. Written by Richard
7		The Tyndale Messenger	July, 1905	Notes	1. In pamphlet format 2. Introducing Richard's opinion on China
7		(unknown)	1905	Some Hints for Rising Statesmen	1. In pamphlet format 2. Written by Richard 3. A rough draft for private circulation only
7		(unknown)	(unknown)	World Imperialism—Universal, Defence on Peace Principles	In pamphlet format
7	*	The Western Daily Press (Bristol)	May 15, 1905	Is There A Yellow Peril?—Dr. Timothy Richard Interviewed in Bristol	
7	*	Baptist Times (Duplicate)	Sep 15, 1905	Three Surprising Facts	1. Written by Richard 2. Mentioning "utilise the Press to convert China"
7	*	The Cheltenham Examines	Jul 5, 1905	The Awakening of China—Dr. Timothy Richard's Visit	

				to Cheltenham	
7	*	Christian World	July 20, 1905	Dr. Richard on China—A conversation	
8	*	Daily News	1906 (probably)	Anglo-Chinese Union— “Next Great Step of the Human Race”	Reporting Richard’s opinions on China
8	#	North China Daily News	Jul 28, 1905	The Death of the Rev. A. G. Jones	Published in the <i>North China Herald</i> , Jul 28, 1905, as well
9		(unknown)	Jan 15, 1906	The Church of the Future	1. Written by Richard 2. In pamphlet format
9	*	Reynold’s Newspaper	Mar 11, 1906	The Far East Peril— “Missionary Mischief in China”—To the editor of Reynold’s Newspaper	Written by Richard
10	*	The Congregationalist and Christian World	May 19, 1906	Our Cover Portrait	With a photograph of Richard taken during 1896
11	*	The Congregationalist and Christian World	May 19, 1906	Dr. Timothy Richard—A Missionary Statesman in China—By Rev. James Johnston, Darwen, Eng.	Introducing Richard’s work in China
12					(empty)
13		(unknown)	Oct, 1906	The Coming Event-A World Empire—Hague Conference— Federation Frist, Voluntary Disarmament Immediately Follows	1. Written by Richard 2. In pamphlet format
14	#	The Chinese Recorder	Apr, 1907	Some of the Greatest Needs of Christian Missions	1. Written by Richard 2. A typescript stored in the National Library of Wales
15		B.M.S. Popular Report for 1907-	(unknown)	China	Introducing B.M.S delegates who attended the centenary

	8				conference at Shanghai, 1907
16	(unknown)	Apr, 1907	“Conversion by the Million”		1. Book review 2. Written by Rev. Alex Martin, a professor of New College, Edinburgh
17	# The Chinese Recorder	Oct, 1907	Conversion by the Million		1. Written by Richard 2. A typescript stored in the National Library of Wales 3. In pamphlet format
18	Japan Mail (reprint)	Jan 20, 1908	Dr. Timothy Richard		Reporting Richard’s visit in Tokyo
18	Japan Mail (probably)	Jan, 1908	Doctor Timothy Richard on China		Reporting Richard’s essay in the volume of “Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan”
19	(unknown)	Jan, 1908	Christian Literature Society Offices, Shanghai		A photograph
19	Meser Wilson’s and Fulleston’s report on the China Missions 1907-8	1908	Our Work in Shanghai		Reporting Richard’s work in China
20	# The China Times	May 3, 1908	Correspondence—The Creed of Half Asia		Written by Richard
20	# North China Daily News	Nov 4, 1908	The Religious Tract Society—Deputation to China		A meeting held in Richard’s house
21	* The Welsh Missionary Herald	Oct, 1908	Taith Genhadol Ddiweddar yn China (Missionary Trip in China Recently)		1. Written by Richard 2. Written in Welsh
22	# North China Daily News	Oct 19, 1908	The Lotus Sutra—To the Editor of the “North China Daily News”		Written by Richard
22	# North China	Oct 22,	“Student” on the Lotus		Written by G. E. Moule

		Daily News	1908	Sutra—To the Editor of the “North China Daily News”	
23	#	North China	Jan 14,	Present National	1. A paper read at the meeting
24		Daily News	1909	Movements	of the Shanghai Missionary Association by Richard 2. Published in the <i>North China Herald</i> , Jan 23, 1909, as well
24	*	The Times	1909	The Awakening of China— 5. Today and Tomorrow in China—Reprinted from “The Times”	1. Written by Richard 2. In pamphlet format
25		Japan Daily Mail	Jun 10, 1909	Doctor Timothy Richard on China	Quoting Richard’s address delivered in Feb, 1908
26	*	B.M.S Herald	Dec 31, 1908	A Missionary Visit to Korea	Written by Richard
26	#	Shanghai Mercury	Jan 25, 1909	Kang Yu=wei	Written by Richard
27	*	North China Daily News	Apr 23, 1909	The Doctrine of Reciprocity—To the Editor of the “North China Daily News”	1. Written by Richard 2. Published in the <i>North China Herald</i> , Apr 24, 1909, as well
27		(unknown)	Mar, 1909	The Opening of the New Y.M.C.A. in Seoul, Korea	The opening took place on Dec, 1908
27	*	B.M.S. Herald	May, 1909	(no title)	Extracted from “Our Appreciation” of the letter of Rev. G. H. Rouse
28	#	North China Daily News	Sep 30, 1909	Civilizations Tested	1. Written by Richard 2. Published in the <i>North China Herald</i> , Oct 2, 1909, as well
28	#	Shanghai Times	Oct, 1909	Kwanyin, the so-called Goddess of Mercy, or a Far Eastern Version of the Holy Spirit	Written by Richard

29	#	North China Daily News	1909	The Religious Problem of East and West—To the Editor of the “North China Daily News”	Written by Richard
29	#	The National Review	Oct 30, 1909	The Late Prince Ito	Written by Richard
30			Oct 28, 1909	Message from Marquis Inouye	1. A telegraph of the Great Northern Telegraph Company 2. Received in reply to telegraphs of sympathy tour on the occasion of the association of Princess Ito
31			Oct 27, 1909	Message from Komura	1. A telegraph of the Great Northern Telegraph Company 2. Received in reply to telegraphs of sympathy tour on the occasion of the association of Princess Ito
32	#	The Chinese Recorder	Nov, 1909	The Late Prince Ito	Written by Richard
32	#	North China Daily News	1909	China’s Awakening—Appeal to British Nation for £100,000	Written by Richard
32		Japan Mail	Oct 26, 1909	The Late Prince Ito—A Lament	Written by Richard
33	#	North China Daily News	Nov 16, 1909	Presentation to Dr. Richard	1. Praising Richard’s work for 40 years in China 2. Published in the <i>North China Herald</i> , Nov 20, 1909, as well
33	#	North China Daily News	Nov 17, 1909	Dr. Timothy Richard—To the Editor of the “North China Daily News”	1. Written by Marion L. Morgan 2. Published in the <i>North China Herald</i> , Nov 20, 1909, as well
34	#	National Review	Nov 20,	“Forty Years On”	Celebrating Richard’s fortieth

		1909		anniversary in China
34	(unknown)	(unknown)	Forty Years in China	Reporting that the Chinese <i>National Review</i> has an appreciative article about the work of Richard
34	(unknown)	1909	Cross or Dragon?	Quoting Richard's opinion on China
35		Nov, 1909	Presented to Dr. Timothy Richard at the Close of 40 Years' Work in China	A photograph taken by Charlie Dixon
35		Nov 15, 1909		Rev S. Couling's speech draft given to Richard at the close of his forty years of work for China
35		Nov 19, 1909		Richard's speech draft expressing his gratitude to the English Baptist and Zenana missions
35		Dec 8, 1909		A letter congratulating Richard's 40 years of work in China
35	* Liverpool	1909	The China Mission—Letter from the Rev. J. H. Atkinson on His Visit to Mission Stations in China	In pamphlet format
35	Japan Church	Jul 25, 1909	Our Gods—From a correspondent	Written by Richard
35	* The Herald of Peace	Jul 1, 1910	The Peace Society's Annual Breakfast	Reporting Richard's speech in the yearly meeting of the Peace Society
35	* (unknown)		The Bed-Rock of Universal Peace	Reporting Richard's speech on <i>The Morning Post</i>
36			From the Smallest	1. A note mentioning Richard

				Missionary in the World	received an interesting letter 2. A typescript stored in the National Library of Wales
36	#	Peking Daily News	Apr 4, 1910	(no title)	Reporting Richard delivered a lecture on the development of nations at the Y.M.C.A.
37					A letter
37	#	North China Daily News	Feb, 1910	The Anglo-Chinese College—Closing Exercises	1. Quoting Richard's opinion 2. Published in the <i>North China Herald</i> , Feb 4, 1910, as well
37	*	The Christian Herald and Signs of Our Times	Jul 7, 1910	Dr. Timothy Richard	Reporting Richard's education work in China
37	*	British Weekly	Oct 13, 1910	The China Giant Awake	Written by Richard
38 39	#	Zhonghua ribao 中華日報 (Chinese Daily News)	Jan 17, 1910	Lun Meiguo nizai Haiya Baohehui sheli zuida caipan gongtang shi 論美國擬在海牙保和會設立最大裁判公堂事 (Discussion on the America's Plan to Set up a Supreme Court in Hague Peace Conference)	From a Chinese newspaper
39					A letter
39			1910		A photograph taken in London
40	*	Christian World	Oct 20, 1910	In China's Emergency—Appeal at the Guildhall	Written by Richard
40	*	Christian World	Oct 13, 1910	History's Turning Point—Dr. Timothy Richard's Advice	
40	*	Christian World	Oct 13, 1910	Dr. Richard's Return	
40	*	Baptist Times & Freeman	Oct 14, 1910	Turning Point in Human History	Written by Richard

41	#	North China	Dec 15,	Shansi University—A	Published in the <i>North China</i>
42		Daily News	1910	Tribute to Dr. Timothy Richard	<i>Herald</i> , Dec 16, 1910, as well
42	*	Liverpool Daily Post and Mercury	Dec 3, 1910	A Great Welshman: Dr. Timothy Richard	
42	#	Daily News	1910	Future of China—Famous Missionary on the Outlook—Western Influence—Progress of Christianity in the Far East	Introducing Richard’s work in China
43	#	Shanghai Mercury	Dec, 1910	Review—New Testament of Higher Buddhism	Book review
43	#	North China Daily News	(unknown)	Higher Buddhism	Book review
43	#	National Review	Dec, 1910	Reviews—Higher Buddhism	Book review
44		(unknown)	(unknown)	The New Testament of Higher Buddhism	Book review
44		(unknown)	(unknown)	Richard—Timothy, D.D., Litt.D., China—The New Testament of Higher Buddhism	Book review
45	*	The Baptist World	Jan 12, 1911	The Outlook in China	Written by Richard
45	*	Christian Commonwealth	Jun 28, 1911	Christianity and Buddhism	Book review of “The New Testament of Higher Buddhism”
45	*	Manchester Guardian	Nov 21, 1910	The New Testament of Higher Buddhism	Book review
45	*	Christian Commonwealth	Aug 23, 1911	(no title)	Mentioning Richard’s “The New Testament of Higher Buddhism”
46					(empty)
47					(empty)

48					(empty)
49	#	North China Daily News	Oct 28, 1911	The Race Congress I	1. Written by Richard 2. Published in the <i>North China Herald</i> , Nov 4, 1911, as well
49 50	#	North China Daily News	Nov 18, 1911	The Race Congress II	1. Written by Richard 2. Published in the <i>North China Herald</i> , Nov 25, 1911, as well
51			Nov 5, 1911		A letter (copy) from the Friends' Institute to Richard
52	#	North China Daily News	Nov 11, 1911	Needed A Great Truce	1. Written by Richard 2. Published in the <i>North China Herald</i> , Nov 18, 1911, as well
52	#	North China Daily News	Nov 16, 1911	Monarchy or Republic?— Another Open Letter	1. Written by Richard 2. Published in the <i>North China Herald</i> , Nov 18, 1911, as well
52	#	China Press	Jan 6, 1912	Dr. Timothy Richard Gives Notable Tiffin—Work of Christian Literature is Reviewed by Chinese and Foreign Staff—Growth of Movement—Now Engaged in Preparing For Chinese the Biographies of World's Noblest Persons	
52 53	#	North China Daily News	Jan 6, 1912	Religion and Civilization	1. Written by Richard 2. Published in the <i>North China Herald</i> , Jan 13, 1912, as well
53 54	#	China	Jan, 1912	A Striking Event in Japanese Religious History	Written by Richard
55	*	The English Christian	Nov 23, 1911	Timothy Richard, D.D., China Missionary, Statesman and Reformer. By the Rev. B. Reeve. Pp. 160. 1s. 6d. (S. W. Partridge	Book review

			and Co., Ltd.)		
55	#	China	Jan, 1912	Timothy Richard, D.D.— By the Rev. B. Reeve. Partridge, London 1911. Price 1s. 6d. net.	Book review
55	#	The National	Apr 13,	Timothy Richard, D.D. By	Book review
56		Review	1912	the Rev. B. Reeve. London: S. W. Partridge and Co.	
57	#	The Chinese	Apr, 1912	The Future of the	1. Written by Richard
		Recorder		Educational Association	2. In pamphlet format
57		B.M.S. Popular	May, 1912	Christian Literature	Quoting Richard's opinion
		Report			
58	#	China Press	Jun 14, 1912	Universal Religion Needed Says Dr. Timothy Richard—Anarchy and Industrial Unrest are Greatest Problems of the Day	Reporting Richard's address on the problems of the various religions in the world
58	#	Chinese	Jan,	Reception to Dr. Richard,	A photograph
		Recorder	1913	November 1st, 1912, at Tsingchowfu, Shantung	
59	#	The Chinese	Nov,	The Future of the Church in	1. Written by Richard
		Recorder	1912	China—It Can be Foretold by the Light of Universal Principles	2. In pamphlet format
59	#	Chinese	Jan,	In Shantung	Introducing the English Baptist
		Recorder	1913		Mission established in Shantung by Richard
59	#	North China	May 7,	Royal Asiatic Society	Quoting Richard's paper
		Daily News	1913		
60	#	Shanghai	Oct 21,	(no title)	An interview with Richard
		Mercury	1913		
60	#	North China	Nov 1,	(no title)	Introducing the book <i>A Mission</i>
		Daily News	1913		<i>to Heaven</i> translated by

					Richard
60	* The Western Mail Cardiff	Nov 22, 1913	Honorary Degrees—Of the Welsh University—Today’s Recipients	Reporting Richard was awarded an honorary degree	
61				Six letters between Richard and the Welsh University concerning the honorary degree	
61	# China Press	May 18, 1913	Saturday Club—Dr. Timothy Richard on Political Conditions in China		
62	# Peking Gazette	Dec 22, 1913	Should Confucianism be Made a State Religion—To the Editor of the “Peking Gazette”	Written by Richard	
62	# North China Daily News	Jan 20, 1914	Confucianism and China—The Reports of Reaction	1. Quoting Richard’s opinion 2. Published in the <i>North China Herald</i> , Jan 24, 1914, as well	
63	* The Christian World	Jan 15, 1914	A Chinese Pilgrim’s Progress	Book review of Richard’s translation: <i>A Journey to Heaven</i>	
64	# Peking Gazette	Apr 9, 1914	Book Review	Book review of <i>A Mission to Heaven</i>	
65		Feb 16, 1914		A letter regarding <i>A Mission to Heaven</i>	
65	* The Expository Times	Mar, 1914	Review on “A Mission to Heaven”	Book review	
66	* Christian World	Aug 22, 1914	“A Most Momentous Discovery”	Introducing <i>A Mission to Heaven</i>	
66	Japan Mail	Mar 15, 1915	Buddhism and Christianity		
66	* International Review of Missions	Apr, 1914	(no title)	1. Quoting Richard’s opinion on religions 2. In pamphlet format	

67 68	* The Review & Expositor	Apr, 1914	Is Higher Buddhism Christian?	1. Written by Richard 2. "The Review & Expositor" is the Baptist theological quarterly 3. In pamphlet format
68	The Far East	Dec 20, 1913	A Mission to Heaven	Book review
69	The Mission	Jun 17, 1914	(no title)	Reporting Richard traveled from Hankow to Changsha
69	# North China Daily News	Jun 16, 1914	(no title)	Reporting Richard's arrival in Changsha
69	# North China Daily News	Jul 1, 1914	(no title)	Reporting Richard conducted the dedicatory services of a new church at Changsha
69	* British Weekly	May 21, 1914	The Christian Literature Society for China	Reporting the annual meeting of the society
69		Jul 2, 1914		A letter mentioning Richard's visit in Changsha
69	* B.M.S. Herald	Aug, 1914	Welshmen on the B.M.S. Staff—Dr. Timothy Richard	A photograph
69	(unknown)	Aug 26, 1914	Marriage	Reporting Richard's marriage to Dr. Ethel Tribe (London Missionary Society)
70	# Shanghai Times	Nov 6, 1914	Some Aspects of Buddhist Art— Paper by Dr. Timothy Richard—Lecture Before the Royal Asiatic Society	Written by Richard
70 71	# North China Daily News	Nov 6, 1914	Some Aspects of Buddhist Art—Lecture by Dr. Timothy Richard— Royal Asiatic Society	1. Written by Richard 2. Published in the <i>North China Herald</i> , Nov 7, 1914, as well
71	* Worcester U.S.A.	Nov 1, 1914	Was Engaged in Literary Work—Robert Lilley, D.C.L., Dies in Grafton	

72				(empty)	
73			Dec 10, 1914	A letter written by Richard regarding his resignation from the Christian Literature Society for China	
74				(empty)	
75			Dec 14, 1914	Two letters regarding Richard's resignation	
75 # 76	Shanghai Mercury		Dec 19, 1914	The Saturday Club— Warfare—Ancient and Modern	Reporting Richard's speech at the meeting of the Saturday Club
77			Apr 12, 1915	A letter written by Richard	
77 #	North China Daily News		Mar 17, 1915	How to End Militarism and War—To the Editor of the “North China Daily News”	1. Written by Richard with the nickname “An Old Peacemaker” 2. Published in the <i>North China Herald</i> , Mar 20, 1915, as well
78 *	British Weekly		Aug 12, 1915	(no title)	Reporting Richard's health
78	Japan Times		Aug 29, 1915	Monarchy, Yes—Dr. Timothy Richard on China's Problems	
79			Oct 10, 1915		Two letters to Richard
79 #	Shanghai Mercury		Nov 8, 1915	Dr. Timothy Richard	Reporting his resignation from the Christian Literature Society for China
80 # 81	Shanghai Mercury		Nov 10, 1915	C.L.S. Annual Meeting— Dr. Richard's Retirement	
81 *	B.M.S. “Herald”		Feb, 1916	Timothy Richard, D.D., Litt.D.—A Famous Welsh Missionary and His Work	In pamphlet format

82	*	British Weekly	Dec 16, 1915	Dr. Timothy Richard	Reporting Richard's resignation from the Christian Literature Society for China
82	#	North China Daily News	Mar 16, 1916	(no title)	Reporting Richard will deliver an address on "Some problems faced in China during forty-six years"
82	*	Baptist Times	Dec 17, 1915	(no title)	Reporting Richard's resignation
82	*	British Weekly	Jan 6, 1916	Dr. Timothy Richard	Reporting Richard's "Reminiscences"
82				Parch, Timothy Richard, D.D., Litt. D.	1. A photograph 2. Received on March 28, 1916
83					A letter from the Christian Literature Society to Richard regarding his relinquishment from the society
83	*	British Weekly	July 13, 1916	(no title)	Reporting Richard left China
83	*	British Weekly	July 20, 1916	Li Ti-Mo-Tai	Reporting Richard's arrival in England
83	*	British Weekly	July 27, 1916	Li Ti-Mo-Tai	Reporting Richard was honored by the B.M.S.
83	#	North China Daily News	Sep, 1916	(no title)	Reporting Richard received a degree of LL.D. from the University of Wales
83	*	The Welsh Gazette	Jul 20, 1916	Welsh University—Meeting at Aberystwyth—M.P.'s and the Royal Commission—The Degree Ceremony	1. Reporting Richard received a degree of LL.D. from the University of Wales 2. The same news cutting stored in the National Library of Wales as well

83	*	The British Weekly	Oct 5, 1916	Farewell to Baptist Missionaries—A Good Meeting at Bloomsbury (“British Weekly” Special)	Introducing Richard’s work in China
84	*	B.M.S. Herald	Sep, 1916	Dr. Timothy Richard in London—A Memorable Scene at the Mission House	The B.M.S. meeting was held at July 19, 1916
84	*	Baptist Times	Oct 6, 1916	Baptist Missionary Society—Impressive Speech of Dr. Timothy Richard	
85	*	Christian World	Oct 19, 1916	Dr. Timothy Richard in China	Book review of “Forty-five Years in China, Reminiscences”
85		Supplement to the London and China Express	Nov 1, 1916	Forty-Five Years in China	Book review
85	#	North China Daily News	Jan 9, 1917	“Forty-Five Years in China”	Book review
86	*	The Concord	Dec, 1916	Forty-Five Years in China	Book review
87				“Li Timotai”—Dr. Timothy Richard’s Story of His Life-Work	In pamphlet format
87				Timothy Richard’s “Forty-five Years in China”—Published by Fisher Unwin, London—Extracts from Reviews	1. In pamphlet format 2. For private circulation only
87	*	The Christian	Nov 16, 1916	Forty-Five Years in China	Book review
88					(empty)
89	*	The Christian Commonwealth	Nov 8, 1916	The Awakening of China—Interview with Dr. Timothy	The same news cutting stored in the National Library of

				Richard, Missionary, Educator, and Mandarin.	Wales as well
91	*	B.M.S. "Herald"	Jun, 1917	Great Openings for Women's Work in China	1. Written by Richard 2. In pamphlet format
91	*	British Weekly	Dec 7, 1916	"Mandarin and Missionary in Cathay"	Written by Richard
91	*	British Weekly	Dec 7, 1916	Dr. Timothy Richard and the China Society	Reporting Richard presided at the meeting
91	#	North China Daily News	Apr 17, 1917	(no title)	Reporting Richard's health improved
92					(empty)
93			Apr 14, 1919		A telegraph regarding Richard's return and health
94	#	North China Daily News	Apr 25, 1919	Obituary—Dr. Timothy Richard	Reporting the death of Richard
94	#	Shanghai Mercury	Apr 25, 1919	Timothy Richard, D.D. LITT D., LL D.	1. Reporting Richard's death 2. The same news cutting stored in the National Library of Wales as well
94	#	North China Daily News	Apr 16, 1919	The China Continuation Committee	In honor of Richard's contribution
95	#	North China Daily News	Apr 26, 1919	A man of Personality	1. In memory of Richard's life 2. Published in the <i>North China Herald</i> , May 3, 1919, as well 3. The same news cutting stored in the National Library of Wales as well
95	*	London Daily News	Apr 21, 1919	Death of Famous Missionary	Reporting Richard's death
95	#	North China Daily News	May 5, 1919	Death—Richard	Reporting Richard's death
95	*	B.M.S. Herald	Jun, 1919	Death	Reporting Richard's death
96	*	British Weekly	Apr 24,	A Great Chinese	

			1919	Missionary—The Late Dr. Timothy Richard	
96 #	North China Daily News		Apr 26, 1919	Timothy Richard—An Appreciation of His Life and Work	1. Published in the <i>North China Herald</i> , May 3, 1919, as well 2. The same news cutting stored in the National Library of Wales as well
97 #	North China Daily News		Apr 28, 1919	Memorial Service to Dr. Richard—Tributes to His Memory	
97			1919		A note: A memorial service for the late Rev. Dr. Richard will be held at the Christian Literature Society
97 # 98	North China Daily News		May 1, 1919	Dr. Timothy Richard—To the Editor of the “North China Daily News”	1. In memory of Richard 2. Published in the <i>North China Herald</i> , May 3, 1919, as well 3. The same news cutting stored in the National Library of Wales as well
98 #	North China Daily News		May 8, 1919	The Late Dr. Timothy Richard—Graceful Tribute to His Memory	Published in the <i>North China Herald</i> , May 10, 1919, as well
98					1. A telegraph received on May 5, 1919 2. Reporting Richard’s death
99			Jun 11, 1919		A letter in memory of Richard
99	The Herald, Memorial Supplement		Jun, 1919	Rev. Timothy Richard, LL.D., D. LIT.—A Missionary Monograph	1. In memory of Richard 2. In pamphlet format
100 *	Christian Commonwealth		Apr 23, 1919	Death of Dr. Timothy Richard	
100 #	North China		Nov,	Christian Literature	1. Reporting a special fund of

Daily News	1919	Society—Annual General Meeting	\$30,000 will be associated with the name of the late Dr. Richard 2. Published in the <i>North China Herald</i> , Nov 15, 1919, as well
101	Jul 22, 1919		A letter
101	1919	1918-1919 The Thirty-Second Annual Report of the Christian Literature Society for China	In pamphlet format
102			(empty)
103			(empty)
104			(empty)
105			(empty)
106			(empty)
107			(empty)
108			(empty)
109			(empty)
110			(empty)
111			(empty)
112			(empty)

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