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Shanghai, April 2, 1927



Dr. Robert M. Speer,  
New York City,  
My Dear Dr. Speer:-

TRANSFER

It has seemed good to Mr. Owen and myself to ask Mr. H. G. Robson of our staff, who sails Monday on the Empress boat, and so will be one of the first from Nanking to reach the U.S.A., to go on almost directly from Vancouver or Seattle to New York, and report in person the terrible experiences he went through - typical of those of most of the rest of us - and report the whole matter to you and such of the Trustees as can be assembled on short notice. He will be at a little additional expense, but not much, and I trust that you will see that he is fully reimbursed as he lost everything and escaped in Chinese disguise and with only part of his clothing left.

Mr. Owen and I think that the Trustees should pay the salaries of all who were going on regular furlough in June, a full year's salary; and those who were going in June and not returning 1/2 a year's salary, as well as all who are now forced to go soon and drop out. However we shall be sending you a more definite and detailed statement about this a little later.

Mr. Clemons, Mr. Reiser & Family, Mr. Thompson & Family, Mr. Small, Mr. Bates & Family, and myself, and possibly one or two others will stay either here in Shanghai or in Japan for one to 3-4 months, to see how matters go and if there is any possibility of resuming any part of the work in Sept. Mr. Owen & Family hope to get away by April 20-25. If not by then, then they cannot get away till after Mrs. Owen's confinement. I expect to remain not more than a month or two at most, when I shall go Home permanently & try to find some sort of work to do.

Deans Kuo and Chen came down from Nanking and report all now quiet and the University as when we left, Mch. 26th. In addition to ALL our dwellings, the Hospital, the Language School and the Middle School have been looted completely of all equipment, supplies, books, furniture and everything portable - and in some buildings even the wood work, largely. Soldiers are now occupying unburned residences and Hospital & school buildings, except Severance, Swasey - which were not looted at all, - Bailie Hall, except for a guard of 30-40 soldiers and so far as we know the two McCormack dormitories. Ginling at last report, was not much looted or occupied by soldiers, and some girls are still there.

The Committee I named 2-3 weeks ago to take over in case of such a crisis - to whom we have added the Registrar, Mr. Ma and the acting Treasurer, Mr. Sie Hsiang - have taken charge, but report that the Nationalist Party insist on reorganizing the Com., putting 7 Party members of their own on and 5 students, whether to entirely replace our Com. or to add to it is not clear, but the former probably. In that case our Com. will disband and close up everything as much as possible. We hear that the Nationalists plan to take over the University and make our Kuleo plant their Arts College, and Southeastern their Science College. But it remains to be seen if they will permit ANY higher education, at least for the time being.

Mr. Wen Pei-shan, who is a Christian and likely to know the inside of things very accurately, told me yesterday that orders had come down from Hankow to kill all foreigners. Three armies entered: one was for doing it; one was opposed to it, and the third was indifferent, and it was the conflicts among them that saved the lives of most of us. Borodin, the Third International and the Communists in China are entirely responsible, all feel, and as long as that combination prevails and dominates, as it does now, there can be no constructive work and only chaos - as they desire. Our Com. is: Dean Kuo, Dean Chen, Dr. K. C. Liu, H. S. Li, C. F. Liu, N. K. Ip, T. I. Li, C. W. Chen, C. F. Chen, W. H. Ma, H. Sie. I am sending you by Mr. Robson, several reports of *experiences of* individuals, and will keep you informed of all developments, Very cordially yours,

A. J. Bowler

TRANSFER

113 Cheng Chiao Szu Chieh,  
Tsinan, Shantung.  
April 2, 1927.

Dear Dr. Bowen,

We are writing this to express our  
heartfelt sympathy and deep sorrow for  
the death of Dr. J. E. Williams.

It is rather too sad to say that one  
who had devoted his life for the good of  
the Chinese was at last killed by the  
Chinese. But he was glorious for he  
"had fought a good fight."

We hope this will be a great  
encouragement to all the students in  
this institution.

Very respectfully yours,

Chen Chien-heng.

Hwang Tso Yung

Chiao Yung-shen

Kan Hing wei

CHINA CHRISTIAN EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATIONAnother Report of a Visit to WuhanMarch 16 to April 2, 1927

H. C. TSAO

The purpose of this visit, following the one made by Dr. E. W. Wallace and Mr. Sanford C. C. Chen last January, was to study the general attitude of the Nationalist Government towards Christian education, and the new developments in the political situation in Central China, particularly in regard to educational problems in general.

I. NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN THE POLITICAL SITUATION

## a. Split in the Party.

A split in the Party, though not recognized by some of the government leaders, who alleged it a rumor or "a pure fabrication made by people of whom it could be said that the wish is the father of the thought", could be verified by the following facts:

(1) (Mr. Tsao gives fourteen points indicative of the then imminent break between the moderate and the extreme lefts in the Kuomintang).

b. Some Important Resolutions of the Central ~~XXXXX~~ Executive Committee Conference.

The significance of the Plenary session of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang was brought out in the uncompromising attitude and strong policy adopted by the conference held in Wuhan March 10th to 17th, 1927. The Committee has concentrated on the problem of how to solve the basic struggle between the party and individuals seeking personal power. The following measures were adopted by the Central Executive Committee.

1. The establishment of the Military Council to check military autocracy, and political dictatorship from military authority.

2. The establishment of a military commissary department to centralize the authority for supplying ammunition, food and other equipment for the army.

3. The centralization of the control of foreign policy in the hands of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs under a resolution which definitely prohibits the expression of views on foreign policy on the part of any party member or official, without the authorization of the Central Executive Committee on penalty of expulsion from the Party; and which centralizes control of foreign appointments of all kinds in the hands of the Foreign Ministry.

4. The centralization of finance in the hands of the Finance Ministry. This is to directly prohibit any financial

measures from being instituted by military officials, under pain of severe disciplinary measures, up to expulsion from the party.

5. The abolition of all chairmanships, whether of the party, of the Central Executive Committee, or of the political council. These bodies hereafter are headed not by an individual chairman but by a presidium of 3 or 5, any one of whom may sit as chairman at any session of these bodies.

6. The elimination of certain individuals (for instance Mr. Chang Tsing-Kiang) from party organs. (The very individuals and groups which seemed directly aimed at in these changes have now signified their concurrence in the new order.)

7. The establishment of five new ministries, viz., the ministries of labor, agriculture, education, industry, and health. The ministers have been appointed with the exception of the minister of health.

8. Co-operation with Communist Party in maintaining a united front in the peasants' and laborers' movement and in dealing with the question of political responsibility.

9. Continuing and strengthening the relation with the United States of Soviet Russia as a power supporting the Nationalist revolution.

#### c. Any Constructive Program at Present

From the above statement we can see that the main part of the last conference was devoted to the work of readjustment and reorganization of the party and of the central government. The only part of constructive work is the creation of the five ministries, but so far none of them has come into being. Minister Koo of education told me that he was not in a position yet to say when his ministry could be established, and that he had not as yet thought about any educational problems. From what I heard during conversations with several other government leaders, the government at present is too busy to do anything constructive, and the financial condition is such that it is deemed unwise to establish any new office with just a sign board. During the last session of the Central Executive Committee no general programs were made for the five new ministries. The establishment of the ministry of education, which has been considered one of the most needed and important government organs, has to be delayed for two or three months; so it is with the other ministries. Probably the ministry of labor and that of agriculture would be established before the others, since the peasants and laborers' movement has been taken into consideration first and foremost at the present time.

## II. ATTITUDE OF GOVERNMENT LEADERS TO CHRISTIAN EDUCATION

1. Dr. Sidney K. Wei was the first person I saw in Hankow. He was formerly a member of the Central Educational Committee. He told me that that Committee was no longer functioning and that the

new ministry of education had not yet been established. So there is no official organization in the Central government to take charge of educational affairs. With regard to Christian schools, the anti-Christian movement has quieted down since last Christmas, but it is thought that Christian schools should prepare to register as soon as conditions permit. When Dr. Wei was in Nanchang last January and February he made a request to Gen. Chiang Kai Shek about the occupation of church and school buildings there by soldiers, and the general fear among the resident missionaries of danger to their lives and property. Gen. Chiang sent a personal representative to meet the missionaries and study the conditions, and proclamations were issued assuring the protection and safety of the missionaries' lives and property.

2. Minister Eugene Chen, of Foreign Affairs, gave Professor Baker and me an interview of more than an hour. He answered our questions most frankly and friendly. He said: "I believe that all education in this creative effort and new epoch should be made contributory and assistant to the Nationalist movement. All that assists is good and all that does not is bad. In general mission schools should not be closed, as the present government has not sufficient funds to support its own schools. If mission schools are closed, this educational vacuum may be enlarged. The anti-Christian movement, which is only part of anti-imperialism has not been considered as an essential movement. We are up against the super-government working thru the unequal treaties. When the international control is solved, the anti-Christian movement will naturally come to an end." In reply to Professor Baker's question, "Would it be advisable for the missionaries to go back to their work in their respective fields?" Mr. Chen said that he was opposed to the evacuation of foreigners, as he had previously told Bishop Roots. It seemed to him that it would be advisable for the missionaries to find out the facts of the present condition in their various fields, and then consider the possibility of their return; and that there was no danger to their life and property, though some loss might occur. There is, however, no objection on the part of the government to their going back to their work. Question: When will the ministry of education be established? Answer: Dr. Koo Mung Yu has been appointed minister of education, but the government is very busy with setting up a program for labor and peasantry work. The educational ministry will be established after 2 or 3 months. Then he said: "For the time being the government should hold all schools together in so far as possible, and in spite of the discouragement they should postpone reduction". He asked me to tell my foreign friends that he is personally in favor of expansion of educational work and advises their postponing any plan for reduction, but just marking time at this transitional period. Question: As to the centralization of power in the Central Government, will the local regulations which are contradictory to the government regulations be readjusted? Answer: Yes, the conflicting regulations should be unified. I shall call Dr. Koo's attention to this. But the whole question of Christian education will have to be solved by the government some time this year.

Mr. Chen promised to introduce me to Minister Koo of Education, and sent me a letter the next day.

3. Mr. Hsu, Minister of Law, saw me in company with Dr. Y.Y. Chu, of P.U.M.C., Question: Has the problem of religion been taken up by the government? Answer: Not yet, but personally I expressed my opinion about it in my speeches delivered to the Christian group and to the anti-Christian group on Christmas day of last year. I am perfectly in favor of the Christian reformation movement ( 革新運動 ) of Wuhan, which shows the awakening of the Chinese Christians. Empty words would not be credited, but concrete actions. Christian schools should register with the government and observe government regulations. The government gives full freedom not only to religious faith, but also to anti-religious movements. But in sanctioning the latter the government has also been doing its best to protect the life and property of the missionaries. Question: Is it possible for Christians to enrol themselves as members of the Kuomintang? Answer: Yes, Christians have full liberty to join the party. There has been no restriction put upon Christians becoming members of the Kuomintang. I have personally introduced some Christians to the party already. Question: Has a province any power to make regulations contradictory to the government regulations, for instance, the Hupeh provincial regulations concerning schools established by foreigners? Answer: At present until the Ministry has been established, the local government has the option to make regulations adapted to the local conditions.

4. Professor Baker told me that during an interview Comrade Borodin had said to him, "The Kuomintang allows voluntary religious instruction. At present there is no official regulation opposing religious instruction in schools, but the party may be more strict in the future. The only thing which might change this tendency would be a speedy relinquishment of the unequal treaties, then religion would not be intimately related to imperialism."

5. Mr. Tan Yen Kai, member of the presidium of the Central Government, told me that it was still a question whether Dr. Koo Mung Yu would accept appointment as minister of education. The government wished very much to see the ministry established, but the time was not yet ripe to establish all the ministries, as the government funds were not adequate to do so. It is not advisable to establish offices in name only. The educational and religious problems have never been brought up in the recent sessions of the C.E.C. Conference.

6. Dr. Koo Mung Yu, minister of education and chairman of the party propaganda department expressed himself that he was still not in a position to talk over problems at present, as I have stated above. I raised the question as to how the educational affairs were to be taken care of inasmuch as the Central Educational Committee had been abolished and the Ministry of education had not been established. He answered that for the time being the provincial educational bureaus should take charge of the local educational affairs.

Dr. Y. Y. Chu told me of the following conversation with Dr. Koo. Question: Will there be a place in the Chinese educational system for the institutions established by foreigners? Answer: As a principle, there will be no place for them, but for the present time they may be continued. Question: Will the ministry revise the regulations already promulgated by the government? Answer: That has never been thought of. Question: Is it necessary to have all the government and local regulations unified? Answer: It is our hope to unify them in the future.

7. It surprised me to see that the recent issues of Gen. Tang Seng-Chi's magazine had changed its attitude from Buddhism to Communism. His article is full of Communistic ideas. I was told that he has been reading widely books of recent publication particularly on Communism. It is his influence that has backed up the Wuhan faction.

8. Summary. It is rather difficult to draw any conclusion from the interviews outlined above, at this critical moment. It seems to me that the atmosphere in Central China is different from that of two months ago, mainly due in Central China to the radical change of the political situation of the Central Government. The authorities have been too busy to set their minds on things constructive, such as education or public health. With the domination of communistic influence in the Central Government, even some of the broad-minded leaders are not in the position to take up any problem concerning religion or Christian education. Since the Central government has left the educational policy to the local governments we are up against the regulations promulgated some time ago by the Hupeh and Hunan Provincial educational bureaus, which do not allow religious instruction even as elective courses. "Mark time is the best advice we can get from the government leaders. The following is a summary of their suggestions:

- (1) Christian education should be contributory to the Nationalist movement.
- (2) Christian institutions should be continued in so far as local conditions permit.
- (3) Christian educators should lose no time to prepare for registration in securing competent Chinese administration and local boards with a majority of Chinese.
- (4) This is not an opportune time to take up the whole problem of the church and Christian education with the present government.

### III. PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL CONDITIONS OF CHRISTIAN SCHOOLS.

#### 1. Actions of Hunan Provincial Government.

##### A. Reduction of Provincial Educational Program.

In March the Hunan Provincial Government issued an Outline of a New Educational Policy. The important articles may be summarized as follows:

- (1) The curricula of schools of all grades shall be revised on the basis of social needs.
- (2) The Provincial Government shall issue syllabuses on social sciences for the different grades.
- (3) Vocational education and vocational supplementary edu-



education adaptable to local needs shall be promoted. One provincial girls vocational school shall be established.

(4) Schools shall exercise strict economy and their accounts shall be audited.

(5) Educational funds shall not be allowed to be used for other purposes.

(6) 30% of the total amount of the Provincial educational fund shall be designated for the education of peasants and laborers.

(7) Any return to the old system of education (復古) shall be prohibited.

(8) No Christian schools shall be allowed to propagate any religious thought and no church be allowed to establish primary educational institutions.

(9) The "Reading Movement" in every rural district shall be encouraged, and the material shall be compiled, approved and distributed by the Provincial Government.

(10) The establishment of schools giving short courses shall be encouraged, and compulsory education shall be energetically enforced.

(11) The establishment of public speaking halls and public reading rooms shall be encouraged and circulating libraries shall be established in all rural districts.

(12) Provincial junior middle schools shall be established by combining the present public middle schools and the public boys and girls junior normal schools. They may establish normal training departments.

Articles (13) to (17) have to do with the combining of certain schools so that there may be only one of each of the following schools in the province: senior middle, agriculture, sericulture, short-course rural normal, and technical.

(18) The schools of general arts, or law and of commerce of the Hunan University shall be transferred to the National Chung San University of Wuchang, while the schools of technology, of sciences, etc. shall be combined to form the Hunan Polytechnic College.

(19) The present first provincial school shall be called provincial vocational school. One provincial girls vocational school shall be established.

(20) The treatment of primary school teachers shall be improved.

(21) There shall be military training in all schools of middle school grade and above.

(22) The former regulations re students who study abroad shall be abolished and new regulations made.

(23) Government subsidies granted to private schools shall be reduced or cancelled by the provincial government according to the number of students, the amount of endowment funds and the standard of results.

(24) Any private school which has been found after government investigation unnecessary to be maintained by any individual person or by government subsidy shall be stopped with the government subsidy formerly granted.

(25) Any private school which has been found by the government inconsistent with government regulations or with the party principles shall be abolished.

(26) In carrying out the above educational reformation policy the students of such schools as have been cancelled or combined shall be transferred to other schools by the government.

### B. Limitation of Private Schools.

Another set of regulations governing government subsidies granted to private schools was promulgated following the issue of the above outline. They are as follows:

(1) Private schools shall be administered in accordance with the regulations promulgated by the Nationalist Government governing the annual current expenses to be met by the school itself.

(2) Private schools originally subsidized by the Provincial Government shall continue to be subsidized temporarily until the end of this fiscal year under this regulation.

(3) A private school originally subsidized by the Provincial Government shall be allowed to receive subsidy provided that it is found to fulfil the following requirements:

(a) That it is following the government educational regulations.

(b) That the government educational authorities recognize its standards and results as good.

(c) That in the case of a middle school it has an endowment fund of \$30,000 or more.

(d) That the student enrollment is not less than 200 (or 100 in the case of a middle school).

(4) Private schools which have been originally subsidized by the Provincial Government and found to be in accord with article 3 of the regulations shall be granted an annual subsidy according to the following scale:

Group I Senior Middle and Senior Vocational Schools:

Grade A \$800                      B\$600                      C\$400

Group II Junior Middle and Junior Vocational Schools:

Grade A \$600    B\$450                      C\$300

Group III Higher Primary and Short Course Vocational Schools:

Grade A \$300                      B\$225                      C\$150

Group IV Lower Primary Schools

Grade \$200                      B\$150                      C\$100

(5) In accordance with Article 4, no subsidy shall be granted to any class less than 30 students.

(6) No subsidy shall be granted to any private school which is inconsistent to any sub-rule of the Article 3 or which has been found changed in any condition.

(7) All subsidized private schools must submit a monthly financial statement of income and expenditure as well as a budget to the Provincial Educational Bureau for approval. Government subsidy shall be stopped if no budget and financial statement are submitted.

### C. Conversation with Dr. Tung Wei-chien, Commissioner of Education and Commissioner of Foreign Affairs.

After the announcement of the above regulations, Mr. C. H. Li, secretary of the Hunan Christian Educational Association and Mr. Hwang Pu, member of the executive committee of the Hunan Christian Educational Association, and principal of Liling Middle School of the Evangelical Church, called on Commissioner Tung at Changsha, on March 2nd, in order to secure explanations and more light on the future of Christian education in the province of Hunan. The conversation was as follows: Question: Will you please explain the meaning of Article 8 of the Outline of the New Educational Policy "No Chris-

tian school. . "Does it mean that religious instruction, or discipline with religious ideas or religious performances are not allowed? Answer: All of these are not allowed. The government intends to make it clear that religion and education should be separated, and not combined together as one, but the government does not oppose religion, because religion can be propagated in churches, but not in schools. Question: Article 10 of the Central Government regulations for private schools: "Religious courses shall not be included in required courses", would infer that religious instruction may be included in elective courses, and Article 11: "Students shall not be compelled to take part in religious performances, if any" would infer that students may be allowed to join any religious ceremony voluntarily. Is this new rule of the Provincial Government consistent with the Central Government regulations? Answer: It is not contradictory, because the Central Government rules only say "not included in required courses", but do not say "may be included in electives". It means that the Central Government has given enough elasticity to Provincial Governments to make their own decision whether religious education be included in the curriculum or not, in order to meet local conditions.

Question: Does the Provincial Government wish to see Christian schools reopen or close for good? Answer: The Provincial Government wishes very much to see Christian schools reopen under government control, because the number of Christian schools and their students is not small, and it would be a pity to see such students go without schooling. But I am sure that the Christian schools in Hunan will not apply for registration, because the American consul told me that these schools had to secure approval from their Boards in Hankow or Shanghai or America before sending in the application.

Question: What would the Provincial Government do for the Christian schools after being registered, when these schools are opposed very strongly by outside people? Answer: The Government would do its best to protect them.

Question: Why didn't the government protect registered Christian schools during their trouble with the anti-Christian movement last year? Answer: The government can only protect the property of schools, but cannot be responsible for their students attending.

Question: Is this new educational policy a temporary or a permanent one? Answer: We cannot say whether it is temporary or permanent. It will be put into effect until some modification is found necessary.

#### 6. PRESENT CONDITION OF CHRISTIAN SCHOOLS IN HUNAN.

On account of the evacuation of missionaries and the closing of the Christian schools, the Hunan Christian Educational Association has been automatically suspended since the end of February. (Two representatives set out to attend the educational conference of the China Christian Educational Association called for March 30th, and returned to Changsha when they received word at Hankow that the conference was called off.)

So far as I know none of the Christian mission schools in Hunan reopened after the winter vacation with the one exception of the primary boys school in Pingkiang of the Wesleyan Methodist Church. Some of the administrators of this school have been closely connected with the local organizations, such as the District Party Council, the Union, etc. and there is no better school in the whole district which could meet the needs of a larger number of students.

The St. James middle school and the Trinity primary school for boys and girls of the Episcopal Church in Changsha have been rented by the mission to a body of Chinese Church members who are in charge of these schools, but administer them in exactly the same status as other local private schools without any religious instruction or exercises. The American Church Mission does not acknowledge them as its own schools, but at the request of the church members the rental has been made. The I Fang Girls Collegiate School established by Miss Paosen Tseng and Mr. Beauserg Tseng, Christian leaders of Hunan, is still dragging along in spite of much opposition from outside. The latest news from Changsha says that three private schools have been ordered to close by the provincial government and I Fang may be doomed to a similar fate. Two British teachers have left the place already and the Tsengs are ready to leave at any time.

The Union Theological School and some of the Y.M.C.A. secretaries' residences in Changsha have been occupied by soldiers. I was told that the Youth Department of the Hunan Provincial Council of the Kuomintang was going to take over the Changsha Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A.

### 3. CONDITION OF HUPEH CHRISTIAN SCHOOLS.

Through the good office of Rev. Sun Wen-Ching, of the Wesleyan Church, we spent a whole afternoon with the Church leaders of Wuhan in the Hankow Y.M.C.A.; the findings are as follows:

1. Episcopal Mission.
  - a. 7 boys and 1 girls middle schools closed.
  - b. St. Hilda's girls middle school opened March 25th, the latest evacuation caused by the Nanking incident.
  - c. Primary schools all open.
2. London Mission.
  - a. 1 boys and 1 girls middle school closed.
  - b. Primary schools all open.
3. Wesleyan Methodist Mission.
  - a. All middle and primary schools closed.
4. Lutheran and Swedish Congregational Missions
  - a. Schools all closed.
5. In the schools that are open now, Bible classes are held in churches, not in class rooms, and Sunday schools are still going on as usual.
6. Weekly assembly in memory of Dr. Sun Yat Sen has been held in all schools, as required by local regulations.
7. No other regulations on education have been issued by the local government than those promulgated last December.
8. No Christian institution in Hupch has filed any application for registration yet, although the local regulations call for registration of all private schools before January, 1927.

9. Through conversation with some of the local educational authorities, the governmental appointment of 訓育主任, Proctor or Disciplinary Secretary has been postponed in Hupeh.

10. It has been agreed that all Christian schools shall apply for registration at the same time whenever conditions permit, following the Government regulations issued by the Educational Commission of the Central Government.

11. Hupeh churches wish to keep going as long as possible all the schools which are still open.

#### 4. THE CENTRAL CHINA UNIVERSITY, WUCHANG.

Visitors to Wuhan cannot but admire the remarkable condition of the Central China University, which is the only University existing in the provinces of Hupeh and Hunan. The Hunan Government University and the Chung San University of Wuchang are still in the course of reorganization. The former is going to be reduced to a technical college and the latter is not yet opened. Since the close of Yale-in-China, Lakeside and the Lutheran College students of college grade in these two provinces are obliged to suspend their study for the present.

After the short winter vacation Central China University commenced the spring term with an enrollment larger than it has ever had. Numberless applications were rejected on account of lack of accommodation. The University has been strengthened by the addition of a new department of science. Three chairs are contributed by Yale-in-China: Professor Z.Z.Zee, professor of Chemistry; Dr. C.T. Kwei, Professor of Physics and Mr. Chou, Assistant professor of Biology. It is a real piece of cooperation that Yale-in-China can maintain a science unit in the C.C.U. Since the condition in Hunan is such that Yali College could hardly expect to reopen its Senior College, there is hope for C.C.U. to receive a permanent contribution of the three science chairs from Yale-in-China.

The spirit of the students there is just as good as in last January. They are happy and loyal; happy because they are the only college students in Central China who are able to continue their study in this time of turmoil, particularly with the new increase of teaching staff and the addition of a science department, and loyal because they are active in academic and social activities and brave because they refrain from unwholesome temptations into which they might easily be led by their nearest neighbor, The first provincial middle school, which is situated right opposite the university campus.

The students and the whole institution would have been the happier, if there had not been another evacuation of foreigners from Wuchang after the Nanking affair of March 24th. All the foreign teachers were ordered to leave Wuchang within 24 hours. Not all of them have left Hankow, but several courses had to be suspended for the time being, although a temporary schedule was arranged with the Chinese teachers, some of whom were perfectly willing to carry double work. Mr. Francis Wei, the acting president, and his whole staff of Chinese have been struggling hard to keep the University going.

5. THE FINDINGS OF THE REGISTRATION COMMITTEE OF THE CENTRAL CHINA CHRISTIAN EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION.

The Central Hupeh Provincial Committee on Registration of Christian schools was appointed at a conference called by the Executive Committee of the Central China Christian Educational Association on January 15th when Dr. E. W. Wallace and Mr. Sanford C.C. Chen were present. The Committee was duly formed. Their findings are as follows:

(1) The regulations for private schools, the regulations for boards of directors of private schools, and those for registration promulgated by the Nationalist government are generally advocated by the educationalists throughout the whole country. Hence the Christian institutions shall raise no further objection on account of the following three important points:

(1) All schools of the nation, public and private, shall be under the direction and supervision of the government.

(2) The administrative authority of all public and private schools shall be in the hands of Chinese administrators.

(3) Religious education and performances shall be voluntary.

(2) Christian institutions shall obey the government regulations as far as possible and as far as their conscience admits and shall positively prepare for registration so as to respect national sovereignty.

(3) In order to meet the needs of society and to adapt themselves to the environment, Christian schools have to undergo a thorough reformation which, while foregoing the Christian spirit of sacrifice and service and the object of cultivating perfect character in the students, is to change their method so as to avoid conflict with the present student psychology and to hasten the realization of their original purpose.

(4) Christian schools of all grades shall simultaneously apply for registration when it is possible in accordance with the government regulations for registration. (Copies of these regulations may be secured from China Christian Educational Association, 23 Yuen Ming Yuen Road, Shanghai.)

(5) In preparing for registration, special attention should be given to the following points:

(1) The majority of the board of directors and its chairman shall be Chinese.

(2) A budget with an assured income shall be had.

(3) A competent Chinese president or principal shall be elected to take the whole responsibility of the school.

(4) The qualifications of teachers shall be made according to the present government regulations.

(5) The grading and curriculum of a school shall be made according to the present government regulations.

(6) Each church shall organize a special committee for preparation of registration of its schools.

OWEN

TRANSFER

LETTER FROM LEWIS J. OWEN, TRANSLATOR  
OF UNIVERSITY OF HANKING

Hankow, April 3, 1927

Dear Miss:

On the afternoon of Sunday, March 20th, we attended afternoon service at Sage Chapel in the usual way. The speaker made a few preliminary remarks in which he stated that he had been reconnoitering outside the city of Hanking and found that the Southern army were still many miles away, and from the desultory fighting going on he concluded that it would be at least a couple of weeks before they could reach Hanking. He therefore advised us to calm ourselves and not be agitated since the trouble we anticipated would not materialize for some time, if at all. Many of us wondered where he had received his prophetic ability, but his statement of facts as he saw them did give us a tiny measure of reassurance and comfort.

Monday morning, early, we commenced to hear cannonading in the distance, and we wondered whether it was the Southerners attacking or the return firing of the northern troops occupying the city. I went to the office as usual and found our Chinese assistants in their places and working. The American Consul was in close communication with President Bowen, depending on him to keep the missionary community in our section of the city fully advised with regard to developments. In the afternoon we were advised by Consul authorities to have the women and children ready to leave at a moment's notice. Our little son, two years of age was under the doctor's care, threatened with whooping cough, but my wife packed what we would be able to carry for her and the children and was prepared to leave when orders came. We had thought right along that we would be able to remain in Hanking if the change came and the Southerners took command, thinking that perhaps if we kept off the streets for a few days and made ourselves as inconspicuous as possible we would experience little difficulty. We expected that our troubles would be with the servants and artisans and general labour unions, and that if we kept even tempered we might experience the minimum of trouble and humiliation. The doctor came in Monday night, and so did Dr. Williams the vice-president of the University, and talked with us. We were having raw damp weather, and rather than expose our young son to the rough weather, and also possible contagion to the many other children in the community who would be packed on the gunboats, they suggested it might be all right for us to remain at home, and we were very willing to follow their suggestion. There would be very few women and children left, and we felt rather secure, surrounded by foreign men and loyal Chinese friends. In the middle of the night, Monday, the leader of our section came to the house announcing the fact that ALL WOMEN AND CHILDREN MUST LEAVE at six thirty in the morning. Therefore when we got up Tuesday morning, it was with the distinct idea of getting my wife and children away with the rest. Again the physician and Dr. Williams came in the morning to do what they could to help us get off, and still they were not certain that they were doing the right thing in having our little boy exposed to the weather, as well as exposing the other children to contagion. Furthermore my wife is pregnant, and she would have an extremely difficult time taking charge of our little son and two daughters 7 1/2 and 4 yrs of age. After consultation with the Consul it was decided to permit my family to remain in Hanking until there were further or more serious developments. There were more than two hundred foreign women and children who left Hanking that morning. They were conveyed by sampans, driven for the most part by foreign businessmen, and taken to the river front five miles away, and then put on the American and British gunboats, with the idea of remaining there a few days until the Hanking had fallen, or until the southerners had been defeated, and conditions in the city would warrant their return in safety.



The firing outside the city continued intermittently all of Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, during which days our work at the University went on as usual, but with everyone rather high strung and working at a tension. Wednesday I spent most of the day in bed as I was unwell, having an upset digestion. Wednesday afternoon Dr. Williams called and talked over the situation with us, and offered his services to help negotiate with the servants for us if we experienced any difficulty. He knew the language well, and we were glad to have him offer his services in that way. He also said that we must be prepared to leave at once, and this time said that I had better go too, since having charge of so large amount of funds, it might be well for me to absent myself from the city for a few days until things calmed down after the southerners got in. It seemed quite evident to us all at that time that the southerners were going to gain entry to the city and drive the northerners out. It had been reported that the city gates would be opened to let in the victorious army at six o'clock Wednesday night. Dr. Williams told us again that same afternoon, that the General would want us to leave in the morning and we were prepared to go. There would be few children exposed this to us, and the weather was moderating.

When we awoke Thursday morning, I looked out of the window and noted an unusual calm, a very unusual calm. Not a soul stirring anywhere. I also noted the absence of the British flag which usually floated over the International Export residence a little distance from our home. I remarked to my wife on this, and said that I wondered if this was all the calm before the storm. We both concluded that since the southerners were probably in the city now, perhaps the trouble was over and we could draw an easy breath. We hoped so anyway.

While we were at breakfast we were discussing the matter, and I told my wife I would remain at home that morning to see what might happen, that I would not leave her alone with the children. She said she was glad she had remained with me, as there must be very anxious moments for the wives and children on board the gunboats and whose husbands were left in the city. I was glad, too, as her loyalty and her spiritual strength were sources of great comfort to me during this most trying time. We did not know what to expect, yet we had been made to feel by prominent southern party workers that we would be absolutely safe and that we would experience no difficulties when the southerners arrived. In fact, one of our Chinese administrative staff told me, "I am glad your wife and children are remaining, and have not fled to the gunboats for safety. It pleases me that you are trusting us Chinese".

A few minutes past eight, our Cook came into the dining room with his face wreathed in smiles, saying our troubles were over that we all need no longer be afraid, that the northern army had retreated and were rapidly leaving the city and the southerners were now in possession. He expressed our happiness in the fact that he and his countrymen were happy, and whatever government was in power in Hankow would be glad to cooperate with that government, try to obey the laws and act as polite guests of their country. He agreed with us and assured us that everything was going to be very fine from then on. In ten minutes, however, he returned with his face blanched and said "The southern soldiers are coming, they are next door!" I said, "Well, what of it? If they are northern soldiers they ought to be friends and we must treat them with politeness. Prepare tea, so that when they come in we can offer them drink." "No", he replied, "They are mistreating our neighbor and foreign teacher next door!" That put another face on the matter, and we all went to the window to see what was going on. Our man (Chinese servant) came in mulling himself angrily, "Let me take the baby, let me take him and hide him. I am afraid the soldiers will abuse him." We said we would all stay together, and try to be calm, that we would try to receive the soldiers politely if they came to our door. Our Cook just then returned, after having spent a few minutes outside, with his face filled with



however saying, "They are killing the foreigners, they have just killed Dr. Williams - run and hide somewhere!" We did our best to be calm, and my wife and little girls were miraculously composed during this most trying time. We told the cook there was no use in hiding, they would find us, and we had no place to go to that we felt we would be secure, that we must trust in God, he would help us now, that there seemed no other help near. I asked him to meet the soldiers and talk with them when they came to our house, as I feared what little Chinese I had at my command would leave me, under any great a strain. My wife and I and the children then went upstairs to our bedroom and then we told our little girls to be very careful when the soldiers came into the house, that they were rude to the soldiers the girls would probably be hurt. Told them to get close to mother, and do nothing, and say nothing. They followed our instructions perfectly under the most trying circumstances, and showed up the splendid training in obedience that my wife has given them. Just at that moment one of my loyal Chinese friends and students came in most excitedly saying that the NORTHERN soldiers had come, that they were very high-tempered, that they had already killed our vice-president upon the slightest remonstrance from him when they were searching his body for loot. He advised us to remain quietly in the house, and not to antagonize the soldiers in any way; and that he would come back soon again to help us all he could.

Then in came a group of six or seven NORTHERN soldiers with guns and fixed bayonets, walking right in the back door and up the stairs to our bedroom door which was open. "Here are the foreign devils," the first one cried to the rest. Then he turned to me and said "Don't be afraid, don't be afraid," and commanded to search my clothing. He found ten dollars in my vest pocket, took my fountain pen and valuable pencil, took my handkerchief and other things from my pocket, while the other soldiers went all around the upstairs rooms picking up what they considered of value. One of them went over to the bed picked up one of the baby's shoes and took it along, while another ripped open my wife's dress and felt all through her underwear to find valuables. These soldiers were followed by a half a dozen street people, dirty looking wretches, and they picked up everything they could carry off. Stealing of every description; pictures and curtains off the walls and windows. Took through the drawers and chiffonier drawers and made a grand sweep - the soldiers picking out choice pieces and leaving the rest to the rabble. Then one soldier who seemed to be a little more vicious than the rest, and who seemed to have possessed of this small round object pointed at my heart and demanded "silver money?" I told him I hadn't any, that one of the other soldiers had taken all the silver dollars I had on my person. I said again "Produce silver money!" and loaded his gun and cocked it. I argued with him that I could not produce what I didn't have. So he aimed at me ready to fire when our cook who just came in commenced to talk to him saying that it was useless for him to demand what I didn't have, that these foreigners never carried much money with them as they used checks on the banks for all their payments. I told the cook to ask the soldier if he wanted a check, that I would write him a check for what I had in the bank if he would not shoot, and to let me alone. I did not want a repetition of Dr. Williams' case right in the presence of my wife and small children. The children were conducting themselves just as we would have them do, and did not peep when they saw their precious playthings picked up and run off with, and their dear dollies roughly handled. The upstairs rooms were stripped clear of everything excepting the bare furniture by the time that small group of soldiers left us. The cook's remonstrance was effective and these soldiers finally left, after refusing to accept a check. They took my check book and tossed it away. When they had gone my wife and I looked at each other with hearts full of gratitude that we had all been spared our lives after such an awful chance. In a few minutes a couple of our Chinese friends came in running excitedly upstairs and cautioned us to be careful not to remonstrate with the soldiers, that they were out to kill, and

to be quiet as possible. Our cook and scullie came in asking if there were any precious things they could hide for us as they felt if they could hide them in their quarters the soldiers might not take them. We said that we were not interested much in things just then, that we would be very glad to escape with our lives. My wife's dress had been torn open and her underclothing searched to see if she was carrying concealed valuables. The whole experience had been most terrifying and humiliating. Our cook said, however, that he would try to save something for us and asked for our watches which he said he would keep on his person until after they were gone. It seems the tables were turned, and instead of the servants coming to us for protection from the northern soldiers and wanting us to hide their valuables, now the servants were trying to protect us and our things from the destructive southern soldiers. My personal clothes closet door is behind the entrance door to our bedroom, and in some way it had been overlooked. The cook therefore took my bathrobe hanging there, and wrapped up a number of garments, among them an entire blue suit and carried them off to his room. He also took a couple of suit cases which we had packed, and which the first set of soldiers had somehow overlooked, and hid them in his quarters. Just as he was going down the back stairs with these things, I heard a terrible pounding at the front door and smashing of glass. I hurried down the stairs just in time to see a soldier taking aim at the front door lock - he had broken the glass and torn the curtains aside - when I held up my hand to tell him I would open it for him. Upon entering he asked to what country I belonged. I said "I'm an American" to which he replied, "It doesn't make any difference - you are a foreigner, so get out of here quickly." I told him my wife and children were up stairs, that I must take them with me. He said "Stay away, and get out of here". Our cook had come back in by then, and I asked him to go upstairs to escort my wife and children downstairs. I walked out of the front door, bareheaded, and was soon followed by my wife and three children who were also bareheaded, and without coats, and our two year old boy in his mother's arms as he had but one shoe, the soldiers having taken the other. As soon as we came out of the door and down the steps, the soldiers fired several shots above our heads to terrify us. Naturally we were nothing within, but outwardly calm and serene. I marvelled at the composure of my wife and the little girls who were splendid through it all. Just as we were going down the front walk, we knew not where, a Chinese in civilian clothes, whose face was very familiar, came running toward me saying that I should run and hide, that the soldiers were coming to behind us. This was very comforting news to be sure, but we went on toward the front gate, when the house's club caretaker, a rather bedraggled scullie came in and offered to help us if he could. I took his hat and put it on the baby, as he had so little hair and was suffering from a cold. Before we got to our front gate, a number of our students came running toward us offering to help us and asking us to come with so that they might hide us. We followed them blindly as we had no where to go and did not know what had happened to the rest. We had seen our neighbor taken away by the soldiers, and had heard of our vice-president having been killed in cold blood. But these students took us to their dormitory, a Chinese building a short distance away and put my wife and children in one of their beds, and covered them with a heavy quilt. On our way to the dormitory about twenty yards from our front gate we were attacked by another group of soldiers, even though we were under the guidance of the students. These soldiers searched us all again, tearing my coat off my body, opening my trousers and pulling out my shirt and feeling through all my underclothing searching for valuables. My wife received the same treatment and in disgust they finally left us, having taken the glasses off my face, my mitecoat and some handkerchiefs I had in my pocket. They took away my wife's sweater leaving her in a light serge house dress. We went on to the dormitory where we were concealed for several hours. The Chinese students who all knew me, did all in their power to make us comfortable. One could tell by their expression and by their deeds, that they were mortified beyond measure at what had happened and were trying to do everything to make amends. Our

Dr. Franklin's letter - 2

children were nervously composed through these trying hours and were most obedient for little talks. We talked in whispers and heard mysterious soundings and goings all about us and pronounced firing of guns, commands, and shouts, and organized whistle signals. A little after twelve, according to the watch that was in this student's room, a few of our older student friends appeared, very much delighted at finding us safely hidden, as they had heard that I had been killed, and they were trying to find my family. They told us that things were becoming a little more quiet on the street, that the higher officials were coming to headquarters which were to be in our University administration building, and that they were negotiating for a guard to protect us while we should be escorted to the Science building. About half an hour later, six or seven students came to help us to the building. We had been joined by three women and a man who had been in hiding since eight o'clock, and our group of nine were then escorted to the University building. As we were on our way, we passed our home and we could see the wreckage of what once had been our comfortably furnished home. Pieces of our beds were being carried away by soldiers; our buffet and china closet were on the front lawn being smashed up by soldiers and rabble. Rugs and fire-irridings were being carried out of the back gate and we could hear the hammering and demolishing of furniture going on inside the house. As we passed our neighbors house I saw our piano smashed to smithereens lying by the side of the road, and our victrola record books torn to bits flying about the roadway. As we passed another neighbors house we saw soldiers beating out window frames with the butts of their guns, smashing glass and making a shambles of a beautiful house. In the distance we could see three of the University residences in flames, and Hillcrest School for the foreign children was burned later. Later in the day news came to us that two other of our residences had been burned. As we were going up the road escorted by friendly students, we passed several groups of soldiers who loomed and jeered at us and called our Chinese friends the servants of foreign dogs. Guns were fired precipitously as we passed by, with no definite aim other than to terrorize the people. We were finally ushered into Hallie Science Building, and hurried to the attic. When one of our guides left the building he was accosted by the soldiers, charged with having helped the foreign dogs, and chased off him with a bayonet stuck in his back. When we reached the attic of Hallie Science Hall, we were met by at least thirty to forty other men, women and children who had gone through similar experiences to ours, and who had been escorted by friendly students, and Chinese faculty members. Other foreign friends continued to come in intermittently, and we could hear the firing of guns all around the building. Finally we were warned that the soldiers were coming into search the building for us, so we all hid in dark closets under the eaves of the building. The soldiers were shooting around in the building downstairs yelling for the foreigners. We heard them coming nearer, and nearer, smashing glass as they came. Finally they spied some of our wraps in the outer room (we had worn some Chinese wraps given to us by students as the morning was very chilly) and they shouted "Here they are, here they are!" Those who were guarding the doors to these dark closets decided it would be better for us to go out and be attacked standing up, rather than in these dark closets, so we all marched out with our hands up, the little children holding their hands up, being calm and composed as their elders. We were put through another search, and again another group of ten or twelve soldiers came in and searched us again. Shortly after a petty officer arrived and wanted to know what it was all about. One of our students, and some of our Chinese faculty talked with him and negotiations were under way to get protection for us until our guardians could take us on. It was not long after before we heard tremendous firing which shook the building and we did not know what was happening. We were told a little later that the guardians had fired on the city. It was not long after that negotiations were effected so that we were given a guard around the building, and assurance that we would not be molested any further. During the course of the afternoon other foreigners came in from various parts of the city. Various servants came in bringing different articles that they had saved or salvaged from the wrecked homes. Some of the things saved by them were indicative of fore-



sight and consideration, and others were ludicrous in the extreme. Our gardener brought us a batch of eggs and said he would bring more in the morning. We knew then that we would have to stay the night in the attic. Our cook brought us some fruit, and some of my faculty and student friends brought oranges and other things. Other Chinese friends brought what foreign clothing they possessed and showered it on us and offered money to help us for the present. They showed extreme loyalty and sincerity, willing to risk their lives for us and to do what they could to make us comfortable. Thursday passed in great anxiety for us all. More and more people were coming in, and it was after midnight that Miss Moffet was brought in wounded. She had been shot in the abdomen, and through the knee, at eight o'clock that morning, and had been hiding in a screen hut, lying on a straw bed, along with several other fellow sufferers, until friends found her late that night and brought her in. About noon the next day the last of our group came in making about one hundred twenty in all. During Thursday and Friday, committees were formed among this group of refugees to take care of negotiations, sanitation, bedding and food. We tried to organize things rapidly and tried to get as much comfort as possible in our cramped and inconvenient quarters. Many Chinese friends gave us their bedding freely so that we might lie down in comfort on the cement floor.

On Friday afternoon one of my neighbors said that some of the students had told him he might visit his home to see if there was anything there he might wish to save, that the soldiers promised to let them go unharmed. I went along with him, and I visited his home and our own. Upon entering his home we found nothing left but the shell of the house. Flooring had been ripped up and burned. Stair railing torn out. Window frames burst out and all glass smashed. The floors were littered with papers, torn books, and broken plaster - nothing else. That was all the house contained. It was a perfect wreck of a house! Upon entering mine we discovered the Southern flag hoisted in front of the house, and soldiers in occupation of it. Already the place had been selected for a telephone exchange and the wires and the exchange already installed. Soldier guards were billeted on the top floor and when I asked to the attic to see if by chance something was left that might be of value, I discovered one of the dirty soldiers sitting on his straw bed picking off buttons. There was not one little thing left in the way of fixtures or furniture or furnishings that would indicate the house had ever been occupied. Plumbing pipes were twisted all shapes and the tubs and basins taken out and carried away. Our bath tub was evidently too heavy to carry off so we found that on the front lawn, smashed to pieces. Our home no longer existed - there was nothing left, and it finally came over me that we possessed nothing but the remnants of garments that we had on our backs, and the bundle of my clothing that the cook saved. He brought that up to me later, saying that the soldiers had stolen one watch from him, and had taken the substances. The knowledge that we as a family would have to start over again with nothing, almost overwhelmed me, but I couldn't help but thank God for our loyal friends who had done their best to save us and had succeeded in getting us to a place of safety and finally were able to get protection for us.

Then my neighbor and I returned to the Science Building, word had just come from the American Consul who was then on the American flagship on the river, that they had issued an ultimatum to the Chinese authorities that unless all Americans were safely escorted to the American gunboats by five o'clock that afternoon they would proceed to shell the city, and that they were in receipt of reply that they would escort us safely out of the city. We were then instructed to get ready, the injured and sick to go first; the families with babies next, then the other women adults, and the men were to walk if there were not sufficient conveyances. Our carriages all carried the Southern flag, which is equivalent to our western Red Cross, and that was the amount of our guard. Our family of five were put in one carriage, and I asked one of my Chinese friends to come with us, and he rode on the porters seat in back, so that he might talk for us if any trouble arose. I did

not feel at all secure in the assurance of safe passage to the gunboat and was very glad to have him with us. We finally reached the river bank at quarter to five Friday afternoon, and the sight of the STARS AND STRIPES was almost overwhelming. You can imagine how bushed up we felt. Our little girls were thrilled and started to sing "O Columbia the gem of the Ocean" and we did not stop them! We were kept on the gunboat from Friday night until Sunday morning when we were transferred to another ship and taken down to Shanghai, arriving there Sunday afternoon. The gunboat people were marvellously kind, but a gunboat is not a passenger boat and it was overcrowded, so that we looked very bedraggled and unattractive upon arrival.

American friends on the lookout for refugees had their hands full with the arrival of our shipload, but my family were splendidly cared for. The American Women's Club took us five along with others to their headquarters where we were given warm drinks and food and a place to wash. We felt filthy having slept in our clothes since Wednesday, and no changes. No toothbrushes, combs or brushes, or shaving utensils, no anything that goes to make a civilized people comfortable. From the American Women's Club we were assigned to various houses which had been opened to refugees. We were very fortunate in being assigned to the home of one of the United States government representatives, and have been very comfortably established for the present. The first night after arriving, we could not sleep, as the least noise awakened us and we would start up in a fright.

The first few days in Shanghai consisted in a mad rush of shopping to get a few of the necessary essentials to clean living. We find to our dismay that we need so much and have so limited wherewithal to get it.

Thursday and Friday are nightmares in our memory of our experiences in Hanking. All the rest of the foreign residents fared equally with us or worse. The whole thing seemed like a very carefully worked out plan to exterminate the foreigners. They certainly gave us a strenuous invitation to "GO OUT" and then by smashing our homes to bits made it necessary for us to "STAY OUT". That the southern sympathizers were in utter ignorance of the plan of attack on foreigners we are quite sure. It was as much of a shock to them as to us. We saw every evidence on their part of grief, and sincere regret and humiliation for the acts of their country's government representatives, as that is what we must call the officers of the southern soldiery.

Many of our faculty are returning to America at once. Some are staying on for a short time to finish up their work and going home later. That the University work is finished for the time being, there seems to be no question. Just what is going to happen, we do not know or cannot tell. Things are still all up in the air.

Owl  
TRANSFER

Shanghai, China,  
April 5, 1927.

On the afternoon of Sunday, March 20th, we attended afternoon service at Sage Chapel in the usual way. The speaker made a few preliminary remarks in which he stated that he had been reconnoitering outside the city of Nanking and found that the Southern army were still many miles away, and from the desultory fighting going on he concluded that it would be at least a couple of weeks before they could reach Nanking. He therefore advised us to calm ourselves and not be agitated since the trouble we anticipated would not materialize for some time, if at all. Many of us wondered where he had received his prophetic ability, but his statement of facts as he saw them did give us a tiny measure of reassurance and comfort.

Monday morning, early, we commenced to hear cannonading in the distance, and we wondered whether it was the Southerners attacking or the return firing of the northern troops occupying the city. I went to the office as usual and found our Chinese assistants in their places working as usual. The American Consul was in close communication with President Bowen, depending on him to keep the missionary community in our section of the city fully advised with regard to developments. In the afternoon we were advised by Consul authorities to have the women and children ready to leave at a moment's notice. Our little son, two years of age, was under the doctor's care, threatened with whooping cough, but my wife packed what we would be able to carry for her and the children and was prepared to leave when orders came. We had thought right along that we would be able to remain in Nanking if the change came and the Southerners took command, thinking that perhaps if we kept off the streets for a few days and made ourselves as inconspicuous as possible we would experience little difficulty. We expected that our troubles would be with the servants and artisans and general labor unions, and that if we kept even tempered we might experience the minimum of trouble and humiliation. The doctor came in Monday night, and so did Dr. Williams, the vice-president of the University, and talked with us. We were having raw damp weather, and rather than expose our young son to the rough weather, and also possible contagion to the many other children in the community who would be packed on the gunboats, they suggested it might be all right for us to remain at home, and we were very willing to follow their suggestion. There would be very few women and children left, and we felt rather secure, surrounded by foreign men and loyal Chinese friends. The middle of the night, Monday, the leader of our section came to the house announcing the fact that ALL WOMEN AND CHILDREN MUST LEAVE at six-thirty in the morning. Therefore when we got up Tuesday morning, it was with the distinct idea of getting my wife and children away with the rest. Again the physician and Dr. Williams came in the morning to do what they could to help us get off, and still they were not certain that they were doing the right thing in having our little boy exposed to the weather, as well as exposing the other children to contagion. Furthermore, my wife is pregnant, and she would have an extremely difficult time taking charge of our little son and two daughters, seven and one-half and six years of age. After consultation with the Consul it was decided to permit my family to remain in Nanking until there were further or more serious developments. There were more than two hundred women and children who left Nanking that morning. They were conveyed to the river front five miles away, by autos driven for the most part by foreign business men, and put on the American and British gunboats, with the idea of remaining there a few days until Nanking had fallen, or until the Southerners had been defeated, and conditions in the city warranted their return in safety.

The firing outside the city continued intermittently all of Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday. During which days our work at the University went on as usual, but with everyone rather high strung and working at a tension. Wednesday, I spent the greater part of the day in bed, as I was unwell, having an upset digestion. Wednesday afternoon, Dr. Williams called and

talked over the situation with us, and offered his services to help negotiate with the servants for us if we experienced any difficulty. He knew the language well, and we were glad to have him offer his services for us in that way. He also said that we must be prepared to leave at once, and this time said that I had better go too, since having charge of so large amount of funds, it might be well for me to absent myself from the city for a few days until things calmed down after the Southerners got in. It seemed quite evident to us all at that time that the Southerners were going to gain entry to the city and drive the Northerners out. It had been reported that the city gates would be opened to let in the victorious army at six o'clock Wednesday night. Dr. Williams told us again that same afternoon, that the Consul would want us to leave in the morning and were prepared to go. There would be few children exposed this time, and the weather was moderating.

When we awoke Thursday morning, I looked out of the window and noted an extreme calm, a very unusual calm. Not a soul stirring anywhere. I also noted the absence of the British flag which usually floated over the International Export Company residence a little distance from our home. I remarked to my wife on this, and said that I wondered if this was all the calm before the storm. We both concluded that since the Southerners were probably in the city now, perhaps the trouble was over and we could draw an easy breath. We hoped so anyway.

While we were at breakfast we were discussing the matter, and I told my wife I would remain at home that morning to see what might happen, that I would not leave her alone with the children. She said she was glad she had remained with me, as these must be very anxious moments for the wives and children on board the gunboats and whose husbands were left in the city. I was glad, too, as her loyalty and her spiritual strength were sources of great comfort to me during this most trying time. We did not know what to expect, yet we had been made to feel by prominent southern party workers that we would be absolutely safe and that we would experience no difficulties when the Southerners arrived. In fact, one of our Chinese administrative staff told me, "I am glad your wife and children are remaining, and have not fled to the gunboats for safety. It pleases me that you are trusting us Chinese."

A few minutes past eight, our cook came into the dining room with his face wreathed in smiles, saying our troubles were over, that we all need no longer be afraid, that the Northerners had retreated and were rapidly leaving the city and the Southern army was now in possession. We expressed our happiness in the fact that he and his countrymen were happy, and that whatever government was in power in Nanking we would be glad to cooperate with the government, try to obey its laws and act as polite guests of their country. He agreed with us and assured us that everything was going to be very fine from then on. In ten minutes, however, he returned with his face blanched and said, "The southern soldiers are coming; they are next door!" I said, "Well, what of it? If they are southern soldiers they ought to be friends, and we must treat them with politeness. Prepare tea, so that when they come in we can offer them a drink." "But", he replied, "they are mistreating our neighbor, the foreign teacher next door!" That put another face on the matter, and we all went to the window to see what was going on. Our amah (Chinese nursemaid) came in wailing frantically, "Let me take the baby, let me take him and hide him. I am afraid the soldiers will abuse him." We said we would all stay together, and try to be calm, that we would try to receive the soldiers politely if they came to our door. Our cook just then returned, after having spent a few minutes outside, with his face filled with horror, saying, "They are killing the foreigners; they have just killed Dr. Williams and hide somewhere!" We did our best to be calm, and my wife and the little girls were marvelously composed during this most trying time. We told the cook there was no use in hiding, they would find us, and if we had no place to go to that we felt would be secure that we must trust God. He would



help us now when there seemed no other help near. I asked him to meet the soldiers and talk with them when they came to our house, as I feared what my little Chinese I had at my command would leave me under so great a strain. My wife and I and the children then went upstairs to our bedroom, and then we told our little girls to be very careful when the soldiers came into the house, that if they were rude to the soldiers the girls would probably be hurt. I asked them to sit close to Mother, and do nothing, and say nothing. They followed our instructions perfectly under the most trying circumstances, and showed up the splendid training in obedience that my wife has given them. Just at that moment one of my loyal Chinese friends and student came in most excitedly saying that the SOUTHERN soldiers had come, that they were very high tempered, that they had already killed our vice-president upon the slightest remonstrance from him when they were searching him for loot. He advised us to remain quietly in the house, and not to antagonize the soldiers in any way; and that he would come back again soon to help us all he could.

Then in came a group of six or seven SOUTHERN soldiers with guns and fixed bayonets, walking in the back door and up the stairs to our bedroom door which was open. "Here are the foreign devils," said the first one to the rest. Then he turned to me and said, "Don't be afraid, don't be afraid," and commenced to search my clothing. He found ten dollars in my vest pocket, took my fountain pen and valuable pencil, took my handkerchief and other things from my pocket, while the other soldiers went all around the upstairs rooms picking up what they considered of value. One of them went over to the bed, picked up one of the baby's shoes and took it along, while another ripped open my wife's dress and felt all through her underclothing to find valuables. These soldiers were followed by a half dozen street people, dirty looking wretches, and they picked up everything they could carry off. Bedding, clothing of every description, pictures and curtains off the walls and windows. Went through the dresser and chiffonier drawers and made a grand sweep - the soldiers picking out choice pieces and leaving the rest to the rabble. Then one soldier who seemed to be a little more vicious than the rest, and who seemed to have command of this small squad confronted me with his bayonet pointed at my heart and demanded "Silver money!" I told him I hadn't any, that one of the other soldiers had taken all the silver dollars I had on my person. He said again, "Produce silver money," and loaded his gun and cocked it. I argued with him that I could not produce what I did not have, so he aimed at me ready to fire when our cook who just came in commenced to talk to him saying that it was useless for him to demand what I didn't have, that these foreigners never carried much money with them as they used checks on the banks for all their payments. I told the cook to ask the soldier if he wanted a check, that I would write him a check for what I had in the bank if he would not shoot, and to let us alone. I did not want a repetition of Dr. Williams' case right in the presence of my wife and children. The children were conducting themselves just as we would have them do, and did not peep when they saw their precious playthings picked up and ran off with, and their dear dollies roughly handled. The upstairs rooms were stripped clean of everything excepting the bare ~~man~~ furniture by the time that small group of soldiers left us. The cook's remonstrance was effective and these soldiers finally left, after refusing to accept a check. They took my check book and tossed it away. When they had gone my wife and I looked at each other with hearts full of gratitude that we had all been spared our lives after such an awful fracas.

In a few minutes a couple of our Chinese friends came in running excitedly upstairs and cautioned us to be careful not to remonstrate with the soldiers, that they were out to kill, and to be as quiet as possible. Our cook and cookie came in asking if there were any precious things that they could hide for us as they felt if they could hide them in their quarters, the soldiers might not take them. We said that we were not interested much



such things just then, that we would be very glad to escape with our lives. My wife's dress had been torn open and her underclothing searched to see if she was carrying concealed valuables. The whole experience had been most terrifying and humiliating. Our cook said, however, that he would try to save something for us and asked for our watches which he said he would keep on his person until after the soldiers were gone. It seems that the tables were turned, and instead of the servants coming to us for protection from the northern soldiers and wanting us to hid their valuables, now the servants were trying to protect us and our things from the destructive southern soldiers. My personal clothes closet door is behind the entrance door to our bedroom, and in some way it had been overlooked. The cook therefore took my bathrobe hanging there, and wrapped up a number of garments, among them an entire blue suit and carried them off to his room. He also took a couple of suitcases which we had packed, and which the first set of soldiers had somehow overlooked, and hid them in his quarters. Just as he was going down the back stairs with these things, I heard a terrible pounding at the front door and smashing of glass. I hurried down just in time to see a soldier taking aim at the front door lock - he had broken the glass and torn the curtains aside - when I held up my hand to tell him I would open it for him. Upon entering he asked to what country I belonged. I said, "I am an American," to which he replied, "It doesn't make any difference - you are a foreigner, so get out of here quickly." I told him my wife and children were upstairs, that I must take them with me. He said, "Stay away and get out of here." Our cook had come back in by then, and I asked him to go upstairs to escort my wife and children downstairs. I walked out of the front door, bareheaded, and was soon followed by my wife and three children who were also bareheaded, and without coats, and our two-year old boy in his mother's arms as he had but one shoe, the soldiers having taken the other. As soon as we came out of the door and down the steps, the soldiers fired several shots above our heads to terrorize us. Naturally we were seething within, but outwardly calm and serene. I marvelled at the composure of my wife and the little girls who were splendid through it all. Just as we were going down the front walk, we knew not where, a Chinese in civilian clothes, whose face was familiar, came running toward me saying that I should run and hide, the soldiers were coming to behead us. This was very comforting news to be sure, but we went on toward the front gate, when the tennis club caretaker, ~~an old Chinese man who had been a student of mine~~ a rather bedraggled coolie, came in and offered to help us if he could. I took his hat and put it on the babe, as he had so little hair and was suffering from a cold. Before we got to our front gate, a number of our students came running toward us offering to help us and asking us to come with them so that they might hide us. We followed them blindly as he no where to go and did not know what had happened to the rest. We had seen our neighbor taken away by the soldiers, and had heard of our vice-president having been killed in cold blood. But these students took us to their dormitory, a Chinese building a short distance away, and put my wife and children in one of their beds, and covered them with a heavy quilt. On our way to the dormitory about twenty yards from our front gate, we were attacked by another group of soldiers, even though we were under the guidance of the students. These soldiers searched us all again, tearing my coat off my body, opening my trousers and pulling out my shirt, and feeling through all my underclothing searching for valuables. My wife received the same treatment, and in disgust they finally left us, having taken the glasses off my face, my suit-coat and some handkerchiefs I had in my pocket. They took away my wife's sweater leaving her in a light serge house dress. We went on to the dormitory where we were concealed for several hours. The Chinese students who all knew me, did all in their power to make us comfortable. One could tell by their expression and by their deeds, that they were mortified beyond measure at what had happened and were trying to do everything to make amends. Our children were marvelously composed through these trying hours and were most obedient for little folks. We talked in whispers and heard mysterious comings and goings all about us and promis-

cious firing of guns, commands, and shouts, and organized whistle signals. A little after twelve, according to the watch that was in this student's room, a few of our older student friends appeared, very much delighted of finding us safely hidden, as they had heard that I had been killed, and they were trying to find my family. They told us that things were becoming a little more quiet on the street, that the higher officials were coming to headquarters which were to be in our University administration building, and that they were negotiating for a guard to protect us while we should be escorted to the Science building. About half an hour later, six or seven students came to help us to the building. We had been joined by three women and a man who had been in hiding since eight o'clock, and our group of nine were then escorted to the University building. As we were on our way, we passed our home and we could see the wreckage of what once had been our comfortably furnished home. Pieces of our beds were being carried away by soldiers; our buffet and China closet were on the front lawn being smashed up by soldiers and the table. Rugs and furnishings were being carried out of the back gate and we could hear the hammering and demolishing of furniture going on inside the house. As we passed our neighbor's house, I saw our piano smashed to smithereens lying by the side of the road, and our victrola records and books torn to bits flying about the roadway. As we passed another neighbor's house we saw soldiers beating out window frames with the butts of their guns, smashing glass and making a shambles of a beautiful house. In the distance we could see three of the University residences in flames, and Hillcrest School for the foreign children was burned later. Later in the day news came to us that two other of our residences had been burned. As we were going up the road escorted by friendly students, we passed several groups of soldiers who leered and jeered at us and called our Chinese friends the servants of foreign dogs. Guns were fired promiscuously as we passed by, with no definite aim other than to terrorize the people. We were finally ushered into Bailie Science Building, and hurried to the attic. When one of our guides left the building he was accosted by the soldiers, charged with having helped the foreign dogs, and chased off with a bayonet stuck in his back. When we reached the attic of Bailie Science Hall, we were met by at least thirty or forty other men, women and children who had gone through similar experiences to ours, and who had been escorted by friendly students, and Chinese faculty members. Other foreign friends continued to come in intermittently, and we could hear the firing of guns all around the building. The soldiers were shooting around in the building downstairs, yelling for the foreigners. We heard them coming nearer, and nearer, smashing glass as they came. Finally they spied some of our wraps given to us by students as the morning was very chilly, and they shouted, "Here they are, here they are!" Those who were guarding the doors to these dark closets decided it would be better for us to go out and be attacked standing up, rather than in these dark closets, so we all marched out with our hands up, the little children holding their hands up, being calm and composed as their elders. We were put through another search, and again another group of ten or twelve soldiers came in and searched again. Shortly afterward, a petty officer arrived and wanted to know what it was all about. One of our students, and some of our Chinese faculty talked with him and negotiations were under way to get protection for us until our gunboats could take us on. It was not long after before we heard tremendous firing which shook the building and we did not know what was happening. We were told a little later that the gunboats had fired on the city. It was not long after that negotiations were effected so that we were given a guard around the building, and assurance that we would not be molested any further. During the course of the afternoon other foreigners came in from various parts of the city. Various servants came in bringing different articles that they had saved or salvaged from the wrecked homes. Some of the things saved by them were indicative of foresight and consideration, and others were ludicrous in ~~mann~~ the extreme. Our gardener brought us a batch of eggs, and said he would bring more in the morning. We knew then that

we would have to stay in the attic over night. Our cook brought us some fruit, and others of the faculty and student friends brought oranges and other things. Other Chinese friends brought what foreign clothing they possessed and showered it on us and offered money to help us for the present. They showed extreme loyalty and sincerity, willing to risk their lives for us and to do what they could to make us comfortable. Thursday passed in great anxiety for us all. More and more people were coming in, and it was after midnight that Miss Moffet was brought in wounded. She had been shot in the abdomen, and through the knee, at eight o'clock that morning, and had been hiding in a straw hut, lying on a straw bed, along with several other fellow sufferers, until friends found her late that night and brought her in. About noon the next day the last of our group came in making about one hundred twenty in all. During Thursday and Friday, committees were formed among this group of refugees to take care of negotiations, sanitation, bedding, and food. We tried to organize things rapidly and tried to get as much comfort as possible in our cramped and inconvenient quarters. Many Chinese friends gave of their bedding freely so that we might lie down in comfort on the cement floor.

On Friday afternoon one of my neighbors said that some of the students had told him he might visit his home to see if there was anything there he might wish to save, that the soldiers promised to let them go unmolested. I went along with him, and visited his home and our own. Upon entering his home we found nothing left but the shell of the house. Flooring had been ripped up and burned. Stair railing torn out. Window frames burst out and all glass smashed. The floors were littered with papers, torn books, and broken plaster - nothing else. That was all the house contained. It was a perfect wreck of a home! Upon entering mine we discovered the southern flag hoisted in front of the house, and soldiers in occupation of it. Already the place had been selected for a telephone exchange and the wires and the exchange already installed. Soldier guards were billeted on the top floor and when I climbed to the attic to see if by chance something was left that might be of value, I discovered one of the dirty soldiers sitting on his straw bed picking off cooties. There was not one little thing left in the way of fixtures or furniture or furnishings, that would indicate the house had ever been occupied. Plumbing pipes were twisted all shapes and the tubs and basins taken out and carried away. Our bathtub was evidently too heavy to cart off, so we found that on the front lawn, smashed to pieces. Our home no longer existed - there was nothing left, and it finally came over me that we possessed nothing but the remnants of garments that we had on our backs, and the bundle of my clothing that the cook saved. He brought that up to me later, saying that the soldiers had stolen our watches from him, and had taken the suitcases. The knowledge that we as a family would have to start over again with nothing, almost overwhelmed me, but I couldn't help but thank God for our loyal friends who had done their best to save us and had succeeded in getting us to a place of safety and finally were able to get protection for us.

When my neighbor and I returned to the Science Building, word had just come from the American Consul who was then on the American flagship on the river, that they had issued an ultimatum to the Chinese authorities that unless all Americans were safely escorted to the American gunboats by five o'clock that afternoon they would proceed to shell the city, and that they were in receipt of reply that they would escort us safely out of the city. We were then instructed to get ready, the injured and sick to go first; the families with babies next, then the other women adults, and the men were to walk if there were not sufficient conveyances. Our carriages all carried the swastika flag, which is equivalent to our Western Red Cross, and that was the amount of our guard. Our family of five were put in one carriage, and I asked one of my Chinese friends to come with us, and he rode on the porter's

seat in back, so that he might talk for me if any trouble arose. I did not feel at all secure in the assurance of safe passage to the gunboat and was very glad to have him with us. We finally reached the river bank at quarter to five Friday afternoon, and the sight of the STARS AND STRIPES was almost overwhelming. You can imagine how bucked up we felt. Our little girls were thrilled and started to sing "O Columbia, the Gem of the Ocean" and we did not stop them. We were kept on the gunboat from Friday night until Sunday morning when we were transferred to another ship and taken down to Shanghai, arriving there Sunday afternoon. The gunboat people were marvelously kind, but a gunboat is not a passenger boat, and it was overcrowded, so that we looked very bedraggled and unsightly upon our arrival.

American friends on the lookout for refugees had their hands full with the arrival of our ship load, but my family were splendidly cared for. The American woman's Club took us five along with others to their headquarters where we were given warm drinks and food and a place to wash. We felt filthy having slept in our clothes since Wednesday, and no changes. No tooth-brushes, combs or brushes, or shaving utensils, no anything that goes to make a civilized people comfortable. From the American Women's Club we were assigned to various homes which had been opened to refugees. We were very fortunate in being assigned to the home of one of the United States government representatives, and have been very comfortably established for the present. The first night after arriving, we could not sleep, as the least noise awakened us, and made us start up in a fright.

The first few days in Shanghai consisted in a mad rush of shopping to get a few of the necessary essentials to clean living. We find to our dismay that we need so much, and have so limited wherewithal to get it.

Thursday and Friday are nightmares in our memory of our experiences in Nanking. All the rest of the foreign residents fared equally with us or worse. The whole thing seemed like a very carefully worked out plan to exterminate the foreigners. They certainly gave us a strenuous invitation to "GET OUT" and then smashing our homes to bits made it necessary for us to "STAY OUT". That the southern sympathizers were in utter ignorance of the plan to attack the foreigners, we are quite sure. It was as much of a shock to them as to us. We saw every evidence on their part of grief, and sincere regret and humiliation for the acts of their country's representatives, for that is what we must call the officers of the Southern soldiery.

Many of our faculty are returning to America at once. Some are staying on for a short time to finish up their work and go home later. That the University work is finished for the time being, there seems to be no question. Just what is going to happen, we do not know or cannot tell. Things are still all up in the air.

L. J. Owen, Treasurer,  
University of Nanking.  
Nanking, China.

COPY

On S.S. Saikio Maru  
Shanghai to Dairen  
April 5, 1927

Connelly

Dear Family:

Here I am making the next step to Peking after a most interesting and exciting ten days in Shanghai. When I reached Yokohama I found a cable from George Fitch telling me that everything in Shanghai was peaceful and there was no reason why I should not come on. By the time I reached Shanghai the situation had changed a great deal and I was there during some of the most interesting days they have had. I have been delayed a few days in getting to Peking and now have to go by way of Dairen instead of from Shanghai to Tientsin direct but it has been well worth the time and extra travel.

I found Shanghai the greatest mixture of propaganda, rumor, fact, politics, labor troubles, military preparedness, refugees, that you can imagine. The entire city has been seething and no one has known just what has been coming from one day to the next, and it has been a grand argument between those who expect the worst and those who are still optimistic on the situation.

The first thing we noticed as we came up the Whangpoo River was the big crowd of cruisers and gunboats belonging to eight or nine different nations. The river was crowded with them and the boats that are tied up because of the troubles in China. There were boats from England, France, Japan, America, Holland, Spain, Portugal. It was early morning as we came up river and the bugles were blowing to get the men out. We had General Butler on our boat, coming out to take command of the American Marine force in Shanghai. We had hoped he would be met with ceremony, but it was only a few officers who came to escort him to the flagship.

The bund we could see was guarded by marines and sailors of the different countries. At the customs jetty where we landed there was a big crowd of men in uniform and a temporary hut for their command put right on the edge of the road. All the men were carrying rifles and it made us begin to think that almost anything might happen. In the streets we saw men on patrol or dashing around on motor bicycles. Most of them were wearing tin hats and those who weren't usually had the tin hat slung over their shoulders.



As soon as one got anywhere near the boundary of the Settlement, or the dividing line between the French Concession and the Settlement things looked more war-like than ever for the boundaries were all protected by barbed wire entanglements and sandbag redoubts. Almost every day I have been in Shanghai I have seen men at work building new defences. They have unrolled miles and miles of barbed wire. I wonder how long it will take them to wind it all up again. The barriers and protection of the International Settlement seem to be much heavier and more complete than those of the French Concession. In fact there has been a good deal of feeling between the two, the International group claiming that the French have not put up adequate defences and fearing that the French might be rushed by the Chinese. It has resulted in the building of strong defences between the two sections. On Avenue Edward VII they have even put a double barbed wire fence down the outer edge of the sidewalk on the Settlement side. If you want to go from one side of the street to the other it may mean a walk of several blocks for many of the streets are completely cut off. Those that are open are carefully guarded.

Just when we arrived the military had declared martial law and a state of emergency. The principal thing affecting the people was a 10 o'clock curfew. When the movies usually do not start until 9:15 you can imagine what a change it meant for Shanghai for everyone to have to be in by 10. The Chinese have found it a bit difficult to understand but it is gradually working better. Some nights the guards gathered up as many as 1500 people and took them to the police station. At first they held them only until curfew was over at 4 A.M. but now they are keeping the people until noon and the number is getting decidedly less.

Some of the people had a brilliant idea that they would beat the curfew by staying at the cafes until 4 A.M. but the military came in at 10 and chased them all home.

There has been a constant fear that the Chinese inside the patrolled area would start something, so those who have been coming in from Chinese territory have been searched. Where the streets are narrow and the crowds ~~thick~~ thick it is something of a problem for the police and the soldiers but they keep the crowd back until they can run their hands over the people to see if they are carrying arms. One of the men

in the Shanghai Volunteer Corps told me that they were often finding even Chinese soldiers coming ~~in~~ into the Settlement from the French Side and that about all they could do was to chase them back into Frenchtown. In one machine they even found a couple of Chinese Generals in full uniform. He also told how one group were rounded up by a patrol and taken to the police station only to be let go. The same group was a little later caught by another squad and brought in. They even had a third trip to the police station before the night was over.

Those who know the Chinese are watching carefully to see if they see any mistreatment on the part of the soldiers. There have been some who have been rough in their treatment of the Chinese, but on the whole considering the fact that there are some 20,000 troops in Shanghai besides the Shanghai Volunteer Corps the relations are fairly good. Some of the soldiers will get drunk and treat the ricksha coolies rough or a soldier will go down the streets giving the passing Chinese a gentle kick on the shin, but it looks as tho a real effort were being made to prevent unnecessary difficulties. And the poor Chinese wonder what it is all about when they get yelled at by a foreign soldier in some language they don't understand and then have a bayonet stuck at them, while they are being searched. Even those traveling in motor cars are not exempt. They begin looking the cars over about 8 in the evening and if the passengers are Chinese they often make them get out to be searched for arms. A long Chinese gown makes a fine cover for a lot of things.

When we arrived things were just beginning to straighten out after a general strike called to celebrate the taking of the Shanghai area by the Southern troops. The busses and trams had not been running for several days and were still off in the French Concession. The Post Office had been closed and mails were not being handled. It was strange to see the Dollar Steamship Office having to act as a PO before one of its boats went out. If the letters were stamped they were taking them in for delivery to the boat. Everybody with friends was loading them up with things to be mailed on the boat. Before I left things were gradually getting straightened out, but they had had to put a three day embargo on packages so they could get the PO cleared of back work.

They have had quite a time getting the troops quartered but have put up temporary barracks in the various parks, taken over some of the theatres and other big buildings. The papers say that the powers are sending out another big detachment of men, even the crack regiments from England, so the problem is going to be worse than ever. We are told that the army people are taking two year leases on their quarters so it looks as tho they were expecting to be in China for some time. Right now it doesn't seem/ as though they could be taken away for many months to come, probably not until the question of the return to Shanghai has been ~~minimized~~ thrashed out between China and the powers.

The Navy YMCA is having a busy time trying to handle the recreation problem of the American men. The British Women have gathered quite a bit of money and have put up three big huts. Two YM men are just out from England and are trying to get a location where they can start their work. Just now things are tense so the men are not getting much time off. Even some of the volunteers have had 4 hours on and 4 hours off straight thru the 24 hours. As the situation clears a bit it will mean more work for the recreation workers.

Shanghai was all excited over the trouble that came with the taking over of the Shanghai area by the Southern troops. The resistance of the Northern troops proved to be unexpectedly weak and they left almost without any fighting. Guerilla troops, or as they call them, the plain clothes soldiers got out their arms and there was considerable looting and one district was burned. This was outside the Concession area of course but there were a lot of bullets flying over and one group of armed men even rushed the barbed wire barrier, broke their way into the Settlement and there was some street fighting. It didn't last long and the men were quickly disarmed. It was partly that experience that had made the authorities so anxious to build the barricades so strong. At some of the streets the soldiers had kept the guerillas out only by firing into them and quite a number were killed and wounded. During the week I was in Shanghai there were quite a number of attempts made at different times to rush the barriers.

Then just a few days after the Shanghai experience came the Nanking Incident. I can only imagine the details that have been cabled home of that wild Thursday. We surely got a lot of them for we met many of the boats as they brought the refugees down from



Nanking and other river ports. I never have seen such a woe-begone crowd as came off the boat on Sunday, the first of those who have been thru the looting of Nanking. Haggard, worn, nervous, sick, they were a terrible looking crowd. To add to their experiences a lot of them got an attack of ptomaine poisoning after they had been taken off by the American gunboat NOA. The ambulances were drawn up at the bund and took several to the hospital. Two had to be carried off on stretchers, Miss Moffet who had been shot twice and one of the men who had fallen when getting over the wall and had broken his ankle. There was very little baggage with the crowd, some bed rolls, a few handbags and suitcases, things done up in bedspreads, and pillow cases. Just the things they had been able to snatch and carry.

Perhaps the best way to give you some idea of the things we heard is to give you a complete story and then some of the little incidents that came from others. We got Sam Mills to tell us his experiences. He and all his family were in Nanking as one of the children had been having some bronchitis and the doctor was afraid that it might go into mastoid. In fact Mary (Mrs. Mills) was already in the machine to go with those who went down to the gunboat on Tuesday, but got out and stayed. On Monday they had heard firing to the South of Nanking. ~~On~~ Tuesday there was not much firing but it was evident that the Northern troops were going to leave. What everyone feared was that they would make trouble as they left, so on Tuesday they moved a big crowd of women and children out of the city and put them on the foreign gunboats that were lying in the river. In several cases this meant that families were divided as the men stayed to protect the property and help the rest of the people.

On Tuesday night there was firing again all across the south of the city and off and on during Wednesday. The Northern troops were retreating but the ~~the~~ general held things down and there was very little looting. In fact it was not until 5 P.M. on Wednesday that the Northern troops went thru the city. The gates had been closed and they had gone around outside the walls. Wednesday afternoon they went thru in good order. Some of them spent the night in the north end of the city after the gate was closed but they went out the next morning early. Everyone breathed a sign of relief after the North had gotten out as they felt that then all danger was over.

April 5, 1927 - On SS "Saikio Maru"

Thursday morning word came that the Southern troops were in Nanking. The people at the American Church Mission had seen them coming in as early as 4 A.M. but they had been very orderly. The University people felt that things were so safe that they even went out to go to chapel as usual. Mr. Thompson came back with word to the people to stay off the streets as Dr. Williams had been killed. (The Mills and Thompsons were together at the Thompson home). It turned out that Dr. W. had heard that the Daniels house was being looted, so he and Dr. Bowen and several others went out to see if they could stop it. I'm not quite sure whether they got to the house or not, but it was on their way back that they were stopped by soldiers and robbed of their valuables. One story is that Dr. W. had had his watch taken once but had talked the soldier into giving it back to him. When a second man took it from him he tried to do it again but that man pulled his gun, shot from his hip and hit Dr. W. in the head killing him instantly. His body was brought back and was buried in the foreign cemetery on Friday afternoon just before the others left the city. The service was in charge of the Chinese with one foreigner going out to assist.

Soon after this groups of men came to the various foreign houses. The one that came to the Thompson house was led by a civilian. The one going to the Roberts house was in charge of an officer. Sam heard the men talking and was certain that they were southern soldiers. The Chinese in Nanking all say that they were Hunanese. The first group that came in took all the money they could get and then went on. A second crowd came demanding money and valuables. One of them got quite excited and said: "Give me something worth Ten Dollars, Give me ~~something~~<sup>something</sup> worth Ten Dollars". They tried to take the wedding ring from Mrs. Thompson's mother's hand but couldn't get it off. They finally were willing to give them time to file it off. During all this time the children had been sitting with their mothers on the floor and they had been unexcited by what was going on around them.

Sam had been out at the head of the stairs trying to keep the crowd out.