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Yenching  
Admin.  
Reports and letters of President  
to Board of Trustees  
1938-1947

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Confidential

February 16, 1938.

To the Board of Trustees:

You are doubtless keeping well informed as to the progress of hostilities through cabled dispatches and interpretative articles. Comments of mine may be disproven by developments which will have occurred before this reaches you. Mr. Wang Ke-min, the head of the "Provisional Government" here, quoted approvingly to me the remark of a foreigner to the effect that the Chinese are poor militarists and the Japanese poor politicians. This about sums it up. It is not only that the Japanese have been long preparing, have an abundance of mechanized equipment and are thoroughly organized, while the Chinese were pitifully unprepared alike in experience, equipment and organization. They have also been deficient in leadership, in coordination, and in other technical features. The breakdown in aviation especially seems to have been due more to Chinese weaknesses of training, care of machines, over confidence etc, rather than to Japanese attacks. On the other hand, the common soldiers have won the admiration of every one because of their bravery and fighting capacity. The popular support of the Government and the determination to continue resistance despite devastation, defeat and an increasingly gloomy outlook for the future are superb. This was the outstanding impression I had from a recent trip to Shanghai. The extent of the destruction of life and property and the disastrous consequences to almost the whole population can scarcely be exaggerated. The Japanese continue to win military victories. They will probably soon attain their present objectives along the Lung-Hai Railway and then capture the Wu-Han cities which will give them control of the Canton-Hankow Railway and leave the city of Canton defenceless. This will result either in the complete collapse of the national government, with wide-spread anarchy, or its retreat westward where a measure of resistance can be continued. But Japanese victories do not mean peace and order, rather the opposite. In occupied areas they only control the cities and the railway lines. In this province, for instance, there is chaos everywhere else. The two leading figures in their puppet regime here have both said to me that they have told the Japanese repeatedly that order can only be restored by Chinese troops. But the Japanese are afraid to entrust these with arms. Whether due to a deliberate policy of terrorization or merely to the brutal instincts of their soldiers, in virtually every place where there has been any fighting there is the same story by foreign eye-witnesses of barbarities and looting of which the Nanking horrors are merely the most unrestrained and widely publicized. As a political measure it has thus far failed of its purpose. Even the puppet governments they create are by no means as completely in accord with them as may appear. In so far as they have had the high aims described by their apologists, or have rationalized their baser motives into such hopes, they have brought about their own defeat. They cannot win the friendship or even the loyal assistance of the Chinese people, a few unscrupulous hirelings and fewer genuine partisans excepted. But most probably

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this never was their aim. It has always been a huge commercial adventure and this is becoming more and more apparent in the no longer disguised announcements of economic planning which fill our local press. In the most recent hints of peace terms that of reparations bulks ever larger, and their foreign office is already pointing out that if these cannot be secured by formal terms they will have to use other methods. In plain language, having been unable to browbeat the Government into ceding for peace and thus legalizing the payment by China of what this invasion will be estimated to have cost, they will proceed to reimburse - and as far as possible to enrich - themselves by extracting from China what they can by forcible exploitation. The commercial followers of the army can scarcely wait for victorious entrance into a new city before they begin pouring in. This is abundantly evident in Peking. Especially in the southeast section almost every alley has its brothels and narcotic dens. Thus the real aim of this act of nationalized brigandage is now being revealed in all its sordid ugliness. The outcome would seem to depend on whether the morale of the Chinese people can endure long enough for relief to come either from a change within Japan or from some form of international aid other than military.

Two issues with which I have been dealing during the present week will serve to illustrate the problems Yenching must be prepared to face.

(1) Tsing Hua University has now been entirely occupied by Japanese troops, those left in charge ejected, faculty homes and academic buildings stripped, the beautiful grounds defaced with the needs of what appears to be intended as a permanent camp. Protests from our Embassy to the Japanese Embassy secured a promise that the splendid science buildings would not be entered and that the whole occupation was only temporary, and this message was cabled to our State Department. A few days later a Japanese Embassy representative came to report to our chargé d'affaires with evident humiliation that the officer in charge refused to listen to any one else's orders. Our servants report that those employed at Tsing Hua have been warned that if word of what goes on there continues to reach American ears they may expect to be shot. This officer telephoned yesterday for me or some responsible person from my office to come there at once. I sent my efficient secretary for all these relations, Hsiao Cheng-yi, who learned that we were expected to cooperate in extinguishing electric lights during anti-air-raid practise and expected raids, and that he wished to try out the signals that evening at eight o'clock. Mr. Hsiao told him he could only refer this to me, and when I refused the latter demand he had to go back and mollify the angry officer as best he could. The man finally smiled when Hsiao explained that I would want to consult my colleagues through our somewhat democratic procedure, and remarked that he was aware that Americans had this peculiarity! Of course I realized that in the event of actual air-raids our lighted campus would not only endanger us but would be a guide to the Tsing Hua barracks and other military objectives. Also that a Japanese plane might any evening drop bombs on us in retaliation for our contumacy and we could never prove that it was not a Russian or a "Southern" bomber. None the less I went in to consult our Embassy and was told of the similar

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problem the Legation Quarter had been dealing with, finally capitulating in the interest of public safety, the only opposition coming by wireless from the French Ambassador. In passing, the French seem to be the only nation which seems to dare to stand out against Japanese demands in Shanghai and elsewhere. I was advised to go myself, rather than send any Chinese, and express my willingness to act together for the common safety, although this was American property, by extinguishing lights on receiving the signal of an expected air-raid, and to permit one practise in order to ensure smooth working. What I shall do, however, is to have Mr. Hsiao go and say this to the officer in his suave and fluent Japanese, then invite him to visit me at Yenching, he having expressed a desire to see our campus. How obnoxious this will be to me I leave to your imagination. Of course we can at any time be warned of an air-raid when they merely want to try their maneuvers. I have not the slightest expectation that either Chinese or Russian planes will visit this region until some very unlikely developments occur in the general situation. But this indicates what is in the Japanese military mind and that is what we have to reckon with.

(2) The "Minister of Education" here reported to me that the Japanese authorities had complained to him that I had intimated my desire to have a Japanese professor teaching Japanese history but that thus far nothing had been done about it. There were two other complaints more easily cleared up about which it is unnecessary to go into detail. I replied that I was perfectly sincere about this, that from our Christian and international standpoint this was quite in accord with our general purpose, that if these two countries were ever to reach a better understanding the universities ought to help in all such ways, etc. But he, as a Chinese, must realize how unthinkable it was that any one of our students would elect any course under any Japanese teacher under present conditions. It would be contrary to our whole system to make any such subject required and to do so now would be to admit that it was ~~so~~ under military coercion. I should prefer to close the institution. Such a teacher would be ostracized by his faculty colleagues, two hours or so a week could not keep him happily occupied, the sort of man whose scholarship would win respect would probably not be able to lecture intelligibly in either Chinese or English. I finally said I should like to give the matter further thought and consult with others. The Administrative Committee listened gravely to my report and recognised that the issue would have to be faced sooner or later, leaving me to temporize as best I could and explore possibilities for eventually finding a satisfactory solution. Meanwhile a Chinese who helps me greatly in all such matters called me up to say that Dr. Tang (the minister of Education) had talked the matter over with him and seemed somewhat impatient - or under pressure from his masters. I therefore had him make an early appointment but we took the precaution of making one first with Mr. Wang Ke-min, to explain it all to him. Mr. Wang is a stronger character, sees things more broadly, and is not only an old friend but has a daughter now a senior at Yenching. To each of them I declared not only my readiness to comply with this desire of the authorities but my eagerness to make of such a relationship a real means of mediating friendly understanding and good will, that to accomplish this the whole initiative must come from the institution with no taint of external coercion, that we should

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have to discover some one who would qualify academically and be personally acceptable, the linguistic difficulty must be kept in mind, the time factor could not be ignored. My personal opinion was that some one who had won distinction in Chinese studies would be preferable, and that he might incidentally give a course or two in Japanese History, or we find some other solution for that. I asked them to trust me carry out this assurance in some way that fitted in with our institutional requirements and endeavored to accomplish the essential purpose we all had in mind. They seemed highly pleased and promised to explain our attitude to those concerned. I hope that you, as Trustees, will approve and assist as needed. It may take the form of an exchange relationship with the Imperial University of Tokyo or Kyoto, somewhat analogous to connections we now have with Harvard, Princeton, Oxford, Wellesley College, and other institutions.

I bespeak your patience in reading this lengthy report. The first part at least allows me to give expression to rather violent emotions. The two issues described give insight into the circumstances in which we now find ourselves, and into the discipline they require me to exercise over my temper in dealing with individuals whose basic intentions and methods of achieving them I so heartily detest.

Very sincerely yours,

*J. Leighton Stewart*

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March 18, 1938

TO THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES:

I am writing in an airplane returning to Hongkong from Hankow, where I have spent an intensely interesting week. It required thirteen days to get there from Peiping, by steamers to Shanghai and Hongkong, and a non-stop flight of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  hours to Hankow. It seemed desirable to gain impressions of the outlook for the present conflict at the Chinese centre after having been continuously in the Japanese-controlled area. This should be of no slight value not only in forming our general university policy but in many problems of individual Chinese teachers and various administrative details. It was also thought advisable to report to the government authorities the real intentions and recent experiences of the University under Japanese occupation, in view of disturbing rumors widely current about us.

I was fortunate in being able to stay with my friend of many years, Bishop L. R. Roots, and his daughter Frances. Merely to be in their home was to have the chance to meet an oddly assorted stream of people living there, coming in for meals or conferences. They leave next month for America where - insofar as his strength permits - he ought to be able to do much toward interpreting the significance of the present struggle.

The day after my arrival was the anniversary of the death of Dr. Sun Yat-sen and as it happened was largely spent with members of the family into which he married and upon which so largely depends the fate of China. After a conference with T. V. Soong, I had one with General and Mrs. Chiang Kai-shek followed by lunch with them, and had dinner in the evening with the other brother-in-law, Dr. H. H. Kung, Minister of Finance, Chairman of our Board of Managers. In the afternoon there was a long parade of people of various classes, and the spontaniety was in striking contrast to the dreary spectacles in Peiping under Japanese coercion, of which I have written previously. This family group has not found it easy to maintain harmony among themselves with their forceful personalities and violent differences of opinion. One of the finest instances of the suppression of personal animosities in the face of the national crisis is the way in which "T.V." is working with the Generalissimo and taking charge of military aviation which is seriously in need of more efficient organization. On the other hand, many feel that he ought to be Minister of Finance and he himself chafes under what he believes to be the aimable incompetence of Dr. Kung. The latter had me to dinner a second evening when we could be alone and talked till midnight about the course of events as he viewed them and of his own unquestionably enormous difficulties including current attacks on him and Madame Kung. These may be in part deserved or due to misunderstanding but must also be to some extent malicious. As often happens in China and elsewhere the weaknesses, or even the personal virtues, of a man in high office are exploited by his subordinates to their own advantage.

The days following were filled with interviews and meetings during which I was able to learn the opinion of government officials, military experts, foreign diplomats and correspondents, and typical citizens. These were brought to a close by a final dinner with Dr. Soong last evening and a private conversation which I shall long remember. I summed up for him my impressions and listened to his comment on the progress of the struggle so far and what seems to lie ahead.

The situation is one of dark shadows and high lights. As to the former, under the real gain in unity and loyal cooperation, there are factional jealousies and alignments of self-seeking which in such a time of national need are extremely disappointing. Much of the graft, inefficiency, nepotism, indolence, which has long characterized Chinese officialdom still permeates all branches of the government.

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One receives a jolt on seeing for the first time elegantly dressed young Chinese dancing in Shanghai hotels or hearing of the numbers of wealthy people who have fled to Hongkong, where they live in luxurious safety, apparently indifferent to the agony of their country. These are matched even in Hankow by what would seem to be unnecessary extravagance. Of far more consequence is the lack of co-ordination and of mutual **support** among the armies, the scandalous break-down in provisions for wounded soldiers, the cowardice or over-confidence or lack of team-work that have helped to cause the succession of defeats and disastrous losses thus far.

The American Ambassador is extremely pessimistic as to the outcome. He visualizes the Japanese- already having lost the war when they continued it after the capture of Nanking - occupying all the railway points, but doing so without benefit to themselves, at enormous cost, harassed constantly by Chinese guerilla attacks, ruthlessly destroying civilian life and property in an interminably futile effort but successfully crushing Chinese organized resistance while implacably continuing their advance. He used an apt figure drawn from his own boyhood when he played around the grain elevators and containers in his native state, describing how hopeless it was to extricate oneself from a large bin of wheat. He pictures the Japanese as in a similar predicament. But when or if they retire, Chinese armies would return to harry the countryside as they always have in the past. Meanwhile, he is appalled at the extent of the destruction, especially in the Lower Yangtse Valley. He quoted the well-known proverb "Above is Heaven, below are Hangchow and Soochow", and said that it should be reversed to the effect that below is Hell in those once fair and flourishing cities. He concluded by saying that he was doomed to be an exile with an exiled government never expecting to see Peiping again unless some day as a tourist, and Nanking not even thus.

After so gloomy a forecast by one so sympathetic and so well-informed, I hesitate to pass on to the brighter aspects as they impressed me during the past week. And yet I feel on the whole greatly encouraged. Most important of all, there is no longer the slightest question but that the government leaders are determined to continue their resistance to the bitter end. There is no thought of an armistice or any other peace negotiations. If the Wu-Han cities are taken, they will retire further toward the interior but keep up the struggle. General Chiang was explicit that no settlement would be considered that did not include the complete restoration of North China. He said that they had munitions for two years. Dr. Soong was not worried about finances for at least that period. Mr. Wang Ching-wei (suspected of being an advocate of peace or even pro-Japanese) put it in one of his striking epigrams: Before we were 12 parts (the Chinese equivalent of 120%) unwilling to go to war, now we are 12 parts unwilling to discuss peace. Apart from the attitude of the leaders, no government, guilty of listening to the Japanese peace terms, could survive the popular fury. The will to resist is very real and deep.

The next feature that calls for comment is the growing unity among the leaders. This was dramatized for me by an early morning call on Li Chi-sen, a Cantonese imprisoned by General Chiang soon after the establishment of the Nanking Government and since his release bitterly hostile. They are now working closely together and General Li is soon to made head of the Board of Strategy. The most implacable of General Chiang's personal enemies has been General Pai Chin-hsi, upon whom he now depends, as perhaps is true of only one or two other military officers. Instances of this sort could be multiplied. The correspondent of the Chicago Tribune was a fellow-traveller from Shanghai to Hongkong, having just returned from three weeks in Japan. He remarked that the Japanese were counting on increasing disunity in China with the protraction of hostilities. Whether they prove to be

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right or the trend toward a new capacity for team-work is gaining in force will be one of the determining factors. There is no doubt as to the will to cooperate at present.

A third element is the discovery by the Chinese of their own fighting qualities. At first they were at once afraid of the vastly superior equipment, organization and experience of the Japanese and in some respects over-confident. They have had many sobering reverses but have also lost their fear of a supposedly invincible foe. The easy confidence of inexperience and the traditional emphasis on face have given way to more realistic attitudes. Mobile units, freely retreating or attacking, but better co-ordinated and equipped, are giving the Japanese no end of trouble and keeping their gains precarious. This will probably become much more the case hereafter. Some 40 new divisions are in training, over twenty under German advisors with full executive authority. The air force is perhaps the element in which the earlier weaknesses have been most apparent and where improvement will soon be most conspicuous.

One evening Chou En-lai, the political genius of the Communist party, came by appointment to my room, bringing with him Po-Ku (the pen-name of their most talented writer). We talked for hours about Christianity and Communism, of the issues really at stake in the present struggle, of Yenching and its contribution, etc. As with most of their present leaders, they saw no conflict between Christian faith and their principles, but much in common, even apart from their genuinely thorough-going advocacy of the united front against Japan. This group are increasingly winning respect because of their **heroic and unselfish devotion**, their readiness to put their nation above party despite past hatreds and conflicts, and the way in which they protect the country people rather than preying upon them as guerilla bands or even regular armies have been accustomed to doing. The name is unfortunate because of its connotation in the West, whereas in China the Communists are first of all Chinese, and as this consciousness has asserted itself, they are losing most of the violence in methods and ideological peculiarities which first came in from Russia. They really represent now a movement for socialized reform which - freed from the prejudices adhering to nomenclature - would be generally approved of by all of us.

The Minister of Education and all others with whom I talked expressed themselves as fully satisfied with the Yenching policy and heartily sympathetic in our special problems. It was worth while, however, to have had the opportunity to dispel misunderstandings due chiefly to false reports.

It was a joy to meet with Yenching graduates and to find them in a wide variety of useful activities, in teaching and religious work, in banks and industry, in government bureaus, Red Cross and war services. Many of them are at the fronts, especially among the northwestern volunteers. Everybody seems to know about them, and they are spoken of in a way that quickens my own pride in them. We had an enthusiastic reunion one evening, and the Yenching Journalism Club (of nearly 20 members in Hankow) had a special party another evening in a Chinese restaurant. They kept the Bishop's servants busy meeting them or answering telephones. Two others came with the one in Dr. Soong's organization, whom he had designated to see me across the river in an official ferry and to the air field.

I have had my first experience of air-raids. The first days were overcast. Then with clear weather they began. I had been visiting with the Central China College (Wuchang) faculty and the Yenching graduates in that institution and was at the ferry landing waiting to cross the river when the first warning came. Finally, the all-clear signal was sounded, and we started across when again the warning shrilled aloud. We could watch the planes against the setting sun, and later on see the

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lights of Hankow being extinguished and the anti-aircraft and searchlights come into action, hear the bombs thudding down on the distant military airdrome, and speculate as to the harm done. This turned out to be two planes destroyed by direct hits and three more damaged in handling after taking off for safety and coming down. I was two hours late to an evening engagement, but that was understood in Hankow circles.

The next evening I was to spend with Dr. Kung, and after waiting at home for some time ventured along the silent streets, keeping to the shadows in the brilliant moonlight, to the Central Bank nearby, where Dr. Kung had his quarters. I found him working with his staff in an elaborately equipped dugout where his people are evidently quite accustomed to go on with their tasks. He took me through and then we went out to watch the searchlights playing on three Japanese bombers 11,000 feet high and the brilliant anti-aircraft lighting. The destruction that time was far more serious, four planes by direct hits including one brand-new and very costly American Martin Bomber and two others from the resulting explosions.

The next evening I was just leaving the Journalism party to be ready for the eagerly anticipated visit from the two Communists. I reminded myself that if I could not travel, neither could they; and we actually arrived together after the signal was given. Slight damage that evening to the Chinese field, but one Japanese bomber was reported brought down by a pursuit plane.

Very sincerely yours

J. LEIGHTON STUART

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YENCHING UNIVERSITY

Peiping, China

June 4, 1938

To the Board of Trustees:

In my last communication to you I reported the negotiations which had taken place regarding the appointment of one or more Japanese to our faculty.

Shortly after my return from Hongkong I called on General Kita at his request. In the previous interview he had expressed the hope that if I could see either H. H. Kung or T. V. Soong I would explain that all the Japanese Government is striving after is to eradicate anti-Japanese sentiment. As it happened Mr. Soong came to Hongkong while I was there and I gave him the message. His laconic comment was that he had no reply to make.

I reported this together with other general impressions formed on this trip, confirming those reported to you in my letter written in the air between Hankow and Hongkong, also given quite frankly to General Kita after my return here. I then undertook to take Mr. Soong as an instance of the difference between being "anti-Japanese" and fearing the loss of national independence because of the long threatened conquest of China now being so effectively carried out, insisting that few if any Chinese were of the former type but that practically all of them were being forced to the latter attitude, that I was confident the removal of the cause for this fear would promptly reduce to negligible proportions the present anti-Japanese feeling, etc.

He then quoted as evidences of the anti-Japanese complex, objectionable passages in school text-books, the motivation of Chinese recent military preparedness etc., all of which I argued was a proof of my contention. He remained unconvinced and said that there was no solution except to crush the Chiang regime.

I replied that the only strength of this group was that they were carrying out the nation-wide popular will which would not be altered by the destruction of the present government. He expressed his confidence that in ten or twenty years this could all be overcome. This conversation is of interest as giving an insight into the Japanese military mind at its best, and the apparent hopelessness of any rational solution.

But what followed is of crucial importance to Yenching. I was rising to leave when he reopened the matter of our having at least one Japanese teacher on the staff beginning next autumn, explaining that there was much suspicion among his colleagues as to the present activities of some at least of the Chinese connected with us and that this would allay such misgivings as well as give us protection against any measures which might otherwise be thought necessary against us.

I described again our position as stated to him before and reported to you, but he was rather insistent. It was as nearly an order as he could give to me, and his changed attitude is probably due to pressure upon him from his own subordinates. In any case it forces us to face the issue. I went over the matter with the most intelligently sympathetic member of a group of Japanese Christians who were visiting here recently and he confirmed all that we have reason to fear as to their autocratic enforcement of all such policies. I also consulted the charge d'affaires in the American Embassy the result of which is a Memorandum which he is sending to the State Department. A copy of this is enclosed herewith. You may feel it desirable to correspond directly with the Washington authorities on this matter.

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There seems to be a fair probability that we may be able to evade or procrastinate for another twelve months, but should the choice be forced upon us next autumn we shall unhesitatingly close the institution and take any consequences rather than yield to armed coercion. It is a curious coincidence that just before beginning this report a letter has reached me from Mr. Elisseeff stating that the Harvard-Yenching Trustees have generously voted U. S. \$1600. for this contingency, this being in response to a request of mine made when the military situation had not developed to the point it has now.

This concrete problem now compelling us to fundamental decisions adumbrates the even more far-reaching one of our future policy. For several years past I have attempted to prepare you for the apparently inevitable consequences to us of continued Japanese military occupation of this area. The trend of recent events would indicate that this is likely to be the unhappy fate of North China. Chinese resistance has been determined and heroic. It will doubtless long maintain itself. But against the years of preparation, the highly-centralized organization and the vastly superior equipment of the Japanese, it is holding on against desperate odds. Despite the studies of professional economists and much wishful thinking among China's friends, all that I can learn from qualified observers would discourage the expectation of an imminent financial collapse in Japan. Within Japan opposition to the war, while doubtless wide-spread, is too inarticulate and disorganized to be effective, and popular support of the war seems to have reached the point of becoming a frenzied determination to see it through at any cost rather than suffer the intolerable humiliation of failure. Any relief from international action or aid to China from external factors seems more illusory than ever. The labored assertions of Japanese spokesmen about independent Chinese governments to replace that under General Chiang's leadership - which they already with characteristic lack of humor are describing as the rebel one - or about respecting the flights of other countries, are not believed by any one else living out here of whose opinions I am aware, and are being disproven as rapidly as the establishment of their control permits.

With so gloomy an outlook we cannot but ask ourselves how long we can hope to carry on as we have hitherto. The session now coming to its close has been an experimental one, not so much as to whether a liberal university could function in an area completely dominated by the Japanese military, but rather as to what the outcome of the present hostilities would be, and to what extent the Japanese would enforce their own processes of tyrannical subjugation. On this latter point all the indications are that, under a transparent figment of Chinese rule, they will apply the same cruelly suppressive tactics as they have adopted in Korea and Manchuria. And indeed, since they can no longer win their way through genuine friendliness or disingenuous intrigue, they have no other choice.

For us therefore the alternatives are to acquiesce in this now unmistakably revealed scheme of imperialistic conquest and sordid exploitation or throw in our lot with those who are struggling bravely and suffering every hardship in order to preserve their right to national independence. Of course there still remains the possibility that the impending doom may be averted, but even so we cannot delay longer in reaching a decision and in making tentative plans. This would be forced upon us by the prevailing temper of our Chinese faculty if for no other reason. If we have no clearly defined policy they will begin to disintegrate. Within this month Dr. Y. P. Mei and Mr. & Mrs. Li An-che will be leaving for Kansu, Dr. & Mrs. W. T. Wu (she is our own graduate, the nationally famous poetess and writer) for Yunnan, and Miss Caroline Chen (Chen I, Home Economics) for Szechuan. True, the Kansu project is of long standing under leadership of our own Mr. J. B. Tayler and the British Indemnity Trustees, and Dr. Wu is on leave of absence for somewhat similar social research and reconstruction in the Southwest, and all of them are in full and sympathetic understanding with the university. But the urge is symptomatic of a desire to escape from

the menacing thralldom here and to share in the freer atmosphere and more direct national service of the unoccupied territory. They all smart under the reproach of remaining in a region in which subservience to an alien usurper involves something of allegiance to the conqueror and a betrayal of the patriotic cause.

But entirely apart from any concession to Chinese sensibilities, there is the determinative factor of the fundamental purpose of the university and of its guiding principles. These may all be summed up in its motto: Freedom through Truth for Service. This implies our belief in the right and duty of the Chinese people to preserve their national independence, our denunciation of aggressive conquest and destructive violence, our readiness to suffer and sacrifice for our beliefs, our desire that our students may be inspired and equipped for unselfish devotion to the highest ideals. Loyalty to the teaching and example of Jesus is interpreted by us in such terms as these. Whether as Christians or as heirs of the freedom-loving Anglo-Saxon tradition we shall count on your endorsement of this stand, whatever it may cost in personal danger, disruption of educational activity, abandonment of physical plant and equipment, or agonizing disappointments.

It may be argued that we have a duty to the youth of North China. But although localized here we have become national in all our relationships and this has its own obligations. It must also be remembered that what is being advocated is on the assumption that Yenching University as it has come to be known cannot survive under Japanese military domination. What would continue to exist in its human and spiritual values would be something very different. Also that the youth of North China under the same domination could not be easily fitted in their preparatory studies nor in their training with us for the careers we would have them enter. Whether any higher education, as generally understood, would be possible under the Japanese control as it has been taking form the past few months is quite problematic. In any case what has come to be proudly spoken of as the Yenching spirit could reproduce itself far more effectively when freed from so repressive a despotism.

We are all agreed that the property be kept in our own control and that certain units be maintained here. It may, for instance, be that the College of Natural Science, or at least a pre-medical school, and the main part of the Harvard-Yenching Institute of Chinese studies, could continue unmolested. New features appropriate to existing conditions might even be developed on the campus. The home would thus be kept intact for those who will have gone into what may prove to be only a temporary exile.

Such a prospect may cause forebodings among you as to continued financial support in America. It may lead to regret as to the investments already made in our material plant or to a disconcerting sense of futility over the whole enterprise. Any thought of withdrawing elsewhere in whole or in part, or of discontinuing what has been developed here with so much patient effort on your part and ours, may even be condemned as being unfaithful to responsibilities assumed. You can be assured that no such considerations are being ignored. Whatever disappointment you may feel cannot cause you more sorrow than we are experiencing in the threatened break-up of an inexpressibly happy and rewarding fellowship in Christian and human service. No place can ever compare in comfort and in charm with our own campus for those of us who have lived here. No task could be more congenial nor more challenging than the training of the finest of Chinese youth who have been coming here from all parts of the country and are an unceasing source of pride as we follow them in their subsequent careers and realize that for the large majority at any rate certain aims and ideals were imparted the flowering out of which makes all our endeavors seem gloriously worthwhile.

Every motive of self-interest or of institutional advantage would lead us to compromise and carry on as we are. But we are deeply convinced that this would not

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be in harmony with the teachings that led to the founding of Yenching and the spirit which has been thus generated through these past twenty years, that it would not serve the national cause nor win the respect of our own students or of the Chinese people generally, and that therefore we would lose in the end even the values we tried to preserve. Or concluding with the constructive outlook which alone is worthy of attention, we have a chance to share in this heroic struggle for freedom and to prove all the more convincingly the sincerity of our purpose because of the sacrifices we may be called upon to make. Such sacrifice cannot be in vain. Even if property is injured and lives are lost we shall add our testimony as to the imperishable supremacy of those spiritual values belief in which has made possible the existence of Yenching University and will determine the form in which we shall hereafter continue to function. It may well be that we can thus become even more a medium through which American friends of China can help to prepare its youth for useful service to their country and to the cause of enduring freedom and justice and peace in the Pacific area.

Very sincerely yours,

J. Leighton Stuart

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A "Footnote" to President Stuart's Letter of June 4th.

(Note:- The following communication from Dr. Galt was transmitted by Dr. Stuart with the following comments:- "This 'Footnote' has just come to hand. I rush it off therefore as a fine spirited caveat against too-exclusive concentration on certain aspects of the problem. Dr. Galt and I tend almost invariably to argue from opposite emphases, which guarantees that the final decisions are a wiser blend. We have always done so with utmost harmony and mutual respect. I agree in all his contentions.")

To the Trustees of Yenching University:

President Stuart has kindly placed in my hands for reading a copy of his letter to you dated June 4.

His communication is expressed with eloquence and deep feeling and as a whole I am in hearty sympathy with him. It would be difficult to maintain a negative position against any one of his statements. But the problems raised are so fundamental and the outcomes suggested so far-reaching that the most comprehensive and penetrating view of the whole situation needs to be maintained. And while I agree with President Stuart almost without exception in the elements of the situation which he has emphasized, I suggest, however, that there are certain other considerations to be kept in view and evaluated.

The institutions which were merged in Yenching and the resulting University have passed through nearly three quarters of a century of changing China. During this period revolutions, coup d'etats, sieges, civil wars, and foreign wars have followed each other in rapid succession. Governments have arisen and fallen. Potentates have waxed and waned. During many of these changes Yenching University, or the preceding institutions, have been faced with difficult problems of political allegiance

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or loyalty. Should the institution express an attitude for or against any particular regime? During all these past years the attitude adopted, and subsequently proved wise, has been an attitude of political neutrality. This attitude did not mean ignorance or indifference. It meant that the institution believed itself entrusted with a commission for the welfare of the Chinese people as people, and not with a commission in favor of any political authority or form of government as such. While maintaining this policy many tidal changes in governmental authority have passed over Yenching without affecting its fundamental purpose or modifying its devotion to the welfare of the Chinese people.

With the strongest regard for patriotism and nationalism as public virtues it should be pointed out that human life has many fundamental interests and aspects, of which political relationship is but one. Life has its many-sided deep emotions, its many-sided needs and desires, its many-sided activities. Political relationship represents only one of these, although it is freely conceded that in modern times the political relationship tends to extend its influence to other spheres in a much-too-totalitarian way.

The significance of this point is that for a people under alien military occupation life has to be lived in its multifarious ways, and while the suppression of a desired political and national relationship may bring deep-seated pain and suffering, life must be prepared for, and occupied with, all its other fundamental activities. And this point has further significance in the obvious fact that all but the small minority of the people in the occupied area must remain where they are and carry on life as best they can.

In suggesting this point of view, I would not imply any lack of regard for China's present central government nor for the dangers which surround it. I believe with all the fervor of a lifetime's devotion to China that the present governmental leaders are the wisest and best in China's modern period; that they call for the utmost of loyal support, even to the last measure of devotion, and that present aggression should be resisted to the last ounce of strength.

But holding strongly to such beliefs I hold also the truths in the paragraphs above, and must recognize that service to the millions of Chinese who, without regard to over-lordship, must remain in this area, is a service which Yenching must keep in view.

President Stuart touches rather briefly on this point in his letter at about the middle of page 3. I agree with what he says but feel that the possibilities of service for China and the Chinese people by remaining here, or for those parts of the University which it is best to keep here, may be far more extensive than President Stuart's brief paragraph suggests.

On the other hand it must be kept in mind that, if occupation be continued and if the powers-that-be should adopt the same policies which have been adopted in Korea and Manchuria, the continued operation of Yenching as a university in this area may be prohibited. In such circumstances Yenching might have to bow to the inevitable, and suspend operations. But surely it will be agreed that the mere fear that such an end may come, should not lead to any retreat in advance of necessity.

During the past months it has come into my mind repeatedly, and with growing emphasis, that Jesus lived his life and consummated his work among a people under

alien military domination. The Roman power in Palestine confronted Jesus at every turn. Evidently at the beginning of his ministry he was strongly tempted to start a movement for political emancipation. During his ministry interested questioners tried to involve him in political complications. And at the end, under Roman power, he laid down his life. But his incomparable service to humanity, with its innumerable social contacts, was carried on in the midst of, and in spite of, the depressed psychology of the Jewish people under alien domination.

Yenching had its beginnings in the missionary movement. Notwithstanding certain superficial changes and tendencies, it is Christian and missionary still. Its commission to service is as broad as the multifarious interest of life. If opportunities for service are limited in one direction, they may be developed in others. The value of the service which can be rendered, according to the standards of Jesus' own life and ministry, is the fundamental and final criterion for judging any plan or policy.

President Stuart quotes the Yenching motto, "Freedom through Truth for Service". It is a wonderful motto and we do well to emphasize it on all occasions. But Truth and Service have the more ultimate values. Even though freedom may be badly impaired truth may be sought and service be performed in utmost devotion.

President Stuart speaks also of the "Yenching Spirit" and of the way in which Yenching has become an institution of nationwide significance. In these things we all find deep satisfaction. But the "Christian Spirit" is broader than the "Yenching Spirit" and service for humanity is broader than service for the nation.

Yenching has been proud of its internationalism. Its faculty is truly an international group. In its original Charter, and still retained in its present Charter, was the statement, "The objects .... shall be to aid the youth of the Chinese Empire, and of other countries, in obtaining in such College or Educational Institution, a Literary, Scientific or Professional Education." The student body in recent years has included a number from "other countries", but none from the eastern neighbor. This situation is very anomalous, apart from certain considerations which are obvious to people familiar with recent events in the Orient. And students from this neighboring country can hardly be accepted as a direct and immediate result of military action. And the same attitude with respect to the Japanese members of the faculty, with which problem President Stuart's letter is largely concerned, is natural at the present time. But events may transpire, and times may pass, in such a way as to make the admission of Japanese students and faculty the logical, expedient and the Christian thing to do. And this may be recognized even though the condition comes as an after-effect of military action.

Yenching has also prided itself on the extent to which administrative responsibility has been transferred from Americans to Chinese. The strong tendency in this direction has had cordial approval from all of us. But the sudden shock of last summer's events checked the current of change. Circumstances called for a renewed emphasis on the American connections of the University. The most responsible administrators among our Chinese colleagues quickly and voluntarily recognized this. And this new situation has been obvious to all during the year. As President Stuart points out some members of our staff are withdrawing and others will doubtless go later. The chief motive at present seems to be that of service in the cause of the National Government - a motive with which we are in deepest sympathy. A concomitant

motive is no doubt the disinclination to continue service under restrictions imposed by an alien power. With this motive we can sympathize also, and we will not bid our Chinese colleagues good-bye in any critical spirit. But if the events taking place on the one hand inevitably tend to emphasize the American connections of the institution, and on the other hand tend to draw off to other regions the ablest of our Chinese staff, may it not be wisest to yield to the necessity (not "acquiesce" in any attitude of complacency) and for the time being strengthen the foreign staff in order to maintain the essential service of the institution. This last, of course, only if it appears that we cannot secure competent and qualified Chinese to replace those who withdraw.

One of the bitter alternatives mentioned by President Stuart is the plan to remove a part of the University to regions not under foreign occupation. This is a measure which we are quite ready to consider and keep in mind. But the possible circumstances of such a removal need to be explored.

Just now the most of China's vast territory is still "unoccupied" or only partially occupied by the invader. But if the Japanese military power is as strong and as successful as President Stuart's letter seems to fore-shadow, then perhaps - against all our hopes and wishes - the "unoccupied" territory may be reduced to a narrow peripheral region in the West and South. Nearly all government, and some Christian, institutions of higher learning have removed to those regions. If the area is narrowed by further conquests then perhaps the outcome may be a restricted region of limited population and resources with an excess of institutions for higher learning, while the vast population in the "occupied" provinces are without opportunities for higher education. Should not the possibility of such an eventuality be kept in mind? And should not Yenching be prepared to remain - as much of it as possible - to supply such a need. Always provided, of course, that the powers-that-be will permit the continuation of higher education.

I fear this "footnote" has exceeded in length the "text". But the subject is surely important enough to justify full consideration. Without presumption the above paragraphs are offered to the Trustees for their reflection.

Most sincerely,

/s/ Howard S. Galt

Yenching - June 5, 1938



Confidential

YENCHING UNIVERSITY  
Peking, China

June 16, 1938

To the Board of Trustees:

Within a few days of Commencement, and at the close of a session singularly free from serious complications, we have been experiencing the most disturbing threats to our tranquillity since the anxious weeks of last summer and early autumn. You will have received my last report regarding the appointment of Japanese teachers and the memorandum which is being sent to the State Department. This episode led to a fresh outbreak of rumors and uneasy forebodings among our faculty and students which were in a fair way to being allayed when these latest happenings crashed upon us out of a clear sky. A possible contributing cause was the refusal of the boys' and girls' secondary schools connected with the Catholic and Sino-French Universities to take part in the victory parade ordered to celebrate the fall of Hsuehchow. This was in defiance of the tightening grip of the Japanese military upon all educational affairs.

But the agency which has been most active is the Hsin Min Hui (New People's Party), a creation of the Japanese for all forms of propagandist activity, staffed by a disreputable type of Japanese agitators and their even worse Chinese hirelings. The nominal head is a Chinese from Manchuria but the bureau chiefs are all Japanese, said to have been communists who having served jail terms for from one to eight years have now "seen the light" and are given this chance to prove their conversion and to utilize the lessons they had acquired in communist technique of propaganda. They are incessantly active in plastering walls everywhere with offensive slogans and in other relatively innocuous devices, but are now becoming bolder. They planned a week of anti-communist and anti-Kuomintang demonstrations (June 13-19) and for the first time dared to send orders to our three Universities and the P.U.M.C. to participate. These were ostensibly issued by the "Ministry of Education". A translation is attached herewith. There was also to be searching of all schools, seizure of objectionable literature or persons, etc.

The P.U.M.C. had fortunately finished its session just in time to avoid this but its officers and employees were ordered to attend the big meeting on the nineteenth, which of course they will ignore. Our three universities promptly decided to act together in refusing, and I have been almost entirely occupied for the past four days with matters more or less related to this issue.

The American, French and German embassies have all been pestering the Japanese Embassy, for the Catholic University, while American property, is at present chiefly staffed with German priests. The outcome as far as we are concerned is contained in the enclosed copy of a statement addressed to Mr. Yaguchi and signed by me. I had explained to this harassed but affable and understanding intermediary between the Japanese military leaders and ourselves that Yenching could not take part in any

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Kunming, Yunnan  
April 5, 1940

Ack. 5/6/40

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To the Board of Trustees:

This report will begin with the conference on rural reconstruction training courses and field practise centres held early in March under the auspices of the Rockefeller Foundation in China's war-time capital. As you are aware, the R. F. has been actively interested for several years past in promoting this subject as fundamental for national progress and the social welfare of China. It originally took the form of the North China Council for Rural Reconstruction and included the Mass Education Movement, of which Dr. James Yen has been the inspiring leader, together with several higher educational institutions. The field experimental stations had been in Tingsien, Hopei, and in Shantung Province. But with the outbreak of hostilities, most of the organizations concerned moved to the south and the field work was completely disrupted. Those in charge fled from one refuge to another and finally settled in Tingfan, a hsien or county in the far south-west province of Kweichow, after a trek of some 2,000 miles and its ineluctable hardships. Conditions were naturally unsatisfactory. Tingfan itself was not a typical hsien, its population being a mixture of aborigines and Chinese, their cultural and economic standards very low, and the whole region difficult of access. This remote province has shared in the wide-spread aerial bombing of civilian populations by Japanese and the capital city nearby has suffered heavily, thus adding to the fear and turmoil. Kweichow has been an opium-growing district and with General Chiang Kai-Shek's rigid enforcement of opium suppression, the livelihood of the local people has been affected. Banditry, always rife and impossible to control because of the mountainous terrain and bad roads, has therefore been much aggravated. The change of site for our Rural Training Institute was only one of many acute issues requiring settlement. There were personal and institutional conflicts of opinion or of interest--all exacerbated by war-time tensions; the organization and control required radical modification in view of the transfer of several institutions to Free China and the isolation of the Peiping Union Medical College and Yenching in the north; and the R. F. quite naturally was facing the basic problem as to the advisability of going on with its China Program in view of all the confusion and the uncertainty as to the outcome of the Japanese invasion. Dr. Houghton of the P.U.M.C. and I joined the China representative of the R. F., Dr. M. C. Balfour, in Shanghai. We travelled together by steamer to Hongkong, then by airplane to Chungking via Hanoi where we waited for two days. Promptly on our arrival the conference began and continued for several days, with a number of official or technical invited guests in attendance, and interspersed with many social functions. The result was completely satisfactory to all concerned. Individual and other disagreements were frankly dealt with and sublimated into the glowing potentialities of the enterprise. The Rural Institute will be centred in the new headquarters of the M.E.M. near Chungking (the work at Tingfan to be gradually liquidated), a much simpler and more workable organization was agreed upon, and the functions of the constituent units were clearly defined. The name was changed to the National Council of Rural Reconstruction. In addition to the M.E.M. the membership will hereafter consist of the P.U.M.C. and Yenching in the North, Nankai and Nanking Universities now in the Southwest, and the personnel training division of the Government National Health Administration. Most important of all perhaps was the choice of the Director, Dr. S.Y. Chu, and the unqualified approval his name received. Chu Shih-ying was the outstanding student when Yenching first came into being with less than a hundred students

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and extremely modest beginnings. He was a leader in the student anti-Japanese movement that broke out in Peking in May, 1919, and one of its national committee when it promptly flared up all over the country. After being awarded our Master's degree he went to Harvard University where of course the unknown little university claiming to exist in Peking was unrecognized and unknown. But he was generously allowed to pursue his studies for the doctorate which if satisfactory would entitle him to acceptance of his previous credits. His fine record at Harvard secured this recognition and was the beginning of relationship between the two institutions which has become increasingly intimate. Equipped with a Harvard doctorate in Education and with his primary interest in Philosophy, the natural procedure would have been to capitalize on this in securing a lucrative job in the government or a national university. But the idealism of "Jimmie" Yen's (himself a Ph.D. from Yale) mass education program had caught his imagination, and for fifteen years he has sacrificed all that the typical Chinese intellectual prizes in order to serve unprivileged common people, having long been the ablest lieutenant of Dr. Yen. The research and field work in Sociology which Yen-ching has been carrying on in association with Yunnan University in Kunming under Dr. W. T. Wu will hereafter be administered under the N.C.R.R. and he will be our representative on its Governing Board. Other details of staff as affecting us are under discussion while I am in this region. Most perplexing of these is the place of Mr. Li An-Che, a Yen-ching graduate who joined our faculty after a notable record on a R. F. fellowship in California and Yale including field studies among the Indians of Old and New Mexico. He has been doing brilliant investigation in China's far north-west in the inter-racial problems of Thibetans, Mohammedans, Chinese etc., which because of its political significance has attracted the attention of government leaders. He has a very strong sense of mission to complete this, but is wanted both back at Yen-ching to teach and as our chief assignment to the staff of the Rural Institute under the N.C.R.R. He flew from Lanchow to confer with me in Chungking. Yen-ching must give him up for at least another year and we are drafting another of our graduates (Northwestern University post-graduate) from Tingfan to take his place, but between Labrang in Chinese Turkestan and the necessity of our putting a first-class man into the Szechuen Rural Institute we are still balancing arguments. This bit of detail will at least suggest to you the wide-flung activities of Yen-ching over the war-time map of China.

On the adjournment of the conference, Dr. Houghton and I travelled by motor-car to Kweiyang, the capital of Kweichow Province, and to Tingfan, 35 miles south of it. From Chungking to Kweiyang is 300 miles over a road almost entirely up and down mountain ranges, with heavy grades and always curving, often sharply, one of the many marvels of Chinese progress under the impetus of Japanese attack. Trucks with supplies from or for the almost only seaport on which China can still depend are continually moving, and the many of these abandoned or stalled along the way are a costly evidence of the defects in the mechanized transportation of a nation untrained in such matters and yet desperately dependent on it in its present struggle for independence. We spent the night at an inn with a staff from Shanghai and surprisingly comfortable--one of many along these new highways under the same enterprising management. The evening of our arrival at Kweiyang we had a joint welcome dinner by P.U.M.C. and Yen-ching graduates, including 14 who are from both. There are two refugee medical schools in that city and the headquarters of the National Red Cross under the leadership of Dr. Robert Lim of the P.U.M.C. We went

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with him through his entire plant which is one of the finest things I have ever seen in the effective use of extremely simple improvised equipment, the thorough organization, practical training of recruits, and general efficiency. This formerly isolated little capital of the poorest and most backward province of China is now throbbing with new life in war industries, as a transportation centre, crowded with refugee schools, promoting cultural and economic reforms, with an influx of people from all the coastal provinces. The Governor is a wealthy Shanghai banker and the owner of China's outstanding pre-war daily paper, who took this pioneering mission at the request of the Generalissimo and at once turned to Dr. Y. T. Tsur to be his right-hand man. Dr. Tsur, former President of Tsinghua University, one of the most active of the Yenching Board of Managers through our whole history, ditto the P.U.M.C., the Y.M.C.A. and countless other good causes, is working tirelessly in provincial administration including mining, agricultural, manufacturing development schemes, and is the patron of students, visitors and others needing help. He presided at the welcome dinner and had planned a schedule for us accounting for every hour of our days there. He is the centre of a union Tsinghua-P.U.M.C.-Yenching Alumni Club. A suggestive comment of Dr. Tsur to me in talking of his problems was that in general it was only the graduates of mission colleges who had the true spirit of service, the others even in this time of national distress being primarily concerned over their own welfare. It was in any case encouraging to find so many from the P.U.M.C. and Yenching--regarded as perhaps the two most comfortably equipped in China--serving in this frontier spot. Of the former, Robert Lim proudly remarked that not only in the Red Cross and other local agencies but in every front line medical unit it was represented. Yenching graduates were naturally in much more varied pursuits but they were constantly praised by those we met. The only government tannery in the country is in this city and is headed by three of them. Another is to be started soon in Chengtu and the same will apparently be true. The Y.M.C.A. came into the city for the first time less than two years ago with the influx of students and government employes under the leadership of an experienced Yenching man, now reinforced by two others. It is true also of the Y.W.C.A., the only daily newspaper, and other new enterprises. One morning we started for Tingfan, stopping for lunch at the Governor's country villa in a new public park, where his daughter and her husband, both Yenchinnians, were present, he doing biological research for increasing the commercial production of the province. The staff of the Tingfan Rural Institute were nearly all Yenching men and women, including several also from the P.U.M.C. They are engaged in hsien administration, public health, education, social organization, agricultural experimentation, etc. It was inspiring to see these young people with the best education, several of whom had also been abroad, enthusiastically working in this primitive spot. One of them who could not be at the rally that evening because he was out with 8 soldiers chasing bandits and suppressing opium, got up at five o'clock the next morning and walked some fifteen miles to see me before we started back. There are in all, 60 or 70 of our old students in the two places. The last evening was spent with Governor Wu, a friend of many years, in his official residence where with a few of his subordinates we dined together and learned much of their dreams and practical schemes for improving the welfare of the hitherto uncared for inhabitants and making the province count toward national progress, instead of being a drain on the Central Government as it has been for hundreds of years.

On our return to Chungking, I spent several more days there before

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making a trip to Chengtu. These included an alumni gathering one evening, several smaller parties, and many personal calls from them. In the busy war-capital they seem to be everywhere, in government bureaus, welfare agencies, religious work, schools. The Friends of Wounded Soldiers began when one of them year before last left North China where he was principal of the Changli Methodist school to respond to a summons to help in repairing locomotives. A few days before Christmas he saw the pathetic plight of soldiers suffering from wounds, illness, cold, dejection, neglected, dying. He started in on repairing them as a Christmas resolve and from simple beginnings it is now an official agency covering the whole vast battle line and supported by gifts from all Free China and overseas. General and Madame Chiang's New Life Movement, Christian in all but name, has had the kind of service from our students which led its Director to assure me that he would take as many more as we could send. The Industrial Cooperatives, which have spread rapidly over this whole region and are handling millions of dollars seem almost a Yenching affair. At headquarters are Prof. J.B. Tayler, Hubert Liang, and Ralph Lapwood, this last loaned and supported by us for a year with the leave extended now for a second year. Our graduates are scattered all through this significant movement. I shall refrain from further details and sum up by testifying to the good name they are winning for their university, their exuberant loyalty to her and her ideals, and the contribution they are making in many ways to national progress. On my return from Chengtu, Dr. Kung had planned an elaborate party for them at which something under 200 were present. He had also invited a few others, including the Minister and Vice-minister of Education, the former leading off with a speech in which he put on record the unqualified endorsement by the Government of our policy of staying where we are during the war. The President of the University of Peking (now in Kunming) happened to be in the city on business and followed with a moving and obviously sincere account of our long friendship, an entirely too generous appreciation of what I have tried to do for China's youth and his awareness that this could only be explained by Christian faith. When I first knew him, he was violently anti-Christian latterly determined to let others alone on this subject and asking the same treatment from them, so that this spontaneous testimony was the more striking, and is of course the only intelligible explanation of what seems to me very faulty efforts. Old General Feng Yu-hsiang, still vigorous, followed with a humorous narrative of incidents concerning the two of us, and after one or two other speeches which embarrassed me but seemed to gratify the students, I had to reply.

An airplane trip from Chungking to Chengtu takes a little over an hour. But one of our boys who after studying the sugar industry at the University of Louisiana has built up for the Government a modern refinery and experimental laboratory half-way on the motor road, wished me to inspect it. Dr. Kung supplied a car with chauffeur and attendant. I also wanted to see the country on my first trip through this great fertile plain. The wife of the British Ambassador hearing of the plan asked if she could go along, as did the wife of the Generalissimo's trusted secretary, Hollington Tong who had a son studying there. It proved to be a beautiful panorama of rolling farmland with, at this season, masses of flowering fruit trees and yellow rape (this latter now in great demand as a synthetic substitute for gasolene), varied by picturesque wooded rocky hills crowned with temples or pagodas. There was also the recurrent evidence of modern progress in the new factories, arsenals and motor vehicles along the route, together with grim reminders of war in the camps and moving detachments of soldiers. Here as everywhere else in

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this region, patriotic slogans were on almost every house and wall. Dr. Kung had sent telegrams which amply provided for every attention en route, and when we reached the bus station outside the Chengtu city wall we ~~met~~ ~~were~~ --despite the heavy rain--by a delegation from the Yenching Alumni Association with banners of welcome and representatives of the provincial officials with their cards. The less than three full days I could spare for Chengtu were filled to the last minute. My travelling companions and I all stayed on the spacious campus of West China Union University, now host to three other Christian colleges and parts of three or four other Christian and government institutions. Available space, physical and administrative facilities, as well as the nerves of all concerned, are being taxed to the limit, but there is a marvellous cheerfulness and mutual toleration. Of course I was asked to give public speeches on conditions in the occupied area and equally of course avoided the danger. I am quite aware that the Japanese intelligence service is watching all my movements. But this involved three separate small groups where I could talk freely. There were conferences with the college presidents. I had to pay my respects to the acting governor and other higher officials who in turn gave Lady Clark-Kerr and me a formal dinner. The Yenching meeting began one afternoon at four-thirty and lasted well into the evening. Lady Clark-Kerr had asked if she could be included and the students retaliated by calling on her for what she feels to be her first speech in public. She and Sir Archibald have become our staunch friends and her brief message to this effect was charmingly done. We have about 100 old students in Chengtu, one-third of whom are in some way connected with W.C.U.U. Here as in the other places, my free time was largely spent in visits from individual graduates, learning of their affairs, helping or at least sympathizing with them in their problems.

Back in Chungking I had my final conferences or social events, ending on the evening before my departure in a dinner with the Generalissimo (Madame Chiang has been recuperating from over-strain in Hongkong). This last quiet visit with him was an ideal conclusion to this stay of four weeks in and around Chungking. Our Journalism Club of some twenty odd members had arranged a final dinner for me but they needed no apology when this had to be cancelled. I spent half an hour or so at the table with them before going to the other appointment.

From Chungking to Kunming (or Yunnanfu) is three hours by air or under the best conditions five days by motor-car via Kweiyang. By bus, it may be a week or ten days with good luck. I am spending a week here and start for Hongkong tomorrow by air in two flights. As in the other cities my main objective is the Yenching graduates. A group of them met me at the airfield with a huge bunch of flowers! One of them has somehow secured the loan of a car and, during my stay, what is far more of a privilege, the requisite gasoline. This is getting not only prohibitive in expense but very hard to obtain except for government business. A meeting was planned the following Sunday afternoon in the famous garden of a former governor where a hundred or more were present and--as always--a photograph was taken. As in every instance, they are eager to know what is happening to their alma mater cut off from Free China by the hated Japanese occupation. Many of them are teaching in the three refugee "United Universities" from North China--Tsinghua, Peking and Nankai--or in other schools here. Others are working with Dr. W. T. Wu in our own Free China unit for sociological research in association with Yunnan University. Some are doing research in radio spy detection, aviation fuel and similar technical subjects. Others again are in government banks which



g well as better grounded complaints of provincial non-cooperation with the Central Government or of feudal prejudices. In a previous interview, when meeting him for the first time, I had found him more progressive and open-minded than might have been expected. When later an invitation came to attend a banquet given to a delegation of Overseas Chinese from the Straits Settlements on their way to Chungking with a large contribution for the war, I felt compelled to accept although I had already been invited to a dinner planned for me by the President of Yunnan University. By staying through a few of the many Chinese courses at the one and getting a little late to the other the amenities were observed. But to my dismay, I found myself at the seat of honor (which is at the Governor's left) with well over a hundred guests including, beside the visiting delegation, all the higher provincial and national officials resident here. The banquet was in western style and in the floral decorations, appetizing food, and perfection of service would have done credit to any less remote community. The Governor made an effective speech at the close which left little doubt as to his whole-hearted support of the national cause, to which the chairman of the delegation briefly responded. Then without warning he called on me and I had to do the best I could to meet the demands of the occasion without saying too much while the whole assembly--most of whom had perhaps but slight contact with foreigners who attempt to talk in Chinese--watched the performance with obvious surprise. I am told the local papers played it up the next day.

I have been writing at the home of Dr. and Mrs. W. T. Wu who have moved to a country town ten miles away to escape the constant threat of air-raids and secure in general better living conditions for their three very attractive little children. She is a graduate of Yenching with her Master's degree from Wellesley and has been since her student days one of the best known, perhaps the best, of living Chinese women writers. Her poems, essays and short stories under her nom-de-plume of Icy Heart (this meaning pure in Chinese) are everywhere read and used in text-books as specimens of modern writing. From the airfield I came here to spend my first twenty-four hours and seized the chance they gave to retreat here for a second visit as the only hope of writing this report while enjoying these very much loved and missed members of our Yenching family.

This section of the report may prove of wearisome length, but I have gone thus fully into an account of my travels in Free China in an attempt to share with you my impressions of the flux and ferment which the war has caused and the phenomenal progress it has brought through this whole southwest region hitherto so inaccessible and undeveloped. There are of course obstacles human and otherwise, discouragements, inexcusable failures, over-rated accomplishments, and at best only a beginning of what is needed. But the movement is in the right direction, unquestionably sound and sure to continue long after peace has come, revealing the virility of this ancient race and their capacity for modernization and for public-spirited, united effort.

Especially have I wanted you to catch something of the exhilaration I feel in coming into contact everywhere I go with our own graduates. I am frankly sentimental on this subject, but have kept enough of an objective sense to testify to the satisfaction you and all our American friends can feel over the records they are making and the contribution Yenching is having through them to China's welfare. Here again there are disappointments and qualifying deductions, but the percentage is not high, and we can properly rejoice in the results as a whole. More particularly is it comforting to know that even during the period of



Japanese occupation, our graduates are slipping over behind the lines and joining in the two-fold struggle for national independence against an external foe and for national reconstruction against internal weaknesses. If I have brought myself too much into the story it is only as a symbol of the esteem in which Yenching seems to be held now throughout China.

As an indication of the social aspects of this trip, all my meals other than breakfast for the past five weeks have been as a guest somewhere, with perhaps one exception when my host was forced to change his date. This applies even to most of the road-side meals. In fact, my dangers have been chiefly gastronomic from being constantly and too bountifully entertained. This evening at five o'clock I am to have a combination afternoon tea and supper of Peking delicacies by one of the many friends who have fled here, after another tea-party at four of the local educational association in my honor and before going to my last engagement which is a union Christian meeting where I am to speak. This, as I understand, is part of a purely Chinese union of Christians--rather than of churches or organizations--started last year in the war capital, of which General Feng Yu-hsiang is one of the chief promoters.

The China Foundation meets on April 15 in Hongkong. Between the meeting of the Rockefeller Foundation described at the outset of my report and this I have had the opportunity long desired of observing conditions in Free China away from the war-capital. In the following section I shall describe the ability of China to continue her military resistance in the light of my most recent contacts with her leaders and the populace in these unoccupied regions.



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Stencilled  
11/6/40  
September 23, 1940

To the Board of Trustees:

This is to report to you some of the features of the new academic year which is already settling into its orderly routine.

For reasons which you can readily appreciate we had undertaken to provide for an even greater number of students than it had hitherto seemed possible to accommodate. After careful calculation eleven hundred was agreed upon as the maximum limit. But the problem was much more complicated. The number of old students returning had to be allowed for before fixing figures for freshmen and graduates. As we had determined to accept no transfers this year the new students included only these two groups. Women students must not exceed the rigidly restricted capacity of their dormitories, nor science students that of the laboratories. These are illustrations of the detail involved. The main supply of freshmen under present conditions would be drawn from this region. Apart from Tientsin and Peking we held examinations only in Shanghai. We announced that there would be no guarantee of acceptance for old or new students unless a deposit was made in advance. We received about one-fifth of those taking the freshmen examinations but published waiting lists of boys and girls respectively. We had also instituted a more thorough tuberculosis test than ever before in addition to the usual physical examination and this disqualified a number. Others have been prevented from arriving by travel conditions or other hindrances due to existing circumstances. The total is now about 1080 with perhaps a few more belated ones to drift in.

Freshmen Week had the cumulative experience of several years past and the efficient management of the Committee on Student Welfare of which I wrote you last July. It was an unqualified success and gave to this large and well-selected entering class an excellent orientation to life on our campus.

As with students, so the problem of securing enough of the right teachers is made more complicated by the special circumstances. This also applies to having them arrive on time. I shall plan to send you an analysis of their total number and as classified when this can be worked out. But, as I have commented before, the deepest satisfaction to me personally comes from the increasing proportion of these who were among our own choicest graduates and - usually after further study abroad - have joined our faculty.

Our new acquisition, the "Garden that Mirrors the Spring" or Ching Ch'un Yuan, has proven an immense boon in the acute housing problem caused by the enlarging faculty and the assignment to our new Boys Senior Middle School of the spacious property directly across the road from our main-gate. It is amazing how rapidly its dilapidated old buildings are being transformed into livable and even attractive homes. The lovely setting also compensates somewhat for what may be lacking in modern comfort. Lumber is not only prohibitive in price but hard to obtain. We have therefore supplied this need by cutting down some of the fine old trees on the new grounds. Had it not been for this purchase and that

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of the property in the village of Haitien adjoining us on the South we should have been sorely put to it in providing homes for those to whom we are obligated.

You will be interested in the list of our young teachers or graduates who have gone to the States this summer for further study. Despite the unfavorable exchange rates the number is unusually large. Some have won fellowships or other assistance on merit; others are enabled to realize this coveted privilege by private resources. The difficulties have tended to eliminate those less qualified. I hope that our New York office can continue to keep in touch with all of these and thus help to maintain the tradition of a continuing bond between the University and its graduates.

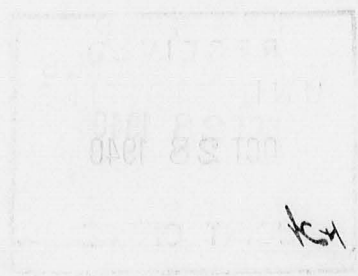
Reference was made to the more severe tuberculosis tests which it has seemed necessary to enforce. A corollary to these is a sanatorium which some of us are privately organizing with the active cooperation of a similar group in the P.U.M.C. More positively we are improving public health measures and preventive medicine. The abnormal cost of food is at least causing reforms in the use of humbler cereals hitherto scorned but perhaps more wholesome. The Department of Physical Education is flourishing and for the first time since coming here its indefatigable Chairman, K. A. Wee, is realizing his dream of the beginnings of a professional training course for physical directors in secondary schools.

The Sunday morning service yesterday in the crowded chapel was a welcome to the new members of the Christian Fellowship, following a week's enlistment campaign, under the three divisions, faculty, students, employees. The special interest lies perhaps in student figures. Those reported were 590, or more than half of the total enrollment, and the canvass is not complete. When it is remembered that such membership is purely voluntary, and that the affairs of the Student Division of the Fellowship are chiefly dependent on student initiative and sincerity of conviction, this is an extremely heartening register of their deepening religious interest.

The current issue of the Yenching News has an excellent summary of the speech I made at the first meeting of our monthly university Assembly. Originally this was a weekly event. After the outbreak of hostilities it was discontinued, and later resumed as an occasional feature, not without considerable trepidation. Last session we began to hold it once a month. I refer to this printed report in order that you may know the open stand I have taken on the topic discussed. There is no question of course of your agreement, but I hope you will also support the unequivocal advocacy of this attitude of ours despite the environment in which we are compelled to carry on. It would seem to be one more way in which we can help toward the ultimate creation of a saner and safer world order.

Very sincerely yours,

*Sheikhan*



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ANNUAL REPORT OF PRESIDENT J. LEIGHTON STUART TO THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES

March 1, 1941

As I begin my report for your approaching Annual Meeting during this critical period of human history, I feel deeply stirred over the thought of the relationship of our institution to these vastly larger issues. Our welfare, indeed our very survival, has depended precariously upon the outcome of the struggle in this part of the world, which in its turn has been absorbed into what has now become one single conflict. These environmental factors I have attempted periodically to interpret for you, as being thus vitally connected with our fate, and shall therefore omit any further reference to them. We have meanwhile tried, with a fair measure of success, to carry on as normally as possible, maintaining as usual all phases of academic work and extra-curricular activities for the students or the general community interests. The advantages of this upon our own morale as well as in its wider influence will be sufficiently obvious. It is cheering to be able to bear witness once more to the sanity, cooperative spirit and institutional loyalty of the whole faculty and employed staff during this period of severe tension. This is essentially true of the student body also. I am proud of them all and very grateful. We have tried, especially during the last few anxious months, to prepare for any eventualities. But on this whole aspect of our affairs it has seemed to me increasingly clear that it is not so much what happens to us as the way in which we meet it that matters. For ours is not only an institution of higher learning, but one with very definite moral ideals and religious beliefs for testimony to which it has been established. Or as I have often expressed it to our own graduates, they can be assured that whatever happens their university will not be unfaithful to its own motto nor adopt any cowardly defensive policy of which they would be ashamed. When, therefore, peace returns once more to this sorely troubled land we shall hope to resume our old position with our record unstained and our loyalties, alike Chinese and Christian, strengthened by this testing experience.

It is of this happier prospect ahead of us that I should prefer to write. All the indications are that we shall then be attracting many promising students from all parts of the country. We shall have a special responsibility while most of our sister institutions will be in process of rehabilitation. My recommendation is that we plan now for a normal capacity of one thousand students, approximately one-third girls, but realizing that for the immediate future it will be difficult to avoid further congestion, even with enlarged facilities. The increased demand upon our resources would be primarily in additional buildings. The one which is almost indispensable even with no other expansion is a second Library which we have been counting on from the Trustees of the Harvard-Yenching Institute as the centre of Chinese studies. Next in importance is a fifth Women's Dormitory unit, and only less urgent is the third in the series of Lakeside Dormitories for men. It is difficult to give accurate estimates under existing conditions but US\$45,000 for the former and \$36,000 for the latter would seem reliable. Another building which is all but essential if we permit any permanent increase in enrollment is for Natural Science. This would preferably be of the dimensions of the present Library and located opposite to it on the west of what would then be a completed quadrangle. Another possible arrangement would be to recondition the present Library for Science (probably Biology) and to erect a new library building west of Ninde Hall which - with the inclusion of the prospective Harvard-Yenching Library - would complete that quadrangle. The advantage in this would be that the two library buildings would be adjacent and could be connected either by a tunnel or by an attractive enclosed portico in Chinese style. The most serious objection would perhaps be the distance from the Women's dormitories. This would apply in any case to the site for the proposed Harvard-Yenching building. In this connection

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it can be pointed out that this latter permits of almost indefinite expansion to the rear (north) for stack-rooms and related projects. Our present thought is to reserve the western end of the new Garden (Ching Ch'un Yuan) for that purpose. All this may be unrealistic dreaming and quite premature, but at any rate it produces in me an exhilarating sense of expectancy. It is a relief even to plan for a future that is beginning not to seem so very far away.

The argument for another Science Building has an interest beyond that of merely spatial enlargement. For there is now in this country a rising consciousness of the need for technically trained leaders in many forms of applied science. The war has stimulated this practical urge. Students in large numbers are applying for entrance to these courses. But we cannot receive more than the present limited quota chiefly because of insufficient space. We are already in the embarrassing predicament of accepting students who pass our entrance requirements and sign up for Natural Science only to be told that they can enter Yenching but must study some other subject. A further consideration that will especially commend itself to you is that despite the still lingering assumption - now largely obsolete in the West - that Science has discredited Religion, this Christian university is regarded as being one of the best in the country in these subjects, with most of the teachers actively Christian, notably some of its own choicest graduates now back on the faculty. We are at present featuring such subjects as leather tanning, ceramics, economic entomology, radio, pre-medical, pre-engineering, science-teaching, etc. These utilitarian aims are naturally dominant in China as yet, though theoretical study and advanced research are also by no means neglected.

When construction work can again be safely begun we look forward to having our long-desired Wheeler Chapel. We have as yet found no satisfactory provision for a Music Building. There would be great advantages in moving our Garage and Tannery near to the Power House with its serviceable workshop. There is a steady demand for more faculty residences. The new Garden, Ching Ch'un Yuan or Mirror of Spring, has fascinating possibilities of artistic restoration and increased utility. The secondary and primary schools are also expanding. These are suggestions of further plant requirements for this lustily growing organism of ours.

The income for annual operation is also a cause for serious concern. Due to the now prevailing abnormal rate of foreign exchange and to your success thus far in securing an emergency or sustaining fund, we have fared comfortably in this respect since the outbreak of hostilities. Negatively also we have been fortunate in having as yet suffered no material damage and in the fact that the constantly mounting cost of living is still proportionately less than the benefit from exchange. But we should be vigorously endeavoring to provide more adequately for the maintenance of the institution on its existing basis as well as for the modest increase of budget implicit in the preceding paragraphs.

The more worthily we achieve these objectives during the difficult period of post-war recovery the more confidently can we count on generously appreciative Chinese support with returning prosperity. Until our ever-expanding needs are cared for by our own graduates and other Chinese, as they some day certainly will be, we can have the satisfaction of knowing that our combined effort is making a timely and far-reaching contribution to this nation, huge in population and in territory, rich in its cultural heritage, virile and intelligent, unified now as never before and thoroughly committed to a program of progress and reform. All the motives hold as true as ever which led originally to the creation of our University. But they have been immensely reinforced by recent happenings. In the aim of ensuring a righteous and enduring peace in the Pacific Area no single element

compares in importance with the freedom and independence of China, her national welfare in government, education, health, economic improvement, moral and religious culture. With protection from foreign aggression there should be rapid advance in internal reconstruction and in the attainment of truly democratic ideals. All that we have been doing for the training of her youth will continue to bear abundant fruit as they permeate and help to mold the nation in this supremely formative period. China will thus tend to become one of the most influential forces in the building of a new and better international order based on reason and righteousness, in harmony with the teaching of her ancient sages and of the Master in whose name we have undertaken this challenging task.

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Tuesday, May 20, 1941

To the Board of Trustees:

It is a week today since I returned here from my recent trip and I should like to share with you this experience in contrast with the other topic which has been repeatedly dealt with in my reports of late.

Since moving to our new site it has been our custom to keep Tuesday evenings free for what in general has been described as "Faculty Discussion Groups", this being in fact a continuation of the "mission prayer meetings" for which this evening has long been reserved among those in this city. Arrangements have been under the control of the Faculty Division of our "Yenta" Christian Fellowship and these have included a variety of forms. Within recent years we have taken advantage of the presence of a visitor or the return of one of our own number to enlighten us upon some phase of current events and the attendance has varied with the relevance of the subject announced to our present circumstances. I was not surprised therefore when arriving on a Tuesday afternoon to learn that tentative plans had been made for such a meeting that evening, nor to find the large reception room of my house - where these Discussions always take place - filled to capacity. From the standpoint of the audience it was an opportunity to have recent, first-hand news of conditions in the war-capital, and from mine the chance to greet my colleagues all at once so promptly. You have the substance of what I said in the report sent you. A day or two later the same report was made in Chinese to the smaller group of the Faculty and their wives who do not understand English.

The following Thursday afternoon our last University Assembly for this session took the form we have now begun to adopt of announcing all the honors or prizes which our students have received. The recipients are thus given public recognition and all are encouraged to rejoice with their fortunate fellows, while our whole community is made aware of the wide range of academic or athletic achievement thus publicized. I had been hoping to get back in time to preside on this significant occasion and to introduce the speaker, my friend of many years, Dr. H. S. Houghton, Director of the P.U.M.C.

That evening our English Department Club presented Goldsmith's She Stoops to Conquer to an audience which packed our large auditorium. It was admirably performed, and this was no less true of the scenic effects and costuming which surprisingly reproduced the proper English atmosphere. I must confess to feeling very proud in listening to Chinese boys and girls carrying off this rollicking comedy so true to its spirit and in their clear enunciation of a foreign language.

Friday I had lunch with Professor Hung and his wife who were entertaining the whole group of Chinese and American Harvard-Yenching Fellows, and dinner that evening with the College of Public Affairs faculty who had planned to devote this one of their monthly meetings to my report on my trip in relation to the Rockefeller Foundation Rural Reconstruction program and other developments in the interior in which they are actively interested.

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Another event which is in the early stage of what we hope will become a long tradition took place on Saturday. This is "Home Meet" when Faculty and Students under the direction of the Physical Education Department spent the whole day in organized athletics. It began in the main court in front of Bashford Hall, students all in white uniforms, a brief speech, flag (university)-raising ceremony, drill, college song, parade along the lake to the Warner Gymnasium field, led by the band, Home Meet officials, faculty, students, the secondary and primary schools bringing up the rear. It was a perfect spring day. The precision with which every detail was planned was equally perfect and gave a gala appearance as well as an efficiently and enthusiastically executed program. Dr. K. A. Wee insists that this was all done by the students themselves with some help from one of the younger staff members (Kuan Yu-shan) but it had the fingerprints of K. A. Wee over every feature. As though this were not enough for one whole day, an evening entertainment began again at eight o'clock in an even more packed auditorium, music Chinese and western, dramatics ditto, calisthenics etc., in the midst of which the winners of the day were announced.

It was a deep satisfaction to worship again Sunday morning in our lovely Ninde Hall chapel with Dean Chao preaching at his best but also as is his wont. I was also reminded of the variety of our Sunday services, beginning with the Sheng Kung Hui (Anglican) 8:00 A.M. Holy Communion, Sunday Schools, Workmen's Service, "Gospel Service", English Vespers, Evening groups.

Monday afternoon I invited to my home the Faculty Committee on Student Welfare (perhaps the most successful experiment this year) and a newly organized student committee elected by themselves to work with or complement the faculty group. My special purpose was to comment on impressions of the trip to Free China with special reference to student hopes and responsibilities while at the same time touching on some of our internal problems. It would be inexpedient to speak publicly on such a topic but the salient items of news will undoubtedly percolate.

This evening I am to have dinner with a selected group of the Faculty of the Catholic University in the city and repeat more or less what was said a week ago out here. This has become a regular occurrence after this annual pilgrimage, just as I have always undertaken to speak for the two institutions at the other end.

This will read very much like a diary, but I have recorded it in the hope that you may thus catch something of the atmosphere of friendliness, tranquillity and wholesome activity in which I suddenly found myself upon returning to the campus. It has all the feel of an oasis in the midst of conditions elsewhere in this country and over so much of the world that are tragically different. It strengthens the belief that such joyous comradeship in progressive endeavor is possible everywhere and should be striven for. In any case we can hope that we are contributing our bit not only as a demonstration but also as part of the discipline our students are receiving and are expected to put into effect in the huge task of national reconstruction awaiting them.

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I have only noted a few of the high lights of which the past seven days have been exceptionally full. But these and the more ordinary routine, in which the same values are just as evident though less spectacular, have almost enabled me to forget the existence of our circumambient anxieties. Almost, but not entirely, for during these seven days I have had as many reminders of their sinister reality in visits from those directly concerned. But these shall not be allowed to intrude themselves into these glimpses of Yenching life as we approach the serious business of final examinations and Commencement Exercises.

Very sincerely yours,

*Sheila Stewart*

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Confidential

August 20, 1941

To the Board of Trustees:

The question of war or peace in the Pacific area has become more than ever one that must be answered in Tokyo. The "A.B.C.D." attitude is now quite clear - even to the unimaginative and self-deluded Japanese military leaders. The common interests of "A.B.C.D." and Russia complete the effectiveness of encirclement against which the Japanese bitterly declaim, apparently unable to understand that it is entirely due to their own aggression. All the indications are that in Tokyo there continues to be violent conflict of opinion as to whether to yield to German insistence by further expansion southward or by invading Siberia, or to neutralize as best they can the now really alarming Anglo-American menace. But on one point all Japanese seem to be agreed - that the China War must be ended as soon as possible. They are not yet ready for the final stage of willingness to have it ended on terms acceptable to China - and the United States. Some of their more far-seeing leaders, even among the military, are quite aware of what these terms must be and are themselves in favor of negotiations on that basis. But in this, as in all foreign policy, Japan appears irresolute partly because there is no one trusted and forceful leader, none who dares to advocate an unpopular course.

For reasons such as these I have often urged that the more resolutely the United States Government takes steps to oppose continued Japanese aggression the less danger will there be of becoming involved in war now or later. Especially will this be true if these actions are aimed to penetrate the inner consciousness of the leaders and through the strictest of censorships to their inarticulate and uninformed populace. We must correct their illusions as to our fear of war, our political ineptitude, our tendency merely to bluff, for all of which we ourselves are largely responsible. In simple justice therefore as well as in kindness to the Japanese people we should now be inexorable in declaring our intentions and in proceeding to translate these into action.

But it would help immensely toward a rational solution if our Government felt itself able to go one step further and announce its readiness to join all other countries in the withdrawal of all troops from Chinese soil. We have already committed ourselves to the relinquishment of other treaty rights such as extraterritoriality, which are of far greater importance. Such far-seeing statesmanship would also seem to be in harmony with the points reported from the Churchill-Roosevelt conversations. The present war was made to appear much less like an invasion of China because the Japanese had abused the terms of the Boxer Protocol permitting the stationing of foreign troops in certain specified places in the Peking-Tientsin area. The crucial issue in the final settlement will be the withdrawal of all Japanese troops, especially from North China. The psychological effect will therefore be enormous in this oriental milieu if we make such a proposal and invite other countries to do the same. The Japanese will be given "face" in following this suggestion and China will have gained her independence. If, on the other hand, the Japanese refuse they will be further discredited and the Chinese will feel the more grateful to America for this latest evidence of practical friendship.

The Japanese are anxiously watching events in Europe, with special reference now to Russia. They will soon be feeling the consequences of our own and of British economic restrictions and of the increased aid to China. They are themselves trying

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desperately to terrorize Chungking into submission by repeated and inhumanly severe air-raids, by threatening at least to invade the southwestern provinces from Indo-China with the aid of French troops "for joint-defense". There is also a recrudescence of the Wang Ching-wei puppet movement, using all the insignia and terminology of the authentic Chinese Government and as many of its former agents as can be bribed or bullied into their service. All of these efforts are doomed to frustration - as many Japanese are well aware. The international situation will probably not take a turn favorable to their schemes - again as some at least among them are beginning to discover. I rather look therefore for a renewal of a peace offensive during or soon after the coming October. They must be given a period for making tentative proposals in an effort to salvage all they can before they will be ready to face realities.

Unless there are at present unpredictable international developments to their advantage, we can therefore expect that before many more months a substantial group of influential Japanese will be in a mood to advocate peace with China by negotiation and through the friendly offices of the President of the United States. We can by our policy within this period make their task more or less easy and hopeful of success. This requires a delicate blending of firmness and friendliness, the former in making clear our determination to resist to the utmost the menace of the axis partners, the latter in providing Japan with a tolerable alternative to suicidal desperation. American public opinion seems to be increasingly ready to support the Administration in the former and more immediately urgent of these policies. I trust that a sentiment is forming also that will encourage our Government to undertake the inexpressibly high-minded task of aiding a potential enemy to seek the wiser course for herself.

As throughout these four years of war, Yenching University is inextricably enmeshed in the larger consequences and registers their trends. If the present American policy cannot deter Japan from her reckless course of obstinate aggression and this results in war we shall almost certainly close the institution and anything may happen to persons and property. But in this event we should be only anticipating a fate that would overtake us later and with far greater permanent disaster if Japan can maintain her domination over North China. It would be far better for us in the long-run - and this holds for practically all American interests in this area - to endure temporary hardships or loss than complete destruction. Meanwhile we are preparing to open as usual on September 1, with an enrollment which ordinarily we would regard as more than capacity, with all our activities outwardly normal. We are all aware how precarious is our situation and how untenable it might any day become, as well as the possible consequences to any or all of us should Japanese fury be let loose upon us. But until or unless the break comes we shall assume that we shall not be interfered with. Freezing of credits and all such specific measures can easily be dealt with if they permit us to carry on. If not, they can prevent us in many other and harsher ways. It is not what may happen to us that counts, but how we take it. I hope that neither you and our other American friends nor those in China will be ashamed of us if the crisis comes. But somehow I still think it will not.

Very sincerely yours,

En route to Chungking  
August 29, 1945

To the Board of Trustees,

The more personal and international aspects of what I should like to write you at this time can, as I hope, be transmitted as rapidly and much more satisfactorily by Dr. Houghton in person. This will deal more directly with immediate university issues. Since our release two weeks ago today I have been too incessantly occupied to write even this brief summary. I sent at once a message by U. S. military radio which I hope you received: "Joyous greetings - free - health excellent - await instructions."

My first efforts were to secure the return of our campus without waiting for the tedious official procedure, and this was effected day before yesterday. Stephen Tsai went with a Japanese military officer to take over on my behalf. Among other reasons, I had promised several too solicitous friends not to expose myself to the risk of going outside the city. The property has been very badly damaged but not quite as seriously as we had been told. Japanese vandalism has followed its usual course in carrying away or wrecking all movable equipment and everything that they wished to alter for their own use. All chairs, tables, <sup>and</sup> beds, etc, were long ago taken away. Far more serious is the loss of our costly science equipment, specimens, <sup>and so forth</sup> etc, built up over years. They have gutted the power-house, mechanical installations, metal fixtures etc, in their need for supplying their war industries, though this is not apparently as complete as we had feared. Most fortunately the library has suffered least. Many books are still intact, others have been stored in two places in the city and we can recover most of these, though there has perhaps been heavy leakage in transmission. Large sums of money will be required for all this rehabilitation. More will be needed for paying faculty and staff for the remainder of the fiscal year 1941-2 which seems to be what we should not fail to provide. Most of them have suffered heavily in their livelihood and have been splendidly loyal to our principles in the face of alluring opportunities to compromise under economic strain and uncertainty.

This leads to the next point, which was my first ruling, that we wanted no one back on the faculty of whom our students would have any reason to be ashamed because of their behavior through this national testing time. This is also an opportunity to eliminate all who for any reason would seem to be undesirable. I have therefore issued a notice that the service of former members would only be by reappointment.

In this, as in every other issue thus far dealt with, I have been extremely fortunate to have the loyal, courageous, and whole-hearted cooperation of a Committee appointed by Dean Speer upon her departure from China: Wm. Hung, C. W. Luh, Stephen Tsai, Ph. DeVargas, C. T. Lin, Hou Jen-chih. I at once asked them to carry on as a provisional Executive Committee. You can imagine how dazed and generally helpless I would have been after my long and thorough-going sequestration had it not been for such intelligent, well-informed and trustworthy colleagues. The only shortcoming is the lack of women members, but this has been partially compensated by the residence of the Board of Managers in the city with five women and one man. One of these, Mrs. C. F. Wang, we have asked to be Acting Dean of the Women's College until Dean Speer returns or something else is decided upon.

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August 29, 1945

We have decided to open on a very partial basis on October 10, the Chinese Independence Day, with only Freshman and Sub-freshman classes. Special arrangements may be made for upper classmen and graduate students with individual students. The School of Religion will receive such students as apply under these exceptional conditions. Students may be asked to bring their own beds, etc, and there will be all kinds of discomforts; we may have a long winter vacation, with no heating system, and carry through next summer. But we intend somehow to make a start and raise our flag. We shall probably advise the unit now in Chengtu to carry on there for a year. I hope to consult with them on this trip.

One serious problem is the continued use of some of our buildings for a military hospital - Bashford, McBrier, Biology and apparently most of the Men's Dormitories. It seemed not only necessary on humanitarian grounds, but also more expedient to make this concession and get the place in our own control rather than force the issue and be involved in futile negotiations while the Japanese are still in as much actual power here as hitherto.

I am of course eager to know something of our present financial status, and speculate with mingled hopes and anxieties about this crucial factor, about which I feel now completely ignorant.

As to the return of our American personnel I recommend you to consult with Dean Speer. I have absolute confidence in her good judgment.

Of my more personal remembrance of each of you individually, my anxiety to know of your welfare, my desires to plan with you for the future, I cannot write more now - but you know my heart.

Very sincerely yours,

s/s J. LEIGHTON STUART

P.S. In a personal letter Dr. Stuart has the following to say about financial needs:

"Stephen Tsai's estimates for our financial needs are as follows but they can only be regarded as rough guesses, all U.S. currency:

Rehabilitation of Physical Plant	\$500,000 to \$750,000
Equipment	\$1,000,000 to \$1,500,000
Current Budget	
(a) Peiping	\$100,000 - \$125,000
(b) Chengtu (?)	
Obligations to staff for balance of year 1941-2	- \$40,000. "

/s/ J.L.S.

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YENCHING UNIVERSITY  
PEIPING, CHINA

Office of the President

September 28, 1945

To the Board of Trustees:

At a time when we are all engrossed with the problems of reconditioning our physical plant, adjusting the complicated personal issues affecting a widely scattered faculty, and in general preparing for the resumption of our long disrupted activities, it may be pertinent to ask ourselves again how worthwhile ~~these~~ activities really are. As a partial answer I should like to share with you some of the impressions formed during the trip from which I have just returned. For the value of a university can be judged best by the careers of its students after their graduation.

The American army airplane by which I left Peiping took me to Sian, an ancient capital of China, where we spent the night. It was pouring rain and I was preparing myself for a dreary afternoon and evening in the mud-encircled barracks outside the city when suddenly Ma Meng appeared with a couple of his fellow-students. They had mysteriously learned of my arrival and had secured a car to take me into the city to a restaurant where such hsiao-yu as could be assembled on short notice would be coming. Hsiao-yu is a convenient term that comprises alumni and alumnae, as well as all former students. I soon discovered that Ma Meng holds a very responsible position on the personal staff of the General in command of the northwest, one of Chiang Kai-shek's most trusted lieutenants. On my return trip the army plane went only to Tientsin and I was to take the train from there to Peiping. Meeting in the hotel an American officer with whom I had become acquainted in Peiping soon after my release, he offered to send me to the station in his car and added that he now had two Yenching boys on his staff of whom he thought very highly. When the time came to start he had them both by his side. They looked very smart in their uniforms, and one was detailed to go in the car and see me on to the train, all of which he performed most efficiently. On the train I was soon discovered by another graduate and his bride of last July - one of the many Yenching romances - who were returning with all the examination papers of the Tientsin candidates. The point of this last episode is that experience has compelled us to be very cautious as to who can be entrusted with the holding of these entrance examinations and the handling of the papers. Yet here were two recent graduates acting for the faculty committee in charge and quietly doing their part as though fidelity to the University were a matter of course.

This rather dramatic beginning and ending of the trip is described in detail because it is so typical. Our old students seem to be ubiquitous. And everywhere they seem to have the same qualities of alert efficiency, the confidence of their superiors or associates, and enthusiastic loyalty to the university and its principles. I am of course prejudiced, for the bond between them and me perhaps blinds me to many of their failings. Even I am painfully aware of some among them to whom these encomiums can scarcely apply. But I was told in every place I visited and by all sorts of people of the reputation of our graduates in general for integrity, capability, and devotion to the enterprises with which they were connected and to the national welfare. This phenomenon is sufficiently general to furnish convincing evidence that they have benefited by an education at once technically good and informed by spiritual idealism. It would lengthen this report beyond what is fitting to attempt to indicate the variety of their activities or the progress which many of them have made in these, but they cover a very wide range and they are becoming more prominent with the passing years. Journalism furnishes a somewhat spectacular illustration. Our graduates are on virtually all the Chungking dailies, and the same seems to be more or less true of other cities in uninvaded China. The Chinese official news agency is represented by them in Washington, New York, London, Paris, etc. - They almost entirely covered the

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San Francisco conference for China.

It is of interest to inquire how much of this Yenching product is Christian in its cause and in its effects. Certainly many of our graduates are in various forms of organized Christian work, and many others are actively Christian in their personal lives. But I dare to believe that the imponderable something which they all more or less radiate and in which they unfailingly recognize the ideal they accept for themselves is due to the pervasive atmosphere and the dynamic influences of their college days. They sum it up in the Yenching motto which is of course the essence of the teaching of Jesus, or they hold up the "Yenching spirit" as the standard for themselves as individuals and as an integrated group. In so far as I can learn, the Christian character of the institution is assumed by them and they glory in it.

I had intimate conversations with the present Minister of Education who is an old friend, and saw something of the two Vice-ministers, one of whom was and the other married a former teacher of ours. Both are active Christians. In the division of Higher Education the chief authority seems to be Dr. C. L. Han who after graduation with us and service in our office of Director of Studies did post-graduate study at the University of Minnesota. In these quarters the esteem in which Yenching is held is amply manifested by their approval of our policy during the Japanese occupation (before Pearl Harbor) and by the recognition given us in the plans for comprehensive post-war reorganization of higher education.

But the best evidence of the spiritual energies generated in previous years would perhaps be found in the operation of the University in Chengtu. Under all kinds of difficulties, discomforts and hardships, a purely Chinese group is carrying on with efficiency and enthusiasm, maintaining almost normal academic standards and the traditions which have been distinctive in our policy. The spirit alike among faculty and students is fully in keeping with our past on the old campus. The other foreign teachers have left and Mr. Hausske is helping with finances. The faculty is composed predominantly of our own graduates.

In making our own program for post-war developments we have the incentive that springs from the knowledge of the results thus far, very inadequately suggested in this report.

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) J. Leighton Stuart

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President's Annual Report, 1946-47

YENCHING UNIVERSITY

Peiping, China

June 27, 1947

Dr. R. J. McMullen  
150 Fifth Avenue  
New York City

Dear Dr. McMullen:

We are at the end of the spring semester and I am undertaking to jot down for you a few thoughts and memoranda which I want to share with you.

Commencement Commencement this year will be on July 1st. Leighton will be our guest speaker. He also delivers the Baccalaureate Sermon on June 28. We lost a few days due to student activities in the early part of June, but special lectures and evening sessions, Saturday afternoon laboratories, etc., have enabled our students to complete their work by the end of the term. This summer will be rather busy with several thousand students taking entrance examinations in Peiping, Tientsin and Shanghai. We open for the fall session toward the end of August.

Student Strike This arose out of the unrest in Shanghai and was in the nature of a demonstration in sympathy with developments in Shanghai and Nanking and Hankow. The authorities in Peiping handled the situation very well, and instead of antagonizing the students, helped them to a sympathetic understanding of what the real issues were. I think it is correct to say that this particular flareup of the student movement had no very deep political connections, though I think there were attempts at different stages to make it so. The leaders in the North China area were very definitely the students of Tsing Hua, Peita and Yenching. We were very much pleased that in the final student voting for a day's strike in sympathy with the Hankow incident, while the Tsing Hua students carried out a one day strike, the Yenching students definitely voted against a strike and decided to express their sympathy in another way. They saved on food for one day and used the money to send as aid to the families of the victims, and arranged for a brief demonstration of sympathy at midday by tolling the university bell. We are particularly pleased that our students as a group have decided that the method of student strikes is somewhat outmoded, and other methods of expression must be sought for and developed. They are particularly to be commended in that they have taken this stand in the face of considerable pressure from the neighboring universities.

Malcolm McAfee (McBrier Fund) Malcolm McAfee did a fine piece of work at Yenching, and I am pretty sure that we want him back with us some time. We would have preferred that he stay with us the complete three years of his contract, but it was evident that he had been able to decide very definitely what he wanted to prepare for, and that he wanted to hurry back to America to complete his preparation. I am not sure whether he will wish to return to us under the McBrier Fund or in some other capacity, but I am sure you will find him one of our Yenching enthusiasts and you will find us here anxious to make use of his capacities to the full when he is able to return, if arrangements can be made to have him come to Yenching. We are very much in favor of securing

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younger persons like McAfee under the McBrier Fund. The only difficulty is that they decide, before their appointment expires, on new fields of study, and catch visions of other opportunities of service, so that they do not stay to the end of the contract. We could not but sympathize with his desire to be released, and rather reluctantly agreed.

Staff Retrenchments We are definitely launched on a program of retrenchment for the next year, and so far this has taken the form of arranging for a number of releases for both Chinese and foreign members of staff. I am not certain that we can spare all these people very well, but it is evident in the face of retrenchment that we must save on salaries, ask everyone to carry a little heavier burden, and use the savings for salary increases. Our staff salaries are absolutely inadequate in the sense that they are less than the subsistence level. Almost all our Chinese staff are borrowing money or selling household goods, so that they can stay with us and help carry through our program. The spirit of loyalty which they have expressed in this way is tremendous and overpowering, but it must not be strained to the breaking point. The Yenching Authorities, both here and in America, must put forth every effort to raise salaries, and we shall most likely break in upon reserves which have been set aside in New York for emergencies, because the next year or two will be real emergencies.

Foreign Salaries In the face of rising costs and inflation, the discrepancy between a Chinese professor's salary, and the salary paid a young foreign instructor on a US dollar basis becomes uncomfortably apparent, and this is made even more awkward by the fact that both salary payments appear side by side on the university budget. Mission salaries which are derived from sources not under the university control do not cause the same heartburnings, and we are endeavoring for the present emergency at least, to transfer as many as possible of our foreign staff on to Mission salaries. If the university can work out something corresponding to the Lingnan plan, where the Trustees in New York automatically take charge of foreign salaries without reference to the university budget, this might help.

Christian Character of the University This is an aspect of our program which we are not neglecting, and there is a group of both faculty and students who are insisting that our contribution in this direction must be even more intensive. Very soon after commencement, I am asking some of the religious leaders on the campus to meet with me with regard to this phase of our activity. It might be that if the Yenching Fellowship is too general in its outlook, that we could erect, either within its scope or side by side with it, a university church. This is one of the items at least which is being suggested. There are many of us who feel that in the postwar educational developments in China we must make the Christian character of the university very evident, and both staff and students feel that our special contribution should be focussed on this in an even more intensive way than it has in the past.

Recent Arrivals from the U.S.A. The Deans and Dr. Wolforz have already arrived. The Porters should arrive in a few days. We are greatly pleased that these very much needed reinforcements to the staff were able to come at the beginning of the summer when they can help us in getting under way our plans for next year. Many of our Chinese administrators are seriously in need of rest and relief. These Americans who have just arrived will help to relieve their burdens.

Staff and Students in the U.S.A. Between twelve and fifteen of our junior staff have received fellowship appointments of one kind or another to institutions in the U.S.A. next year. One of these is a Westerner going on furlough, Mr. James Pyke. We will send the complete list in due course.

Acting President I have accepted this assignment for six months, and my term of service expires at the end of the summer. My hope is that the university will be able to work out very soon some more permanent arrangement for the President's office, as well as for the Chancellor's office. They are both responsibilities which need a more permanent solution. I feel that my time should be placed in fields of activity where I am more at home, and for which I am more specifically prepared. I merely reiterate this so you will understand that we are not constantly changing administrators here. I have merely stepped in to fill an emergency for a few months till a more permanent arrangement of personnel could be worked out.

Political Situation The political situation is still unsolved with neither of the two major groups willing to negotiate. The government has lost prestige in some areas and has withdrawn its forces. In the Peiping area we sometimes hear distant firing, but for the most part everyone has remained calm. It is probable that the guerillas will continue to interfere with the railways, and it is quite possible that the Peiping-Tientsin area will be isolated in the sense that it will be increasingly difficult to move in food supplies from the hinterland. We anticipate that the difficulties will be largely economic ones, rather than such as might affect our immediate political background.

The above are a series of rambling thoughts. We look to the New York office for constant suggestions and encouragement, and I hope you will feel free to write us at all times with respect to our program and how it can more specially be correlated with the larger program of the ABCCC.

Very sincerely yours,

s/s William H. Adolph  
Acting President

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