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J. Leighton Stewart

YENCHING

FACULTY PRESESSIONAL CONFERENCE - SEPTEMBER 5-6, 1930.

President's Address

TRANSFER

Let me give expression, first of all, to the deep satisfaction I have in being back with you again and looking into your faces. Next I want to ask that you be very patient in listening to me this morning. The Pre-sessional Conference is about the only chance I have in the whole year to talk to the Faculty as a group about the things that interest me most rather than dealing with some pressing matter of business, and this time my natural desire for such an opportunity is accentuated by long absence from Yenching and by the eventful changes that have been affecting our environment and our own outlook. I hope there will be ample time left after I finish for such discussion as you care to have concerning the issues raised. Meanwhile let us think of this whole morning as continuing the devotional period which has preceded.

The Outlook. It may not be amiss to remind ourselves at the outset of those tremendously significant forces working both within us and from without which are transforming this institution from a union of denominational foreign missionary colleges into a private university established under Chinese law with all the attributes of a broadly conceived centre of higher learning, while retaining all of the essential purpose and performance of its origin. It has been effecting this transition in the midst of a swirling maelstrom of awakened nationalism, racial consciousness, new knowledge, crumbling beliefs, passionate struggles for better social, economic, and political conditions, the disintegration of political life and alarming spread of lawlessness and destructive revolutionary movements. How to adjust our religious activities in view of government regulations, reinforced as all of these are by public opinion, requires and will receive very careful thought. The temper of our own students and the evidences among them of world-wide tendencies among present-day youth cannot but come into conflict with traditional theories of educational policy. The bearing of recent happenings both here and abroad upon our financial support must be kept in mind. In short, we are facing a new session more overshadowed perhaps with bewildering and unpredictable uncertainties than any of those tumultuous years through which we have already passed.

Yenching Ideals. In all of this confusion one thing is radiantly clear and this is that we do exist and can exist only by the maintenance of our distinctive Yenching ideals. Without these there is no real reason why we should continue to function at all. Without these most of us would not care to be working here, there would be no continuity with our past heritage, no consistency in our various relationships, no rational hope for the future. In the most literal sense it can be said that we live upon our ideals. The institution has been largely created out of these and owes them such measure of achievement as it has now attained; our internal harmony and mutual helpfulness, our success in relation to our students and Chinese nation, our only hope of further financial resources, all depend on our ability to live according to the standards and objectives we have set for ourselves. Whatever may be true in the world at large, for us at any rate the most idealistic solution of the many problems we must face is demonstrably the most practical one. And therein lies our real contribution to our age, in China as well

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as abroad.

Synthesis. It is from this viewpoint that I should like to go over with you this morning some of the more pressing of these problems. If I attempted to sum up in one word the keynote of our life for the year that lies ahead, as I conceive it, it would be Synthesis. In previous years the word Fellowship has been stressed and one of our number has urged the thought of Mutuality. My text for the day differs only slightly from these, the ideas underlying our University motto, and other familiar phrases in which we attempt to describe the unifying principle by which we are trying to live. Our task then for the new academic year is further integration of delightfully diversified elements.

The Faculty. In applying this concept let us begin with ourselves, the Faculty. I doubt if there can be found anywhere else a group, no larger than ours, and living together as do we on a cooperative basis, that has as much variation as is represented among us. The most obvious cleavage is of course that between Western and Chinese and yet it has been one of our greatest triumphs during these recent years of Nationalistic tension that we have had such almost perfect harmony. This has perhaps been more endangered by the salary discussions of last year than anything else that has ever happened, and one of our first concrete objectives must be to recover our old harmony by the way we apply our highest life-ideals to this acid test. The relation of men and women under the peculiar historical and present circumstances of our own organization may seem to not a few of us a more difficult achievement in synthesis than the racial. We vary very widely in our feeling as to how our university can or should retain its Christian character. Then there is the scientific as against the humanistic emphasis, conflicting extremes as to student discipline, social habits, taste and temperament, etc. The point in calling attention to all this is that we have much the richer, finer common life with all these differences, providing we can effect a synthesis of them. Each of us here has a rare chance to practise working with those whose mental habits, moral concepts, modes of procedure, are unlike one's own, or even more or less repugnant.

Salaries. Reference has been made to the salary issue. I should like to comment further on that, partly because it must be faced again this coming year, but chiefly because it can be treated as a superlative opportunity for examining into and applying the life-ideals of which we are now thinking. Since we as a group virtually have the power to decide what salaries we wish to give ourselves, our recommendations on this realistic issue will be quite indicative of our controlling aims and of our capacity to reach unified conclusions. I have at this time only two suggestions. One is that we reopen the question both of Chinese and Western schedules. And secondly, that we try to work out new ones on a fusion of the following three principles: (1) Christian concepts of stewardship and service; (2) Academic efficiency, so that each teacher can put his whole time and thought into this one task without financial anxiety; (3) Social obligations of Chinese and Western teachers involved in their respective circumstances. This can easily be the most vexatious of administrative burdens and a selfishly individualistic struggle, or a synthesis of glowing idealism and practical intelligence. Let us determine this morning at least the attitude with which we shall face the problem.



The Student Body. We are all aware of the possibilities of disturbance in every school in China, ours being emphatically no exception. Here again there is a call for a synthesis between anciently recognized faculty rights and startlingly novel student assertions. In facing the coming year let us first of all free ourselves from fear. The only danger we have from students is that a majority of them may organize against us, in which case we are prepared to close the institution. We owe it to no superior authority to continue operation if the students should attempt to force any issue upon us. But let me add at once that I think any such eventuality extremely unlikely. Two points only we need to stress, one is scrupulous observance on our part individually and in every division of all regulations and of considerate, courteous treatment of students in carrying out our duties. An error of judgment, failure to adhere to prescribed procedure, unwitting brusqueness in manner, on the part of one teacher may at any time-as we have experienced more than once--involve the entire institution in serious complications. The other and more agreeable point to urge is that every one of us try, each in his or her own way, but all as most of us never have before, to cultivate friendly relations with individual students. Almost any threatened outbreak can be averted if enough students and enough teachers are on sufficiently friendly terms to explain to one another the points-of-view involved. We are in the curious position of being entirely dependent on student support for the carrying out of any disciplinary program, with no ability to use force nor any advantage from its use. Our strength consists in the active and well-informed cooperation of the student body as a whole against agitations instigated either from within or without, and we can all help toward this mutual understanding.

Finances. Any review of our common interests would be incomplete which did not deal with university finances. I regret that unauthorized and much too optimistic reports of results of recent efforts in America have appeared in the local press. The facts are briefly that we have the value during the next few years of substantial increases in endowment for the Natural Sciences, though one important item in this is not finally assured and another item will go by default unless its conditions are met within the next five years. The provision for the Social Sciences is even more precarious and little progress has been made toward capitalization of this budget. I found it on this last trip far more difficult to raise money in America than ever before in my experience, there being apart from personal deficiencies, three leading reasons: (1) the New York Stock Exchange crash, its nation-wide consequences and a general state of business depression and uncertainty; (2) the continued turmoil in China and the alarmist or confused impressions on the American Mind; (3) the appalling increase of financial appeals for every conceivable object within the country and from all parts of the world; and ever more skilful technique in solicitation with the consequent resistance aroused in those solicited. These causes, and others that could be added, will most probably continue to operate for some years. Coming more specifically to our own problems, it is very difficult to secure persons effective in raising money and willing to work for us. Perhaps the most encouraging result of my recent trip was the probability that Dr. Chester E. Jenney who had helped us temporarily when I was previously in the States, will now join us on a somewhat permanent basis. His reason is that he got so infected that, as he expresses it, Yenching has gripped him so that he cannot get it out of his system. Another factor is that, apart from Princeton and Wellesley



alumni and certain other special groups, we have no natural constituencies and even these are only ours in so far as we have won them by much cultivation. In other words, there are no persons or organizations in America or elsewhere upon whom we have any claim whatever. This is what I meant in insisting that we can only exist and grow by living according to our best ideals, and by so doing create the only argument with which we can successfully appeal for funds. Therefore not a few of you who by faithful and fruitful attention to your own tasks, and in complete unconsciousness of having any part in money raising have been the real cause of such results as we have thus far attained.

In the earlier years we had to put ourselves on the map and take risks or incur deficits. We lacked experience and felt the urge to expand. For the immediate future I plead for the utmost cooperation on the part of all of you in a policy of stabilization and restraint against further enlargement. With the most careful economy we can perhaps carry on as we are now without anxiety, but even so there are always unforeseen necessities and a steadily increasing cost of operation. Even from the standpoint of getting new money, which still remains our biggest problem, this will be made easier from now on by a conservative policy. And somehow I feel strangely hopeful for our future if we thus work together now.

Additional Needs. In addition to securing the endowments now in process for the Natural and Social Sciences and the Women's College, and for the Departments of Journalism and Education, none of which except the last named involve any expansion, I should put as our most pressing needs, more adequate provision for purchasing English and European books for the Library, and for the general welfare of our students. The former of these calls for no argument nor does it require any large outlay. By the latter I mean everything from medical attention including preventive and corrective hygiene and treatment, through athletics and physical education, psychiatry, etc. to loans, scholarships, self-support, vocational guidance and assistance in securing employment. We cannot fulfil all our claim to be Christian until we enter into all that concerns the problems that our students face, and do our utmost through skilful technique and all known facilities for fashioning them into the sort of manhood and womanhood that can most usefully serve their country. Nor would anything less than this be really complete education. How pitifully inadequate is our present equipment in almost all these respects, or even our present concern over these defects! This is perhaps the aspect of our University life that weighs on me now more than any other.

In physical plant we must increase somewhat the equipment of the Power House, we must look forward to some relief for already congested library conditions, another women's dormitory unit and to a similar extent and less immediately needed more men's dormitory space, and sundry other items. Mr. Chuan will certainly include more faculty residences!

School of Religion. Government instructions may require organic separation of this unit from the University, and its removal from the campus. That this may not prove an unmixed misfortune was the buoyant conviction of at least some of its faculty before the recently promulgated orders were issued. In any case, the problems thus created give us all the occasion to evaluate afresh the choice personalities of this faculty and to express our practical sympathy with them in this new de-



velopment. Whatever administrative or organizational changes may be required, we shall all the more claim them as of ourselves by every right of functional service and personal esteem.

Sunday Observance. Another specific question of religious policy has been referred to this Conference by your meeting of last June in the action regarding the utilization of Sunday with special reference to organized athletics and amusements. On the matter of athletics there was what seemed to me an admirable statement prepared by one or more members of the School of Religion faculty. Certain guiding principles will probably be generally accepted among us. The traditional requirements and prohibitions of western Christianity are not being maintained in those countries under the sweeping changes of thought and life, nor do most of these commend themselves to Chinese Christians who think for themselves. It is a curious fact that the New Testament which deals in the frankest way with the shortcomings of the first generation of Christians and with warnings or admonitions as to their duty, does not once exhort to a strict Jewish observance of this day. Nor would it have been possible for those earliest congregations to do so. The meetings referred to were always in the evening when they could leave their tasks of the day. Jesus denounced the excessive observance of contemporary religious leaders, and declared the great principle that the Sabbath was made for man and not man for the Sabbath. In other words, the Puritan Sunday of England and America never had any justification from the New Testament. On the other hand, the day ought to be different from others in really helpful forms, including spiritual cultivation for all who can be led to seek it. But even for these, and for the large number of the indifferent how can we create new and understood values in place of activities no longer practicable nor useful? Let us study this question with a constructive emphasis that finds healthy, enjoyable, uplifting occupations for our students in the place of--not those pious duties which we might wish they spent their time with--but the trivial or harmful diversions to which they turn because they know of nothing better. For instance, how about faculty members being at home to students on Sunday afternoon? Instead of more or less futile debates on athletics and moving pictures on Sundays, let us think of positive ways to help the students into the best use of this day with its noble possibilities.

In a more general comment growing out of such issue, the survival value of Yenching University depends very largely upon the emphasis which Chinese administrative officers and teachers put upon character-building influences as the institution passes out of the control of missionary representatives into theirs. This applies alike to the continuance of western financial assistance and to the moral and financial support in China upon which it must increasingly depend in the future. How therefore can the values of the older religious teaching be conserved in forms suitable to Chinese racial characteristics, present-day college students, and twentieth century environment?

Religion. This last topic leads naturally to the religious problems created for all of us by recent legislation and the tendencies in popular thought of which it is really little more than the articulate expression. As always in whatever concerns man's deepest emotions, there is need of a synthesis of passionately conflicting opinions, and between those who care intensely about such matters and those who are more or less indifferent to the whole subject. For myself I cannot escape from a certain feeling of exhilaration that at last we have a chance to demonstrate as a community

and as individuals the practical advantages of striving to live according to the highest beliefs and spiritual principles of which we know, stripped of many of the customary accessories. We can at least agree to work together for what we all recognize as our Yenching ideals. To what extent and in what forms various ones of us may find religious practices helpful in sustaining our own spiritual vitality or inspiring it in others is all part of the challenging experiment in corporate idealism which Yenching University connotes. For let us think of Yenching as more than an educational institution, but as this plus a thrilling adventure in the practise of living according to the best we know, as an organ for generating dynamic moral energies, as a smoothly running efficiently regulated machine which also has a vitalizing soul, as a synthesis of the abiding values in two confluent civilizations, a synthesis also of the heritage of the past and the hopes of the future, as a place where the most idealistic solution is proven also to be the most practical one, and where we are all students in the art of living according to the finer urgings of the human spirit, in the consciousness that this is in harmony with whatever Reality lies at the heart of our Universe.

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( The following article appeared in the January 1931 issue of the EDUCATIONAL REVIEW published in Shanghai, China.)

CURRENT RELIGIOUS ISSUES AS FACED

AT YENCHING UNIVERSITY

President J. Leighton Stuart, D.D., Litt. D.

After reading the October number of the EDUCATIONAL REVIEW it seems almost superfluous to add anything more to what has been so courageously and convincingly expressed in those discussions as to the functions and the future of Christian colleges in China in view of recent tendencies. The fact that these articles were written almost entirely by Chinese heads of these institutions augurs hopefully for the vigorous maintenance of their Christian purpose. The present writer is in such entire accord with this general point of view in its application to Yenching University that whatever may appear below should be taken as merely supplementing those conclusions by considering the problem from a somewhat different approach. The only excuse for treating the affairs of this one institution at such length is because it is thought of as a concrete example of general principles.

Yenching University, like its sister colleges, is the outgrowth of one or more earlier schools founded when conditions were much less complex. Each was almost entirely within a single denominational framework, drew its small enrollment chiefly from nearby middle schools of the same system, trained them largely for Christian work or related activities, was staffed principally by missionaries, was free from government control and from comparison with secular schools in the simple academic standards then thought desirable. But in the twelve years of its history as reorganized it has grown from an enrollment of less than one hundred to over eight hundred students, nearly one hundred of whom are in graduate work, from a faculty of a dozen or more foreigners and a few Chinese employees to well over one hundred of whom almost all the administrative officers and more than two-thirds of the teachers of instructor's rank and above are Chinese. The growth has taken place during tumultuous years of political, social and intellectual revolution with their inevitable effect on student and popular thinking. Students come to us from all provinces and overseas, and an increasing number from non Christian secondary schools. Even the mission middle schools can no longer have the intensively religious atmosphere of other years. Government registration and other more subtle forces have swept the University out of the placid seclusion of a somewhat self-contained foreign propagandist society into the swirling currents of Chinese national life. The disintegration or arrested growth of much organized evangelistic activity, the radical theories hostile to all religion so prevalent among the intelligentsia, the indifference to any aspect of speculative truth, weakening of nationalistic idealism, absorption with one's own career or with modern forms of amusement that now characterize student life, are among the factors that have produced for us an environment unbelievably different from that in which Yenching first found itself. If this environment be conceived so as to include that contact with the world at large made possible by all new forms of human intercourse the play of other influences potent and penetrating can be vividly sensed. More than all of these consequences for religious life is the

steady increase of Chinese on the faculty and in the whole constituency of the University and the impossibility of their continuing as a group to feel a primary responsibility - as did their missionary predecessors - to the cause of institutional Christianity as it has been projected into China through its western agencies

What has happened therefore is the evolution of a college founded as a contributory unit in a foreign missionary movement, which by those very terms must be transient and exotic, into one with an established place in Chinese life and under Chinese law and with all the qualities of a recognized institution of higher learning. Having accepted such a status for itself can it hope to maintain in any vital and dynamic sense its Christian character, and be a useful asset to the Christian cause? And is there any inconsistency in such a program either with the evangelistic purpose that underlay its founding or with its role as a broadly conceived intellectually untrammelled modern university?

And finally, are there potentialities of truly Christian service and of spiritual achievement in such an undertaking which would not exist if it had adhered more strictly to the formal church and mission relationships of an earlier period?

Such questionings provoke yet more searching ones as to what are the present objectives and the more obvious failures of the Christian Movement in China. After more than one hundred years of devoted effort, and especially in view of the disturbing occurrences of the last few years, it will perhaps be generally agreed that there is slight reason to look forward any longer to the Christianization of the country in any comprehensive sense merely by continuing indefinitely the earlier missionary methods and depending on the growth of ecclesiastical organizations patterned after their western origins. This is due not so much to the racial, political, financial, creedal or institutional causes that lie on the surface and are usually urged, as to the failure as yet to commend the Christian Way of Life to thoughtful and public spirited Chinese as actually producing personalities of finer quality than others of their race or than these individuals would otherwise have been, and as having proven that it has both the power and the purpose to reform the existing social order. In other words, the Chinese people in present world conditions already have or can readily secure information about the historical facts and religious claims of Christianity. Such recent phenomena as the efficiency of economic boycotts, the spread of Kuomintang principles, the mastery of the technique of communist propaganda, are evidence of their capacity for passionately unselfish enthusiasm and for the fruitful advocacy of such ideals throughout the nation. The primary function of all Christian activities at this stage would therefore appear to be to demonstrate that the Way we follow creates personalities and group relationships that possess ethical beauty and social value. No people is better prepared by its cultural heritage to evaluate such achievement. None is at present in greater need. Among this pragmatic people Christianity is now on trial as to its ability to produce those fruits in human behavior which have not only been their own predominant interest but are also the triumphant assertion on almost every page of the New Testament. Convinced of its value they can be trusted to formulate it as truth, and to organize it into forms instinct with living expression.

In so far, therefore, as Yenching University can commend itself to its own students and to the public by the strictness and sincerity of its academic standards; by the idealism which underlies such acid tests as teachers' salaries and all other financial issues; by its attitude to the political, economic and social problems of the country; by the easy harmony between Chinese and Western faculty members, teachers and students, men and women, when these always delicate relations are subject to abnormally acute tension; by the blend of patient training in self government encouraged in the student body with firm but friendly administrative control; by the discipline and the deliberate attempt to apply the principles and spirit of Jesus to literally every aspect of our communal welfare; by the resultant in a certain quality of life which will be described as Christian



because no other term applies. Then, to that extent Yenching is bearing witness as an institution to the meaning and value of Christian faith. It is a really scientific experiment as to whether such faith can survive among modern intellectuals and in an increasingly Chinese setting. It is a challenging adventure in spiritual idealism that depends on nothing but the energies born of conviction and experience in the group of those who are actively Christian and in the God they trust.

In such a program there undoubtedly is serious loss. In the days of required religious instruction and smaller enrollments there was an opportunity for persistent personal influence and for mass stimulation which have helped to supply to the church and the nation many a noble exponent of Chinese discipleship. But on the other hand such results were gained more than is generally recognized by an administrative authority due to treaty rights and financial resources or to masterful and singleminded missionaries working upon docile plastic youth, both of which factors are decreasingly to be counted on. Even so, the atmosphere was that of a hot-house. If any large proportion of those who sincerely accepted Christ in mission schools had retained their faith as they have annually streamed forth into the blighting climate of the world outside there would be much less of a problem now for Christian missions in China. A college environment less at variance with the conditions prevailing in the community in which it exists may be biologically a better nursery for the smaller proportion of professedly Christian students. In any case the transition must sooner or later be made, and it might well begin while a controlling majority of the faculty both western and Chinese are missionary in spirit.

Whether or not such a university can continue to be vitally Christian is not primarily a matter of its origin or any governing board either in the West of China, still less of financial authority. To no very large extent can it depend upon professional religious workers whether on the staff or as occasional visitors. Two elements would seem to be chiefly determinative.

1. The Christian character of the Chinese officers and teachers. It is a great satisfaction to have, as we now do at Yenching, all of the former and the large majority of the others avowedly Christian, and to have confidence in the exemplary behavior of all these as well of the remaining minority. It can also be claimed that they are all in essential harmony with the purpose of the institution. It is reassuring to know that especially subjects so crucial to the intellectual acceptance of Christian faith or to its application to human need as the natural and social sciences are being taught so largely by Chinese with this philosophy of life. But that which must still be demonstrated or discovered is the Chinese educator's equivalent in terms of racial genius and the temper of modern students everywhere for what is meant by missionary or evangelistic zeal. Absorption in professional duties, a reaction against methods felt to have been overworked in the past, reluctance to seem officious in what this people have always regarded as each man's private affair, and the lack alike of any compelling sense of duty and of an adequate technique, are among the explanations. But to the present writer this would appear to be the most important single issue from the standpoint of administrative policy.

2. Student initiated Christian activity. The potentialities of student movements have been amply illustrated in many forms during the past decade. There has also been formed a group consciousness which will perhaps make any efforts of slight avail which are not at least supported by students. There is at present as much but probably no more religious indifferentism in any one of our China colleges as on any typical American campus. On the other hand, there is vastly more concern over national and social disorders and an eager quest for their correction. Once a sufficient number of them became intensely convinced of the value from this standpoint of Christian belief we may confidently look for movements reminding us in their lofty enthusiasm and practical effectiveness of earlier patriotic and other outbreaks. It was encouraging this autumn, when the student section of the Yenta Christian Fellowship was starting its membership campaign and had debated the advisability of postponing this in the face of a peculiarly vigorous anti-Christian agitation led by a radical group to have one hundred new students

respond to the appeal of their fellows, and thus advance the average of previous years.

The above discussion represents an attempt to face in a realistic way the implications for a Christian college in China that unreservedly accepts the requirements not so much of any particular government as of the general situation. The alternative would be maintenance of a "church college" in the thoroughgoing sense that was true of the original mission schools assuming that the educational authorities will permit the existence of such. Either course has its special limitations and advantages, but a mediating policy is foredoomed. At any rate, we at Yenching are engaged in one type of experimentation which if it succeeds will have its own distinctive and essential contribution to a Christian Movement that aims at permeating every phase of this nation's manifold life. There is room for almost unlimited variety of such demonstrations of Christian faith in action, both among the colleges and in all other forms of service, each enriching the cause with its special function. What we should all aim to share is loyalty to our common Lord, and the capacity to practise and to produce in others the sort of life He lived and died to reveal. We at Yenching, sobered by recent happenings and poignantly conscious of the difficulties inherent in our special form of endeavor, humbly ~~but~~ yet very hopefully look forward to the results for which we are striving because of the eternal verities upon which all really Christian work relies. What has therefore given much anxiety to all of us who seek to have our Christian schools serve to the utmost our Master's cause becomes viewed in this new light an enlarging opportunity of thrilling significance.

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*For Yenching files*

April 17, 1933

Stuart

AMERICA AND CHINA TODAY.

Farsighted American statesmen, as for instance William H. Seward, have long ago pointed out what Theodore Roosevelt put in dramatic language when he said that as the civilization of ancient times bordered around the Mediterranean Sea, shifting slowly further westward, and has in more modern times been gathered on the shores of the Atlantic Ocean, still spreading from east to west, so in the years that lie ahead it will be centred in the Pacific area, and that in this area the two determining factors will be America on the east and China in what is for us the new and ever nearer west. Since its establishment the United States has developed only two major foreign policies, the Monroe Doctrine relating to the American continents, and the Open Door policy of John Hay who said that the statesmen who comprehended the future of China would hold the key to world events for the next five hundred years. In accord with this insight and from friendly goodwill the American Government has frequently protested against threatened violations of the open door policy by other nations, it has remitted in two instalments its share of the Boxer Indemnity funds amounting to many millions of dollars to be used for educational and cultural purposes in China; and in various other ways has given evidence of its determination to aid and protect the Chinese people during the long struggle of their transition toward a well-established modern state. Notably, when Japan took advantage of the Great War to seize the important province of Shantung, our Government convened an international conference in 1922 primarily to restore to China this territory unjustly captured, and in general to guarantee peace on the Pacific through mutual agreements. This Nine Power Treaty, as it is called, pledged the signatory Powers "to respect the sovereignty, the independence and the territorial and administrative integrity of China", - including specifically Manchuria - and "to provide the fullest and most unembarrassed opportunity to China to develop and maintain for herself an effective and stable government." It is because Japan has flagrantly violated this treaty as well as the League of Nations Covenant and the Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact, that the present administration has reaffirmed the declared policy of the proceeding one not to recognize any change in Manchuria brought about by the use of armed force and in contravention of sacred treaties.

But American goodwill for China has been expressed in countless ways other than the policy of our Government. Religious and philanthropic activities have in a wide variety of forms been conducted in virtually every part of that vast country. Especially appreciated by the Chinese people, because of their obviously practical value, are the famine or flood relief contributions, the help in agricultural improvement, and the medical and educational institutions. Yenching University with which I am connected is a typical instance. There is a romance in the very word Yenching which was the name of Peking some 3000 years ago, and in its location in what was once the summer garden of a Manchu Prince, at the base of the Western Hills on the slopes of which cluster so many of the temples and palaces of China's splendid past. Our buildings have kept the exterior of these slowly decaying temples and palaces around us, with their gracefully curving roofs and their gorgeous coloring, but are constructed throughout of reinforced concrete and equipped with modern heating, lighting and other installations. They are thus symbolic of our education which aims to preserve all that has abiding value in China's great cultural heritage while blending with this the best of our own modern achievement and spiritual idealism. China's one great need is a new type of leadership with devotion to the public welfare and technical training. With four thousand years of continuous history, vast natural resources, a virile industrious, peace-loving population of probably not less than 450 millions, and possessing a homogeneous culture, the potentialities of that country thrill the imagination. China's weaknesses on the other hand consist of a social tradition which had not produced a national consciousness nor the political organization necessary in a modern democratic state; the lack of economic development and of proficiency in the deadly scientific equipment of modern warfare. Putting this more constructively, there must be a transfer from the ancient and admirable loyalties to the family or clan, or

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local group to such new loyalties as the institution, the nation, the cause. She needs the application of Science and of modern methods to agriculture, to manufacturing, to social, political and commercial reform. She needs that conception of true greatness which is measured by capacity for ministering to others rather than for being ministered unto, and of responsibility, cooperative effort and joy in faithful performance of a trust which present-day relationships require. China needs improved communications and is planning to skip over the period of railway construction and except for a few trunk lines develop a nation-wide system of automotive transportation. This plan for motorizing transportation illustrates ways in which China may be able to start off with many of the newest inventions and improvements and thus actually be in advance of other countries. Her education also can well profit by the latest results of experiments tested which have previously been ~~out~~ elsewhere. In all these and other phases of national rebuilding under the right sort of leadership America has a superlative opportunity for what President Wilson described "as friendly helpfulness to other peoples." Through timely assistance now in educational, medical, industrial and similar aspects of progressive effort, we can at relatively slight cost to ourselves assist in guiding and in speeding up this process.

More specifically this is the only peaceful and constructive solution to the Manchuria problem. There would seem to be not more than three possible sources from which such a solution can arise.

(1) One of these would be through some form of international conciliation or coercion in relation to Japan. The League of Nations has indeed registered a new era in that after much timid vacillation it finally adopted The Report of its own Commission under Lord Lytton and thus made articulate the moral judgment of mankind against Japan's armed aggression into Chinese territory and the twofold grounds of self-defense and self-determination. If the League had possessed the vision and the courage to do in the first weeks after the Mukden attack what it did last February, I am thoroughly convinced that most of the havoc and destruction wrought by her military leaders could have been averted. But it seems unlikely that The League or any other international group will make further efforts to compel the Japanese armies to withdraw to their treaty positions now that moral pronouncements have failed to influence the policy of that Government.

(2) A second source is from within Japan. Public opinion in Japan has apparently now crystallized into a support of the dominant military faction with something of the frenzy of war psychology. The military party are so completely in control that a change of policy because of political revolution would seem extremely improbable. Nor is a change of policy from economic collapse probable in the immediate future. The economic aspect of this issue turns perhaps upon the ability of the military leaders to convince the business men of Japan that Manchuria is going to prove a productive asset before the mounting costs become so intolerable that they protest against this mad military adventure as many of them are already beginning to do. Certainly the military leaders are as yet a long way from their objective for I can testify that Manchuria is far more disorderly now than it ever was under any Chinese regime.

(3) The only other possible solution would seem to be from within China herself by such internal reforms as have been suggested. If at the same time her people can become convinced that there really is a new and nobler international order, emerging however slowly, based on Reason and Right and really renouncing War as an instrument of national policy she and the rest of the world will be spared the menace of China unified and militarized, an additional unit comprising over one-fifth of mankind determined to recover by scientific engines of destruction what has been taken away from her by the same methods of predatory force. By perfecting peaceful agencies for international decisions in disputes between nations and for making such decisions effective we can help toward the avoidance by China of an excessively nationalistic, militaristic development.

Meanwhile, there are many evidences of progress within China. There is a growing



national self-consciousness and an intelligent interest in public affairs. An Anti-Civil-War League has been organized under the leadership of an influential group. Despite economic distress, communist disorders, Japanese attacks and the worst flood in all human history, the brilliant young Minister of Finance, Mr. T. V. Soong, managed last year to balance the national budget. There are many other less spectacular reform movements which encourage those of us who live in China to feel buoyantly hopeful about the future of that country.

By expressions of sympathy with China in the present conflict against which she is powerless because she lacks modern military equipment, by indications of confidence in the Chinese people to achieve orderly government and steady progress in whatever concerns their national welfare, and by active efforts to assist in this as opportunity offers, we Americans can strengthen the friendly feeling Chinese almost without exception feel toward our country and bind the two nations together in an alliance resting not so much upon official treaties as the sharing of common ideals and aims and intercourse to mutual advantage. This is the surest guarantee to peace and economic prosperity in the Pacific area, and therefore to a large extent in all international relations in the next few decades.

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STATEMENT BY PRESIDENT J. LEIGHTON STUART

April 19, 1933

I hope that what I say will be supported by my colleague from West China, President Dsang. For the first time in the past decade, during which we have been discussing this question of correlation, I feel really encouraged. It has seemed to me from the beginning that if there was going to be any beginning, initiative and insistence must come from this group, i.e., those who control the institutions in the West. The actions taken at this meeting indicate that there is great hope from that source. Frankly, it seems to me that to work out anything like an ideal scheme which is truly comprehensive and avoids needless duplication, we can go a great deal further than we have gone thus far. But there is clear evidence of the determination to go in the right direction; therefore we can all be thoroughly encouraged and cooperative.

From the standpoint of my own institution we have taken the position from the beginning that Yenching was ready for any adjustments in its own program that would be for the good of the whole cause of Christian higher education in China.

Speaking, however, of ideals and impossibilities, may I carry the problem still further afield and bring in a phase of the problem which may seem at first glance out of the range of this conference. That depends on what the real purpose of this body is. Are we simply trying to bring together a little more closely, a little more effectively, a group of institutions that happen to exist already, or are we thinking of the real purpose of Christian education in China and aiming to accomplish that as best we can? Is it simply a matter of certain mechanisms and adjustments and of a more efficiently interrelated organization, or is it something more than that? Value is adaptation to a purpose. The value of our Christian education in China lies in its adaptation to its purpose. What is that purpose? Is it not to furnish to China that type of young men and women who will count most in the life of that country because of the Christian influence without which they cannot be what they otherwise would be? There cannot be any real contribution to China from us that is not thoroughly Christian. Nor can we accomplish our Christian purpose effectively in any really worthwhile sense unless it is of definite and obvious benefit to China. From that standpoint, as well as from my own more narrowly administrative standpoint in connection with Yenching, the middle school situation in China cannot be detached from this question of higher education.

Christian education in China is missing a superlative opportunity for service alike to the Church and to the Nation by not placing a relatively much larger emphasis on middle schools rather than on colleges or universities. The weakening of religious effectiveness in schools is due not to new government restrictions, anti-Christian movements, reduction of missionary finances, or any other causes out of our control, so much as to policies which are largely within our power to rectify.

It may help the argument if we allow ourselves to reconstruct in fancy the situation as we should want it to be. There would be scattered over the country at strategic centres middle schools fewer in number and perhaps often smaller in enrollment but also much better in quality than is at present the case.



Most of these would presumably be on a union basis, and there would no longer be the melancholy spectacle of mediocre denominational schools competing with or at least duplicating one another in the same city. Each school would be sufficiently subsidized to have enough really good teachers and equipment to do excellent academic work, to provide for the physical, social and spiritual welfare of the students, to maintain a restricted enrollment, and thus to develop a well-integrated human product such as could scarcely be expected under conditions obtaining now in many of our schools. Chinese executives and teachers would be encouraged to see in such schools a field for service that would impel the finest personalities deliberately to choose to work in them in preference to the colleges. As it is now we by every test of selection, salary, prestige, support the generally accepted opinions that the most capable persons should be in university positions and only those of inferior attainments should be expected to stay in secondary education. There would be a wide variety of vocational or pre-vocational courses on the ground that many students need not attempt to go on to college. These academies would attract the attention and increasingly win the confidence of that large number of parents all over China who are anxiously seeking for schools to which they can safely entrust their sons and daughters. The Christian name would more and more be the brand of the scholastic and moral excellence and therefore to this pragmatic people the equivalent of essential truth about life, and Religion practised in ways that conflict with no government rules but are eternally effective would make its rightful impress. The teachers would advise each student to go to that one of the very few Christian universities which seemed to meet best his special need, and would have the time and knowledge to write about him to the authorities as well as to keep in constant touch with him. This small number of universities could be sufficiently diversified to offer vocational or professional courses with no needless duplication, and with a large proportion of their students from dynamically Christian academies this bloc of students would form the moral standards and maintain the religious life as in present-day China cannot be achieved except under student initiative and with their intelligent, spontaneous support whatever the administrative control or faculty personnel.

This idealized reconstruction is based on certain assumptions. That character is formed, life purposes given direction, religious beliefs determined, moral and spiritual attitudes developed, in the period of secondary education, and that very few students in any land decide to become Christians after entering college. That the great educational need of China is primary and secondary schools, and that therefore the Christian movement will render a more timely and helpful service to the country by strengthening these and setting standards of how they should be conducted than by repeating the mistakes of government and private education in attempting more universities than resources permit or the demand warrants. That funds for educational missionary work will not be increased -- certainly not in proportion to its mounting costs -- but that even present resources can be used to much better advantage and by that process prepare for winning new sources of support both in China and abroad. That the reasons for continuing denominational or local colleges are at best very slight, that students readily go from any part of the country to any other at small expense, that the heavy overhead and required or basic instructional costs in every college can be eliminated by concentration at a few centres, thus freeing funds for improving the quality of secondary schools, for scholarships for the large number of deserving but impecunious students, and for other obviously useful purposes. That the hope of conducting a campaign in America or

elsewhere for the colleges on some such correlated basis as has been proposed is wholly fatuous, and would tend to aggravate the existing maladjustment if successful, but that a more rational program might be expected to commend itself to prospective donors. That salaries and treatment of officers and teachers in middle schools would be so regulated as to make possible the employment of those most suitable.

A reorganization of Christian education that reduced some universities to academies or preparatory and professional schools and that discontinued or combined some middle schools that others might be improved would have objections. It would derange ecclesiastical and other administrative machinery. It would displace foreign teachers who would not use Chinese acceptably for middle school instruction, or would for other reasons be crowded out. It would cease to give employment to Chinese who depend upon the larger salaries and greater prestige of university positions, or would not be suited for middle school work. College teaching will always be more congenial and is usually more remunerative so that the changes advocated in this paper would involve much personal hardship. There would be protests from alumni and perhaps from some supporting constituencies.

It only remains to suggest some of the benefits. There would be fresh and convincing evidence that Christians can cooperate, in spite of personal or group interests, for the greater good of their common cause and of this nation. Smaller enrollments in secondary schools freed from the harassing dependence on student fees and staffed with enough selected teachers would make possible a personalized attention to individual students such as obtained in the earlier missionary schools with results still bearing fruit. The universities would feel the effects in the coloring of their student bodies with more actively Christian or at least somewhat christianized students. This might even reach the extent of such students giving a distinctive tone to the whole body so that those in secondary schools would seek admission not because of physical equipment or scholastic reputation so much as because of the Christian standards maintained by the students themselves. Others who objected to such standards would stay away despite the lures of material comfort or of academic excellence. Then and only then would the universities be truly and vitally Christian by any process that can survive in the China of the future. There would be economic relief not only for the school administrators but for many a poor student through scholarship funds created out of money released by such comprehensive planning and by further contributions solicited for so worthy a cause. The reductions in staff personnel would result in the retention of the choicest. The noblest spirits could be expected to respond to the challenge of secondary education as a supremely useful opening for service. Old friends abroad and new ones both there and in China would rally to the financial support of an educational program the value of which they could appreciate. The abiding motives and values of the earlier missionary schools would thus be preserved in patterns adapted to modern needs and in a system that could become increasingly Chinese and no less effectively Christian.

(Note:-Acknowledgment is made of the use in the above of material published in the April, 1932 issue of the Educational Review under the title "Mission Policy and Middle Schools" - J.L.S.)



SIANFU, DEC. 15th, 1936.

What happened in Sianfu on December 12th? Most of China and the rest of the world have to depend on outside reports. These describe the rising of Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang and his troops as an isolated act of violence, a piece of political adventurism, devoid of any mass basis and support. Nothing could be further from the truth.

Here is the first full account to come out from Sian to the world. And it presents a picture so completely different from the "official" Nanking version that it deserves the closest attention from all parties in all countries. Whatever the issue of Sian, the facts must be known before any judgment can be made of rights or wrongs, of opportunism or necessity. Here are the facts, for the first time made public.

Everyone knows that there has been a great patriotic, anti-Japanese movement in China during the last year. Everyone has heard by now of the demands that had been made in certain quarters for a policy of active resistance to Japan. With these demands went to call for a popular front, a People's Defense Government to meet a national crisis. What is not known, to the majority of the Chinese themselves, is the attitude of the Chinese Central Government as represented by the Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, to these demands. Without this knowledge, the rising in Sian, and the detention of Chiang Kai-shek by his subordinate officer, can never begin to be understood.

For the last year open, popular movements advocating resistance to foreign aggression and criticizing the policy of the Nanking government have been steadily repressed. Students, professors, writers and well-known professional men who led these movements have been arrested and imprisoned, often without trial. There is overwhelming evidence to show that the domestic record of the Nanking Government in regard to popular patriotic organization has been one of suppression.

But the government always claimed that such movements as these embarrassed the process of "unification of the country", that was going forward, under the leadership of General Chiang Kai-shek, in preparation for ultimate resistance. And with the published reports of the negotiations with the Japanese government at Nanking, hopes were raised in China that the end of the "policy of surrender" was in sight. Japanese mercenaries invading Chinese territory were met with a stout local resistance, and Central Government troops were known to have been sent to reinforce General Fu Tso-yi in Suiyuan.

A wave of popular support for the National Government swept China. It was this new sensation of national consciousness, of concerted action and resistance to a hated enemy, that made it possible for the Chinese people to accept calmly the arrest of six prominent Shanghai citizens whose only crime was that they were leaders of the National Salvation Association, and in the vanguard of the patriotic front that the Government claimed to be leading. And it was while the majority of Chinese were still in this mood of patriotic exaltation that the news from Sianfu broke like a thunderbolt.

It is not surprising that Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang has been denounced in Nanking as a public enemy. Just at the time when the Generalissimo was at last putting into action his long-delayed plans for resistance, he was attacked and detained, and the Central Government defied, by a disgruntled subordinate. This is the story that has been given to the Chinese nation, and to the world; and it is a story - in the absence of reliable news from Sian - that has been believed.

Against this background of the mass-delusion of a nation, the true story of the events in Shensi emerges with startling distinctness. Sianfu is temporarily isolated; Chang Hsueh-liang's demands, the reasons he gives for his precipitate action, are heard in China only through the mouthpiece of a Nanking news agency. If impartial comment is impossible under these circumstances, at least his case should be heard by the outside world.

Here is a plain account of the facts:

The Tungpei, or "Northeastern" Army, commanded by Marshal Chang, has long been a central focus of anti-Japanese sentiment. Dispossessed of their Manchurian homeland, exiles in the Northwest of China, the Tungpei troops and officers, with their general as spokesman, have repeatedly urged on Nanking a policy of national resistance. Detailed for the suppression of the Chinese Red Armies in the northwest, they began some months ago to protest against the continuance of civil war at a time when Japanese aggression was taking one ever more naked and ruthless forms, Marshal Chang made two special trips to Nanking, asking for orders to move his men to the Japanese front. They were tired of civil war, of a war against Chinese, and they joined their voice with that of the patriotic students, of the National Salvation Association, and of the Chinese "Red" armies, calling for a people's front against Japanese imperialism.

These demands found some support, even in Nanking; but they met with only one answer from General Chiang Kai-shek. China could not yet resist Japan, and the chief enemy was Communism.

Chang Hsueh-liang, whose loyalty to the generalissimo had hitherto been complete and unquestioned, found himself torn now between this and his own instinctive loyalty to his men. The announcement of the Fascist Grand Alliance between Germany and Japan raised fresh doubts of the sincerity of the Chinese Government. It was widely felt that Germany would not have committed herself to an open agreement of this nature without private assurances of some kind with Chiang Kai-shek. The Italian recognition of "Manchukuo" posed the same problem. German and Italian experts trained Nanking's army and air-force; all the signs pointed towards an invincible preference for Fascism on the part of the Leader of the Central Government.

Then came another wave of Fascist aggression against the Chinese people, with the invasion of Suiyuan; and later, the armed occupation of Tsingtao. In Suiyuan, the government put a brave face on matters with the tardy despatch of reinforcements. But the fact remained - and remains - that the three divisions of General Chiang took no part in the fighting, but occupied positions to the rear and flank of Fu Tso-yi, in Suiyuan and Shansi. Nanking planes had been ordered to Suiyuan, said the reports; but not a single machine took part in offensive operations. In late October, Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang sent urgent telegrams to Chiang Kai-shek, urging once more a policy of real resistance, and a united front with the Anti-Japanese Red Army. He was met with a flat refusal.

In the first week of November Chiang Kai-shek visited Sian, and the Young Marshal had hopes of persuading him to declare a new policy through personal interviews. But Chiang made a point of insisting in a lecture in the military school of Sianfu, that the Red Army was the real enemy, and the enemy close at hand; the Japanese were a much remoter menace.



This lecture had an immediate response in the open and outspoken criticism of the student-commanders. The next day the attacks were continued in the assembly, and Marshal Chang, out of loyalty to the Generalissimo, dismissed three men from the schools. But at Loyang Chiang repeated the same remarks in a lecture in the military academy, and seemed determined to make no concessions to the general mood of resistance aroused.

General Chiang's departure from the northwest was the signal for a new outburst of activity on the part of the local Blue Shirts in the district. And at this time Marshal Chang made another long and urgent appeal by letter. He reminded General Chiang that he had promised at the last Kuomintang Congress that if the Japanese took one more inch of Chinese territory, he would fight. Chiang had sent three divisions to Suiyuan, but they were not fighting.

"I and all my officers, men and officials, have obeyed you faithfully for years," wrote the Young Marshal, "believing you would guide us against the Japanese. You have not done so. However, the time is not too late. We now demand that you give us the right and opportunity to drive out the Japanese and return to our homeland. In any case, I must tell you that I cannot control my army much longer."

In reply to this ultimatum, General Chiang invited Chang Hsueh-liang to meet him in Loyang. When asked why he had not sent strong forces to Shansi, Chiang answered that he had made this proposal to Yen Hsi-shan, governor of the province; that the latter had objected. That Yen had raised objections was true enough; but Chiang's authority over-ruled Yen's, and the same objections had not been made when 100,000 government troops had been sent to Shansi a year before to oppose the march of the Red Armies. The only real outcome of this interview was that Chiang agreed to come to Sian and meet the Tungpei commanders in person.

So it was that the fateful visit was arranged.

Behind the scenes at Sianfu other events of some importance had been taking place. The Blue Shirts, under the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek's nephew, Chiang Hsiao-hsien, had established secret centres, with wireless communications, throughout the northwest. Terrorist groups called "Special Action Corps," were organized, and from October, as the anti-Japanese movement grew apace, these groups began kidnapping students and workers. Early in October they seized three student delegates from North China who were staying in a hotel in Sianfu, and held them in the Kuomintang headquarters. When the case was reported to him, Marshal Chang telephoned to the Kuomintang office to make inquiries, but was told that nothing was known of the whereabouts of the students.

That night the Young Marshal acted swiftly. He closed all the city gates and surrounded the Kuomintang headquarters with his troops. On a refusal to open from the occupants, the doors were broken down and the students discovered inside, imprisoned. The Blue Shirts were deported from Sian, and Chang wired to the Generalissimo protesting against the incident.

And at this stage, a dramatic diversion occurred when news came of a renewal of the campaign against the Reds. General Hu Chung-nan, with three of the best trained and best-equipped of Chiang's divisions, had begun to advance into Red Army territory. For months a general truce had existed between the Tungpei Army and the Reds, and apprehensive at the continuance of this mutual dislike of civil war, the Generalissimo had ordered some of his most trusted troops into the field.

General Hu advanced steadily for some eighty li into the Red area, and fell into the same trap as many a commander before him in the Kiangsi campaigns. On November 18th, and again on November 21st, he was completely defeated by surprise attacks, and two brigades of his crack first division were surrounded and captured with their full equipment. The government forces beat a hasty retreat, and the new anti-Red drive had made a somewhat inauspicious beginning.

No doubt these events convinced Chiang Kai-shek of the seriousness of the situation. On December 7th, he came to Sianfu to consult the commanders of the Tungpei army, and the commanders of General Yang Hu-cheng, who had just been in conference and had voted for the right to fight against the Japanese at once.

Chiang himself, with his secretary Chen Ta-chen, his nephew, Chiang Hsiao-hsien, and a heavy personal bodyguard, took up their quarters in the special hotel-temple at Lintung, some twelve miles from Sian, northwest of the city. An imposing retinue of generals put up at the Sian Guest House in Sian. Here there were also General Ma Chan-shan, famous for his activities in the north, and Yu Hsueh-chung, an anti-Japanese commander who had been transferred from Tientsin to Kansu by Chiang Kai-shek, on the demand of the Japanese. There were the only supporters of Chang Hsueh-liang in the guest-house.

The Tungpei and Yang Hu-cheng commanders had expected a general conference, in which they might discuss the Japanese situation with Chiang's staff; but the Generalissimo insisted on seeing them only one at a time, keeping the others waiting outside. Even these tactics could not destroy the unity of their demands, which may be well summed up in the words of one representative:

"Your word we must obey, Generalissimo, and we have done so up to today. But we refuse to fight our own people any longer. We wish to return to our native homeland, which calls us and needs us." To one and all Chiang Kai-shek replied: "You have only one duty before you - to destroy the Reds."

The interviews were not a success.

Existing tension was increased by the events of the next day, December 9th, in Sian. This was the anniversary of the new student movement that began last year, in resistance to the Japanese so-called Autonomous movement in the north. Thousands of students marched through the streets of Sian in silent massed formation, with slogans demanding that armies be sent to the defense of Suiyuan and Shantung.

General Chiang ordered Hsiao Li-tze, civil governor of Shensi and controller of the police force, to break up the demonstration, and not allow the students to march out to Lintung to his residence. And so, as the procession marched towards Lintung, the police fired, seriously wounding two schoolboys of twelve and thirteen years of age. The incident at once brought Marshal Chang and other leaders to Lintung in angry protest.

Another immediate issue was the question of the seven National Salvation Association leaders, six of whom were being held in prison in Shanghai. Chang Hsueh-liang and the Sian people demanded their release, in common with other student demonstrations all over the country. Chiang refused pointblank to consider their release; and stated finally, in the most definite terms, that he was entirely opposed to a People's Front. Here was another impasse.



By December 11th a very serious and critical situation had developed in Sian. The crisis was precipitated by further activities on the part of the Blue Shirts, who had been secretly armed, and were preparing for a violent coup. Chiang Kai-shek was known to have approved a blacklist for immediate arrest, and counter-measures of some sort were bound to be provoked.

On the night of the 11th there was held a conference of all the commanders of the Tungpei army, and of Yang Hu-cheng. The decision taken then was only an anticipation of action their men would have taken perhaps, without them.

The coup was swiftly planned, and as swiftly executed. At 6 a.m. next morning, December 12th, Chiang Kai-shek's headquarters at Lintung was surrounded. The first man captured was General Chiang's nephew, Chiang Hsiao-hsien, leader of the Blue Shirt gendarmorie. When the soldiers learnt who he was, they stood him up and shot him dead on the spot.

Chiang Kai-shek escaped in his night-shirt, accompanied by one member of his bodyguard. But the guard went only a short distance, and on second thought turned back and told the Tungpei men where Chiang was. The Generalissimo was captured with his entire staff.

In Sianfu, the Sian Guest-house was occupied by Yang Hu-cheng's troops, and none of Chiang's men escaped. Hsiao Li-tze, who had ordered the firing on the students, was captured with most of his officials. The Bureaus of Public Safety under his control were all occupied and their chiefs taken prisoner.

The Blue Shirt centres were rapidly invested, and captured with their staffs and many documents. One of Chiang's aeroplanes, landing to investigate, was captured immediately, and added to the main squadron of Government bombers that had already changed hands.

At the same time, similar action was taking place in Kansu. The Tungpei troops attacked Hu Chung-nan, capturing an entire brigade outright in Lanchow. With the Chinese Anti-Japanese Red Army there was open fraternisation on the part of the Tungpei troops. Martial law was proclaimed in Sianfu for one day only; after which shops were opened and life went on as before.

In Sianfu a new administration was set up. Here are the eight points of the new government, as outlined in the first proclamation:

1. Reorganization of the Nanking Government to include all anti-Japanese representatives from all parties, groups and organizations throughout the country.
2. Stop all civil war.
3. Immediate release of National Salvation Association leaders in Shanghai.
4. Release of all political prisoners throughout the whole country.
5. Remove all laws and restrictions upon the patriotic movement.
6. Protection of civil rights of the people - free speech, press and assembly. Full political freedom.

7. The immediate realization of the last will and testament of Sun Yat-sen, which calls for an alliance between China and all countries that believe in its freedom and independence.
8. The immediate convocation of a National Salvation Congress.

With this proclamation appeared many other manifestoes guaranteeing all civil rights to the people. Mass demonstrations were held in the streets, with thousands of students, workers soldiers and officers gathering in great meetings. Many children joined the parades.

The provisional government also issued a long project of the People's Anti-Japanese National Salvation and for the establishment of a People's United Front. On December 14th, a United Chinese Anti-Japanese Military Affairs Council was organized, including all military leaders on a collective basis. Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang has sincerely demonstrated that he desires no personal leadership or control. In this Council, the anti-Japanese Red Army will also be represented, and the intention is to draw into it all armies willing to fight the Japanese.

Marshal Chang has broadcast daily from Sianfu, outlining the new revolutionary anti-Japanese program. On December 15th he gave the whole long story of his efforts to induce Chiang Kai-shek to fight the Japanese. These broadcasts, if they could only reach the whole nation, would make clear enough to all the struggle that has been going on for at least a year between the two leaders. The essential point is, of course, that Marshal Chang continually obeyed the orders of the Generalissimo until he was threatened by the united action of his entire army. This is the mass basis of a movement that has been so widely described as the wanton action of a discontented individual.

Nanking aeroplanes have flown in formation over Sian, coming almost down to the roof-tops. But the new administration has declared against civil war and it will never fire the first shot against a Chinese army.

General Chiang Kai-shek and the other prisoners have been treated with the greatest care and courtesy - a fact which has not been denied even by the most hostile critics of Chang Hsueh-liang. Arrangements are on foot for the convocation of a National Salvation Congress, to be held in Sian. The response of other leaders is now anxiously awaited. Meantime anti-aircraft guns bristle from the city, and soldiers patrol the walls. Peace or war rests with Nanking. - the Northwest will not fire the first shot. Such is the situation down to the evening of December 15th.

This account of facts that have been deliberately suppressed by the enemies of Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang should throw some light on a situation that has baffled the world, and drawn the bitterest accusations and condemnations from all - even the most unsuspected-quarters. Both Left and Right have been only too eager to judge in advance, and to condemn, a movement that has an undeniable popular basis in the deepest aspirations of all classes. This hostile attitude, especially on the part of those who must - if they are better informed - sympathise with a popular movement that can only be compared with similar movements in Western countries for united front against Fascist aggression, is inexplicable and utterly unjustified.



Stuart

1937

General Chiang Kai-shek - An Appreciation

This little sketch is in no sense authorized or official. Still less is it written with propagandist purpose or from any preconceived or partisan point-of-view. For all I know the descriptions appearing in print of General Chiang's manner of life and his summary treatment of political enemies up to ten years ago may all be true. If so, there is the greater credit to him because of the changes since then for the better. But from the time of his emergence into national importance in 1926-7 I have followed his career with the interest of one who had become intensely concerned over the fate of China and was not unfamiliar with the prevailing characteristics of the war-lords who for the past two decades have been struggling among themselves for power and pelf regardless of democratic principles or the people's rights. These men inherited the mandarin theory of public office for personal gain with neither the imperial sanctions nor the old scholarly tradition to restrain their rapacity and irresponsible rule. Would the new Kuomintang leaders under the ideology of Dr. Sun's Three Principles merely reproduce the age-long vices of Chinese officialdom? That many of them have is common knowledge and that many more have exploited the situation more or less to their own advantage is unpleasantly apparent. Feng Yu-hsiang told me a few months after taking office as Minister of War in 1927 that he intended to give the new regime a sufficient trial, but before long he left in disgust and published a scathing arraignment of the luxury, incompetence, nepotism and worse in a volume of memoirs entitled In Nanking. These were - it may be said in their defense - the inducements to selfish ambition or

greed from the ingrained habits of centuries and incessant pressure from followers and friends. It is against this background that the character of General Chiang should be studied. Much of the criticism against him is doubtless because of what is taken for granted of one in his position. He intends to make himself a dictator. He has amassed a fortune which has been largely transformed into American securities for safe keeping. He has made a secret agreement with Japan or is at least too intent upon holding power to risk this in resisting aggression from that source. He has a hopelessly mediaeval mind. These and other assertions have been in constant circulation often with more specific charges. There has also been much genuine misgiving or suspicion or simply lack of confidence. Nor is any of this surprising. What is surprising is his steadily growing popularity. That he has stayed continuously in one or both of the highest active offices in the National Government could be accounted for by political astuteness. But the esteem in which he is held is primarily on moral grounds. This phenomenon is the more suggestive because no other people have been trained as have the Chinese to look for ethical qualities in their rulers, nor perhaps have any developed a more sophisticated disillusionment in this respect. His fiftieth birthday, the end of last October, was the occasion for a nation-wide and spontaneous celebration unprecedented in China's long history. Even more convincing was the almost universal anxiety during his detention in Sian and the wild exuberance of the relief and joy on the news of his release. It is also significant that the localities where he appears most frequently or which are closest to his various headquarters are the



most loyal and that this is even more true of his former students in the Whangpo Military Academy and all those persons whose duties bring them into intimate and constant contact with him.

The explanation does not lie in the magnetic charm or social graces of a winning personality. Even with his associates he is taciturn, preoccupied with affairs, lacking in capacity for "small-talk". He has the innate affability and courtesy of a Chinese gentleman but is business-like enough to satisfy American requirements and can be very curt or severely frank on occasion. On the whole the steadily increasing popular respect for him must be accounted for on other grounds. Consummate skill in dealing with people of widely diverse types, highly trained intelligence, capacity for quick and shrewd decision, forcefulness and courage, indefatigable energy, are among the qualities that have made him a great soldier and sagacious executive, and have given him a natural preeminence in the counsels of his party. But there is something more in the attitude of his people than respect for the one holding his high office or performing efficiently his functions. It would seem that cynical distrust and easily understandable skepticism have been slowly dissipated by the recognition of his genuinely patriotic purpose and unswerving devotion to the national welfare. Conversely, the suspicion of his motives or opposition to his authority or dislike amounting often to hatred which still abound are due to lack of conviction as to his patriotism and nobility of character. Except where such influences as jealousy or personal grievances enter in it may therefore be reasonably assumed that better understanding will reduce the number of these detractors or opponents.

Assuming then that General Chiang is worthy of the esteem in which he is now held by so great a majority of his countrymen and by many competent foreign observers, what are the influences which have molded his character? The earliest perhaps was the political idealism of Dr. Sun Yat-sen and the intimacy which developed between him and this highly-gifted young disciple. His acceptance of his leader's revolutionary philosophy and the demands it imposed seem to have been genuine. To a marked degree he was helped by the saintly mother of his present wife who has herself been a potent factor in his broadening outlook and deepening moral emphasis ever since their marriage. The staggering size and perplexity of his task, with its almost insuperable difficulties and their kaleidoscopic variety, have perhaps served to no slight extent to awaken a sober consciousness of responsibility. This may have been accentuated by the note of urgency in a time of national crisis. Every one who works for China's betterment has a heartening sense of the improbability in existing conditions, and the response to his efforts must have given him a zest which grows with enlarging experience.

General Chiang has been a Christian for some ten years, very unobtrusively but living up to the principles and practise of this faith as he learned <sup>of it</sup> more clearly. He knew not much about Christianity at the outset and yet in the midst of strenuous activities and harassing anxieties he has found the time for and developed the habit of personal religious culture to the point where it has become a conscious source of guidance, inspiration and moral strength. The writer, as himself a Christian, cannot but believe that the observance of the teachings and dependence upon the spiritual



resources of this faith does have a transforming effect on character, and since General Chiang himself in public statements regarding his Sian experience attributes much of his present attitude and behavior to what he has learned from the teaching and example of Jesus, it would seem quite rational to recognize the working in him of cause and effect.

It may be permissible to add a word in conclusion to the effect that the writer's personal contacts with General Chiang have led him through the same stages of opinion as the people of the country have been described as reaching, resulting in an unquestioning confidence in the transparent sincerity of his patriotic purpose and in the stern purity of his personal life, an admiration tinged increasingly with affection, and a clear conviction that China is extremely fortunate to have one with his character and capacity actively leading the nation in this supremely critical period of its rebirth and rebuilding.

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The Problem of China as I see it

By  
John L. Stuart

University Assembly, Feb. 16, '37

I feel very reluctant to talk to you about the present outlook in China. - you who understand it so much better than do I, but my point of view is the bearing of conditions in China upon the policies of Yenching University, upon our inner life here, our conception of education. If education is concerned with the development of the whole personality, if we want Yenching really to be a place where students are trained for serving their country, for contributing to the national welfare, then present conditions in China have a very practical consequence for our educational program and academic standards and campus life. It is from that standpoint that I am always trying to learn something about what is happening in China. This is a Christian university. What do we mean by that? One meaning that we can all agree upon is that those who are Christians are those who have made possible the building and maintenance of this university and for that reason want our students to serve their nation and especially their less fortunate fellow-countrymen, in all sorts of progressive and constructive developments, that make for the welfare of the masses of the people of China. Many of us believe that Christian faith can give a measure of courage, faith, hope, and a high purpose and a steadfast determination that makes this kind of service more joyous and efficient, and we try to provide every favoring influence for your study of this faith; but we want all of our students

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to have some philosophy of life, and if you can while at Yen-ching develop each for himself a philosophy of life that leads you into the highest form of service for your fellow men, we are accomplishing our purpose. If we fail, <sup>in this</sup> then we fail, whatever else we may succeed in doing. It is from that standpoint that I want to talk very simply, especially about the changed outlook in China during 1937. I rather believe that history in the future will speak of 1936 as a turning point in Chinese history. That there had been steady going downward in at least internal politics and in fear of foreign aggression is true, and in 1936 it began to go up. What was the change? The change took place in the strengthening of the national consciousness to the point of being able to make itself articulate, able to express itself. Very apparent last spring the settlement of the Hsinan issue was a great triumph of public opinion that there must not be civil war in China, because China has a great foreign danger, and although the leaders on both sides deserve great credit for patience and patriotism, with which they finally settled that issue, yet the new influence in the settlement that was very powerful was the pressure of public opinion, and that became more apparent in the celebration of Gen. Chiang's 50th birthday, a spontaneous outburst of popular celebration, showing again the response of the people to the sort of leadership for which they had been hoping. And even more in the Sian affair and in the interest that the whole nation took, the anxiety and finally the joy in the release of Gen. Chiang again indicate a new public consciousness, a concern over national

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issues. We might contrast that with the beginnings in 1919 when students alone took an active part in trying to serve the country, the student outbreak that was the beginning which has reached its full achievement in its widespread public interest in national welfare. I have always had faith that China would not be destroyed by any other country, but from now on it is not so much a matter of faith as of fact already achieved. This can be illustrated by the changing political philosophy within Japan. Japanese policy has been guided by a certain political philosophy regarding China that China would always be disorganized, always be controlled by selfish, greedy officials struggling among themselves for power and wealth. That the people simply wanted to be well governed and that Japan by controlling the country could give better government, economic prosperity, etc. Therefore the problem of the Japanese government was to eliminate these corrupt and useless officials, and they have been doing that for years by intrigue and intimidation, buying with money and ~~strengthening~~<sup>frightening</sup> with military threats. It has been very noticeable how the political philosophy of Japan is changing. How they are beginning to realize that their whole strategy is no longer practicable. They realize that now China is really unified, and actively determined not to permit any more foreign aggression, loss of territory, interference with Chinese internal government.

Japan is not yet adjusted to this new situation yet. And I am perfectly certain that a really unified China has nothing to fear from Japan. The central government under Gen. Chiang's

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leadership is determined to protect North China. We can be confident that Gov. Han, Gen. Sung, and Gen. Yen Hsi-shan and Gen. Chiang are working together. Gen. Chiang has assured Gen. Sung that any time he feels it necessary to resist military aggression, Chiang will back him up with all the resources of the national government. I think that means there will be no military aggression in North China. If there is, there will be resistance. In so far as we on this campus have been afraid that the central gov't would allow North China to be invaded because it felt itself too weak, that period seems to me to have passed. And if so, that has a practical bearing on what are the forms in which our faculty and students can from now on contribute to national progress.

China is very fortunate in the present leadership and the Chinese can be proud of the man who more than anyone stands out as the national leader. Gen. Chiang compares very favorably with any of the outstanding figures in the world today. He has developed a great deal in his own character, whatever he may have been or done in the past. Gen. Chiang of today and of the future, is a man to be proud of and to support and help influence toward the high ideals to which he is coming to make his aims in life. A few concrete instances. It would have been very easy for him to have formed some understanding with Japan to his own benefit, but the bitter hatred for the Japanese is the best evidence of how he feels. He could have made himself a popular idol by spectacular resistance against Japan. He has allowed himself to be misunderstood and under suspicion,

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while steadily preparing military strength and endeavoring in other ways to make the nation strong enough so that when the time came to resist if necessary, it would be more effective. That is a great tribute to his intelligence and to his character. He knew he was in danger to go to Sian - knew the troops were getting out of control - he did not expect what happened. He could have left on the Wednesday after his seizure, if he had agreed to the conditions. The central gov't had ordered a punitive expedition, and he would have been killed by the bombing planes or the angered troops. He expected to die, but would not compromise the national authority. Mr. Donald had to persuade him he could do more by living than by dying. It took a great deal of courage. He was injured in escaping when he was seized. Could be cured by staying in bed 4 or 5 weeks, but will not take time when there is so much else to be done. We can admire all these qualities of leadership. J

In Nanking are two groups: (1) Those who believe in the strong central gov't to suppress communistic forces - conciliation with Japan. Those people are quite sincere in believing that there is more to be gained by cooperation with Japan than by resistance. (2) Others who believe in liberal gov't in permitting other <sup>political</sup> parties to be established, and hasten the establishment of constitutional gov't. There are all sorts of minor differences among them, but those two tendencies are showing themselves in China as in most other countries in the world today. Chiang is in a very difficult position in trying to avoid a breach between those two groups. Sian was really just

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a symptom of this developing difference in point of view. The hope of the situation seems to me to lie in the gov't leadership responding to what the people wanted, and what the people want is very clear. No civil war, resistance against foreign aggression, freedom of the press, liberal political policies, and practical attention to the people's livelihood. - some form of active efforts to improve the welfare of the common people. The appeal of communism seems to have a definite technique, a determined program for this betterment of the livelihood of the people. There is no real communism in the world today. Russia is not communistic, it is state socialism as a stage toward communism at some future time. There are very few Chinese who are communists first and Chinese afterwards. They are Chinese first, and communists afterwards, land tenure, taxation, improvement of public health, rural education.

The place of intellectuals in this program is in doing the thinking for the nation. Discovering what needs to be done, abandoning what no longer needs to be emphasized, and making perfectly clear what the people want, and supporting the leaders who are the people's servants in these reforms. The best thing that can be done for Gen. Chiang is to help to understand that he is the people's choice in so far as he will carry out what the people wish in these respects. That will help him in his own inner development and in his own political difficulties. Just as a unified China has nothing to fear from Japan, so the leader will have no fear from other politicians, if the people make clear what it is that they look to their

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vast population and great resources, history, if it will only become unified and use its strength for its own development. The officers of this year's Student Self-Government are the best we have had for many years, and I have sympathized with the things they have tried to do, and the spirit they have shown. They were right in putting emphasis on Suiyuan resistance. When the new election comes next month cannot we begin our own progressive activity by electing the officers whom the whole student body want, and who will serve the student body and with the student body, either through the one party organization, or at least through opposition groups make clear what the whole student body expects of its officers, and protest if those policies are not carried out. Democratic gov't which we have here will only be successful when there is a strong opposition to those in power. When there is an organized process for making clear those in which they are carrying out public will, and those in which they are not. All sorts of relationships to be improved here, faculty-student, etc. those things that are constructive and creative in the awakening of our inner life in the strengthening of our new consciousness. We need not be discouraged, but hopeful - in all such ways carrying out our motto and realizing that the things China needs most of all now are freedom in politics, of the press, from foreign aggression, internal life. Truth, knowledge of all kinds applied to human needs, about the country, about natural science, about social reforms. - knowledge with which to fight 5 enemies of China. And service, in being able to serve others, not being

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served. Let us remember the saying of Jesus which has gone into our motto, that greatness is to be measured not by the amount of service one can command from others; and one of the fine passages in the teachings of Lao Tze, which might be translated as follows: "Production, but not possession; activity, but not aggression; development, but not domination."

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Memorandum regarding a possible form for the proposed  
integration of the Union Christian Universities and College in China

It having been suggested that those being called upon to consider this matter may desire more concrete details I venture to outline what would seem to me to be the most probable and practicable procedure. The controlling bodies located in North America and Great Britain would effect a reorganization into a single Board of Trustees (or preferably Founders) sufficiently representative of the various constituent elements but no larger than necessary for this purpose. To this Board would be committed in trust the endowment funds and similar holdings of the existing boards to be administered according to conditions mutually agreed upon in the transfer. It would also solicit and receive grants in money or in personnel from mission boards and similar agencies precisely as is true now of the separate institutional boards. It would have full authority to distribute at its discretion funds held or received, subject only to designated uses agreed to in their acceptance. This would apply equally to new funds secured after the reorganization had been effected.

This Board having been duly constituted would presumably adopt suitable measures for recommending such readjustments among the institutions concerned as would seem to accomplish the objectives sought, and would be able to withhold funds in its control from any institutions refusing to comply with its requirements. Each institution would on the other hand have complete freedom to conduct its own affairs as its controlling body in China and administrative officers desired in so far as they felt justified in repudiating such authority and financial support. The Board in the West would thus become in effect a Foundation dispensing the funds it possessed or might obtain according to its knowledge and opinion of the work being done in the various units, while their autonomous rights and their relationships to the Chinese Government and to their local constituencies would be preserved intact.

It would not seem to me expedient to attempt in China a unified or centralized administrative control of institutions so widely scattered and with their established traditions and policies. This would apply also to names except in so far as these would be naturally affected by alterations in scope. Whether the western body would maintain one or more resident representatives in China or send frequent delegations would perhaps be determined by experience but the importance of close and constant contact needs no argument.

An association similar to the Council of Christian Higher Education, composed of official representatives of the units included, would be able to maintain many forms of desirable interchange, standardization, cooperative activities etc., and might well be the agency through which the western body would function most satisfactorily.

J.L.S.

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ly facilitate the process at each stage of its development.

The contention of the Yenching Faculty has been set forth in previous communications and in many meetings of the Council of Christian Higher Education. It may, however, be briefly summarized again as follows. These institutions were in general established when geographical, denominational, educational and other considerations were very different from those that now obtain. Most of these have since become irrelevant. In the meantime educational standards are constantly rising and the potential resources and other advantages of non-Christian schools may cause ours to suffer in comparison. Economic trends in the West, as well as profound psychological changes, will make it increasingly difficult to secure funds from such sources in amounts at all adequate to the mounting costs. The waste in needless duplication and the often mediocre quality of our academic work or physical equipment could be largely improved and the benefits to our students and the nation be proportionately increased by securing greater concentration and vocational specialization. Until this has been accomplished any joint financial efforts in America or elsewhere are morally indefensible and are doomed - as has been for most of us the actual experience thus far - to expensive and unproductive outlay. If there is any substantial aid to be expected from Foundations it will most probably be only *by* some further reduction and consolidation. Any gain to our common cause inevitably demands local or personal adjustments and perhaps sacrifice. If after careful deliberation those responsible for our institutions prefer to maintain them essentially as they are, let us frankly recognize this and discontinue the pretence of a correlated program in presenting our needs to the American public. We can then continue to maintain an association of independent institutions with a common origin and purpose, and with friendly cooperation.

In addition to all these oft-repeated arguments, the experience of the past fifteen years would seem to indicate that little will be accomplished by further conference of autonomous units, but that progress will be made when we relinquish all our separate institutional rights or claims in an absolute yielding up of all that we have or are to a more inclusive whole that will then proceed so to reorganize itself as to secure the most economical and efficient use of common possessions. The Board of Trustees and the Faculty of Yenching University are in complete harmony in our readiness to follow this course. We recognize that there are many concrete problems and inherent difficulties, but we also believe it to be the most truly Christian solution of this issue.

I am sending Dr. S. H. Cressy a copy of this letter and suggest that each of you correspond with him on this matter and that in the light of your replies he take whatever measures may seem to him advisable for attaining our objective.

But I should hope that whether through correspondence or by the calling of a conference each of you would be able to express a definite approval or disapproval of this proposal.

Very sincerely yours,

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The Outlook for Progress in China

Henry Drummond, when returning from Africa in 1890 by way of Eastern Asia, wrote in his diary "China is an instance of arrested development. On the fair way to become a vertebrate, it has stopped short at the crustacean. The capacity for change is almost non-existent, and there is a powerful religion already in possession". This was the equivalent in scientific terms of Tennyson's famous line, "Better fifty years of Europe than a cycle of Cathay". And indeed until much more recent times China has seemed static, tenacious of her age-long cultural patterns, doomed to be altered if at all only through political domination from without or by inward disintegration.

Meanwhile upon this arrogantly complacent civilization new influences had been insistently forcing themselves and producing a ferment, the effects of which long remained unpredictable. Chief among these at the outset were those incarnated by merchants and missionaries who differing radically as to motives were usually classed together by the Chinese and had more in common as to methods, objectives and underlying assumptions than either group would have readily admitted. Other factors naturally followed. Young men went abroad for study as their seniors did for observation or on diplomatic missions. Magazines and in time books spread new ideas and information among the educated. The literary revolution which began over twenty years ago has immensely enlarged the numbers of the reading public and has provided a vehicle far more flexible, accurate and simple than the old classical style of composition. It is analogous to the transformations of the Renaissance when men ceased to publish only in Latin and Greek but used the despised medium of common speech from which have come the great literatures of western Europe.

Other developments were less beneficent. The overthrow of the effete Manchu Court also shattered the only administrative structure which the country understood with nothing to take its place but democratic ideals vaguely conceived and made concrete through strangely foreign terms and procedures borrowed largely from American institutions. It was inevitable that with the destruction of the imperial system there should be struggle for political power resulting in civil wars and that the winners would exploit the opportunity for their own enrichment. The road to fame and fortune in China has always been through government office and with the removal of the old sanctions there was nothing to restrain the rapacity of successful aspirants except the threat of rival groups. All this was vastly aggravated by the ancient loyalties which made it a duty for these chieftains to provide not only for their own relatives but for their followings and the families of these followings. The claims of the State or of the public seemed very tenuous in contrast. Political dissension has been still further accentuated by two of the most unlovely and prevalent Chinese characteristics, their mutual rivalries and suspicions. The otherwise meaningless and cruelly disastrous internecine warfare of the first quarter of a century of republican China is therefore at least understandable. Out of it have grown two clearly definable results. One is the tendency toward radical or "leftist" convictions among the more idealistic intellectuals, especially the students. Disillusioned by the inconsequential reforms from which they had hoped so much, they concluded

that only a smashing, slaughtering revolution of the Russian type would sweep away the entrenched evils sufficiently to permit a fresh start that held out any hope. The other result was the attempt of the lieutenants of Sun Yat-sen after his death to recover the lost achievements of his revolutionary purpose by a military expedition which starting from Canton would unify the country under a real "People's Government". Now, with the completion of the first decade of their rule they have through many vicissitudes attained a larger measure of political unity, of popular confidence and of administrative improvement than at any previous time since the Revolution of 1911.

Material progress has been amazingly rapid. This is most striking in methods of travel. As a boy in Hangchow I recall how my parents, on making a trip to Shanghai, a hundred and forty miles away, left after one Sunday in the hope that they would arrive before the following one. They travelled on a native boat, orwed or towed through winding canals, helped occasionally by a favoring wind. In the early years of this century a steam-launch would tow a train of such boats making the trip in about twenty-four hours. The journey now takes slightly over four hours on a railway built and operated entirely by Chinese and with every convenience of western travel. Trunk lines of railway, motor roads and busses, are extending over the whole country and bringing into easy access places that hitherto have been further away from the coast in time than the cities of Europe or America. Military aviation has made it possible in recent years for General Chiang Kai-shek and other government officials to make spectacular flights in all directions with incalculable administrative benefits, and commercial lines are carrying passengers safely and speedily between practically all the important centres. The radio is beginning to be utilized sufficiently to make its extension a matter of easy assurance. Clothes furnish another index of change. Some years ago the degree of modernity in a wedding could be appraised by the hue of pink in the bride's dress, instead of the deep crimson of immemorial custom. Now in the big cities she wears pure white despite the fact that this has been the symbol of mourning, and therefore seems to conservative people to be a dreadful portent of impending death. On any college campus boys can be seen wearing suits that would be fashionable even on an American campus, mingling with other boys in old-fashioned blue-gowns and cloth-shoes. So as to foods, cold drinks and ice-cream, once thought to be damaging to digestion, are increasingly popular among all classes, and tomatoes or strawberries as much sought after as among us, although in each case an acquired taste. Illustrations of change in the use of modern mechanical inventions can be indefinitely repeated, but in general it is reasonable to assume that these will win their way among this people as elsewhere, because of broadly human considerations of economy or enjoyment. It is really a process of modernization -- as it has been with us -- rather than of westernization, and has no significance in its bearing on the permanence or distinctive values of Chinese culture. In the externals of life the whole world is becoming rather uniformly standardized. In the case of China the fundamental question is as to whether these material and mechanical changes are improving the livelihood of the masses. Thus far the evidence is rather the other way. Innovations and foreign contacts have tended to break down the rural economy to an extent which becomes alarming when it is realized that this affects the welfare of some eighty-five percent of the population.



What is thrillingly significant, however, has been the dynamic changes in ideas. It is because of these that one can attempt to evaluate the progress thus far in other respects and to forecast the probable trends in the future.

The most far-reaching spiritual change has been the national self-consciousness which has superseded the lesser loyalties and is transforming this vast amorphous, invertebrate mass into a functioning organism at once with a national structure and a national soul. China has always been culturally a single homogeneous entity; it is fast becoming so politically. It was the lack of cohesion and of patriotic obligation, the ignorance of national issues and the indifference to all but personal or clan or local interests, which in the past led to imperialistic designs by western countries, and more recently has tempted Japanese predatory ambitions. The surest protection against this menace is therefore national solidarity, both in a centralized political control and in spontaneous support of the government. Against this moral will of a unified people even the Japanese militarists apparently hesitate to continue their encroachments by armed force. It is for reasons such as these that Chinese nationalism can be properly encouraged as the only guarantee against war in Eastern Asia. Whatever may be feared from the blighting nationalisms in other countries the awakening in China ought to be in accord with the finest international ideals.

Among the expressions of the new national spirit are a sense of public responsibility, the enforcement of regulations controlling the behavior of government employees, budgeting for and auditing public funds, and a concern over ameliorating the livelihood of the masses. These must be thought of in contrast with the traditional habits and attitudes of Chinese mandarins to appreciate the full measure of the advance.

Another spiritual change has been the acceptance of the scientific method and its application to all phases of life. The Chinese people have discovered empirically many practical remedies or natural laws, but their explanations of cause and effect are often absurdly unscientific. This has colored their whole philosophy of life and is undoubtedly one of the reasons for the long stagnation in a culture which in its earlier flowering out supplied so many of the discoveries upon which modern civilization rests. This defect is being corrected now by the emphasis in all schools both upon the scientific attitude and upon its application to every phase of economic reconstruction.

A third idea which has been of transforming potency is the distinctively Christian one that true greatness is measured by its capacity for service. Greatness in the past had been shown in truly oriental fashion by ability to command the service of others. But the new concept has gripped the idealism of the finest youth and has been coined into striking phrases everywhere current. That this often goes no further than mere lip service detracts nothing from the sincerity with which it is generally admired and increasingly adopted as a rule of life. The same is almost equally true of such other Christian ideas as

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sacrifice, love, world brotherhood, etc., though these are less novel to Chinese thought. The spirit and character of Jesus and the expression of these in educational and other humanitarian activities have been a generating source of moral inspiration far beyond the little groups of professing Christians. The New Life Movement is predominantly Christian in its origin, but its promoters have wisely guarded against controversial or propagandist issues by avoiding religious terminology.

With the rich natural resources of China and the physical virility of this ancient stock, it can be hopefully assumed that as such, creative impulses quicken the springs of action, the latent strength of the Chinese people will again assert itself, there will be a renewal of the pragmatic application of knowledge to conscious needs, and that the emphasis of their own great sages upon moral behavior, brought into harmony with modern scientific and religious truth, will guide leaders and populace alike toward the endeavor for peaceful progress in forms that not only achieve their national salvation, but will make a not unworthy contribution toward better international good will. Once apparently changeless, more recently in chaotic flux, granted protection from Japanese interference the process of renewal on sane and stable lines seems to be firmly established.

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Sawada

Japanese Propaganda in the Mirror of Events

In attempting to justify their invasion of China the Japanese have used a variety of explanations most of which can be roughly grouped under the following three headings. There has now been ample opportunity to test their sincerity or reality by the record of actual happenings.

- I. Their Divine Mission to the Other Peoples of Asia. This form of propaganda is intended chiefly for home consumption. According to it, not only the Emperor is descended from the Sun Goddess but the whole nation, and especially the army, share somewhat in this semi-divine origin. This gives them a racial superiority and a sacred mission to spread their culture. They must liberate oppressed peoples like the Chinese from their corrupt and incompetent officials or from western exploitation and bring to them the beneficent effects of Japanese rule. Only thus can peace be brought to Eastern Asia. The army is not at war with the people of China for whom it has only the most altruistic intentions, but with their wicked government which must be duly punished and overthrown in order that the people may have the blessings that will follow. ~~As~~ seven months have now elapsed since the Japanese began their unprovoked invasion. Wherever their armies have gone they have left a trail of utter devastation and disorder. Civilians have been slaughtered or bombed from the air with callous indifference or deliberate frightfulness to an extent that remains worse than will perhaps ever be known because of the relentless censorship of news. The best authenticated facts are in the Shanghai-Nanking area where at least 300,000 civilians are estimated to have been killed during the advance of the Japanese forces. In Nanking the orgy of the slaughtering of soldiers who had voluntarily disarmed after having been promised protection and of civilians, of raping of women from little girls to those over fifty years of age, of looting, burning and other vandalism, has no parallel within modern times in its bestial savagery. Owing to the presence in that city of press correspondents and other foreigners there has been a measure of publicity given to the uncontrolled brutality of the Japanese troops through several weeks following their entry, yet essentially the same disorders have occurred wherever else they have gone with the single exception of the Peking-Tientsin area and of Tsingtao. Even in the two northern cities there is a constant non-violent rackets-teering under the menace of the ruthless force which is brought to bear upon the slightest provocation. ~~As~~ elsewhere throughout that province, in Shansi, Inner Mongolia, and in the Yangtse valley, eyewitnesses report similar killing of civilians, raping, looting, burning, but because of fear of reprisals they dare not let their names be used. Many of the officers are meanwhile grafting as rapaciously as any of the Chinese mandarins from whom they claim to be saving the people. The regions around the foreign settlements at Shanghai are divided into sectors, and foreign merchants have already discovered that in order to secure the movement of goods or other privileges essential to the restoration of trade, all that is necessary is to find the right Japanese entrepreneur

who will then negotiate with the General concerned and divide with him the "squeeze" agreed upon. Similar practises seem to be rife among all ranks of the army. As always under Japanese military occupation the sale of opium derivatives is pushed, with the active protection of officers who unquestionably share in the profits. The Holy War for which the Japanese are being asked to sacrifice so much turns out to be a tawdrily tarnished spectacle revealing the basest of human passions and of sordidly selfish motives.

II. The Preservation of Eastern Asiatic Culture. This is also partially to impress the home constituency but chiefly perhaps for the elderly Chinese who feel disgruntled over the handicaps they suffer from their own lack of modern or western knowledge. It holds out to them the agreeable prospect of coming into their own again. But its bold inconsistencies are amusing. The claim is only listened to because of the armed force which accompanies it, and this from battleship to bombing plane and bayonet is copied down to the last detail from the West. So of the uniforms and tactics employed. So of the merchants and manufacturers who hope thus to extend their trade, dressed from top to toe in western attire and using toilet and all other accessories from the same source, making or selling cheap imitations of western goods. The officers stay in the most expensive British or French hotels in the port cities. Even their latest vices are learned from the West, notably their increasing tendency to drunkenness. What really lies behind this specious contention is their desire to prevent the modernization of China so that their military domination and economic exploitation of the country will not be hindered.

III. The Suppression of Communism. This line of sales-talk is almost entirely intended to play upon the prejudices of western countries where the bogie of Bolshevism can still be effectively conjured up. It is the most disingenuous of all their arguments as tested by historical evidence. The present Chiang Kai-shek Government, which they so rabidly denounce, began its program by the most vigorous efforts to eliminate organized and militant Communism from China. This was unswervingly maintained through the first eight critically formative years of the new Government and resulted finally in the complete ascendancy of the national forces. During that entire period the Japanese never assisted to the slightest degree in this exhausting struggle. On the contrary they did everything possible to embarrass the anti-communist Government, fomenting disaffection north and south, seizing territory or revenues, consistently striving to keep China politically disunited and weak. They did attempt to coerce China into signing an "anti-communist pact" but on terms which no self-respecting nation could accept. It was really nothing other than the notorious Twenty-one Demands revamped under this thinly disguised euphemism. General Chiang has been often criticized for wasting time and the nation's resources over a futile and relatively unimportant issue when there were other more menacing dangers. Western nations occasionally gave some help. But Japan watched quietly until when in September, 1931, the Government was desperately engaged with the troublesome red armies and China was afflicted by the most disastrous flood in human history, and

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western countries were otherwise preoccupied, she had her coveted opportunity to seize Manchuria. In the years that followed Japan wrested away the Province of Jehol; constantly harassed North China, setting up the notorious East Hopei regime as the nearest she could then come to her attempt to compel a secessionist move of the five northern provinces; instigated and protected huge smuggling operations on the North China coast; tried to prevent western nations from extending credits or supplying munitions; continued her intrigue and intimidation in the South as well as North; in short, did all possible to weaken the Chiang Government, despite its persistent struggle against Communism in the face of enormous internal problems inherent in the situation even if there had been neither Communism nor Japanese aggression. But resentment against Japanese imperialism and a growing realization of its dreaded consequences have had the strange effects of awakening Chinese Communists to the consciousness that they were first of all Chinese and of bringing about a rapprochement between them and their former enemies, - a "united front" against a common danger for more important to them all than differences in political ideologies.

Communism left to itself would have been absorbed into the national life of China, either becoming a minor political party or exerting some influence toward various socialized reforms. As it is, it will increasingly furnish an emotional stimulus and an effective technique in resistance to Japan. According to official Japanese declarations there was "no communist peril in Manchuria" at the time of their occupation. Quotations from similar sources reveal the growth of this peril and of the necessity for strenuous efforts to suppress its influence. The Japanese military now look forward rather optimistically to "the pacification of Manchukuo" in another ten years. The same is essentially true of Korea where as in Manchuria the virus spreads chiefly from Japan itself. In the past few months of Japanese occupation of North China it is becoming rapidly true. Away from the big cities and the narrow corridor following the railway lines there is everywhere chaotic anarchy being slowly reorganized for guerilla warfare under communist leadership. The same will doubtless follow in the occupied regions further south. There is therefore a close connection between Japanese rule and communism. Nor is the reason difficult to trace. Communism is a form of social rebellion resulting from intolerable oppression by those more privileged. It has a peculiar appeal for the common people, especially in those countries where democratic ideals or practises have not spread. It also commends itself to students and other youthful radicals. It has a simple creed, a very concrete program, and a technique perfected by constant use. It contains the promise of relief for all those regions of continental Asia which have been brought under the cruel tyranny of Japanese military domination. The only real protection against Bolshevism is the creation of those social and economic improvements which it aims to bring about, the application of democratic principles so that the masses feel themselves to be in possession of real political equality, the abandonment of arbitrary military force, the abolition of poverty by reforms in taxation, high rates of interest, land tenure etc., and the development of civic liberty and of individual human rights. There is no hope for any such progress in

any region under alien Japanese military rule. This form of political absolutism will only breed more grinding poverty and embittered discontent with consequent revolutionary activities drawing most naturally upon communist terminology and technique. Western readers unfamiliar with actual conditions should be on guard against Japanese assertions about Communism in China. There is none of it in those areas under the authority of the National Government, nor the adoption of any of the characteristic policies of the Soviet State. Japan is the real source of the spread of communistic influence in Eastern Asia, both within Japan and wherever her military autocracy gains control. As the physical body forms a process for ridding itself of some harmful element which is poisoning its life, so communism may be likened to nature's remedy for ridding the body politic of a malignant infection.

Only once has Japan really undertaken to prove her claim to be a "bulwark against Communism in the Far East", and that was not in China at all but in Eastern Siberia. This was in the turmoil following the Great War, and the real aim was of course to get control of the vast territory between Vladivostok and Lake Baikal. She had the sympathy and assistance of several other Powers, and spent a vast sum of money, but withdrew after four years of wasted effort. The significance of that inglorious episode for the purpose of this article is that the chief cause of failure was because the people of that region - by no means of predominantly communistic leanings - suffered so intensely under the rule of the Japanese military and the Russian adventurers they set up as puppets that they were prepared to welcome a Communist or any other regime that would rid their country of them.

The best method of treating Japanese propadanda is not to argue for or against it but to test it by the record of easily ascertainable facts. The real motives for their persistent aggression in China are glory and gain, chiefly gain, - imperialistic conquest and commercial exploitation. In order to realize these objectives, as they themselves put it when they speak frankly, they must destroy the growing military strength of China, prevent her industrial development and eliminate foreign, especially British, influence. These three ~~reasons~~ can also be tested by the record of events as planned and executed by the Japanese High Command. Prince Konoye summed it when he boasted that the purpose of all this frightfulness and destructive violence was to "beat the Chinese people to their knees and break their will to resist".

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Dr. Stuart's Address to the Faculty

Faculty Preessional Meeting

September 11, 1939

It has been suggested that at the opening of the new session we have a review of the twenty years since Yenching University was created out of its earlier constituent colleges and began its career under the present administration. In what I am about to say I cannot be sure how much will be a description in retrospect of my own aspirations or aims and how much is an interpretation of the ideals or principles in which we have all shared. Nor does it matter. Let me comment briefly on what seem to me to have been the chief emphases through these past twenty years.

(1) Christian Purpose. Yenching began as and will, I trust, continue to be a Christian university. Our problem has been how an institution established by foreign missionary agencies - which from their very nature are transitory and alien - could become in the fullest sense a real university and an integral part of its Chinese environment while retaining all of the abiding values of its Christian origin. More specifically, and with the coming twenty years in view, this concerns especially the Chinese who will come into increasing control of its affairs. They must discover in what forms and through what activities they will be able best to express their Christian convictions or endeavors, in harmony with their own racial genius and with universal modern trends, as we pioneers from the West have been employing those methods and been inspired by those beliefs which are a part of our religious heritage. An encouraging stimulus to preserving this spiritual quality could be found in an address by the Minister of Education which was broadcast from Chungking a few evenings ago. Mr. Chen Li-fu after referring to the relation of education to the present struggle for national independence pointed out that the present crisis had brought out the imperfections in many schools which neglected moral training and were too exclusively concerned with intellectual progress. He added - and one cannot but wonder if this was not with the example of Christian schools in mind - that every school ought to be able to create a family atmosphere and to be concerned with the whole personality of the students.

(2) Chinese Character. Twenty years ago there were only two Chinese on the faculty, and the administration was entirely foreign. We can think back to-day with a certain whimsical amusement to the dubious questionings with which our earliest acquisitions among the Chinese faculty ventured to join us. They could not quite believe that there really would be no racial distinctions here and that all responsibilities and resources would be shared alike. This has been so generally accepted for many years, not only at Yenching but in all such institutions in China, that we can scarcely realize how radical a step it was then. But during these twenty years I cannot recall a single disappointment because of this policy, and there has been no deeper satisfaction than that of observing the devotion and efficiency with which the steadily increasing proportion of Chinese on the faculty have performed their respective duties. This has been notably true of the way in which they have without a single exception stood by the University during the past two troubled years since the outbreak of hostilities. In general the happy harmony between Chinese and western faculty members and the desire of all concerned to demonstrate how practicable and how mutually beneficial is this unreserved racial

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cooperation augurs hopefully for the more completely Chinese leadership that will come during the next twenty years. For foreigners engaged in such an enterprise as ours there could be no more dismal failure than to continue to make ourselves indispensable. Whatever anxieties may still be haunting us that one at any rate has been finally dispelled.

(3) Chinese National Relationships. This is nothing more than the logical complement to the increasing emphasis on Chinese personnel within the University. We have consistently endeavored to establish a position for ourselves in the life of the country that would enable us to carry on independent of any foreign treaty privileges or political influence, seeking no other protection than the Chinese people themselves possessed and were willing to share with us. When the opportunity came we immediately took steps to become registered under the National Government and have since then regarded ourselves as subject to the orders of the Ministry of Education, with the benefits also that this connection gives. We have tried to stress Chinese studies, and to make use of our western language and other facilities for their fuller appreciation through comparative methods, as well as for helping to make all aspects of modern knowledge accessible to Chinese in their own language. In these and many other ways we have made progress in identifying Yenching with the nation we are here to serve. This has undoubtedly stood us in good stead through the tensions of the past two years.

(4) International Outlook. There is no conflict between this and the effort to become more thoroughly Chinese. In its inception and in its continued financial and other support, the University has been predominantly American. But there has always been a minority British element in its control and faculty personnel and this has become more vital in the last two or three years with our adaptation of the so-called Oxford "Modern Greats" and the connection with that University which this has brought us. We have rejoiced in the contribution by a Yenching Committee in Switzerland of a succession of teachers of the choicest type which began early in those past twenty years. We have also formed slight connections with Germany and France and more recently with Italy, all of which may be further developed under happier world conditions, but even now have symbolic value. It is from this standpoint that I wish to speak quite frankly of our newly established association with Japan in the person of Professor R. Torii who with his wife and two daughters are with us this evening for the first time. At the outset of the present hostilities we adopted the policy of absolutely maintaining our academic freedom, or of closing the institution if this were in any way encroached upon. This applied especially to any attempt that might be made to force us to take a Japanese teacher on our faculty. Although this was repeatedly urged upon us, we consistently refused to comply even though we were assured that we were free to make our own selection. It was pointed out that, while we were quite ready in principle to include a Japanese on our faculty, yet we were unwilling to do so under any slightest suspicion of military coercion, and that this would defeat our purpose of aiding in bringing about any better understanding between the two countries. When finally our contention was accepted we decided to invite Dr. Torii purely on grounds of Christian and international idealism. He is over seventy years of age and is one of the most distinguished scholars in Japan, being especially well-



known in China where he has spent many years in anthropological and archaeological research and where his books, translated into Chinese, are widely read. He and his family share our opposition to military aggression, and we need feel no fear of embarrassment or an intrusion on our liberties by their presence among us. His wife and the daughters, one educated chiefly in the States, the other in France, have specialized in the same subjects and are his constant collaborators. As Visiting Research Professor in the Harvard-Yenching Institute he will be carrying on field excavation most of the time with one or more of our advanced students under his training. This is the severest test of the reality of our determination to be even aggressively international.

But can we not go further yet? The war which has at last broken out in Europe and the devastating conflict in this country, together with political and economic tensions elsewhere, all seem to call for some form of supranational control of irresponsible aggression or of clashing national ambitions or fears. There are universities in other countries with more or less international complexion. But these are all primarily rooted in their respective national soils and their other connections are entirely incidental. As pointing toward a new and nobler international order can we not utilize the circumstances of our origin so that, while losing nothing of our Chinese quality, we may deliberately strengthen our associations with other countries and thus help to generate the attitude of mind which will make for whatever is the concrete process for creating the world-state of the future.

(5) Affairs more strictly academic. All that has been said thus far applies more or less to our peculiar circumstances. There are, however, other issues which every university has to face, and in these we have thus far tried to find the balance suited to our circumstances at each stage of development. Among these is that between teaching and research. Research is essential in order that teachers may maintain their own interest in a subject, keep their teaching fresh, and be an example to their students of the continuing quest for new knowledge. On the other hand, the primary purpose of an institution is to teach, and one with limited resources must provide first for this. I hope that during the next twenty years we can, while continuing the emphasis on good teaching, find it possible to encourage research in all of our colleges, and especially in the Graduate School. Another point of contrast is between the teaching of a subject from the academic standpoint in the narrow sense of that word, and with reference to practical usefulness after the student finishes his studies. We have always tried to strike a proper balance in this unending conflict of interests. The increasing emphasis upon rural reconstruction training courses illustrates the consciousness of practical direction which college teachers ought to have. The needs everywhere in China which have been made more evident or are being created by war conditions give thrilling suggestiveness to the possibilities of training our students to have a large part in post-war rehabilitation and other constructive activities.

Conclusion: In this summary I have purposely not discussed our material growth but have confined myself to reminding you of those guiding principles which have found fruition in our University as we begin this new session. This review will reveal how truly our Motto:

"Freedom through Truth for Service"

is not merely an attractively phrased ideal but an inherent -almost inevitable - expression of our animating spirit.

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HELP FOR FACULTY MEMBERS IN AMERICA

by J. Leighton Stuart

November 29, 1940  
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As the institution draws upon Chinese for additions to its faculty by a process as natural as it is desirable, it has been our experience that our own finest graduates offer the greatest promise. The present academic conditions require that any such prospective teacher should have the opportunity for advanced study abroad to acquire the special knowledge as well as the prestige without which the chance for promotion with us would necessarily be greatly circumscribed.

Generally speaking, no institution in China can give any further training than we do here and very few give as much. On the other hand, those few individuals who happen to have private resources or can secure some special form of assistance are not necessarily those best suited for our purpose. There are practicable objections to approving any budget funds at our end for this purpose. The competition is intense not only among individual candidates but between various academic units. Once we set a precedent there will be embarrassing consequences as we learned to our sorrow in earlier undertakings of this kind. The Trustees, however, could secure or designate certain funds for this general purpose and ask us for individual suggestions within certain stipulated terms, or this might be included in the larger framework of the Associated Boards.

We are on the whole very much gratified by the efficiency and even more by the animating spirit and purpose of those former students of ours now back on the faculty. Many of them have been helped by private arrangements which various ones of us have been able to make. This is at best a rather desultory and opportunist policy in which personal factors perhaps bulk too large. I should be very happy to have the case of Miss Pai considered not only because of her own very real value in our future development, but as establishing a procedure to be followed for similar cases in the future. This might even take the form of a Trustees' fellowship fund for which a special endowment might be sought or contributions secured annually.

Living Endowment. Material coming from my own college in Virginia, together with what I have been reading of similar movements elsewhere in America, leads me to raise the question with the Trustees as to whether some equivalent promotional plan might not be worked out for ourselves. American colleges naturally turn to their alumni for this purpose. We would have to depend upon our present constituency extended constantly.

If it is true that invested capital funds will be increasingly difficult to secure while yielding small returns, we must look forward to some other source of support. We have for years, of course, been making annual solicitations along these lines. However, it might be desirable to use the vivid phrasing these American institutions have discovered and to ask our friends to undertake, as nearly as they feel individually ready to, an annual gift to the University as a whole or to some specified unit. This is only a suggestion to be passed on to those who may have already determined on some such procedure.

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DR. STUART'S MESSAGE TO STUDENTS OF YENCHING UNIVERSITY, 1941-42

(From Yenching News, Peiping, August 30, 1941 issue)

This is a hearty message to our students, old and new, as we begin the session of 1941-42. From the nature of the case, a University wants to have students and therefore welcomes their arrival. But Yenching University has an additional reason for so doing because it was founded for a distinctive purpose. This is to contribute toward progressive efforts in China, as an instance of international cooperation and goodwill, with the motives and ideals springing from religious faith, resulting in the training of highly qualified students. This is our special reason for wanting you to study here.

But such considerations are greatly enhanced by the tragic conflicts now raging in China and elsewhere. These furnish painfully convincing evidence of the need of some such philosophy of life as Yenching aims to inculcate. We welcome you in the hope that you will learn to share these ideals and then carry them into varied forms of reconstructive activity throughout the country.

J. Leighton Stuart

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Should a university be committed to and deliberately impress upon its students any single, specific, integrating philosophy of life? There are apparently current now among educators two conflicting answers to this query. In the affirmative is the tradition from the universities of medieval Europe and the colleges founded by the early settlers of North America. The former were based on scholastic philosophy, were in fact its finest flowering. This was, if not the reason, at any rate the impetus, for their existence. In America it was primarily the demand for an educated ministry, or more broadly for Christian higher education. Generally speaking, higher education in the West was first conceived of as with a definitely religious purpose. This was within the framework of a loose political unity described as Christendom, or more correctly a unified cultural pattern. But as this disintegrated into the present excessively nationalistic sovereign states, so will these most probably be absorbed, voluntarily or otherwise, into larger political entities extending virtually over the entire world. As feudalism perished with the rise of capitalistic individualism so will this in turn be transformed into varying types of socialized economy. Scholastic philosophy melted away under the acids of experimental science and historical criticism. All this has combined to produce the second and at present overwhelmingly prevalent theory of university education which is that a liberal university should not as such have any unified concept of the world in which we live nor of the meaning of our existence. Implicitly it holds that man is, if not naturally good, at any rate like the world itself slowly getting better, and that the science through education is the process for attaining truth and therefore for ensuring progress. The quest for knowledge in every field is more or less unconsciously modelled on the methods of the natural sciences, and authorities in these subjects receive a veneration not unlike that which the peasants in all countries have always paid their priests. This trend has resulted also in a departmentalizing of education which would perhaps have been impossible were it not for the accepted axiom that the business of the university is the discovery and dissemination of factual information in each segregated subject rather than any coherent philosophy for molding the character and aims of its students. It was inevitable that education become completely secularized. This was no less true of all other phases of human activity - scientific investigation, artistic endeavor, commercial enterprise and political theory - reflected in such catchwords as "art for art's sake", "business is business". The real religion of modern western man is a sort of composite belief in the omnipotent and indivisible trinity of physical science, free capitalism and national security. University education functions in this framework and the students absorb its tenets from the environment. The influence of the university itself is on the whole negative and proudly makes this claim as being its true ideal.

Much has been happening of late, however, to challenge this position. In America a controversy was precipitated by President Hutchins of the University of Chicago, the essence of which was that there should be a revival of the intellectual synthesis whose contention had been supplied by medieval metaphysics. As so often happens, the discussion has occupied itself with details of the argument rather than with the basic issue as to whether there should be any attempt at a synthesis at all. The predicament of the church colleges in the U. S. A. is depressing. Usually small and poor in every sense they are impaled on the dilemma of playing up either denominational bigotry and conventional religiosity or their freedom from these. Meanwhile the rise of high-powered totalitarian states has recaptured university education for the older theory of a functional philosophy permeating all its instruction. It has done so with the ruthless consistency and coercion which shrivels free inquiry into authoritarian patterns, leaving only propagandist formulae and technological improvement, all in absolute submission to the state. Contemporary higher education thus faces the intolerable paradox of the liberal democratic university left without any system or stimulus as to motives



and aims for living, while the noble tradition of the university created to teach an integrating philosophy of life had degenerated into a deadening and dangerous instrument for crushing out personal freedom in the interests of our detestable modern despotisms. Whereas if the democratic way of life is to survive and be the dynamic for the rebuilding of a better world the colleges must train their graduates to have convictions as to its value and validity which have been rooted deeply in disciplined intelligence.

What is true of other countries applies with peculiar force to China, partly because of the age-long belief that learning produces leadership, partly also because this ancient culture is now in formative period of violent flux and as yet plastic new patterns. All Colleges in this country have therefore a superlative opportunity to demonstrate the function of education as training for citizenship and for humanitarian service. This would continue the historic emphasis on the moral and social purpose of true education as taught by all of China's great sages. The government universities, apart from nationalistic sentiment, seem to be following the western trend of preoccupation with factual scholarship rather than any recognized philosophy of values. The Christian Colleges are of course foreign in origin and still largely so in complexion, to that extent being therefore abnormal and undeveloped. As in the west they will doubtless tend either to becoming fixed in somewhat narrow ecclesiastical relationships with consequent weakening of wider influence or to repudiating their earlier religious mission in a vapid conformity with current secular standards.

And thus we come to Yenching, our own joy and pride as well as burden and perplexity. We have our unequivocally Christian origin and purpose. In the light of our experience thus far, especially during the turmoil of war, are there obsolete accretions or irrelevant requirements which ought to be rejected? Or - what is perhaps more pertinent to our special situation - how can we more effectively implement the distinctive beliefs and ideals about the advocacy of which we need have no misgivings or hesitation whatever? Our problem is rather how to intensify in all of us the passion for training our students to live worthily of these ideals and for witnessing in all of our corporate activities to their value and truth. We have often before discussed this issue among ourselves. But the chaos and tragedy in the midst of which we are now living give it a fresh approach. In what sense can Yenching become even more Christian than it has been in the past while maintaining the cool detachment, the objective impartiality, of the true university? And in this blending of apparent contradictions how can it further blend these characteristics with an adaptation to Chinese conditions which assures it an accepted position in the national life with its own welcomed and worthwhile contribution? Even more specifically how can we care most about these aspirations established standards and generate a quality of life which are so convincingly beautiful and beneficent that our colleagues and even our students will without compulsion adopt them for their own and resolve that they must not be allowed to fail or fade?

There are seemingly commonplace things in which we must in any case spend most of our time and energy; the strictness and sincerity of our academic standards; the balancing of solicitous attention to all aspects of the non-academic welfare of our students with severely enforced discipline; our attitude as a community to the social, economic and political problems of this country; the happy harmony between Chinese and western members of our faculty, between teachers and students; the spiritual vitality infused into our formal religious activities. In these and other more or less routine aspects of our corporate life we can release dynamic energies which become crystallized as accepted traditions here and are carried by some at least among our graduates wherever they go. We are constantly having cheering evidences of the extent to which such influences are making themselves felt as well as sobering reminders of how much further need of improvement awaits our more resolute efforts. But let us accept the challenge that there is a

difference between the way in which a Christian group performs almost every form of educational service and lives together on its campus, from the way in which a college community would function when purely secular in its purpose and personnel.

All this has been quite familiar and more or less faithfully practised by many of our number. But the catastrophic happenings in the world around us supply impelling motives and a superb opportunity for demonstrating the unique contribution of a university founded upon and vitalized by a clearly defined religious philosophy of life. Whatever may be the military outcome of the present conflicts we can be sure that the world will never be the same as before they began. Not only so but there could perhaps be no greater disaster than a return to the pre-war status quo. We can also be reasonably certain that there will be attempts to establish a new world-order in conformity with the eight-points of the recent Churchill-Roosevelt conversations. In preparation for and support of any such international discussions there must be wide-spread understanding and encouragement of the issues involved. It has been argued that Galileo revolutionized scientific thought as Roger Bacon could not because many more persons had become better informed in Galileo's time. The awakening of intelligent interest and the creation of the spirit in which progress can be made should be peculiarly the function of any university community and of all religious groups.

But to lead to any permanently effective solution there must be searching inquiry into the causes of the present turmoil and the objectives in any political organization. In a time of war-engendered hatreds and of compelling pre-occupation with military victory or defeat, it is not easy to gain the right perspective for making judgments. It is easy to damn all who belong to certain countries. And in a sense rightly for they have been driven by circumstances into an artificial solidarity. But aggressor nations and those they have ravaged are alike victims of the scientific inventions which, intended to give mankind greater freedom, have strangely robbed him of what he had. That is the individual has very largely lost his personal freedom and influence in the huge aggregations which have been formed out of the application of science to human problems. Where there is political freedom there may be economic bondage. The totalitarian states at least aim to guarantee economic security. Even in the democracies the vote of the individual may count for little or nothing in a vast electoral machine. It is not merely therefore the assurance of peace through some form of world-wide federation, implemented by an internationalized policing force. Especially if this is dominated by some powerful coalition, however liberal and enlightened. There are fundamental questions of free access to raw materials and markets, of socialized control of the sources of production, of greater justice in relations of capital and labor, of inherited wealth, and in short of the right of every one in every nation to live and to do so in the freedom that alone permits the fullest development of personality.

In facing all such contemporary problems our University should have its message, especially as this applies to post-war China. It may well be that when that eagerly expected time arrives we shall have a special challenge from the environment. For the indications are that there will be a strongly communistic tinge to whatever political authority will hold this area. If so, a truly Christian University and such a government ought to be mutually helpful in the building of real democracy.

As we begin this new session after anxious forebodings as to whether this would be possible, and still with haunting uncertainties as to what may lie ahead during these next portentous months, it may be pertinent to ask ourselves as to reforms or improvements or new features which we can bring about in a more fruitful fulfilment of our accepted mission. For myself this would seem to lie rather in a maintenance of our present principles or policy with a



purpose at once more intelligent and more intense. For I venture to state that our failure or feebleness is not because of the theory or philosophy which underlies our origin and procedure, but because of timidity or scepticism or confusion or indolence or indifference or mingled motives in carrying it into every phase of university life. We who care most and are most convinced must somehow make this a contagious passion permeating our colleagues, inspiring the students, reaching out among employees and neighbors, and radiating throughout the free and flourishing Republic of China that is to be.

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Before closing I should like to read a paragraph from a letter which, by a pleasant coincidence, reached me a few days ago. It is from one of our most brilliant science students and younger teachers now on leave of absence who when here did not seem very much interested in the matter of which he now writes.

All of our Yenching boys who have transferred to this University are doing excellently. Above all they especially cherish the years they spent in Yenching. Several of them confided to me that this place may be providing them with the technical courses they want, such as engineering, but it fails to provide them with the congenial conditions under which they study. The spiritual education which this place lacks but our alma mater gives is probably what has kept this small group intact as a wholesome Yenching group, and I feel proud of it. I wonder whether the forcing of merely technical knowledge without making honest and upright citizens out of the students will do our country much good. Our vital need is a spiritual revivification of the race rather than material modernization. But it seems that it is the latter which is stressed almost everywhere. Civilization and culture, going hand in hand with each other, make a good combination but the possession of the former without the latter only serves as a dangerous weapon. Education in Yenching is filling this need, or at least it has made a more successful endeavor. This is substantiated by the experience of these students as well as that of myself since leaving "home" four years ago.

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