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Stuart, J. Leighton n.d.

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Can Peking Continue to be a Cultural and Educational Centre?

There is every reason why Peking should always be a great cultural centre. It thrills the imagination to recall how through past centuries candidates for the highest honors under the old K'e Chü examination system thronged here from all parts of the Empire, often spending many days, or even months, on the journey, and many more months of patiently anxious waiting. In countless Chinese novels and dramas the hero has struggled against hardships and hindrances until finally he became a chung-yuan or First Honors Man in the capital and returned triumphant home. All this has created a glamour of historical associations which will long linger in Chinese thought. Nor did the abolition of the old classical examinations and the introduction of modern education, nor the yet more sweeping transformation of the form of government from Empire to Republic, nor even the removal of the political capital to Nanking, reduce the prestige of Peking as the source and centre of the nation's intellectual life. The New Thought Movement, with its attendant Literary Revolution and other forms of creative mental activity, all had their origin and continuing inspiration in the University of Peking which in its halcyon days was one of the most dynamic influences for progressive reforms and productive scholarship in the country. The Student Movement, which has so often clamored for cleaner or more courageous political action, first came into existence here and has always found its leadership in the Peking Union. Whatever we may think of its crudities and excesses at certain periods of its career, it has revealed the potentialities of an articulate and sufficiently aroused popular will and has been characterized by a patriotic idealism as fine and as fervent as I know of among the youth of any country within the past quarter of a century. In addition to this great heritage from a remote as well as recent past, there are the physical advantages of the city itself with its noble architectural movements, available buildings, and various library or other cultural facilities, together with its bracing climate. For reasons such as these the National Government in locating its own seat in Nanking definitely planned to keep Peking as the cultural capital of the country.

It may be of interest to note that in the first flush of uncontrolled political activity under successive republican regimes more colleges and higher technical schools blossomed out here than any other city in the world has ever boasted. At one time in the early twenties there were, I believe, some 49 of these. Every prominent politician founded a college, each political group sponsored one. Many were of course in one or another propagandist interest or of quite doubtful standards. Others batted off the unfortunate applicants who had failed in entrance examinations and rather than go home in disgrace preferred to enroll in an institution which pretended to do work of college grade. Even with the increasingly strong control the Ministry of Education has recently been able to exert there were until this past summer 14 colleges or universities, with a total enrollment of about 12,000 students; 82 middle schools with some 17,000 pupils; and 261 elementary schools with 24,000 pupils.

The economic value to the city of so much educational work should not be overlooked. It has been estimated that this has resulted in the spending annually of over \$20,000,000.00. Directly and indirectly this is probably the chief single source of income to the local population.

Stuart

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So much by way of background or to give atmosphere. In having the temerity to essay the role of prophet it may be simpler to confine my comments to the single field of higher education. Schools of the lower grades, museums, painting and the other arts, can all continue relatively unaffected by changes of government. Or to put it otherwise, if the institutions of higher learning can be maintained the problems for all the other types of cultural organization are comparatively easy. It would also be more ingenuous to admit at the outset that what I shall have to say is largely with Yenching University in mind, even though thinly disguised in general terms. The Chinese have a proverb, San chü pu li pen hang, which testifies to the difficulty of getting away from one's own shop-talk. But in defense of this may I point out that any qualification I may have for speaking on this topic at all is only because of my intense practical concern with it, and that what applies to any one such institution would be essentially true of all. The value of my remarks must also be qualified by my own subjective philosophy of education with which some of you present, or colleagues in the same field, may not agree.

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Coming now to the question before us, the answer depends almost entirely upon the sort of government which will hereafter be in control here. Not entirely, for the political change which has already taken place prompts us to a re-examination of what sort of university ought to be allowed to continue here or anywhere else. A university ought to be purely educational, a place for teaching the truth in every subject of human interest as already known and for doing further research in the discovery of new truth. It should have no partisan or propagandist purpose, however noble or worthy. Let me illustrate what I mean by reference to religion. The Ministry of Education was entirely right, in my judgment, in insisting that a school must not, i ch'uan-pu tsung-chiao we tsung-chih, must not, that is, have as its purpose the preaching of religion. Its purpose is education. Education, properly conceived however, includes the training of the whole personality, and religion both as an inspiration to the teacher and a discipline for the student has its perfectly proper function. A Christian University is permissible as representing the desire of Christian groups to serve the youth of any given region or race, and as providing all facilities and favoring influences for its students to learn about and live according to Christian faith. To attempt more than this is not only to weaken its religious effectiveness but to be unfaithful to its educational responsibility. The same principle applies to political, social and all other theories or objectives. This does not mean that all should have a flat and colorless uniformity. An American university is inevitably influenced by the national characteristics, and ought to be. So of the beliefs or dominant interests of the controlling body of any such institution. They will all be affected by the local environment, while each one in the same locality will have the distinctive qualities of its origin or special constituency. None the less the educational purpose must be the dominant one, and the dispassionate search for and acquirement of knowledge be so sincerely the aim that the students acquire this attitude of mind and technique even more than any amount of merely factual information. This has perhaps not been sufficiently true of any even of the standard universities of Peking in the past. There has not been the broadly international outlook, the freedom from patriotic or other prejudices, the disinterested pursuit of learning for its own sake and for its application to human need, which ought to be the marks of any institution claiming so honorable a title. These deficiencies in our local

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schools are easily understandable and may even have served a useful temporary purpose. But they ought to be corrected in those universities which hope to continue here or to be reopened in the future.

This leads to the kind of government under which these more nearly ideal universities can be expected to function satisfactorily. It seems to me that two conditions are essential. One is that there must be the assurance of academic freedom, and the other that the administrative authority must be genuinely Chinese. There can be no real university without academic freedom, and none could hope to carry on here without this assurance. The best teachers would refuse to serve in it. Nor would either teachers or students of the kind that any decent university would want be willing to stay in a locality under alien domination. The conflict of interests would be inherent and irreconcilable. Any form of governmental control that was not willingly recognised would necessarily enforce suppressive measures for its own protection and these would interfere alike with academic freedom and with patriotic loyalties. Teachers could be employed of course and students subsidized to study in institutions subservient to and financed by the alien authority, but they could not be of the sort to cause Peking to be regarded as an educational centre. Regimentation of primary and secondary education is conceivable under a government which utilizes it for political objectives but higher education is incompatible with such aims. Whether a true university can exist in a thoroughly totalitarian state would be an edifying subject for abstract speculation. But in the very concrete situation we are discussing the answer would be from both the governmental and educational points-of-view emphatically negative and necessarily so.

Granting this, we must in order to answer our question attempt to forecast what form of government will control the destinies of Peking. The Japanese authorities have repeatedly made public declarations that they do not seek any territorial gains within the Great Wall, and until these assurances are discredited by their own actions it is reasonable to assume that they mean this. From all that I have been able to gather, they have always wanted to assist in establishing a genuinely Chinese government in North China, if for no other reason because - as they are quoted as saying - they have had ample and altogether unhappy experience with venal and opportunist hirelings. An educational institution as such need not concern itself with the relationships of such a regional government with that of Japan or with the National Government of China - whatever may be the personal aspirations of its faculty or students. Under any really Chinese and freely functioning government the fear of the loss of academic freedom need not be felt.

Furthermore, the widening of the area of hostilities reduces the likelihood of developments in North China differing greatly from those elsewhere. Direct Japanese administrative control of so large an area as that over which they have already won military victories, or may before the cessation of hostilities, would seem highly improbable. Nor does the attainment of their professed objectives require the closing down of institutions of higher learning with a liberal tradition.

All this is somewhat theoretical and certain to be influenced by various as yet unpredictable factors. Some indications may therefore be ascertained by experience thus far. Speaking for those colleges that have been actually operating there has thus far been no interference

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whatever from the military authorities with their legitimate activities, nor any suggestion that their existence was objectionable. Of course it may be said that they are otherwise preoccupied as yet, also that the institutions referred to happen to have a measure of foreign protection. While fully aware of the force of these considerations yet my impression is that there is no intention of repeating in this area the repressive policies enforced in Korea and Manchuria.

Speaking now somewhat more personally the policy of Yenching is quite simple and clear. We shall be as friendly and cooperative as possible, avoiding all needless sources of irritation or misunderstanding, except where this involves the violation of what we regard as a vital principle. When or if this occurs we should prefer to close and take any consequences. This year is for us frankly one of experimentation, but entered upon in as hopeful and constructive spirit as existing conditions permit. I have followed my faith rather than my fears. Faith is always creative, in the sense that it tends to create the very conditions it requires for its own functioning. My present conviction is that the government institutions ought before long to be able to reopen provided that the problem of finances can be solved. That is the most serious difficulty for most of them at present, and recent events have aggravated it for all of us. But that need not come into the present discussion.

One final word. These two nations now at war must somehow find a way to live together. Military victories and defeats are not the final solution. If any elements in the situation have an opportunity and responsibility it would seem to be the intellectuals, especially those in the universities. I am now exploring possible ways in which an increasing Japanese influence can be introduced into the teaching personnel and curriculum content which - devoid of any disruptive propagandist intent and due in no sense to coercion - will enrich the scholarship, enlarge the international outlook and contribute toward the healing and reconstructive processes which ought already to be at work. That there will be harassing perplexities, annoying complications and repeated disappointments should not hinder us from making the effort. Whether or not Peking can continue to be an educational centre is not wholly an ordeal of bayonets and bombs. It depends to no slight extent upon the vision and courage of those who wish to have it so.

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Send up Dr.
Stewart
letter 4/18/32

The memorandum by Mr. Garside entitled, What Should be Yenching's Attitude toward Cooperation and Correlation? is written with his usual fine spirit and clarity of thought. But as a rebuttal of the Statement passed by the Board of Managers and Faculty Executive Committee it seems to us unconvincing. It occupies itself with inter-institutional rivalries and rights, instead of being primarily concerned with the maximum service the constituency represented could be rendering the Chinese Nation and the Christian cause through a reconstruction of its program for higher education. It labors over Yenching's relative benefits or losses whereas this is wholly irrelevant to our contention. It confuses the efforts patiently and generously to work toward better correlation with the actual starting of a joint financial campaign for ten institutions as they are now. It implies that we on the field are insisting on a particular form of reorganization which is a serious misunderstanding. What we really plead for is a recognition of the fact - urged for years by every qualified and disinterested observer - that there are more colleges than can be creditably maintained by the American supporting constituency (which must be for some time to come almost the only reliance if they are to retain their present purpose); that their existing unrelated programs involve needless and costly duplication of the least beneficial features; and therefore that an appeal to the American public for their maintenance as though this were a truly comprehensive and unified scheme is as fatuous as it is morally indefensible. We contend that we are less than ever justified in appealing for so wastefully extensive a scheme in view of the greatly reduced giving power of American supporters, and that from the stand point of China's welfare we are sacrificing quality as well as vocational emphasis in a quantitative emphasis that is largely a matter of physical plants and of giving employment rather than of spiritual efficiency and of service to the students and their country. We insist that a joint campaign can only be sincere and fruitful when on a basis that all concerned can heartily endorse and that the only alternative is a continuance of the present individualized efforts until each college is ready to accept the principle, which Yenching has from the outset, of being ready to make any adjustments that are part of a genuinely correlated program. On such a basis we would heartily and hopefully combine with any number of our sister institutions whatever the material consequences might be to ourselves. We regret that our own Trustees have committed themselves to another course, without securing our endorsement, and more recently in direct repudiation of our pleading. The responsibility must now rest on them for achieving through this process a rearrangement about the desirability for which there can scarcely be any difference of opinion, and meanwhile for making provision for the funds which are essential to our continued operation even under the most idealistic reorganization. While renewing this protest against a joint campaign in which we are now unwillingly compelled to be a participant, we also recognize that our Trustees are acting according to their own best judgment and shall loyally await the developments which will enable us to cooperate with whole-hearted enthusiasm.

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April 18, 1932

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The memorandum by Mr. Garfield entitled, What Should be Yenching's Attitude toward Cooperation and Correlation? is written with his usual fine spirit and clarity of thought. But as a result of the statement passed by the Board of Managers and Faculty Executive Committee it seems to us unconvincing. It couples itself with inter-institutional rivalries and rights, instead of being primarily concerned with the maximum service the constituency represented could be rendering the Chinese Nation and the Christian cause through a reconstruction of its program for higher education. It labors over Yenching's relative benefits or losses whereas this is wholly irrelevant to our contention. It compares the efforts patiently and generally to work toward better correlation with the actual starting of a joint financial campaign for ten institutions as they are now. It implies that we on the field are insisting on a particular form of reorganization which is a serious misunderstanding. What we really plead for is a recognition of the fact - begun for years by every qualified and distinguished observer - that there are more colleges than can be creditably maintained by the American supporting constituency (which must be for some time to come almost the only reliance if they are to retain their present purpose); that their existing unrelated programs involve needless and costly duplication of the least beneficial features; and therefore that an appeal to the American public for their maintenance as though this were a truly comprehensive and unified scheme is as fatuous as it is morally indefensible. We contend that we are less than ever justified in appealing for so wastefully extensive a scheme in view of the greatly reduced giving power of American supporters, and that from the stand point of China's welfare we are sacrificing quality as well as vocational emphasis in a quantitative emphasis that is largely a matter of physical plants and of giving employment rather than of spiritual efficiency and of service to the students and their country. We insist that a joint campaign can only be sincere and fruitful when on a basis that all concerned can heartily endorse and that the only alternative is a continuance of the present individualized efforts until each college is ready to accept the principle, which Yenching has from the outset, of being ready to make any adjustments that are part of a genuinely correlated program. On such a basis we would heartily and hopefully combine with any number of our sister institutions whatever the material consequences might be to ourselves. We regret that our own Trustees have committed themselves to another course, without securing our endorsement and more recently in direct repudiation of our pleading. The responsibility must now rest on them for achieving through this process a rearrangement about the desirability for which there can scarcely be any difference of opinion, and meanwhile for making provision for the funds which are essential to our continued operation even under the most idealistic reorganization. While renewing this protest against a joint campaign in which we are now unwittingly compelled to be a participant, we also recognize that our Trustees are acting according to their own best judgment and shall loyally assist the developments which will enable us to cooperate with whole-hearted enthusiasm.

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

The Problems of Modern Education in China

It was inevitable from the earliest beginnings of western contacts with China that the new learning would thereafter become an increasingly potent factor in shaping the destiny of this ancient civilization. Education as hitherto understood had for thousands of years been the sole badge of its aristocracy, the accepted evidence of achievement, the eagerly traveled highway to fame and fortune. Through passing successfully the literary examinations which led to government service ambitious youth found almost the only outlet for their talents. Those less fortunate could as teachers or writers have the prestige if not the material emoluments of belonging to the scholar caste. Popular drama, folk-lore, fiction, moral treatises, all have this unvarying motif. The Confucian ethic was really intended for a ruling class recruited thus, who merely by practising their noble code could influence a docile populace reverently to follow their example. It is no wonder that every mother fondly dreamed that her son would "read books" and become a great official, that the clan cheerfully made up a purse to provide for the promising young aspirant to literary honors, and that the whole neighborhood rejoiced when he returned triumphant.

It was with such a background that the strange knowledge of foreign lands was introduced. Missionaries feeling the need of trained "native helpers" taught the subjects they felt to be important and themselves understood. Especially in the port cities English soon proved to be an attraction and was offered in order to bring impressionable boys under Christian influence and to gain access to their homes. Other subjects were added to the curriculum alike because regarded as cultural by the teacher

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and the pupil as the magical pathway to employment. It was all very elementary of course but was as earnestly imparted as it was eagerly sought, and was perhaps the largest single factor in awakening the desire for modern knowledge. Meanwhile government officials had through experiences usually disconcerting to their pride been aroused to the necessity of acquiring this foreign science if China was to cope with the aggressive nations who were so effectively enforcing their demands. Recent studies have revealed that certain of those arrogant mandarins were far more alert to this than is generally assumed. A radical step was taken when in the year 1872 the Emperor sent the first contingent of boys to America for study. The subsequent careers of many of this famous group and of their numerous successors demonstrated the possibility of attaining honors and wealth by acquiring western degrees as had been done of yore through the old system. Whatever may be the failings of those thus educated they have unquestionably had the dominant part in the political, educational, commercial and social developments which have taken place within the present century and have been the inspiration to other boys to get what they could of foreign study. This belief in the efficacy of modern knowledge to save the country was given tremendous impetus by an appeal, Exhortation to Learn (1898), from Viceroy Chang Chih-tung - himself of course a first-class classical scholar or he could never have held this rank - to acquire it at any cost. The cancellation by imperial edict (1901) of the old system of literary examinations came as the climax of earlier abortive reforms and registered the realization by the State that China must be modernized.

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While missionaries and mandarins were thus from widely different motives making possible the mastery of western knowledge, individual students with the help of their families or friends were seeking it in China or abroad and were proving its value for commercial careers. For political reasons they have been compelled to operate chiefly as yet in the foreign settlements, but the connection between education and business or industrial success has been revealed, and with better government this opportunity will become widespread.

In all of this two assumptions remained as legacies from the immemorial past. One was the naive trust in knowledge as such, and the other the association of scholarship with government service. Hence progressive statesmen made provision for modern schools in China or scholarships for foreign study, and gave preference to those young men who had won academic degrees, while their recipients exploited the chance for official preferment, usually quite regardless of the bearing of one's technical studies on the job to be secured. Thus those who had specialized in mining engineering became municipal officers, or chemistry paved the way to being a commissioner of customs. Not only so, but the mere mastery - which very nearly meant the memorizing - of text-books on Physics or Politics, on Agriculture or Economics, was supposed to guarantee preparedness for bringing about the appropriate reforms.

It was natural also that in the earlier stages Japan should have had a large influence. The benefits of western knowledge had been marvellously manifested in the transformation of this neighboring country, so like themselves in culture and economic condition.

Students went there in large numbers, there being as many as 15,000 in Tokyo alone during 1908. It was far more economical and accessible, and there must also have been a strong sense of cultural kinship. Most of the leading military officers of the present regime were trained in Japan. With the establishment of schools of the new type Japanese were everywhere employed as teachers. They cost less and acquired Chinese speech more readily than westerners. Science equipment made in Japan was installed almost recklessly and gave the appearance of a new era even though most of it was never used. Dusty relics of this period are still in evidence in many a school. What an opportunity for winning Chinese goodwill Japan might have had by generously offering educational cooperation can only be imagined. As it is the actual benefit to China has not been very great and it may be that from the standpoint of educational progress it is fortunate that her militaristic ambitions soon eliminated Japanese personnel from Chinese schools and reduced the number of students going to Japan. Despite the admirable capacity of Japanese to apply western science to their national development, it was too recently acquired to fit them for mediating it effectively to another people - unless indeed they had possessed the same authority to enforce its application as in Japan, which would have meant the virtual subjugation of China, and explosions of nationalistic animosity even more violent than those which have recently been recurrent. The influence of students returning from Japan has, however, been by no means inconsiderable, notably in military science, also in law and various other subjects.

It can be taken for granted that the new education would long before this have won its way into China even though the particular

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factors outlined above had not been involved. Progressive leaders responded to a true instinct in desiring that China take her proper place in the modern world and in their reliance upon education as essential to such a program. Forces inherent in the world-situation would have compelled these changes even in the face of such continued reactionary measures as have often been a hindrance in the past. There are not a few both within the country and elsewhere who bemoan the loss of China's supposedly distinctive characteristics and the undeniable charm of her mellowed culture. But, as Bertrand Russell has pithily put it, China must either be placed in a museum or permitted to become modernized.

In the matter of the unique values of Chinese civilization a clear differentiation should be made between these and the habits or attitudes prevalent in any race before the introduction of new discoveries. We need only a little historical imagination to picture the life of our own forefathers without railways or running water or the radio, and all the manifold improvements of contemporary invention. Furthermore, modern education rightly employed ought to take the lead in conserving what really has abiding worth in the ancient heritage.

The struggle to build this new educational system has been powerfully affected also by various contemporary environmental factors, many of which were themselves the product of the advances already made. The political revolution which flared out in 1911 and accomplished the overthrow of the Manchu Dynasty was due to an awakening national self-consciousness which Sun Yat Sen and his youthful followers made articulate and effective for their purpose. The Intellectual Awakening or "New Thought Tide" of which Dr. Hu Shih

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was the brilliant and courageous leader was at once the expression of a spontaneous movement spreading widely and its powerful stimulation. It made as its vehicle a simplified literary style much easier to read and more precise in definition than the elegant but exacting composition based on classical models and limiting its use to a cult of the learned. The result was somewhat analogous to that which happened in the European Renaissance when scholars began to abandon Latin and Greek for the language of common speech. What was at first derided or denounced by the supercilious literati became in less than a decade the accepted mode of writing for everything from sentimental poetry to scientific treatises. Periodicals, many of them short-lived, sprang into being with amazing rapidity and contained articles on every theme that had gained attention in the West or had to do with present-day China. The past was meaningless and dead. Radical views on politics, social habits, sex relations, were eagerly read and naively adopted. Communist propaganda, which had been gaining adherents in secrecy and fear in the years immediately following the Armistice, became boldly and openly aggressive with the growing power of Russian advisers. One of the romances of modern times is the influence upon Sun Yat Sen of a book in refutation of Marxian economics written by a Brooklyn dentist. Dr. Sun was at the time in Shanghai writing the lectures which were published later as the Three Principles of the Kuo-min-tang, or Nationalist Party. He had been thrilled by Abraham Lincoln's phrase about "government of the people, by the people and for the people," and tried repeatedly to find a Chinese equivalent that could become the slogan of his party until he finally coined the gripping terms of which the lectures were an elaborate exposition. Having meanwhile sought help for his program from other countries - including the

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United States - without success, and having come under the spell of Russian doctrines while at the same time receiving Russian aid, he would unquestionably have advocated some form of Marxian philosophy had he not somehow secured a copy of The Social Interpretation of History by Dr. Maurice William from which he quoted extensively in discussing the Third Principle or that of The People's Livelihood. After Dr. Sun's death in March, 1926, the Kuo-min-tang leaders started northward from Canton with Russian advisers in the ascendancy and swept victoriously to the Yangtse valley where Chiang Kai-shek and his group repudiated the Soviet program and after capturing Peking established the National Government in Nanking where it has maintained itself with a large measure of continuity and on fundamentally sound policies until the present. How close China came during those critical years to a smashing red revolution after the Russian model can only be surmised, but the trail of destruction in the wake of the Russian-led wing to Hankow, with its culmination in the tragic incident at Nanking in the spring of 1927, gives a suggestion of what the consequences would have been.

Not only were students passively affected in all their attitudes and interests by the movements which have been sketchily noted above; they also deliberately organized themselves into a movement so coherent that it deserves comment as a distinct phenomenon. It originated on May 4, 1919, in Peking in an impassioned attack on three venal officials who were known to be nefariously enriching themselves by negotiating certain agreements with the Japanese Government. The offenders were arrested and lodged in an improvised "Students' Prison," which was soon congested with over a thousand others willingly incarcerated and many more clamoring for the same treatment. The

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government was put in a somewhat ludicrous predicament from which it finally managed to extricate itself in truly Oriental fashion, but not before nation-wide publicity had won approbation for the students. Meanwhile students in every city in China had declared a sympathetic strike and perfected an organization which enabled them to act as a single unit. They were completely successful in their immediate purpose and had suddenly become a new factor in the nation's political life, unselfishly patriotic, thoroughly alert, eager to work even when this involved much hardship. They successively attempted other patriotic reforms with varying results, and no doubt came to take themselves too seriously. Having set out to rescue the government, they soon began to apply the same technique to the reformation of their schools - anything from the personality of the president to the flavor of the food. They were exploited by their teachers in resisting the higher authorities, or in winning against a rival faction, or in playing some other game of educational politics. The temptation was irresistible to instigate the leaders to call a strike or boycott over some grievance or glamorous crusade and thus have the whole student body as a solid bloc making demands to which the authorities would be forced to succumb. But after all allowance is made for the crudities and excesses of inexperienced, volatile, self-important youth, and the debasing of their energies to trivial or improper uses, one feels that the students of China have revealed a lofty idealism and a passionate loyalty to their country's cause which stands out as one of the most hopeful happenings in contemporary life. Sneering at school-boys who ought to be studying their lessons instead of meddling with national affairs becomes gratuitous when one remembers the internal

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disorders and external dangers which have been menacing the very life of the country and the moral and material incapacity of each rapidly shifting governmental group to remedy the situation. Americans should be especially sympathetic, if we exercise enough historical imagination to recall the Tory indignation after the outbreak of our own War of Independence at the students in our colonial colleges, the suppression of whose activities would, as they declared, put an end to the whole troublesome rebellion. The outlook for China would, indeed, have been gloomy had her most intelligent young people not been aroused to some sort of radical action by the events of recent years.

Students returning from abroad and entering educational work have unconsciously patterned after the national concepts with which they have become familiar. Reference has already been made to Japan. There are also the continental European, the British and the American groups. While there has undoubtedly been a broadening of outlook with an ultimate enrichment of the whole process, yet these varying theories and traditions have tended to aggravate the present confusion. The Report of the League of Nation's Commission on Intellectual Cooperation, criticises the excessively American character of most of what they found in Chinese schools. This drew a spirited rejoinder from Dr. Stephen P. Duggan. Since, however, the great majority of those going abroad have studied in America, not a few of them specializing in education (spelt large as is our way), and since most of the mission schools in China have been of American origin, this consequence could scarcely have been avoided. Fortunately the situation during this formative period, especially in the more crucial fields of primary and secondary education, is still fluid and

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will be increasingly shaped by leaders splendidly capable of constructive planning according to the needs of their own Chinese milieu. The lack of originality thus far in introducing a new technique is readily understandable. It is also due to an apparent paralysis of the creative impulse so notably evident in the earlier history of the race. With the liberating of new energies which any really good education should effect, the quickening social vision and patriotic fervor which are everywhere making themselves felt, and a cessation of political unrest, China has the opportunity to build a system truly indigenous and an improvement upon those in the various foreign lands which will all have contributed valuable features.

The policy adopted for the education of girls is a case in point. Frequently in the past a fond father discovering that he possessed a gifted daughter would teach her himself or provide for her private tutors. But learning was treated in general as a masculine prerogative. However, just as in communications China can benefit by recent discovery and skip over the period of railways to that of automotive transportation and aviation, so in the matter of equality of the sexes she has in one decisive bound leapt across the slow stages of this struggle in the west and with breath-taking suddenness accepted the principle with all its implications. Education is therefore with equal opportunity for both sexes. Schools of all types may be co-educational and those of college grade must be. Women are found enrolled in professional and technical courses, as for instance in engineering. The idea of schools for girls and until recently almost the only provision came, however, from the pioneering missionaries. **E**ven among them schools for girls were naturally later in origin, fewer in number, and simpler in scope than those for boys. The

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progress in half a century may perhaps be graphically illustrated by the experiences of a missionary wife who landed in Shanghai on Christmas Day, 1874, and shortly after worked in the recently started school in Hangchow, the second school for girls in the long history of China. Only those parents would send their children who were so desperately poor that the danger and disgrace of entrusting them to "foreign devils" was no worse than trying to feed and clothe them at home. Not only were no fees charged but everything was provided free, clothes and bedding, books, and all articles of daily use. The first requirement was a bath and often treatment for skin or other infectious diseases. The teaching was of course elementary in the extreme. The school made only two requirements of the parents: that the feet should be unbound and that the principal must approve the marriage contract. On Christmas Day, 1924, the students of a large Christian University were asked by her son to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of his mother's arrival in China, and she was greeted by large numbers of girls coming gaily and easily with their "boy friends." These were all girls of full college grade, dressed in attractive Chinese adaptations of the prevailing styles, many of them taking vocational or professional courses until very recently limited even in the West to men; healthy and athletic; free to accept the husbands of their choice or to remain unmarried; active in dramatics, public speaking, social or religious service; in all things on complete equality with their masculine fellow-students, with the hearty acquiescence of the latter. The old lady grew reminiscent of the first efforts to advocate the theory and establish the opportunity for the education of girls when each of the statements in the preceding sentence would have been not only impossible but unimaginable.

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The transformation dramatized by this bit of personal narrative had been taking place along all the coastal provinces and penetrating inland. It is due to a variety of forces and would somehow have come about if no woman missionary had ever concerned herself over the right of Chinese girls to receive an education. But it was missionaries who first conceived the idea, for decades maintained in spite of bitter prejudice the only schools open to girls, initiated each movement toward higher and professional education for women; and now that the principle has been universally accepted with no qualifications nor restraints it is missionaries who are most solicitous about protective influences and proper sanctions as an essential corollary to that equality of the sexes in the recognition of which every Christian ought to rejoice.

Having discussed one phase of missionary schools it may be as well to attempt at this point some account of the part they have played in educational progress and the problems they have created for themselves and for the country. The motives which led to their establishment were essentially the same as in other countries. As in the early American colonial settlements, the need for a native ministry was probably the most conscious urge, especially in advances upon the more elementary grades. These latter were intended chiefly to provide training for the children of the Christian constituency that would be both positively religious and negatively free from objectionable practices or teaching. They were also utilized as evangelistic agencies through which not only the pupils but their parents and neighbors could be reached. Whatever their defects, they were as a rule the earliest schools of modern type in their localities and, in addition to the immediate objectives of their founders, have exerted

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an immense influence in arousing interest in scientific, political, and many other fields of new knowledge; they have supplied the country with not a few of those who in positions from the highest to the more obscure have been leaders in the awakening of intelligence and in practical reforms; and they have largely furnished the patterns and the incentives to the later government and private schools. While many critics of the revolutionary changes which have been taking place in China have exaggerated the influence of Christian schools in what they regard as harmful tendencies, yet they supply a grudging testimony to the extent to which their effects have been felt.

The primitive equipment, restricted outlook, and modest curricula of those simple beginnings have followed developments within China and elsewhere, but the essential aims of the schools continue. These are reinforced, however, by the desire to contribute to the welfare of the country by helping to supply young men and women equipped with all forms of useful knowledge and actuated by high ideals of human service.

They are also much less concerned with the doctrinal and ecclesiastical emphases which were inevitable at the outset. The opportunities which were thus created and the temperaments or group policies of missionary leaders caused two fairly pronounced types of school to emerge. One which was confined in the main to port cities attracted the sons of well-to-do or cultured families, charged fees accordingly, specialized in English, and equipped its graduates to do advanced study in China or abroad, with the prospect of government or other lucrative employment. The other type limited itself to the generally poor and humble Christian constituency, used Chinese as the vehicle, and had a simpler, more immediately practical, course of study. Each had of course its special advantages and defects. Not a few schools wavered

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indecisively between the two objectives, with resultant damage. Boys from impecunious Christian homes were provided for by scholarships in even the most aristocratic institutions with surprisingly little embarrassment in a nation which has always been democratic at heart and has recognized no superior class except in learning. The rural and other schools intended for the Christian constituency often yielded to pressure to teach English and introduce the other features which held out hope of remunerative jobs. It was debated earnestly in many a "mission meeting" whether the teaching of English was a device of the devil to deflect young men from the ministry or a means by which they could be trained for mediating all forms of useful knowledge into China while at the same time strengthening the Church in its lay membership even when they could not be persuaded to engage in Christian service. English was also the inducement from the student standpoint. It led alike to economic and intellectual benefits. Mission schools became in effect places for the vocational study of English, proficiency in which insured highly paid employment. Boys were willing to study anything, biology or the Bible, catechism or composition, if only it helped toward facility in English. Chinese studies were neglected not only because of the aims and limitations of the foreign masters, or the restricted funds permitting the employment of only mediocre teachers in these subjects; but because pupils were indifferent. Textbooks in Chinese were often lacking, a fact which at once stimulated the dependence on English and retarded the effort to prepare such textbooks in the language of the country. It was in the very nature of things that the origin and the occupations of the earliest schools were predominantly religious. The classes for religious instruction and attendance at chapel were all required as a matter of course. No one dreamed of government interference. The

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pupils and their families accepted the religious discipline as a necessary feature in securing their own very different objectives. As a Christian constituency developed such an emphasis seemed to the converts reasonable in itself, was reinforced by the age-long tradition of Chinese education with its strongly ethical content (the same ideograph still serves for both teaching and religion), and did not interfere with the worldly advantages from study in these schools of which they were no less aware than the outside public. The effect on docile minds, accustomed to accepting without question the instruction of their elders, was notable. Many went into the direct service of the Church; the large majority were baptized. Nor was this due merely to escape from economic anxieties or the over-powering impact of masterful and passionately earnest personalities. Not a few gave evidence by every recognized test of changed behavior and purified purpose, devoted themselves zealously and sacrificially to persuading others to accept the Way of Life as taught by Jesus, or in government or commercial careers exemplified the beauty of the teaching they had listened to in school. Outstanding figures in present-day China are the results of this process, or are the second or even third generation from those thus trained, while numerous less conspicuous men and women are proving with equally convincing force the reality of the experience which led them to make the Christian decision.

On the other hand, many pupils who sincerely enough yielded to the constant pressure of their teachers, succumbed to the effects of an unfavorable environment once they had left the hothouse atmosphere of the mission school. They had been too submissive, their well-meaning preceptors too insistent, the contrast between the ordered discipline of the school and the unrestrained allurements of Chinese

society too violent. The reversion - sometimes sudden, more often slow - was distressingly common except for those whose continuance in mission service supplied an automatic protection.

The teaching itself, while faithful to traditional concepts, was in large part responsible for the revulsion often produced. In the primary schools it consisted largely in memorizing the Gospels or the catechism in place of the Confucian Classics. There was an overemphasis on factual knowledge, such as Old Testament history, the events of Jesus' life, or the doings of the Apostles. The names and doctrinal terms must have seemed to those little boys and girls queerly foreign and remote from their normal interests. The external observances of worship and of ecclesiastical activity were out of true perspective. To be a Christian meant primarily to maintain these observances, not of course in the real desire of the missionary teachers but in the impression not unnaturally made by them upon their pupils. Repeatedly the winsome or saintly personality of the foreign friend aroused an ethical or spiritual consciousness that counted more with the student than all the forms and phrases he was made to repeat. But in general to be a Christian was to learn certain dogmas or historical facts and to attend the frequent church services.

In some cases the rebound after leaving school took the form not of indifference or neglect but of bitter antipathy. It is a byword that the leaders of the anti-Christian agitations have been largely from among the graduates of mission schools. Allowing for instances of resentment against supposedly unjust treatment or other personal grievances, the enforced indoctrination to which they were subjected undoubtedly produced this effect on many students.

Everywhere in the East TM ~~places~~ carry a deep significance. What has hitherto been known as missionary education can hereafter be more fittingly described as Christian, and the change is important. Until recently the schools were missionary in character and control, in finances and personnel. This is to say that, in the thought of those maintaining or studying in them and of those observing from without, their most distinguishing feature was that they were foreign. Now they are at least in process of becoming so normally Chinese that they are different from other schools chiefly in their Christian purpose and pervasive quality. Most of them have already been registered under the government simply as private schools. Practically all have conformed to the government regulation that the executive head must be a Chinese. In the colleges about seventy per cent of the teachers are Chinese, in the primary schools ninety-eight per cent, and in the middle schools the percentage is certainly between the two but perhaps much nearer the latter. The boards of control are at least two-thirds Chinese, and in not a few cases completely so. Primary and secondary education is increasingly supported by student fees and other Chinese sources, and even the more costly institutions of higher learning are beginning to depend on Chinese contributions in substantial amounts. Whether, therefore, from government mandates, or by internal authority and majority voting power, the schools actually are under Chinese control. The most notable element in this change is that it has been effected not only with the consent but usually with the eager and active insistence of the foreigners thus relegated to subordinate rôles. It has also made for efficiency in all those respects in which peculiarly Chinese issues are involved, and has done so by developing a sense of responsibility and institutional loyalty among those who had previously thought of themselves

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as merely employed by foreigners to perform assigned duties. This alone is an enormous gain. But the transfer to Chinese control has a yet more far-reaching significance in that these schools can now be regarded as having an established place in a purely Chinese educational structure with a reasonable assurance also of continuing to function in accord with the intentions of their founders. In other words, they are evolving from their original status of being adjuncts to a foreign propagandist movement which from its nature is temporary and exotic, into a thoroughly normal if distinctive type of Chinese educational activity. This does not imply that foreign teachers and funds will not be needed and welcomed for some time yet into the future, and that without such assistance many of the schools would suffer in both their material and their spiritual welfare. But it does mean that the time has passed when their right to exist, their administrative and instructional leadership, their material prosperity, and their religious ideals ^{were} ~~are~~ all dependent on foreign sources and when this ^{was} ~~is~~ their most distinguishing characteristic. Weak and disrupted as the Chinese political structure seems to be according to Western concepts, the real power of the country in recent years has been public opinion, and this will probably become more effective rather than otherwise with greater stabilization. The government gives articulate expression to well-defined popular attitudes and has the support of mass action in enforcing its will. Faculties and student bodies in Christian schools are part of this truly democratic force and in any case understand conditions too well to dare defy it. The schools must, therefore, comply with government requirements except in so far as they are performing a function or are suffering from an injustice which arouses popular sympathy. The only serious controversy thus far has been in the matter of the right to teach

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religion and require attendance at worship, and in general public opinion of all types, including Chinese Christians, has been overwhelmingly with the government. From the conventional missionary standpoint money has been contributed and schools have been founded to extend knowledge of Christian truth, and honest stewardship and fidelity to personal conviction demand that students be given the opportunity that would otherwise be lost. Furthermore, the cause of religious liberty itself is felt to be at stake, and since no one is compelled to attend these schools the denial of the right to require such instruction infringes on a principle which has been guaranteed in the Chinese constitution. The more representative government leaders argue that education controlled in the interest of any particular religious belief tends to exert an undue influence upon impressionable minds, that schools must be conducted for their educational rather than any other objective, that there is no anti-Christian or anti-foreign animus in their policies but only a desire to avoid the harmful consequences of ecclesiastical domination in the experience of other countries, as instanced in much of the state legislation in America, and that there is no interference with the proper aims of Christian educators in any requirements which have been formulated. The actual regulations of the Ministry of Education forbid religious features in primary and junior middle schools, required courses or compulsory attendance at worship in all others, a department of religion in the college curriculum on the ground that no student may major in this subject, and a theological school as an integral unit in a university. There have been needless anxiety and animosity over this contention, and extremist views as well as extraneous issues on both sides. A few missions have felt that the

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only consistent course was to close the schools or to transfer them without further responsibility on their own part to their Chinese associates. Some are following the Catholic policy of carrying on as long as they can "get by" and hoping for a more tolerant policy. But all the institutions of higher learning, and most of the secondary schools, have been, or are in process of being registered. There are indications that the government may permit no privately conducted primary schools, though this policy will not be easy to put into effect over the entire country; and meanwhile the whole situation in regard to them is rather confused.

During the past few months the Chinese press has given much attention to educational issues, and the trenchant criticisms at once disclose present defects and augur hopefully for their improvement.

It is being rightfully urged that there is relatively too great an emphasis on higher education. The Minister of Education recently stated in a radio address that in the past twenty years the number of institutions of this grade had increased twenty-fold, their students one-hundred-fold, and their expenditures over forty-fold, but that the corresponding increases for secondary schools were five, eight and thirteen, and for primary schools three, four, and five, respectively. The 111 colleges and universities are also geographically ill distributed, there being 30 in East China (the Shanghai-Nanking area), 20 in North China (12 in Peiping alone), 15 in Central and 8 in South China, with a scattering in the vast outlying regions. The secondary schools are unquestionably the weakest feature and are not only unable to keep apace with college standards but are in many instances actually deteriorating. The percentage of their graduates who fail to qualify for college is appalling.

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Even more clamant has been the demand for reform in the light of the startling proportion of college graduates who cannot find employment. It could scarcely be argued that with only 7000 of these annually in a total population of approximately 450,000,000, too many are being produced. The United States with one-fourth the population has twenty times as many college students. But it would seem to indicate that there is maladjustment somehow between the country's needs and the training they receive. This is further indicated by the very small percentage of those from the better institutions who fail to secure positions. There should certainly be more and better regulated vocational specialization, and a stricter selection of students. Most of the secondary schools are college preparatory because this is the easiest and cheapest type to maintain, although it is obvious that only a small minority of their pupils can go on to college. It would be an immense advantage if many of these gave technical training or at any rate a course that aimed to be complete in itself.

It is also urged that the emphasis has been too exclusively upon intellectual as against moral and physical culture. Such a complaint is not so much a fresh awakening as the recrudescence of China's classical teaching engrossed almost entirely as it was with human behavior, and her ancient discipline which always stressed various bodily exercises. It would be misleading to find fault with the instruction as being too materialistic, especially when we can all heartily endorse the attention to applied science and other practical studies. It is rather that all moral and character-building features are omitted from the curriculum in many schools, and that personal

influences by the teachers and the non-academic welfare of the students tend to be ignored.

Shortcomings such as these in the educational process are largely due to the unavoidable lack of comprehensive planning and of adequately empowered control during a period of transition, or to a too imitative acceptance of western models. There are at least two other sources of weakness which are in the social heritage of this people. One of these is an exaggerated emphasis on personal relations by which one's primary duty is to care for the members of one's family or neighborhood, or to live up to the obligations of friendship or merely of human need, rather than to secure administrative efficiency. Teachers are appointed, pupils are admitted, funds are granted, because of some personal relationship. A provincial Commissioner of Education is displaced and all the principals under his jurisdiction, if allowed to resign, carry with them their teachers, which has of course a seriously disrupting effect. Lack of continuity, a misdirected sense of responsibility, favoritism, improper methods of gaining favor, are among the more obvious consequences. In education as in all other aspects of Chinese life there is the fundamental demand for a transfer of loyalties. The other prevalent source of weakness is in the economic tradition, accentuated by the characteristic just mentioned. A contrast with the United States may make this clear. With vast undeveloped resources, an expanding frontier, new inventions and an almost religious exaltation of success as registered by the acquirement of money through thrift and industrious effort, the best brains of our people have very largely been occupied with the creation of new wealth. In fact our recent depression is mainly traceable to this national trait. In China, on the other hand, the keenest minds have in the latter reaches of their long history taken

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to classical study as the only road to official careers and all their emoluments or, debarred from this privilege by circumstance or temperament, have engaged somehow in the manipulation of existing resources. Thus it has come about that the race from which have been derived so many of the discoveries basic to modern progress has itself not profited thereby as it might and has stifled its own creative urge. Superstition, the teaching of revered sages and the Chinese equivalent for old-age insurance and other protection, have combined to produce a population in excess of subsistence resources. Again in contrast with America, this exquisitely ripened civilization has developed a cultural capacity superior to its economic. Hence there is a constant struggle to gratify artistic enjoyments or social amenities, which can only be achieved by securing existing jobs at the expense of others. Incidentally, this explains the civil wars and factional strife so perplexing to western readers. They are in reality efforts to control government office for oneself and one's following and their families and friends by the displacing of others. All of this has had a very direct bearing on the vicissitudes of modern education and its exponents during the past tumultuous quarter of a century. This class have at once the tradition most highly pronounced of learning as the pre-requisite to preferment, the old cultural appreciations quickened by novel and costly forms of such enjoyment that are by-products of western study, and an instinct for treating educational affairs as at least semi-political in nature. Naturally the schools have suffered. They have spelt too often the opportunity for a livelihood for as many as at any given time the traffic would bear. A teacher will hold concurrent positions in several institutions receiving a part-time salary from each, but with no sense of loyalty to

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any. Shifts in personnel have been of frequent occurrence, usually with violent fluctuations of standards. After their graduation students secure employment because of family influence or that of a teacher or of the institution itself rather than on merit, while numerous others go jobless. A college diploma holds the promise of increased earning capacity and the figures run higher with its foreign origin. Economic pressure has thus driven many young people to years of study, not with a view to useful service nor for the cultural benefit to themselves, but as creating a claim to a salaried position, the savings from which must in turn be shared with family and clan. Following once more the American analogy there is an overproduction of commodities there and of college graduates here, springing in each case from economic factors in the environment. China allows nothing usable to go to waste, but is prodigal of the gifted and highly educated youth who constitute her greatest unused resource.

It is a more pleasing task to pass from these critical observations to the many evidences of improvement. First to be mentioned is their own discontent with prevailing conditions. Practically everything in the preceding paragraphs has derived from Chinese sources. Criticism, especially among students, has in recent years been almost entirely negative but it has been incisive and intelligent. This phase was to be expected and has served a useful purpose. Long ago Plato pointed out that it was the part of youth to be dissatisfied with things as they are. Already there is a wholesome tendency to be more constructive in criticism, which is another way of saying that the sense of despondent helplessness is giving way to a determined purpose to work for a better order in the hope that this is after all not impossible.

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The second element is increasing political stability. Factional turmoil and internecine strife would interfere with educational progress in any country, as it has in China. But in this country there will be not only relief from interference and impoverishment. A strong government will unquestionably exert much more authority in educational affairs than would be looked for in Anglo-Saxon countries. Many of the defects to which attention has been called will be rectified. Thus within the past few months the Ministry of Education has been vigorously enforcing such reforms as more adequate equipment, reduction of part-time teachers, standardization of curricula, amalgamation or abolition of superfluous departments and even of larger units, etc. But there will probably be attempts to correlate all schools, government and private, into a comprehensive system, and to regulate their programs according to an authoritative pattern. Not only so, but there will be manifested a sense of national responsibility for the financial maintenance of approved institutions and for the employment of qualified graduates which goes beyond any current concepts in the West. State socialization will probably begin in China with education, and may point the way for similar progress in other countries. She has the double advantage of a great tradition and the fluidity of a period of reconstruction. The Ministry of Education sent out last spring a group of inspectors to all the institutions of higher learning in the country and their amazingly frank and discriminating reports were published in instalments in the Chinese press, being widely read and discussed. Based on these reports explicit orders were issued to the different institutions - government and private alike - of which cognizance must be taken. This may well be the first step in a deliberate policy of controlling the colleges in the interest of the national welfare as against unrestrained and

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unrelated units. It will then lead to far more drastic reforms such as reducing duplication, requiring differentiation, restricting enrollments and the numbers of graduates. Such regimentation may work certain hardships and do some harm, but the general effect ought to be decidedly beneficial.

A third factor is the insistence on the natural sciences. The enlightened policy of the American Government in remitting the second and final instalment of the Boxer Indemnity Fund and of the Rockefeller Foundation in its China activities has^s been largely responsible alike for stimulating the desire for these studies and for providing the requisite facilities. There is no longer any need for argument. The Government is using every device for advocacy of science teaching which with popular trends in the same direction may lead to a disproportionate emphasis and consequent surplus of technically trained material. But in any case it will produce a new mind-set which will make for modern efficiency even though something is lost of the distinctive charm and picturesque glamour of the China we have known. Life-time absorption with calligraphy and elegant composition as ends in themselves will be replaced by the eager quest for practical knowledge to be acquired and imparted through whatever literary medium will be most simple, accurate and clear. Feelings and face will seem less important than facts and figures. Birth-control and productive activity in other respects ought to combine to raise the standard of living. There will of course be excesses. Danger of over production of commodities is a long way off, but that of substituting a hardened materialistic philosophy of life for the gracious humanism of Confucian teaching is real. The study of the physical sciences will do much more, however, than to create mental attitudes. In the application to human welfare

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China may have an advantage in beginning with the latest mechanical improvements and all the results of cumulative experience elsewhere. If such developments can be protected from the harsh brutalities of western industrial advance by the most approved social techniques of our time, permeated with the spirit of her old morality, the results may quite possibly have lessons for other nations now seeking re-adjustments of social and economic conditions which are proving obsolete. The West has made progress by mastering the forces of nature and employing them for increased physical benefit but is doomed to continual unrest by the very efficiency of each new advance. India has found relief in attempting to imagine that the material world and its satisfactions are an unreal illusion. Between the two has stood the common-sense philosophy of China that the environment must be accepted as it is and that the art of life consists in making adjustments to it. Hence its sterile and static civilization and the poverty and misery of its masses. Hence also the instinctive urbanity in manners and the lofty social codes in morals. Scientific education should improve the physical welfare of her people while other studies preserve and vitalize her spiritual heritage.

The fourth source of optimism is the splendid promise of China's youth. The nation may seem to be disintegrating and the civilization to be senile. But any one who has had close association with successive generations of students can testify to their high average of mental ability and the brilliant gifts of not a few, their ready responsiveness to patriotic and other idealistic appeals, their capacity for diligent study and daring endeavor, their physical vitality and their winsome personalities. That there are glaring faults as well - some easily understandable from their social milieu, others taking the

form of racial characteristics - may be freely acknowledged. But in no country has education finer material from which to fashion its fitting product.

What is the interest of American readers in the educational problems and progress of this huge neighbor across the Pacific? We have a right to take pride in the share we have had in what has been achieved thus far. Peaceful reforms and surging revolutions can nearly always be traced at least in large part to the ferment of new forces released by the learning carried into China by American teachers or acquired by those of her youth who have studied in our schools. The dormant energies thus aroused, the aspirations quickened, the patterns into which these crystallized, might all have been very different otherwise, or have been too long delayed. Mistakes can easily be pointed out, and harmful instances of maladjustment or misplaced effort, because of excessively American influence. None the less we can claim that the intention has in the main been genuinely well-meant and generously unselfish, that the total contribution in life and money from the simple beginnings a century ago up to the present has been by no means insignificant, and that the results have been supremely beneficial. This is gratefully recognised by those who have directly shared in these advantages and by intelligent Chinese generally. It constitutes a basis for mutual understanding and friendly association which may prove of immeasurable consequence in shaping the affairs of the Pacific Basin and the even larger issues that make for peace or war around the world. Like all unselfish work, it may accomplish more than the workers could ever have desired or dreamed.

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Nor is the need for such assistance ended. No tribute is too high for those Chinese educators who have in the face of conservative opposition, financial limitations and other baffling obstructions struggled to establish and extend their schools. The government and private individuals can contribute money in amounts which will make American gifts seem comparatively small. Chinese have proven their capacity to master all requisite forms of modern knowledge and to apply these to their country's need. American educators, however experienced or well equipped, cannot equal native teachers in their use of the language or in their familiarity with the mental habits of their students or in their use of Chinese material. None the less the help we can yet give is very real and very welcome. Quantitatively the task is staggering and every bit that can be done to aid goes further and counts more than perhaps anywhere else in the world today. What is one out of four thousand of the whole population in the high schools or one in ten thousand in the colleges? But our service must be estimated chiefly in qualitative terms and spiritual values. A realistic acquaintance with conditions in many of the government and private schools of all grades compels the admission that they are far from being what would be expected. The dead weight of ingrained social habits presses upon the responsible leaders and crushes down the newer loyalties. Economic factors are a constant deterrent in many various ways. The emphasis on appearances, the curse of nepotism or of undue personal influence, lack of experience in voluntary cooperation, the mutual suspicious or jealousies which are perhaps the most unlovely of Chinese racial characteristics, a concern for human values at the expense of the maintenance of abstract regulations and standards, are among the factors which have led to the deterioration

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of many a school which began with fine purpose. All this and much more can be said without any sense of being really critical. After all the modern educational movement is relatively a very small nucleus in a vast inert environment and covers a few years encumbered with the folkways of many centuries. It is not to be wondered at that with the sanctions of an age-long past suddenly swept away a morality adapted to the new conditions takes time to assert itself. In such a situation American influence can continue to supplement and reinforce, as at earlier stages it helped to create, a modern educational system for China. Among the forms such cooperative help can take are: strictness and sincerity of academic standards; economy and efficiency in financial management; personal interest of teachers in their students alike in class-room and all other aspects of their lives; pioneering and experimental projects conducted with a freedom not permissible in the more conventional government schools; the teaching of English and of native teachers of English; character-building attitudes and beliefs; athletics and the sportsmanship that is thus acquired; a broader international outlook. Each of these items has been specifically mentioned by Chinese observers as a contribution from American effort in the past and a reason why they eagerly desire the continuance of such assistance in the future. The next two or three decades will be crucial in China's development and during these formative years her leaders are true to an inherited instinct in stressing the importance of education. It would be difficult to conceive of conditions where American money and personalities could count more for human progress and international goodwill than by assisting Chinese in what will be hereafter in the fullest sense their own schools. This should involve drastic changes in much that

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has been carried ^{by us} on thus far, with emphasis on quality and on the maintenance of highest-grade types, be they never so few or small. Undergraduate study should be done in China, with encouragement for going abroad only to exceptional students in highly specialized fields. Such friendly sharing of whatever we may have to give at this epochal period of China's modernization will from the standpoint of intelligent self-interest repay us many fold. The Chinese cultural infusion will soon be correcting or enriching our own life as we have ventured to believe ours has been of help to China. But a sufficient satisfaction remains in doing what small part we can toward an educational awakening in which the problems and the potentialities are alike enormous.

J. Langdon Stewart

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Stuart

CHRISTIANITY AND NATIONALISM

Does Christianity stimulate or deaden love of country? Is it a help or hindrance in the realization of national aspirations? It is inevitable that questions such as these should be in the minds of Chinese students at this time. They are pertinent questions. In the present awakening of national self-consciousness among the Chinese people they would quite naturally be opposed to any creed or organization that seemed to make its adherents unpatriotic. In order to prevent misunderstanding as to what I may say hereafter, let me at this point put myself on record as being in complete accord with the Chinese point of view, in regard to the revision of treaties with foreign nations so that all traces of inequality should be removed - all unfair advantage be cancelled. I recognize that these demands are reasonable and righteous, and am confident that a prompt and friendly acceptance by the other countries would be to their own real benefit as well as to that of China. Not only so, but the nationalistic sentiment which now dominates Chinese thinking seems to me the most hopeful phenomenon in that country. The only basis for true democracy lies in an intelligent, alert, organized articulate public opinion. That has been forming recently under the provocation of unjust treatment by other countries and has revealed a fine unselfish patriotic enthusiasm. When this becomes aroused in accomplishing internal reforms it - and it alone - can bring about the establishment of the strong and stable government which all loyal Chinese and all their foreign friends desire. Is the presence of Christianity in China an asset in the development of this sort of nationalism? It is a curious fact that at this very time the same question is being asked in Europe from the opposite standpoint. It is argued that the growth of nationalism during the nineteenth century has been the major cause of the constant dissensions among the European countries which culminated in the ^{horrors of the} Great War and are now breaking out again in menacing

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aspects. Christianity is said to have fostered this narrow, dangerous nationalism, whereas it should have neutralized it by generating a spirit of international goodwill and brotherhood. It is difficult to evaluate the influence of Christianity upon nationalism in China, because of the forms in which it appears there. It is inextricably entangled with western ecclesiastical systems and political alignments. These in their turn are the product of historical causes traceable through centuries of change. Carefully studied it will be discovered that the visible organized Christianity of any place or period, is at once a creative force ahead of its time, struggling toward higher ideals, and, on the other hand, conditioned by its environment and the limitations of its age so that it becomes a conservative force arresting progress. We must therefore distinguish between the Religion of its Founder - the way of Life which Jesus taught and lived - and the official institutionalized embodiment of this Religion in each country and stage of history. To my mind, one convincing evidence of the truth and vitality of the Christian religion is the self-reforming power with which it is forever breaking away from its own past into new and loftier expressions of dynamic energy.

Jesus Christ satisfies the noblest ethical ideals of humanity. But He also corrects those ideals. Indeed, we should think it strange if He brought no rebuke to ^{even} the best of our imperfect standards - no vision of Truth and Goodness, fuller and fairer than anything we had before conceived. He would not be worthy of being called Our Lord did He merely realize human ideals and not elevate those ideals themselves.

Applying this to nationalism, we need only read the Gospels to see how passionately patriotic was Jesus, but also how He disapproved the crude and foolish nationalism of His fellow-countrymen. They could only understand the sort of nationalism that tried to revolt against Roman Imperialism, and they had Him crucified because He refused to lead either

'a military or a miraculous revolution against Rome. And yet He has been the inspiration again and again to patriotic leadership in every country where His name is known. Is not the real explanation of this seeming paradox that Jesus revealed himself and never ceases to inspire in others a certain quality of character - the essence of which is ^{an} ever-broadening, all-inclusive, self-denying Love; the basis of which is belief in the Brotherhood of all mankind with one God and Father, the most practical expression of which is the spirit of Service - individual, social, racial, international? - Each one of us must study the application of these principles to the special circumstances in which he finds himself. It seems to me that under present conditions the Spirit of Jesus would reinforce the patriotic urge of Chinese students first to secure redress for their country from humiliating and harmful relations with foreign powers and then to strive for internal progress and prosperity. But in such a program the influence of Jesus would make for what might be called The Higher Nationalism which works for these patriotic objectives not in conflict with other nations, but as China's contribution toward an international fellowship of the free and friendly peoples of the earth living on terms of equality and mutual good will.

The foreign complications of the Christian Movement in China today lead to a confusion of loyalties. One useful service Christian Chinese students can render is the development of a purely Chinese Christianity, springing from personal religious experience in harmony with the racial genius, helping to preserve China's cultural heritage, and nourishing a love of country which will help to make China not only strong and prosperous and free, but the greatest single force for happier world relations in the future as in view of her splendid traditions and her great size, she deserves to be