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The New Cycle of Cathay and America's Part in It

By JOHN STEWART BURGESS

With what seems to a casual newspaper reader like the crazy sequences of the cinema, the generals drift across the screen, parties rise and fall, and the Chinese plot, whatever it may be, unrolls interminably. But to Professor Burgess many years of service at Princeton-in-Peking have brought an insight which enables him, if not to predict the next reel, at least to make intelligible the one now before us. In his October article, Christians at the Crossroads, he put in perspective the student crisis of Shanghai; in these pages he sketches the cast of characters on the broader stage, and points out, among the forces making or marring the new national life, the part which America may play in the diplomacy of the East.

—PEKING

WHAT does the immediate future hold for China? One can hardly answer so sweeping a question. It seems clear, that although old social organization and old habits still play a big part, they are a passing phase of the present situation. The future is with the forces creating a new national life. The disorganization and destruction resultant from the military debauch of the last decade in China will hinder progress for some time to come. In some respects, as many Chinese claim, things undoubtedly will get much worse before they get better. The roof may first have to fall in before substantial reconstruction takes place. The very real problem of the warring military satraps and the incubus of some two million men under arms create questions that cannot be worked out in a day.

But in spite of these great obstacles, one is able with some confidence to believe that China in the not too distant future somehow will get out of her tangle, for she is fast becoming a united nation welded together in a common crusade.

The question of most concern to America, and for that matter, to all the world, is this: What sort of a nation will this independent China be? What group will be her leaders? What policy will she adopt towards the rest of the world? Here are questions which in some ways can be answered better in London, Tokyo and Washington than in Peking. Sympathetic understanding of China's aspirations and her new consciousness and resultant changes in diplomatic policy are factors supremely important in determining what kind of a nation will crystallize here in the next decade.

AS I see the old China, it was composed of a number of related, self-sufficient groupings, very loosely tied together. The family, village, secret society, guild, were the principal units. In more recent years the chambers of commerce, the agriculture societies, the editors' societies, the educational societies and other vital interest groups have come into some prominence. These were greatly stimulated by Kang Yi Wei, the early reformer of 1898.

In all these groups the mysterious qualities called *tse ke* or "standing" seemed to have been the principal characteristic of leadership. This conception is a peculiar combination of age, learning, experience, plus a certain amount of actual ability in leadership. For instance, at present Wu Pei Fu has what is known as *tse ke*. He has maintained it even though he was thoroughly defeated in battle by his adversaries last year, primarily because of his seniority in military rank and his classical learning. His actual ability as a fighter previously and his refusal to run away to the Foreign Concessions in time of trouble are also factors, but of a minor nature.*

The heads of various guilds in Peking are chosen not primarily for their ability. A man naturally becomes the head man, at the time of the meeting of the guild, because of his *tse ke* or general prominence and standing in the organization. Theoretically, positions of this kind are not sought but are thrust upon a person when he arrives at a certain stage.

When all the different organizations of China were conducted on this order, things managed to go along with a fair amount of harmony. Everyone knew his place and there was no great discord. Leadership naturally came to those who had met certain requirements and there was little rivalry for places. The trouble with the present situation in China is that with the old political system broken down, there is no group on the horizon that has the *tse ke* to take the lead in China's affairs. Accustomed to the old ways of group system and without a relationship to the former governmental ruling group, now twelve years abolished, China is floundering to find some source of political authority which will have sufficient moral sanction to reawake the loyalty of the various groupings of this nation—or to put it more truly, for a person or group whom the other groupings of China would be content to permit to rule. Until such an authority is found we cannot expect to have a peaceable time in this country.

There seem to be two possible ways that such an authority may be established, the first way depending upon the old group cohesion and the second by way of new and revolutionary ideas.

There are many in China, both foreign and Chinese of long experience, who expect chaos to continue until one of

* In April he was offered control of Peking and command of the Kuominchun, or national armies, which previously supported Feng.—EDITOR

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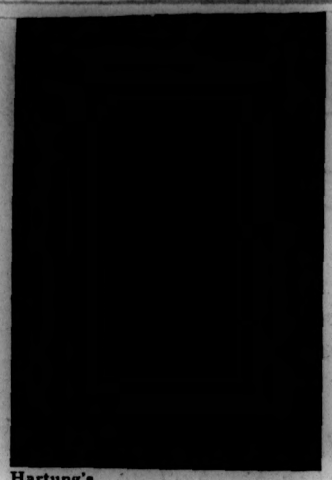
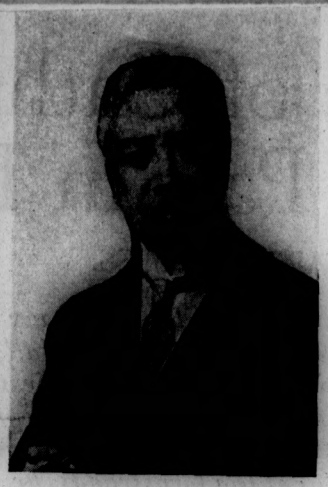


Hartung's

Hu Shih, Ph. D. Columbia, National Government University, educational leader.



H. E. Shen Ju Lin, foreign minister, chief delegate to tariff conference.

Admiral Tsai Ting Kan, head of customs service, delegate to tariff conference.

C. T. Wang, ex-premier, head of Bureau of Russian Relations, a tariff delegate.

the military factions led by some outstanding leader proves itself superior to all others. The feeling is that the standing which would be given such a military leader would be sufficient to re-establish a central government with sufficient power to receive recognition of all of the outstanding groups of the country. There are obvious difficulties with this solution. In the first place, various military leaders have been trying this out for some years and there never was more chaos than at present. Instead of two outstanding parties, we now have four or five and the task of military domination by any one group is becoming increasingly more difficult. Furthermore, it is by no means sure that mere military victory would give any one leader sufficient standing to control the government. If we are to assume the restoration of the old regime, and the establishment of a monarchy, this might be possible, but there are few thinking people in this country who believe there is any possibility of that. The people of China don't want a monarchy. Mere military success would not give sufficient respect and honor to the victorious military hero to weld together the nation. In spite of having the largest number of men under arms of any nation in the world, variously estimated from two to three million, China is in no sense a militaristic nation. The thinking people have little respect for militarists, at least on the score of their fighting ability. The traditions of the nation rank the soldier as one of the most ignoble among the various occupations.

Those who advocate the strong hand policy also overlook the fact that the old group system which formerly permitted the official and governmental class to rule is itself breaking up. One could give numerous illustrations of the disintegration of the old family system; of the guilds losing their functions to the police and civil authorities, and of the general breaking down of the old respect for the authoritative heads of any of the groups above mentioned.

The other possible solution is that with the breaking down of the old group system and the coming in, on the one hand, of a new individualism and on the other hand, of a new nationalism, a solution of the question will eventually be worked out along the lines of the modern democracies of the West. The only one of the military leaders who seems to feel the importance of the new spirit is Marshal Feng Yu Hsiang. The military men in general are counting on a solution of the first kind mentioned and are fighting for position, each hoping that some day, by a favorable turn of the wheel, he will be the supreme military dictator of the country. For the next few years the mass of people will probably think in the old group terms and will leave the militarists to fight it out—as the government is not the affair of the ordinary man in the street, but of the people who are supposed to look after those things. Officialdom appears to have gotten somewhat confused but as military men have taken it upon themselves to take hold of the machinery of government, let them fight it out as quickly as possible and set up some sort of government!

There are abundant signs, however, that the new nationalism is here. The chambers of commerce throughout the country are getting desperate over the situation and are demanding that the militarists reform their policy. Very recently in Shantung the people of the town rose up and destroyed the yamen of the local official who had been squeezing money from them for military purposes. They killed a lot of the soldiers and drove the official out.

That the beginnings of democracy have brought the signs of individualism has also become a truism. During the first years after the revolution, the contrast with old China was most marked. For the first time in her history here in Peking very young men came into prominence in government positions. Women also, for the first time, took the public platform and made addresses. A friend of mine who was on the station platform at the time the first parliament members were coming to Peking, aroused great indignation in a certain parliamentarian by asking him what school he was going to attend in Peking! Many of the members of the new Parliament looked like school boys. With the various waves of democratic feeling that have swept over the country during the last fourteen years, young men less hampered by the traditions of the past have been recurrently prominent in government affairs in the capital and departures have been made from the age-long customs of governmental administration, though the tide has repeatedly swung.

With over four million young men and women in schools and colleges, and hundreds of thousands turned out every year, and an increasing number going abroad; and with the spread of mass education and the beginnings of a genuine public opinion, we may expect gradually that the time will

Hartung's

General Feng Yu Hsiang, in control of the Northwest, but losing ground.

Marshal Wu Pei Fu, who is apparently succeeding Feng in control of Peking.

Liang Shih Yi, minister of finance under Yuan, in the "communication clique."

Tuan Chi Jui, national general executive at Peking until last month.

come when a truly democratic leader or a group interested in a new type of national life will be welcomed. The orientation from group interest to national interest has been taking place rapidly since May 30, 1925.

Who will be the leaders in the social order which will be produced by this new national consciousness? No one who has lived in China for any length of time and who knows the Chinese people has any doubt of their mental ability to look after themselves. The practical problem is this: how, in so complicated an international and internal situation, can any forward-looking group so control national policy that order can be restored and progress begun? Is it possible for an intelligent minority with the highest patriotic aims, to bring about the development of a wholesome democratic life? There are a number of modern groups already established in China, with some degree of unity, any one of which may play a prominent part in the future development of this country.

Of the older groups which have a constructive program, one should mention the Chiao T'ung Hsi or "communication clique," led by Yeh Kung Ch'oo, at present the minister of communications. This group has a well worked out program of economic salvation for China, by means of better roads, increased railroads and development of natural resources. At present this clique holds great power, controlling not only the Board of Communications, but the Bank of Communication and the Bank of China as well, and having a large following among the financial leaders. Li Shih Hao, minister of finance, belongs to this group—also Liang Shih Yi, the finance minister under Yuan Shih Kai, known as the "God of Wealth." It seems improbable that in the future this group, which has been closely identified with Chang Tso Lin and his military party, will play a leading role.

The second group is known as the Yen Chiu She or "discussion group," which includes many of the most prominent educators of modern China, and other leaders of a non-political nature, which look to education as the means of national salvation. Among these are Tao Chih Hsing, head of the National Society for the Promotion of Education, and a group of prominent and able returned students. Under his leadership important educational experiments have been made and considerable improvement has been accomplished in the educational system in spite of the political upheavals of the last few years. Paul Monroe and other prominent educators have lectured in China under the auspices of this association and have guided the development of this educational movement. Another prominent member of this group is Yen Yang Chu, properly known as "Jimmie Yen of Yale," formerly secretary of the National Committee of the Y.M.C.A., and now head of the mass educational movement, which Ray Lyman Wilbur at the Honolulu Conference called the most significant social movement in the world today. This has as its aim nothing short of producing, by the use of the Thousand Character Readers, a literate China within a generation. The story of the advance and the development of this movement reads like a modern romance. It has now close on to a million students. The policy of this movement is not only to teach the thousand characters and elements of reading, but to develop citizenship training. Other prominent educators such as Kuo Ping Wen, former head of the Southeastern University, Fan Yuan Lien, formerly minister of education, and Hu Shih, of the National Government University, founder of the Renaissance Movement, are associated with this general movement. Prominent men who were formerly leaders in politics are backing this educational advance, especially Liang Chi Chao, the sage of China, with Kang Yi Wei, one of the two foremost revolutionists in the years just preceding 1900. It is improbable that this group will develop into a political movement of great power but its influence will be very great in the new life of China under any form of political organization. On the whole, this group stands for conservative democracy and constructive building by means of education and citizenship training.

A third prominent group which may prove the force to mould a new China is composed of General Feng Yu Hsiang, his military officials and a growing number of his followers. Recent military movements have all made it apparent that his power is to extend beyond the northwest provinces, probably to include the whole of the metropolitan province of Chihli and possibly others further south.* General Feng is the one militarist

* Since this article was written changes in the Chinese military situation have, at least for the time being, greatly restricted the area of General Feng's influence.—EDITOR.

who apparently has an appreciation of the present popular movement. Like him, his military underlings, wherever they are put in authority, at once inaugurate an era of good government, better roads, better education and law and order.

A case in point is the administration of the metropolitan area under his general, Hsueh Tu Pi, civil governor of Kansu during Feng's control. The eighteen counties around Peking form a sort of District of Columbia under the metropolitan mayor. The office of the mayor is in Peking and he administers a small area around his office, although the city itself is ruled by a municipal council independent of him. In his first six months of office in Peking, Mayor Hsueh organized a "model village" immediately around his yamen as a demonstration for the benefit of the head men of the villages in the metropolitan area of how a village should be run. The streets are in good order; small public parks have been put in; every child in the area goes to school; a modern playground has been initiated; a health center with a visiting nurse has been organized; a democratic village administration, modelled on the basis of old village life but of a more democratic nature, has been inaugurated. Besides, the mayor opened a large public park and a museum in Peking's ancient drum tower for the benefit of the people. He cooperated in the establishment of a maternity hospital in order to train midwives and health workers for the eighteen counties over which he had jurisdiction. He called to his aid medical experts, educational experts, and physical directors to inaugurate a new and healthy life throughout the countryside. Needless to add, his soldiers maintained law and order and paid for what they bought—an unusual habit among the soldiers of some armies.

Improvements of this kind are begun wherever General Feng's army commanders have control and—even more significant—there seems to be some appreciation at least on the part of General Feng of the value of popular cooperation in what he is trying to do. These improvements are not merely an exhibit of autocratic efficiency, but mark the beginnings of a popular movement. In particular, Mayor Hsueh identified himself very closely with the mass education movement and chose one of his counties, Tunghsien, as a demonstration area for a thoroughly organized effort to make the whole country literate, under the leadership of James Yen and his experts. Going even further, he lent his help to this same association in a thorough social survey of this county to be conducted under the direct supervision of Sidney D. Gamble, who has spent some years in social research in Peking and is the author of Peking, a Social Survey.

No doubt this sounds like a paean of praise for General Feng. I disclaim any attempt to maintain that he is the future savior of China. There is no man about whom there is greater difference of opinion than General Feng. Many of his actions in the past, especially in connection with the driving out of President Li Yuan Hung, are inexplicable. How clear his motives are it is hard to say. He is described alternately as absolutely unscrupulous and as the one true patriot among all the war lords. But there can be no doubt of the salutary effects of his administration and of that of his subordinates over any territory over which they have already had jurisdiction. It is always wholesome, progressive and constructive.

The Communists form a fourth group which may exert great influence in moulding new Chinese institutions. They have all the advantages of unity and a clear program. They have the success of Russia to copy. At present in Canton the students' army is a close-knit group with such a unified purpose. In the country at large there is no question but that the elements which would make for such a group already exist. There are notable intellectual leaders as well as groups of students throughout the country who have a common theory of the way to meet the present situation. Li Shih Tseng—professor in the National Government University, a returned student from France, son of an ex-prime minister under the Manchu dynasty—is an illustration of the type. He has a definite Marxian program. He is anti-clerical. He apparently is not interested in building up a fortune for himself, but gives away money largely for helping students. His diet is of the simplest. Outside of his teaching, his time is devoted to the propagation of his doctrine by public address and by the written page. There are many such intellectual leaders in China and their number is growing. It is at least conceivable that a turn in political events may throw these men together into one solidly united group similar to the Communist party in Russia.

THE strength of Russia in China today is due to the fact that the Russians relatively more than other nationals appreciate the new forces. In one of the leading Peking newspapers, as I write, a daily debate is being carried on as to whether or not China should continue to hold a friendly attitude towards Russia. A few months ago the majority held that China's best friend was Russia. Had she not abolished extraterritoriality of her own free will? Had she not made large promises of restoring land formerly seized by the Tzar? Had she not been consistently urging China to assert her independence and to throw off the bondage imposed upon her by Western capitalistic imperialism? But the passage of a few months has revealed to many that Russia was not wholly altruistic in her dealings in connection with the Chinese Eastern Railway and that the vast territories which she agreed to return to China, which would extend all the way to Irkutusk, if agreements were literally carried out, are not actually to be given back. An increasing number of Chinese are pointing out that much of the purely destructive propaganda advocated by China's young men is due to Russian influence. Still, on the whole, Chinese opinion claims that, as compared with European powers and America, Russia has proven herself the better friend to China.

In a recent interview C. T. Wang, former premier and present head of the Bureau of Russian Relations, depicted the changing attitude of the Chinese people towards Russia by a homely illustration. He said that one could forgive a certain looseness of life on the part of the ordinary business or professional man, but when one finds a bishop of the church associating with public women and occasionally intoxicated, he is greatly grieved and surprised. Russia is in the place of the bishop; she made great pretentions at righteousness and of her great things were expected. Indignation against Russia is not so much because she is worse than other countries—indeed, she is acting much better so far as China is concerned—but because of disappointment for her failure to live up to her pretentions. Mr. Wang flouted the idea that Russia was the predominating influence in the Far Eastern situation. He claimed that China long ago tried out Communism and there is no danger—however friendly foreign relations may be—of China's adopting the

Communist program. The best features of Communism, according to him, are embodied in the Chinese family system and in the social life of China, so free from class distinctions.

In spite of Mr. Wang's statements, it appears that there are in practically all the large colleges in China close-knit and powerful minorities, among both teachers and professors, who are ardent disciples of the Communist doctrine. Just how wide their influence will be in the future again is a question depending largely on the attitudes of the various foreign nations towards China.

The question of the relative strength of the Communist party, sympathetic with the Russians, and of more moderate groups, as I have said, is to be answered at least partly by the policy of America, England and Japan towards China, especially by that of America. Any lack of appreciation of the national aspirations of the new China and hostility to them may make America appear what Russia makes her out to be—a capitalistic and imperialistic nation which is cooperating with other European nations to prolong the bondage of China.

In a recent conversation C. T. Wang remarked to me that of course the Chinese people are not hostile to America. They consider her, however, rather foolish. They know that she does not understand the situation here as well as either England or Japan and that she is being used by these nations to carry out their own policy. He held that the only possible course for America, both for America's future good and her international trade relations, and for China, was to come out with an independent, liberal policy irrespective of the plans of imperialistic European nations.

I wish to reiterate that the problem of China is not primarily an industrial one. Certain experts such as Bertrand Russell and Harry Ward are apt to read into China a development and effect of modern industry far out of proportion to what has taken place thus far. Although industrial development is among the most significant trends in modern China yet its influence has not yet gone far beyond the immediate environs of a few large cities. The attempt of the British Labour Party to interpret the whole uprising in Shanghai as the result of indignation over the exploitation of Chinese labor by western capital is thoroughly to misread the essentials of the situation. Chinese employers treat their laborers just as badly, if not worse, then the westerners. The question of child labor, pressing as it certainly is, is not the essential one in this situation.

And it also appears to me to be a false reading of the present turmoil to attribute it to Bolshevik propaganda. There are plenty of causes for the existing national feeling, without assigning it wholly to disturbances worked up artificially by Communists. The large majority of the agitators and the overwhelming majority of the people of China are not at all favorable to Communism. The real question is one of a new self-respect, of the birth of a new consciousness and of a new nationalism which is changing the face of Chinese social organization and of Chinese life and which unquestionably will be the molding force in the future of the Chinese nation.

The Chinese people are naturally neither extreme nor unreasonable. They have come to a point, however, where they demand autonomy in their national life. They demand the things which everyone in the West takes for granted as the privileges of a nation. Undoubtedly the transitional period will be one of many difficulties, both for foreign trade and for missionary enterprises, but the problem can only be solved by those who have a sympathetic and understanding spirit and are willing to trust the forces of new life so powerful and so evident in China today.

The American Stake in China

By J. STEWART and STELLA F. BURGESS

CHINA, to quote the New York Times, has leaped upon the front page and walked through all the doors of the State Department. The question naturally arises, could these distressing events have been foreseen, and, foreseen in time, prevented?

America's principal interest in China is the cultural contact between the two peoples embodied in the missionary enterprise which symbolizes the altruistic interest of Americans. Our investment in mission property in China is estimated at $80,000,000 as against $70,000,000 in business undertakings. Of the 12,000 or more Americans living in China, about two-thirds are in the missionary body—evangelists, doctors, nurses, secretaries of the Y. M. and Y. W. C. A.

The present situation in China raises many questions as to the future of this large undertaking. Property ownership must, of course, be adjusted in the light of changing political relations. An interesting problem is the attitude that Chinese Christians, inspired by Nationalist feeling, will take toward continued ownership by foreigners of institutions which they have increasingly come to believe are the instruments of a native Christian movement. The method of transfer of this property into Chinese hands is, of course, only a small part of the future relation of Americans to the religious and cultural development of China. That a readjustment of the type of work and in many cases of the type of worker sent out from America is one which the missionary movement will have to meet, seems clear. Contributions of great value in the pre-national period may be a hindrance to the Christian movement under an autonomous China.

Of even greater importance are such questions as these: Of what permanent value will the past work of the missionary group be in the building of the new China? How may the results of this work be best conserved for the interest of the Chinese people? What type of contribution should America make to aid and not hinder the growth of an independent Chinese nation and the welfare of the Chinese people?

ALL foreigners in Peking know the Clock Shop with its conspicuous time piece at the East Four Gateways. Once inside the brick gateway, flanked by canny beggars, one's rickshaw catapults into a wide courtyard surrounded by the sloping roofs of a well-stocked shop of silks and cloth. Scores of unhurried clerks await the buyer's will.

On a morning of brilliant North China sunshine two years ago, tea was forthcoming for the American with whom a friendship had been built up by common work in the Community Centre of this block of 9,000 people—a friendship strong enough to allow the head clerk to break through the tense silence of hatred and suspicion which rose like a high wall upon the shooting of Chinese students in Shanghai on May 30, 1925, as they were parading in protest against labor conditions in foreign-owned mills.

The proprietor leaned across the tea-table to make his words emphatic to his American customer.

"*Taitai,* your words sound well—that we must each deal with this matter in the spirit of fair-dealing and in the light of truth. But I tell you the whole situation is founded on injustice: They scorn to deal with our people as equals. They do not recognize that we, as well as they, are a part of the human race. They will not *chiang li*" (talk out the moral points involved).

His voice and his fists were rising now. It was hard to recognize the placid friend of the week before.

"You people from the Out-Lands don't get the significance of this movement. You think that you can sew a patch on this rent—that it's a minor tear. I tell you it is just beginning!"

Calling to his side a little boy of six, he put his arm around his first-born with a gesture which is universal.

"We are dinning it into the ears of little fellows who are no larger than this. Whether they are eating or playing we see to it that they hear of the injustices of the foreign nations toward us. Wait! Wait until these little fellows have come to maturity—you will see!"

That afternoon this same American was caught in the swirling eddy of thousands of students storming the entrances of the Legation Quarter. The then only articulate

Reprinted from Survey Graphic of May, 1927, for Princeton-in-Peking

group in the country were yelling as they marched, "Down with unequal treaties! Give us back our territory!"—all the slogans which, in the past two years, have swept like a prairie fire through the largest nation on earth. With imprecations and tears of shame they beat against the cordon of Chinese soldiery about this piece of China controlled by aliens, reviling them as traitors.

Evening of the same day, and a garden-party in an ancient Chinese courtyard, lighted by the moon and scores of lanterns strung between high elms. In one corner, flanked by college pillows, sat a burly Anglo-Saxon expressing his satisfaction that in Shanghai at least, the unruly students had come up against bullets. "Served them jolly right—ought to be spanked and sent back to their books, the whole crowd of them! . . . *They* can't shake us out." After two periods of residence in China he was still of that type of which the cloth merchant had spoken that morning—"You will not see!"

SO far as America's relations are concerned, the term imperialism scarcely seems appropriate, yet the total effect of our political, economic and religious impact has made it difficult for Chinese to believe that we have no definite imperialistic policy. Of late years the term imperialism, it must be remembered, has signified to the Chinese any policy of enforcing the will of a foreign group on unwilling or passive Chinese, from the holding of foreign concessions to compulsory chapel in a Christian college. It signifies a conviction of superiority, a lack of appreciation of the capacities, aspirations, or cultural heritage of their people.

A quiet but powerful influence since the founding of the public schools in 1905, has come from the readers made compulsory by the Board of Education, which told every Chinese boy and girl of the humiliation of their people under the present treaties. The World War, with its revelation of the aims of western diplomacy and of underlying trade jealousies, the marauding war-lords who had forced the conclusion that the people must take a hand in public affairs, or perish, the disintegration of the old social system under modern industry around the port cities—these and many other influences have tended to break down clan-mindedness and preoccupation with local affairs, and awake an ardent desire for a united and self-respecting nation.

Such a united consciousness was made possible by two factors, each epoch-making in its own way: first, the adoption of the spoken language in a written form as a medium of expression for emotional ideas and their quick spread; second, the active pushing of a mass education movement, on a scale never attempted by any people at any time. Added to this there was a great extension of the educational system earlier established. The figures show that in 1910-11 there were 57,267 schools with 1,626,529 students, and that this number had increased by 1922-23 to 158,972 schools with 6,819,486 students.

Outbursts of national feeling and protests against foreign encroachments revealed for a number of years the growing tide of nationalism, sweeping up like the famous bore of Hangchow. Huge demonstrations in the large cities followed the presentation by Japan of the twenty-one demands in 1915. Annually since that time there has been commemorated this "seventh day of the fifth moon" as the national Day of Shame. In 1919 demonstrations inspired by students and backed by the merchants indicated China's protest against the signing of the Versailles Treaty, in consequence of which the delegates withheld their signatures. The reader of current Chinese periodicals and the daily press noted the increasing vehemence in the demands for national autonomy and at the same time patriotic scholars were emphasizing the importance of the reappraisal and preservation of the best of China's ancient cultural heritage too readily consigned to the scrap-heap by hot-bloods in the first flush of their ardor for reform.

Looking back it is easy to see how Chiang Kai Shek, setting out from Canton with 30,000 organized troups as the champion of the Nationalist program, swept half of China under his control. Unlike the war-lords of the North, this general represented a definite political party and program, one in which, in its broad outlines, all thinking Chinese put their hope. This victorious, onward military movement was but one manifestation of the underlying national aspiration with its two slogans of "Down with the militarists" and "Down with foreign aggression!"

Months before the rapid rise of the Cantonese Nationalist Party, there were not lacking foreign residents with an appreciation of the new national feeling. Such an appraisal came most directly and easily to those in close touch with students of government and mission schools. In the winter of 1925-26 we recall an American educator of national reputation, advocating a striking gesture, a bold stroke of diplomacy, a clear-cut statement of policy which would convince the Chinese people that America wished revision of the unequal treaties and was prepared to treat China on a basis of equity and reciprocity. The dangers of delay were clearly portrayed. Recent events have clearly justified his predictions.

One may assume that contacts with the West, the slow process of education, and other forces would inevitably have brought about, in the long run, a sense of national solidarity. But this process was needlessly accelerated and embittered by a sense of national humiliation, a feeling that they were set upon, not only by avowed exploiters, but by those who, coming in a spirit of would-be helpfulness, should have appreciated the national aspirations of the Chinese people. Thoughtful patriots have come thoroughly to distrust the diplomatic platitudes of foreign nations. Recent history would seem to justify their belief that the allied powers will give up no privilege of importance except as they are forced.

THAT Russia has shown consummate skill in her utilization of this new state of mind and has had a direct influence on certain aspects of the expression of this national consciousness, seems clear; how great a lasting effect this will have, is a question that cannot now be determined. The Russians no longer have extra-territorial privileges in China, and this has caused the Canton group to look to Russia as a friend willing to treat her as an equal. Russian advisers, especially Borodin, have guided the Cant nese in perfecting party organization and in the methods of propaganda. They have put their emphasis on organizing the farmers and laborers and on raising the economic condition of the masses. That there is a strong centrist group headed by Chiang Kai Shek that opposes certain features of the Russian influence is clear.

The social and racial attitudes of residents within the foreign concessions has been for years an increasing cause of indignation. Assuming that China of the last century could not have remained in complete isolation, the first con-

tacts of foreign merchants may have necessitated the setting aside of certain concessions. But the attitudes and practices connected with these settlements have become repugnant to the Chinese people. This is true in spite of the fact that, from the point of view of sanitation, good roads, and policing these holdings—some of them formerly waste-land—are now the best parts of China. Free from oppressive native taxation, many Chinese merchants and manufacturers have amassed fortunes in the settlements at Tientsin, Shanghai, and Hankow. Ex-officials in large numbers have built huge palaces of refuge. An artificial system of special privilege for foreigners living in these detached, segregated groups developed a supercilious attitude toward the Chinese. The only contact of many westerners with orientals is with servants and compradores. Their information on China comes largely from the local foreign press, with its scornful attacks on all progress and change. Except on the part of an occasional sinologist in the customs' service, there is little appreciation of China's cultural heritage. There is general distrust of the capacity of Chinese to manage their own affairs. Surrounded by a corps of servants, with traditions of short office hours carried over from tropic India, there is everything to feed that sense of innate superiority to which the white man so readily falls prey. Any prospect of decreasing special rights which allow the foreign merchant to reap large profits from cheap labor and exemption from internal taxation, is looked upon as utter folly if not with the abnormal psychology which comes with fear.

UNQUESTIONABLY the policy of some missions and the patronizing attitude of some missionaries has contributed toward the ill-feeling toward foreigners. A noted Protestant Christian leader of the Chinese points out three principal stages of the Christian movement. Before 1900, foreign missionaries determined the policies and mission boards gave the support. After 1900, when so many Chinese Christians gave up their lives for their faith, the remaining adherents began to believe that the church was theirs. They sought for control and demanded the leadership. "Many missionaries," affirmed this Chinese leader, "said, 'We wish you to grow'—but held us back. God has created circumstances," he said, "which will enable us to shed those who have hindered the progress of an indigenous Church. The Christian movement of the future, while still in need of foreign counsel, will be under Chinese leadership. The independent, indigenous Chinese Church will emerge."

It will be recognized at once that the development of such a church and the training of Chinese leaders was the principal aim of much of the work of the Protestant missions. But the new movement has come so quickly that some missionaries, often with the best of intentions, have maintained a paternalistic attitude toward their flocks, and retained control that should in some cases have been turned over to Chinese hands.

A glimpse of the history of the Christian missionary enterprise shows how easy it was for a proprietory attitude, formerly of some value, to hold over and cause friction. It must be remembered that up to the revolution of 1911 there were practically no adherents of the Christian faith drawn from a literati or government student class. Most of the missionaries were in the rural districts, and the Church was largely built on the splendid peasant stock. Artisans, day-laborers, servants, and small merchants were also attracted. It was almost inevitable that the missionaries, many of them college men and women, should assume the leadership in a movement composed so generally of the common people. Proprietory attitudes and paternalistic care by the foreigner was a natural result of this situation. At the same time, however, the mission schools were training boys and girls to be leaders of the next generation. It should be recalled that Sun Yat Sen was, in his younger days, a worker employed by Christian missions and that his manifestos show marked evidences of Christian attitudes. Such outstanding national leaders as Dr. W. W. Yen and Dr. C. T. Wang, prime ministers, were sons of Christian pastors and educated in mission colleges. A long list of prominent men in educational and political life are the direct products of Christian families and Christian education.

After the founding of the Republic, with its accompanying establishment of religious liberty, there was a manifest interest in the Christian religion on the part of the intellectual and student class, and an influx into the Chinese Church from groups formerly apathetic. In some places the result was an approximation to an indigenous Chinese Church, but in others the old attitudes of foreign domination and of native subservience continued.

It was very natural that of late one of the outgrowths of the new nationalism should be a tendency to single out the element of foreign domination—theological, ecclesiastical, and educational—in the Christian movement as a point of attack. This seemed a vulnerable point as the status of the missionary and of mission schools was only made possible by treaty privileges, the existence of which young China considered a national disgrace.

The anti-Christian movement is not so much against Christianity as such as against the foreign form in which it has been presented, and the political and economic policies of the nations from which the missionaries come. This later point is vividly portrayed by the Christian general, Feng Yu Hsiang, as reported recently in the Japan Advertiser:

> "When I accepted Christianity I accepted it because it was made up of the most beautiful and humanitarian precepts that were preached by any existing faith. . . . But I do not like the Christians who come to us. I have received Christianity from their hands, but I have no admiration for the givers. I have grown to dislike the missionaries who come to us to preach the Christian faith. . . . Christianity is the enemy of militarism, imperialism, tyranny and ruthless industrialism. But whenever a crisis arises, we find our missionaries lacking in courage to declare for the truth. They try to teach us meekness, the meekness of the weak. But Christ's conception of meekness was the meekness of the free and strong. So I tell the missionaries, "You have given me a beautiful faith. I like it. But I don't like you."

IN contrast with this is the suggestion by a Chinese scholar, a leader of the renascence movement, not himeslf an adherent of Christianity, that a Chinese interpretation of Christian teaching, made by Chinese scholars, would enrich the cultural life of his country.

While the essential triumph of the new nationalism seems inevitable, the task of nation-building is enormous, and the process only begun. The social structure of old China, which automatically vested in the head-men of the families and villages all civic responsibilities and under which the people took no interest in national affairs, makes the creation of the sense of responsible citizenship extremely difficult.

In any emergency the basic social groups would act together as a unit. The guild, as one man, would fight the tax imposed by the local official. The village, as a unit, would contend with the neighboring village over the water-supply. And the family clan not only stood together but was held responsible for the individual action of all its individual members.

This social solidarity and this tendency to act uniformly and in groups, may be an explanation for the often unreasoned mass-action in the present situation. When once the wind is up, the individual cannot and dare not oppose the trend. The difficulties in building the new nation may be indicated by merely mentioning the fact that between 80 and 90 per cent of the population are illiterate, that millions live on the verge of starvation, that there must be reabsorbed into civil life the million, some say million and a half, men now under arms.

DETAILED predictions of the outcome are folly: there are no historical parallels from which to reason. A few charcoal strokes may, however, suggest the possible picture.

It seems inevitable that the Nationalist movement will eventually succeed both in putting the country under unified rule and in recovering the rights of a sovereign nation. America, in the end, must readjust relations with our oriental neighbor on the basis of mutual reciprocity and fairness. These readjustments may come grudgingly and tardily in the form of what a Chinese has termed "post mortem first aid," or even yet they may be made in such a way as to assure the Chinese people of our genuine good-will.

America's investments in Chinese commercial undertakings amount to approximately $70,000,000. In 1924 there were approximately 600 American firms operating in China. With the abolition of foreign treaty rights and the present disruption of trade there will undoubtedly be a temporary setback. In the long run, however, there will be more opportunities for legitimate foreign trade under a government which has a progressive policy than under the reactionary war-lords of the past ten years. The efficient financial administration of T. V. Soong, Nationalist minister of finance, and the express declaration of Sun Yat Sen (now having almost the weight of scripture) that foreign capital to develop the resources of the country is an imperative necessity, would indicate that there will be greater opportunity in the future for safe investments by Americans. This market, however, will not be bulwarked by special privileges of any "most favored nation clause," but will be built on a principle recently emphasized at a dinner in New York of economic experts and business leaders—that trade knows no national boundaries, that the market is the world.

WHAT probable future has our greatest enterprise, the $80,000,000 invested in schools, churches, hospitals, and residences? It may be asserted with some confidence that the anti-foreign and anti-Christian feeling which at present embarrasses all types of Christian enterprise in certain sections will abate, and that there will be an opportunity for certain kinds of valuable missionary activity. It seems probable that much of the evangelistic work and of the executive leadership of the Chinese Church will rightly pass into the hands of Chinese. In recent conversation with one of the most eminent of these leaders the future contribution of missionaries and mission societies was outlined somewhat as follows: In the immediate years ahead one of the most pressing needs of the Christian movement will be for endowments of the colleges, hospitals, and Y.M.C.A.'s, most of which have been built on a scale so much above the economic level of the constituency of the Chinese Church that it is at present impossible for them to be carried on without foreign financial aid. It was pointed out that, with the development of a democratic government, there would be an even greater need for the graduates of Christian colleges and universities. Adjustments in curricula will be needed to train young men and women for the new regime. Registration under the Chinese government will involve the abolition of compulsory religious teaching, and a greater proportion of Chinese control will be required. The more experienced foreign teachers, however, will be needed for a number of years, and technical experts whether in agricultural, engineering or religious education. A permanent place for foreign teachers is found in those chairs which interpret the inner meaning and development of western civilization. The intermediaries between the West and the East will have a place in the new Chinese nation of vital importance.

Are there any changes of outlook which are required of the constructive imagination of the American people at home? After all, white business men in the Orient are but emissaries of companies at home, and missionaries, whether in education or belief, are but a cross-section of the churches which send them, individually touched by enough of the spirit of internationalism to see no national boundaries to their enterprise. A colossal awakening to its birthright of a fourth of the human race puts into the discard our old mental patterns and demands from us a rethinking of racial questions. With our pride of achievement, our worship of machine efficiency, our faith in the Nordic myth, we of the Anglo-Saxon race have come to assume that we have a paternalistic obligation, if not to manage the affairs of the oriental peoples, at least to pass judgments on their ability, according to our standards, to reorganize and readjust their national life and to instruct them in the way in which they should go.

THERE are indications that, while China has much to learn from western civilization, she does not propose to swallow our institutions whole. She will select what she considers valuable. It is interesting to note for example that in adoption of the general principles of western democracy, Dr. Sun adds to the conventional three-fold division—executive, legislative, and judicial—the old Chinese idea of censorship and the principle of entrance to public office by examination, the corner-stone of the political system of ancient China. In the sphere of religion, there is a demand that China's ancient classics shall be recognized as the Old Testament history of her race.

The American people may well add to the new realization that China in the future will control her own development, the further idea that she has also her own unique contribution to make to the world's culture. It is difficult to see how we can come to such an attitude toward the more distant Oriental as long as within our own borders the Negro, the southern European, the Jew, and the Oriental are not on terms of social, economic, or racial equality with the 100 per cent American.

May 1929

150 Fifth Avenue,
New York City.

To the Friends of Princeton-in-Peking:

Having just returned from Peking (now Peping), I want to share with you some of my impressions of the changing situation in China.

Newspaper reports stress war and famine. While it is impossible to give a true picture of the Chinese situation without having in mind these great obstacles to development, it is equally impossible to come in contact with the present Nationalist movement, as I have done during the last year, without the conviction that China has already entered upon a new phase of progress in the direction of efficient, modernized government and toward a socially and economically reorganized nation. While no one can predict how many years the change will involve, there are abundant signs that the direction of change is now definitely towards a stabilized democratic and progressive nation.

Some of my reasons for this conviction are as follows:

1. At no time since the forming of the Republic in 1912, has the government been in charge of such a well-educated, modern-minded and efficiently trained group, as at the present. In the cabinet of ten, there are six with degrees from American universities and seven who are members of the Christian church. Already the brilliant leadership of this talented group is beginning to be effective. Dr. C. T. Wang, Foreign Minister, a Yale man, has made more progress toward regaining China's political integrity than any former minister. The brilliant young T. V. Soong (Cornell) has made a beginning of getting the financial house in order and has summoned to his assistance for advice on financial reorganization, the best man in America available, Dr. Kemmerer of Princeton. H. H. Kung (Oberlin), Minister of Commerce and Labor, not waiting for the new national Labor Code to be finished, has been experimenting in the Shanghai industrial area, and through temporary labor legislation has already initiated a new era in the relation of capital and labor, as evidenced by the organization of arbitration courts that are successfully settling the disputes between the labor unions and employers.

2. For the first time since the Republic was founded, a group pledged to a definite program and well defined principles has come into control. The party is pledged to carry out the program of Sun Yat Sen with his threefold emphasis on Chinese nationalism, or China for the Chinese, on one-party constitutional democracy, modelled after the Russian organization but without the Russian communism, and on the principle of the people's livelihood, which involves the Nation's ownership of public utilities, a new system of taxation and a new agrarian policy.

3. One of the most striking features of the new era is the conviction on the part of the leaders that essential progress can only be made by a thorough knowledge of the problems of the people and by the use of scientific methods. On the old Drum Tower

in Nanking are these striking quotations from Sun Yat Sen, written in Chinese characters three feet high:

"All true wisdom and special skill come from Science."
"Everything within the Universe comes within the sphere of Knowledge."

Prominent in all of the offices of the Nationalist's Government are men and women of excellent technical training, graduates or former students of modern colleges in China, Europe or America. This is a great contrast to the Government offices in the old Peking days.

4. To me the most hopeful feature of the new order is what may be described as the revolutionary spirit of youth. The modern movement in China, dating back to 1919, may be described as a youth movement. During that year the modern-trained students for the first time took an important part in the Nation's affairs, organizing groups in all the large cities to oppose a corrupt Government, and forcing the militarists in Peking to change their policy. This was the year that also marked the beginning of the labor movement organized by students and the beginning of systematic propaganda in the rural areas to assist in arousing the stolid farmers to an interest in the Nation's affairs. The Shanghai incident of May 30, 1925, which resulted in the shooting of a score of students, was caused by the demonstration of students protesting against the killing of a Chinese woman in the Japanese mill. This marked the beginning of the present Nationalist's era in China. The whole country was aroused again by modern-trained youth to the realization of the status of the bondage of the Nation. From 1926 to 1928, during the northern drive, it was the young cadets of the Hwang Poo Military Academy that were the backbone of the successful northern drive of young General Chiang Kai Sec. The propagandists of the Nationalists, who went out in the advance of the army and risked their lives in the enemy's territory, were young men and women. The party officers today and a large number of the officials in the Government are young men and women between twenty and twenty-five years of age.

In this new situation where modern-educated men and women are for the first time having a large chance to use their training for the welfare of their Nation, our Princeton work assumes importance far greater than ever before.

For thirty years, led by Robert Gailey, '96, our representatives in China have been working for the young men of that Nation. As the work of the Young Men's Christian Association has been turned over to the leadership of Chinese trained by Princeton representatives, the program has shifted to an emphasis on higher education. At present our principal task is the development of the College of Applied Social Sciences in Yenching University in Peping. This university is situated on a beautiful campus of one hundred and twenty-five acres, and has an equipment of buildings costing over $2,000,000. There are seven hundred students, of whom five hundred are men and two hundred are women. Yenching University is one of the few institutions in China which

May 1929

during this revolutionary era has not closed but steadily increased in its enrollment, and each year has raised its standards until today our graduates are accepted as graduate students in the leading Universities of America.

A feature of particular importance in Yenching University is the combination of a thorough scientific training with a deeply religious outlook. Courses in religion and religious exercises are no longer compulsory, but the daily chapel, the religious services and the classes on religious subjects are an integral part of the university life. Some of the best trained, both Chinese and foreign, of the faculty are leading these classes and services. The Yenching Christian Fellowship, which includes the faculty members, half of the students of the college and a large proportion of the servants on the campus, by discussion classes, social service activities, and retreats, stresses the importance of Christian character and of the need of dynamic religious faith in contemporary China.

Princeton is responsible for one of the four colleges of the University—the College of Applied Social Sciences, which includes the departments of Political Science, Economics, and Sociology, and enrolls nearly half of the student body of the University.

In charge of this college is a Committee of the Board of Managers of Yenching University composed largely of Princeton men. The active Chairman of the Committee is D. W. Edwards, '04. Among the members of the Committee are Hon. J. V. A. MacMurray, '02, American Minister to China, Dr. Charles E. Patton, '96, Secretary of the Council for the Presbyterian Church in China, Mr. James Y. C. Yen, *'20, leader of the Mass Education Movement, Hon. Y. L. Tong, *'15, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, Rev. Henry H. Welles, III, '21, teacher in Truth Hall, a Christian school in Peking, and Professor S. E. S. Yiu, *'17, of General F'eng's army.

Princeton men teaching courses in our College of Applied Social Sciences and in related departments during the present academic year were Professor E. S. Corwin, Chairman of Political Science Department at Princeton, R. H. Ritter, '17, in the Department of History, Randolph C. Sailer, '19, in the Department of Psychology, L. M. Mead, '11, in the Department of English. My work has been in the Department of Sociology. Lennig Sweet, '16, who has just returned to North China, will be giving a course next year in the Department of Sociology on methods of social work with boys. The threefold program of this college is the teaching of the best social, economical and political theory from the West; the training of the students in the solution of China's social problems, by actual service in the field of civic reform, economic and social welfare; the familiarizing of the students by research with the actual conditions of Chinese life in the country and city, with their own ancient institutions and of the facts of the changing social order; and the Political Science Department is at present studying treaty relations with foreign Powers and the methods of ancient county Government in China. The Sociology Department has completed a study of a market town area and is entering upon the social survey of a Chinese county. The Economics Department is undertaking an extensive investigation of the rural industry of north China, including

the textile and pottery industries with a view of assisting in the reorganization of these ancient trades. They are also starting a study of the Chinese population problem and of the contemporary labor movement. At a time of greatest plasticity in the life of the Chinese Nation and at a time when modern-trained men and women are needed and are being used, we have the opportunity of cooperating in a university, Christian in spirit, scientific in outlook, in the training of young men and women to take their part in the political organization, economic transformation, and social reconstruction of one-fourth of the human race. We are cooperating in an institution that combines the best of ancient Chinese culture with the scientific spirit and the finest Christian outlook of the West.

It is difficult to imagine an enterprise that is at present more needed in China, and one that could more effectively through its graduates affect the current of contemporary China along those lines which we as Princeton men believe worthwhile.

In the last few years while the opportunities of service have been increasing and the significance of our work has become more and more apparent, Princeton support has dropped off. Had it not been for the temporary help of the gift of $20,000 a year for a period of years from an important American foundation, this new enterprise of higher education would have suffered severely. Princeton support dropped off from a few years ago from $52,000, to below $40,000. One of the reasons for this diminution of support is undoubtedly the natural but nevertheless erroneous impression that in turbulent China Princeton men could not expect to accomplish significant results. As we have indicated above, the very turmoil and chaos now existing in China is really the inevitable accompanying of an outburst of new life in the colossal transformation now taking place. The general trend of the new change is assured but the moral and spiritual character of the new civilization will be determined largely by the type of leadership. The College of Applied Social Sciences in Yenching University is an institution designed to train men and women for national and social service. The unanimous requests from the college in Peking, besides the large number of Chinese teachers, includes the following American staff: a Professor of Municipal Government, a Professor of Banking and Accounting, a Professor of International Relations and two recent college graduates to be assistants in the departments of Economics and Political Science, respectively. We find ourselves unable to send out any of these men.

It is my belief when the Princeton Alumni understand the significance of the opportunity we have over seas, the necessary financial support will be forthcoming.

Very sincerely yours,

J. S. Burgess, '05.

August 30, 1943

Professor J. Stewart Burgess,
1904 N. 13th Street,
Philadelphia, Pa.

Dear Stewart:

As Dr. Garside is giving full time to United China Relief, your letter has come into my hands to answer.

There has been considerable excitement in this office as the lists have come in for people to be repatriated on the Gripsholm. I am enclosing a copy of the Yenching list for your information. There is still a possibility that there may be changes in this list before the repatriates actually embark.

There has been some confusion because the repatriation has been managed by the State Department while the sending of parcels to internees is controlled by the Provost Marshal General in the War Department. The State Department will not allow parcels to be sent on the Gripsholm to repatriates even though the War Department has issued labels for them. Parcels can only be sent to persons remaining behind as internees. It has been difficult to tell in some cases under what classification a certain individual is listed. Unless the Japanese authorities have reported an individual through the American Red Cross as definitely interned in a certain camp the War Department would not issue a label and without a label the Post Office will not accept a package. In the case of Leighton Stuart his son Jack being the nearest of kin received a label and managed to get a parcel prepared at the last moment. The American Red Cross is sending parcels to 1500 internees listed in the Provost Marshal General's office for whom the nearest of kin are not known.

We have not found it possible to use your contribution at this time because we have not had any list of the people receiving labels, for the time limit expired on August 27th. But if agreeable, we will hold the money and use it to help re-outfit returning repatriates.

With best wishes to you and Stella,

Sincerely yours,

Charles H. Corbett

CHC:D

1904 N. 13th St.,
Philadelphia, Pa.

Feb 2

My dear Garside:—

Hearing that Griffenhoven is to take along stuff for the interned in the Far East we want to contribute $10.00 to be used for someone who needs it.

You will know where this small sum can best be spent. At first we thought of sending something to Leighton Stuart, but on second thoughts we felt sure that he's have a lot of things sent him, while others who need medical supplies, volunteers etc. may have nothing.

Yenching Women's college

Mr. Evans says Fire Loss at Chungtu

Keep us on mailing list for news.

OK — Yenching — Mrs Conners

Op. # 172.5

Check

Thankfully yours,

Stewart Burgess

10.00 Dep 9/15/43
Yenching Women College
Irving Trust Co.

10.00 from J. Stewart + Stella F. Burgess

file

TEMPLE UNIVERSITY
PHILADELPHIA

1901 N. Park Ave.
Philadelphia 22
Pa.

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

Dec. 17. 44

Rev. C. H. Corbett,
Christian College in China
150 - 5th Ave.,
N.Y.

CORBETT
REC'D Dec. 19/44
ANS'D Dec 21/44

My dear Corbett:-

Am very glad that you are able to see to it that the endorsed #110.00 can be sent to Mrs. P. C. Hsü (Hsü Pao-Chin.)

I have written all the contributors and no receipt to them is necessary. Since Van Dusen ~~put~~ made his check to Christian College in China, I endorsed all of them this way. My recollection is that the old name was Christ College.

Will be grateful to you if you will get this off to Mrs. P. C. at your convenience. Yours J S Burgess

TEMPLE UNIVERSITY
PHILADELPHIA

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

Checks for Mrs. P. C. Hall

Randolph L Sailer —	10	00
Henry P Van Dewson	25	00
Egbert M. Hayes	5	00
Eugene V Lyman	50	00
Charlotte K. Sears (Mrs Lang Sears)	10	00
J S Burgess	10	00
	$110	00

Sent to Rev. C H Corbett for transmission to Mrs. P. C. Hall

Dec. 17, '44

December 21, 1944

Professor J. S. Burgess
1901 North Park Avenue
Philadelphia 22, Pennsylvania

Dear Stewart:

Your letter was duly received with the inclosed checks for $110, to be transmitted to the widow of P.C. Hsu. We have also received a check from Sidney Gamble. Mr. Evans has taken responsibility for sending the money to China.

I thought your article on "P.C." in The Christian Century was very good. It brought up many memories of the early days when he first decided to become a Christian and to abandon his career with the Customs service.

I trust you have thoroughly regained your health. I was interested to hear from you about your boys and what they are doing.

With best wishes to you and Stella for a happy Christmas,

Sincerely yours,

Charles H. Corbett

CHC:mec

Burton, Margaret
1932-1942

May 17, 1932

Dear Miss Burton:

At the special meeting of the Trustees I was requested to ask every Member of the Board to help us get access to all available prospective donors in the hope of meeting our critical situation before June 30th. Can you approach directly any one of those whose names appear on the enclosed list? If you cannot make any personal approach, would you be willing to give a letter of introduction for use by Dr. S. P. Young, who has been engaged to help us? All those names initialed on the margin in pencil have been selected by various Members of the Board. In case of those not initialed we have at present no good means of introduction.

I send you herewith a specimen copy of the kind of introduction worked out after a good deal of thought and used by Mrs. Finley. I send also a copy of the mimeographed explanation of the situation we are in, and a copy of a resolution passed by the Board at the special emergency meeting.

Our time is so brief that I shall be very grateful if you can give us some letters of introduction, and if possible send the packet of such letters to us today. There is a good deal of lost motion just now because of the fact that we have not enough contacts already established for Dr. Young. I shall be grateful if you will return the list of names with the letters of introduction.

Thanks for your help.

Sincerely yours,

Assistant to the President

Miss Margaret Burton
600 Lexington Avenue
New York City

ODW:KK

Mgt. E. Burton

May 20, 1932

Dear Miss Burton:

Thank you for the thought you have given to our problem. I know you will help us in any way that may prove practicable. You said in your note that you were retaining the mimeographed material and the form letter of introduction. Although you can certainly do better yourself in an original note of introduction, nevertheless, I am sending these back to you as you apparently intended to keep them.

We are having very slight success. We have obtained in cash and pledges, since the annual meeting of the Board, an aggregate of about $5,000. We still need about $70,000.

Sincerely yours,

Assistant to the President

Miss Margaret E. Burton
320 East 53rd Street
New York City, New York

ODW:KK

National Board
of the
Young Womens Christian Associations
of the United States of America

Cable Address
Emissarius, New York

600 Lexington Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Telephone
Plaza 3 - 4700

May 26, 1932.
(320 E. 53 St.)

Mr. George G. Barber
150 Fifth Ave
New York, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Barber,-

Miss Burton has asked me to write to you as to why you have not heard further from her in regard to your letter of May 24th. She was in an accident last Saturday and has been in the hospital since then. While she expects to be dismissed from the hospital within a few days, she will be obliged to be quiet and rest for some time. (She was knocked down by an automobile & suffered from concussion as well as severe bruises.) She is getting along very well, but will not be able to undertake any activities now. She asked me to say that if she thought of any names she would send them in, however.

Sincerely yours- Margaret Hilles

Margaret Burton

May 28, 1932

Dear Miss Hiller:

Do express to Miss Burton the sense of shock I have received in reading of the accident which has temporarily put her in the hospital. Mr. Barber is, I believe, out of the city, or he would wish to write Miss Burton an expression of his distress. Please assure her that instead of calling upon her for any further effort in behalf of Yenching, we shall simply be thinking of her and hoping for her speedy recovery.

Sincerely yours,

Assistant to the President

Miss Margaret Hiller
600 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York

ODW:KK

c.t. Emma B.

YENCHING UNIVERSITY
150 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK

June 21 1934

To Mr. E. M. McBrier, Treasurer
Yenching University
150 Fifth Avenue, City

Realizing the urgent need for regular funds for the purpose of meeting the annual budget of Yenching University, I agree to send to you each year the sum of $5.00 for this purpose.

Please send me notice each year during June (month).

Name Margaret Burton
Address 10 Mitchell Place
New York City

Yenching

10 MITCHELL PLACE
NEW YORK CITY

My dear Mrs. Macmillan,-

It is very kind of you to write me, and I very much appreciate hearing from you about the meetings. I am distressed at having missed them, for I was, if possible, even more than usually interested in the subjects to be discussed this year. But between my engagements at Columbia, which were not postponeable, and this persistent asthma, which is no respecter of appointments, it seemed impossible to be present this spring. I think that as the weather grows warmer I shall be all right, so hope I can be more active and useful

for the remainder of the spring.

I am glad to enclose an additional check for a Chinese guest at the dinner.

Thanking you again for your thoughtfulness in writing me, I am

Very truly yours.

Margaret E. Burton

May 1, 1936

GRAMERCY 3-6836

235 EAST TWENTY-SECOND STREET
NEW YORK CITY

ack 3/1/39

Dear Mr. Barber,-

I am sorry not to be able to join those who are to meet on February 28th. to honor Mr. McBrier. I am, however, happy to join in the letters and messages which are to be presented to him, and enclose my letter herewith.

Hoping that the dinner will be the happiest of occasions, I am Very sincerely yours,

Margaret E. Burton

February 21

March 1, 1939

My dear Miss Burton:

We were sorry that you could not be with us last night at the dinner in honor of Mr. McBrier. It was a very pleasant occasion, and Mr. McBrier was greatly touched by the tribute paid to him.

We are particularly grateful for the letter of greeting and felicitations which you sent. The warm hearted responses of his friends all over the world have produced a thick volume of letters which he will always prize.

It occurs to me that you might like to see the souvenir program of the dinner, so I enclose it herewith. No doubt you saw the editorial in appreciation of Mr. McBrier which appeared in this morning's New York Times.

Very sincerely yours,

Miss Margaret E. Burton
235 East 22nd Street
New York, N. Y.

BAG:MP
Encl.

GRAMERCY 3-6836

235 EAST TWENTY-SECOND STREET
NEW YORK CITY

Mr. E. M. McBride
Yenching University

My dear Mr. McBride,-

I enclose my check for $25.00 to be used for the China Colleges at whatever place it is most needed. Last year it was assigned to the Yenching Woman's College and I should be glad to have this done again if that seems best.

Yours sincerely
Margaret E. Burton

June 12 '39

YENCHING WOMEN'S COLLEGE ENDOWMENT FUND

On deposit October 1, 1939	$30,000.00
Pledges conditional upon completion of fund before July 1, 1940:	35,000.00
Subscribed November 22, 1939	12,000.00
Balance to be raised	23,000.00
Total sought	$100,000.00

As my part of the balance needed to secure the conditional pledges and to complete the minimum Endowment necessary to maintain the work of this significant College for Women, I hereby pledge: $25.00
to be paid as follows:

Sent herewith . . . . . $_____
To be paid:
before July 1, 1940 . . . . . $ In January, 1940

before December 31, 1940. . . . . $_____

December 13, 1939
Date

Margaret E. Burton
Signature

December 30, 1940

Miss Margaret E. Burton
212 East 48th Street
New York, New York

Dear Miss Burton,

Many thanks to you for your kindness in sending the $25.00 in payment of your pledge for the Yenching Women's College Endowment Fund. Our formal receipt is enclosed.

We all rejoice that the fund is now substantially complete, and is being put to work earning interest for the permanent support of the College.

In the hope that the New Year may be a happy one for you, and that for all of us it may bring a return to peace and sanity, I am

Very cordially yours,

BAG:MS
Enclosure

May 20, 1942

My dear Miss Burton:

Thank you for your contribution to the Yenching Women's College. It comes at a moment when American generosity is doubly important and deeply appreciated.

Very sincerely yours,

(Mrs. John H. Finley)

Miss Margaret E. Burton
212 East 48th Street
New York City

WOMEN'S COLLEGE

燕京大學

To aid YENCHING UNIVERSITY of Peking, China, in carrying forward its Christian educational activity and in consideration of the securing, by representatives of this University, of gifts from others for this purpose, I promise to give to the Trustees of Yenching University the sum of Twenty five dollars ($25.00) as follows:

- ☐ Cash herewith $25.00
- ☐ In annual payments of $.....beginning.....194.....
- ☐ In semi-annual payments of $.....beginning.....194.....
- ☐ In quarterly payments of $.....beginning.....194.....
- ☐ At my convenience on or before.....194.....

Signed Margaret E. Burton

Address 212 - E. 48th St.

Date May 1, 1942 New York City

Checks payable to TRUSTEES, YENCHING UNIVERSITY
150 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.
Gifts are deductible for income tax purposes

March 14, 1944

Dear Miss Burton:

Enclosed I am sending a receipt for your generous contribution to the Yenching Women's College.

Hardly a day passes without bringing us a request for help of some kind for the College. Our money is needed not only to keep the regular work going, but also to provide for students and faculty many of the necessities of life that limited budgets do not reach.

The government has just granted an additional exchange subsidy making funds sent from America worth $40.00 N.C. to $1.00 U.S. instead of the official $20.00. Thus your gift has come at a very opportune time - and we wish to express to you our gratitude.

Sincerely yours,

Treasurer

Miss Margaret E. Burton
212 East 48th Street
New York 17, N. Y.

燕京大學

YENCHING COLLEGE FOR WOMEN
of
Yenching University
Chengtu, China

☐ I enclose $ 25.00 for the current needs of the College.
☐ I pledge $ ..... payable ..... 194..

Name Margaret E. Burton
Address 212 E. 48th St
New York City 17
March 10, 1944
Date

Checks payable to Yenching University, Mr. E. M. McBrier, Treasurer
Room 903, 150 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.
Gifts are Deductible for Income Tax Purposes