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COLLEGE FILES
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Nanking
Academic
Nanking Theological Seminary
Miscellaneous 1913-1940

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CONSTITUTION OF THE NANKING SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

SECTION V - BOARD OF TRUSTEES:

The lands and buildings and other material equipment and all funds for same shall be held by Trustees appointed by the societies in America, which are in the union, but with the definite understanding that these Trustees be not the same as those constituting the Board of Trustees of the University of Nanking. Said Trustees may not initiate action in the control of the institution, and may act only on the authority of the Board of Managers.

SECTION VI - FACULTY:

1. Each member of the Faculty, upon taking a chair in the School, shall submit to the Board of Managers in writing a statement agreeing to teach in harmony with the Constitution; reaffirming his loyalty to the Doctrinal Standards or Declarations of his own Church and declaring his belief in the integrity and historical reliability of the Holy Scriptures.

2. The salaries of the Chinese teachers shall be paid by the School; those of the foreign teachers by the Missions to which they belong, unless otherwise provided for.

3. The Faculty shall have general management of the School, and shall present an annual report to the Board of Managers.

4. The members of the Faculty may attend the meetings of the Board, except when the latter is in executive session, and have the privilege of the floor without the right to vote.

SECTION VII - DOCTRINAL BASIS:

The Nanking Bible School accepts as the basis of its teaching the Word of God, and holds to the fundamental doctrines of our common evangelical faith, which faith has been the strength and heritage of the Christian Church through all its history.

1. It accepts the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as the inspired Word of God, the supreme rule of faith and practice, and as containing all things necessary to salvation.

2. It accepts the Lord Jesus Christ as the divine Son of God, and His vicarious atonement for the sins of the world.

3. It accepts the divinity and personality of the Holy Spirit and His operation in the work of regeneration and sanctification.

4. It holds that the Church of the Lord Jesus Christ is a spiritual institution, organized for spiritual ends, depending on spiritual power, and as a Church has no political authority.

SECTION VIII - DENOMINATIONAL TEACHING:

1. Inasmuch as the large body of evangelical truth is held in common by the cooperating churches, the teaching of such truth may be done in common in the daily classes.

2. But provision shall be made by which the particular faith and polity of each cooperating church may be taught separately, each church having charge of its own distinctive teaching, and the members of the Board belonging to each separate denomination may have charge of the distinctive teaching of that denomination.

Excerpts from Fourth Meeting of the Board of Managers, January 13-15, 1914/

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May 17/13

Nanking School of Theology

The following report from the Registrar will be of interest. It shows the wide field from which the Nanking School of Theology is drawing its students. It shows the number of Missions that are interested, which is very encouraging; and best of all, it shows the higher grade of work is so appreciated that it is drawing a large number of students. One great difficulty in combining an Advance Course and a Lower Course in the same institution is the tendency for the upper grade men to object to being thus classed with students of a decidedly lower grade of training and scholarship. The fact that our Advance Course is growing more rapidly than the other course, should give the friends of the School the utmost satisfaction. The grade of students who have enrolled this term is decidedly above the average.

Nanking School of Theology Spring Term, 1913

Advanced Course

Senior	8
Middle	17
Junior	12
Preparatory	13
.....	50

Evangelists' Course

Graduate	12
Intermediate	11
Entering	13
Preparatory	4
.....	40

	90

Provinces

Anhui	21
Chekiang	26
Fukien	2
Hunan	2
Hupei	1
Kiangsi	3
Kiangsu	32
Kwangtung	2
Shangtung	1

	90

By Affiliation

Advent Christian Mission	5
American Board	3
Anglican Mission	1
Christians' Mission	1
China Inland Mission	1
Foreign Christian Mission	12
London Mission	1
Methodist Episcopal Mission	17
Methodist Episcopal Mission, South	8
Northern Presbyterian Mission	22
Southern Presbyterian Mission	19

90

0514

PROSPECTUS OF THE GRADUATE DEPARTMENT.

The Board of Managers of the Nanking School of Theology in February, 1916, took steps looking to the erection of an Advanced Course for university graduates, looking to the degree of Bachelor of Divinity. At the Annual Meeting in January, 1917, it was ordered that steps be taken to open the proposed department in September, 1918. It was further ordered in pursuance of the vote of the co-operating Missions that the name of the whole institution be in English, the Nanking Theological Seminary and the proposed graduate department to be called the School of Theology.

Aim of the Course. The aim of this course will be to give a thorough preparation for the Christian ministry equivalent to that provided in first class schools in the United States, thus enabling our college graduates to pursue their theological studies in China with superior effectiveness. It is hoped that this post-graduate work in theology will open the way to training specialists in various departments, thus meeting more fully the growing needs of the Chinese Church.

Character of the Course. The course offered will cover three school years of not less than nine and a half months each; required work in the first and second years covering twenty week hours and in the third year fifteen week hours, thus fifty-five week hours will be required for graduation. Future developments will guide the faculty in offering electives. The following table will indicate the credits required for graduation and the course offered.

<i>Subject.</i>	<i>Hours per week.</i>
New Testament	12
Old Testament	10
Church History and Comparative Religion	11
Theology (including Apologetics)	10
Practical Theology (including Homiletics, Pastoral Theology, Sociology, Psychology)	10
Denominational Teaching	2
	55

Conditions for Entrance. Requirements for entrance upon this course, will be:

1. Graduation from university or college of full grade.
2. Sufficient mastery of English to read understandingly text and reference books on history, theology, ethics, sociology, etc.
3. Equivalent of a full year's credit (5 hours weekly) in preparatory Greek, insuring ability to read the New Testament in the original.
4. The student is expected to have at least an elementary knowledge of the theory of music, including vocal music.

Diploma and Degree. The course is so constructed as to lead to the degree of Bachelor of Divinity. Those who take the whole course, including N. T. study in Greek, and who reach an average grade each year of 85 per centum, and whose Chinese essays and thesis are of high rank, will on graduation receive the diploma of the school and be recommended to the Trustees of the University of New York for the award of the degree of B.D.

Candidates for the B.D. degree are expected to prepare a thesis upon some important and practical subject, to be presented to the faculty in both Chinese and English at least a month before graduation. The Chinese thesis shall consist of not less than five thousand words. The subject must be reported to the faculty for approval at the close of the first term of the middle year.

Monthly essays will be required of all students, which shall be exercises in putting into forceful Chinese the students' acquirements in Western religious knowledge.

Passing grade in all studies shall be 75 per centum; and those attaining this grade in all studies throughout the course shall receive the diploma of the institution. In exceptional cases, to be decided upon by the faculty, other work may be substituted for Greek, which fact shall be recognized upon the diploma.

Address all communications to

J. C. GARRITT, *President*,
Nanking Theological Seminary,
Nanking, China.

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RECEIVED
J. B. Miller
APR 30 1923

R-3
Report of the faculty of the Nanking Theological Seminary
for June 1922 to March 15, 1923
to the Board of Managers: →

In the absence on furlough of the president, Rev. H.F. Rowe, D.D., it has fallen upon the vice-president to write and present to you, in behalf of the faculty, the following annual report. In this report we shall endeavor to be as brief as possible and to present to you only those facts which we think you would desire to know.

ENROLLMENT: The number of students enrolled this year has been somewhat smaller than that of last year. This decrease has been due partly to the fact that an unusually large class was graduated last June; partly, to the discontinuance of our Bible Training School Department; and partly, also, to other causes.

There are at present no students taking the B.D. Course. Three or four have applied during the year for admission to this Course, but they were found to be unqualified for entrance and so were not received.

The total enrollment in the B.A. Course has been fourteen; in the Seminary Diploma Course sixty-nine; in the Bible School Department seventeen; and in addition there have been enrolled thirty elective students--making a total in all departments of one hundred and thirty, which is thirty-eight less than the total reported last year. Of this one hundred thirty--those in the Bible Training School have gone out; others have voluntarily retired; and a few have been dismissed. The number of students now in the Seminary is ninety-eight (98).

You will notice an increase in the number of special students. This class is made up of men who did not care to complete the entire Seminary Course, and also of some who desire to pursue the study of theological subjects, but are not qualified for entrance into one of our regular courses. Among the former class are a number of men who have been engaged in evangelistic work and who come for further study, in order to fit themselves better for the work of the ministry. We believe that when our teaching staff is sufficient, it would be wise for us to put in certain special courses for the benefit of this class of students.

In the Bible Training School Department there were six graduates in February 1923. In addition to these there were nine men who had not completed the Course, and who were given certificates stating the amount of work which they had taken. This completes the work of our Bible Training School, and no more students are being received into Department. During the past years, we have had some unusually fine men in this Course, and many of them are doing excellent work in the fields to which they have gone. Many letters have come expressing appreciation of these graduates from our Bible School, and also expressing regret that this Department of our work has been discontinued.

0517

REC'D
J. B. Miller
APR 30 1923

R-3

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The following charts show the enrollment for the year, and also the denominations and provinces represented in the student body:

CHART OF THE SEMINARY STUDENTS--ACCORDING TO DENOMINATIONS--1922-1923.

	Methodist Episcopal	Presbyterian, So.	Presbyterian, No.	London Mission	China Inland Mission	Congregational	Baptist	M.F. South	Eng. Presbyterian	Christian Mission	United Methodist	So. Bapt.	Lutheran	Ind. Church	Reform Church	Wesleyan	Episcopal	Others Advent Mennonite Rhenish	Totals
A.B. Course--2d Yr.	1		1			1									2				5
A.B. Course--1st Yr.	1	2	1					1								1	2	1	9
Senior Class	5	1	5				2			1									14
3d Year Class	4	4	2	1	2	2	2	1					1					1	20
2d Year Class	7	2	1				2	2						1				3	18
1st Year Class	3	3	2		1	5				2								1	17
Special Students	16	1	3		1	1	1	1	2	2								2	30
Bible School Dept.	5	2	9		1														17
Totals	42	15	24	1	5	9	7	5	2	5			1	1	2	1	2	8	130

CHART OF THE SEMINARY STUDENTS--ACCORDING TO PROVINCES--1922-1923.

	Kiangsu	Fukien	Chekiang	Anhui	Shantung	Kwangtung	Chili	Kiangsi	Hunan	Szechuen	Hupeh	Honan	Kiling	Yunnan	Shansi	Korea	Totals
A.B. Course--2d Year	1						1	2			1						5
A.B. Course--1st Year			3	2		1			1		2						9
Senior Class	2			2		2		2	1		1					4	14
3d Year Class	4	6	4	2	1	2				1							20
2d Year Class	4	2	4	3	1	1		1				1	1				18
1st Year Class	4	3	1	2	2			1		1	1					2	17
Special Students	9	7	3	5		2	2		1					1			30
Bible School Dept.	7		2	5	1									1	1		17
Totals	31	18	17	21	5	8	3	4	5	2	5	1	1	2	3	4	130

THE CORRESPONDENCE COURSE: Under the direction of Rev. A. Sydenstricker, D.D., with the assistance of Mr. Chu Pao Hwei and others, this Department of the work has developed very rapidly, and is evidently meeting a great need. There is a total enrollment in this course of study of one hundred thirty-six students, representing twenty-five different organizations, eighteen provinces of China, and also Singapore and Borneo.

Dr. Sydenstricker reports that the work in this Department has been delayed and hindered from lack of books which are suitable for correspondence work. Care must be exercised as to the kind of books placed in the hands of students who have no instructor at hand to guide them in their studies, and for this reason it is necessary to eliminate such books as are of doubtful value, and such as are written in the interest of particular denominations. A few books have been prepared and printed and others are in course of preparation. Letters of inquiry with reference to the work of this Department have been received from all parts of China and from neighboring countries, including the Philippines, Tokio, Borneo, and the Straits Settlement. During the coming year it will probably be necessary to use more money in developing this Department of our work than has been required so far.

SPECIAL LECTURES: During the year our students have had the privilege of hearing a number of special addresses from such men as Rev. Ting Li Mei, Rev. Carl Ludvig Reichelt, Rev. A.R. Saunders, Dr. W.H. Yand, Dr. W.W. Pinson, Secretary of the Southern Methodist Board of Foreign Missions, Rev. J.D. Cunningham, Dr. Sidney L. Gulick, Rev. H.A. McKubbin, D.D., and others. In addition to these, we expect to have with us sometime during the spring Rev. J.W. Lowrie, D.D., who has promised to deliver a series of lectures on the Supernatural; Dr. R.D. Wilson, of Princeton Seminary, who is expected to give a two weeks course of lectures in the Old Testament; and probably Prof. Andrew Allison, who we have invited to give a series of lectures on Science and the Christian Faith. From May the twenty-ninth to June the twelfth, in cooperation with our Alumni Association, and through the generosity of Rev. J.H. Blackstone, representing the Stewart Evangelistic Fund, we plan to hold a two weeks conference to which all of the alumni of our Seminary will be invited and their expenses provided. During this conference there will be a number of prominent speakers, and we hope that it will mean much for the development of the spiritual life and activity, not only of our present student body, but also of our former students.

THE HEALTH OF THE STUDENT BODY on the whole has been unusually good. Since September we have lost two of our students by death; one from tuberculosis, and one from typhoid fever. Dr. Chas. H. Voss, of the Southern Presbyterian Mission, who is studying in the Language School, has given two afternoons a week to a clinic for the Seminary students, and this has been a far more satisfactory arrangement than any we have had before for their medical attention. We shall endeavor to make similar arrangements with some other Language School student for the coming year. We feel that a special vote of thanks should be given to Dr. Voss for his faithful and efficient service, which has been given without cost to the Seminary.

THE CLASS ROOM WORK of the majority of the students has been most satisfactory. A few have failed to pass on some of their subjects of study. This failure in some cases seems to have been due to a lack of sufficient preparation, and in some it is evidently due to a lack of interest and consecration to their work. We have tried to make it impossible for students to pass in their courses of study without being faithful and diligent in their work of preparation, and this has had a beneficial effect. Our students are coming to realize that the courses of study in the Seminary require all the effort and concentration which they are capable of giving.

THE SCHOOL DISCIPLINE has been maintained without friction. During the year we have been compelled to dismiss four students from the Seminary and one was recalled by his Mission because he had been guilty of unmoral conduct before coming to us. In addition to these, at the close of the session last June the faculty suspended four students for a year, and expelled one. In all of these cases of discipline the faculty has had the sympathetic support of the student body and also of the patrons concerned.

SELF-GOVERNMENT: The students, with the approval of the faculty have during the year organized a self-governing institution, which we believe has great possibilities of usefulness. Through their executive council it is possible for the students and faculty to work together with an even greater degree of sympathetic understanding and mutual helpfulness.

SPIRITUAL LIFE: The spiritual life of the young men who are preparing for the Christian ministry is one of the greatest problems which we have to deal with, and is consequently a great burden on the hearts of us all. Many of our men are of a very consecrated type. It is an inspiration to work with them. Others, we regret to say, do not seem to have sufficiently appreciated the deep spiritual significance of the life and work of the Christian ministry. We would call attention, in the most emphatic way possible, to the need of greater care on the part of those individuals and church courts upon whom rests the responsibility for selecting the young men who are to be prepared for the ministry of the Church of Christ. If a man who is to help lay the foundations for the Church in China has not himself had a vital spiritual experience of the great truths which he is to proclaim, then his message will be but a feeble one, and it may be a false one.

PRACTICAL CHRISTIAN WORK: The practical Christian work conducted by the students has, during the past year, been more hopeful in some respects than at any previous time. The work has been under the supervision of a Committee of the Faculty, composed of Messrs. Price, Shen and Peng, and has had the cooperation of all the members of the faculty.

The students were divided into about twenty groups, each under an appointed leader, and each charged with some definite piece of practical work, some in chapels, some in Sunday Schools, and some in charge of special work, such as the evangelistic missions in the South City and outside of the West Gate. At the first hour after chapel on each Saturday morning the Committee meets with the leaders

for consultation and prayer concerning the work being done, while at the same time the remaining students meet in groups with the other professors.

Once a month a general report is made in Chapel concerning the work of the previous month.

Of special interest has been the work conducted in the large mat-shed and in the Union Chapel near Fu Tai Miao in the South City. The mat shed was erected for the New Year Campaign of 1922, and though blown down in a typhoon in September, was recently rebuilt and during the whole year evangelistic preaching has been carried on there, or in the Union Chapel near by. Our students as a rule are responsible for two day's preaching there in the week, the churches being responsible for the remainder. The attendance and attention of the crowd and the number who have signed as inquirers, especially during the recent New Year campaign of 1923, has been gratifying. Of unusual interest has been the mission to the poor outside the West Gate, conducted by a group of our students and students of the Women's Bible School. At that place a building was bought and repaired and for more than a year now a night and day school, Sunday School and preaching services have been carried on with ever increasing interest. The mellowing and educative influence upon the children gathered in the school and the attendance and interest of neighborhood people has been remarkable, and is an earnest of what we may expect, under the blessing of God, in this kind of work.

With the smaller number of students this year, and so a simpler problem, we hope to do better and more intensive practical Christian work.

LIBRARY: The completion of the Southern Methodist Centenary building has made possible the enlargement of our library space. The room is now quite large and comfortable, and fairly well furnished both for a library and reading room. During the year a number of new books have been added to our collection. It now totals about 7834 volumes of Chinese, and 430 volumes of English works of reference and other publications. We subscribe to a number of English periodicals, and to all of the Chinese religious periodicals that are worth while.

PROPERTY: During the year we have expended on property repairs only what was necessary. A good many of our buildings are in need of repairs and during the coming year a larger amount will have to be used for this item of expenditure. Two small pieces of property have been bought since the last meeting of the Board of Managers. One on the street, adjoining the front gate, just in front of the residence which is now occupied by Professor Shen, at a cost of \$404.80. And one piece of mo, connecting with the property on which is Mr. Smith's residence, at \$457.00. At present we have the opportunity of purchasing a piece of property, consisting of a little more than two mo of land, and a fairly good house, which would serve as a residence for one of our Chinese professors.

FACULTY: During the present year Dr. H.F. Rowe and Rev. C.S. Smith have been on furlough, but we expect them back in time for the opening of the fall session. Rev. Chia Yu Ming left us at the end of last school year to accept a position in the North China Theological Seminary at Tenghsien, but kindly consented to return and help in the work of the present term. Owing to the illness of Mrs. Ritter, Prof. Ritter was compelled to return to America at the end of the fall term. In this connection we would express our most cordial appreciation of the services Mr. Ritter has rendered to the Seminary during the past few years. As teacher, as treasurer, as friend and adviser he has been untiring in his zeal, energy, and devotion to the institution and to all its interests.

At present the members of the faculty who are on the field and teaching in the Seminary are: Professors Price, James, Lee, Shen, Lancaster, Richardson; Assistant Professors Sie and Peng; and instructors Chu, Wang, Tong and Chang. In addition to these we have had the privilege of having Mr. P.H. Hwa, of the Nanking University, to give a course in Elementary Agriculture. Dr. W.E. Macklin has throughout the year taught a course in Comparative Religion, and Dr. A. Sydenstricker, in addition to the work of the Correspondence Course, has also, taught a class in the Seminary. Mrs. Price, Mrs. James, and Mrs. Lancaster have also helped us greatly by teaching classes in English, and Mrs. Richardson is teaching a class in music.

It will be remembered that at your last annual meeting, four men were elected as full professors. Two of the cooperating missions declined to approve of their election, and, therefore, it became invalid. The ground of disapproval was purely their lack of experience in the work of the Church in China, and one of these missions suggested that they be elected as assistant professors, if the Board of Managers deem such action wise. We, therefore, recommend that Messrs. Thomas Roosa, Frank W. Price, and E.K. Sia be elected to assistant professorships. We have received the very gratifying news that the Northern Presbyterian Mission has appointed Rev. W.H. Stuart, D.D. as their second representative on the faculty, to take the place of Dr. J.C. Garritt. We, therefore, take great pleasure in recommending to the Board Dr. W.H. Stuart as full professor in the Seminary. Dr. Stuart is well known to all of you, and we feel that his name and reputation here in China carry their own recommendation.

In connection with the faculty we should make mention of the faithful and efficient work of Miss Skilling, both as secretary and also in the treasurer's work. She has been of inestimable service and is worthy of the highest commendation.

The THEOLOGICAL QUARTERLY has a larger subscription list this year than it has had at any time since its publication was begun. Contributors outside of the Seminary faculty and student body have added very largely to its popularity and usefulness. Some of the articles published during the past year, however, have subjected us to criticism, and, in order to avoid future misapprehensions, we now print in each issue a statement, declining responsibility on the part of the Seminary for views expressed by different

writers. We hope that the time will soon come when it will be possible to secure a well qualified man to take over full responsibility for this and so produce a magazine which will be of very great value to our alumni and other teachers and ministers.

FINANCES: The accounts of the treasurer, Mr. Ritter, have been audited up to June 1922, and are submitted herewith. When circumstances made it necessary for Mr. Ritter to leave before the meeting of the Board, the faculty appointed Dr. Richardson to take over the responsibility for this office until a successor to Mr. Ritter shall have been elected. But, as stated above, Miss Skilling has been doing the greater part of the treasurer's work during the year, and since Mr. Ritter's absence the work has fallen almost entirely upon her. She will go to America early in June, but expects to return in time for the opening of the fall session. It will still be necessary to have some member of the faculty officially delegated to represent the Board of Managers as treasurer. The treasurer's statement of receipts and expenditures from June 1922 to March 15, 1923 is presented herewith, and also the estimated budget for the coming fiscal year.

In connection with the finances we recommend that in the B.A. and B.D. Courses all students be required to pay the tuition fee, except those sent to the Seminary by one of the cooperating missions.

FUTURE: While our number of students has decreased during the past year, yet there is opening before us an enlarged sphere of usefulness. We now have students from practically all of the provinces of China as well as from Korea; and inquiries have come to us from Hainan and from the Straits Settlement, desiring to know whether it will be possible for us to receive their students. Letters have been received from many sections of China and representatives of different missions inquiring as to the type of instruction given in our institution, and as to the possibility of our receiving students from other sections and other missions. If the Board of Managers will see its way clear to take such action as will be necessary to reassure the church at large that the institution stands only for what is true, positive and permanent, then the future is bright with promise.

In conclusion, our heart's desire and prayer is that as the servants of the missions which are cooperating in the Seminary and as co-workers with God, we may be enabled by His grace and power to maintain here an institution which will be an ever increasing blessing to the Church of Christ in China in training the students who come to us and sending them out filled with faith and power to rightly divide the word of truth. We are deeply conscious of the responsibility resting upon us as individual members of the faculty to be true in our teaching to the word of God, to the ideals upon which this school was founded, to the Churches which we represent, and to the aim to send forth young men grounded in the truth, depending on the power of the Holy Spirit, and willing to endure hardship as good soldiers of our divine Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The Faculty of the Seminary respectfully recommend:

1. The election as full professor of Rev. W.H. Stuart, D.D., as a representative on the Faculty of the Northern Presbyterian Mission.
2. The election of Messrs. F.W. Price and H.K. Zia to assistant professorships, and also the election of Rev. Thomas Roesa to an assistant professorship, provided his coming would not mean a decrease in the Christian Mission's annual grant to the Seminary Budget.
3. The authorizing of the Faculty to endeavor to secure an additional Chinese teacher to begin work in the fall, with the approval of the Executive Committee; and with the understanding that his name be regularly placed before the Board of Managers at the next annual meeting.
4. The authorizing of the Faculty to require tuition fees from all students in the B.A. and B.D. Courses, except those sent to the Seminary by one of the cooperating missions.

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BUDGET OF THE NANKING THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
 July 1st.1923 to June 30, 1924.

1. Northern Presbyterian Mission	\$4000.
2. Southern Presbyterian Mission	4000.
3. Christian Mission	4000.
4. Northern Methodist Mission	4000.
5. Southern Methodist Mission	600.
6. Registration fees	1000.
7. Tuition fees	700.
8. Payment on by J.W. Shen	240.
9. Payment on loan by Z.K. Zia	240.
10. Rent	600.
Total	<u>\$19380.00</u>

EXPECTED EXPENDITURES

1. Prof. Lee's salary	\$1200.
2. Two returned student Professors' salaries	2880.
3. Two instructors (Chu-\$60. Wang-\$70.)	1560.
4. One Assistant Professor	960.
5. Salaries	640.
6. Music Teacher	480.
7. Secretary	1400.
8. Teacher of Agriculture	112.
9. Third returned student Chinese Professor	1440.
10. Teacher of Physical Culture	180.
11. Postage	50.
12. Office Supplies	150.
13. Theological Quarterly	600.
14. Mimeographing and Printing	750.
15. Fire Insurance	250.
16. Travel	550.
17. Library--Additional books	800.
18. Wages of nine servants	925.
19. Incidentals	250.
20. Fuel--Hot Water Plant	275.
21. Repairs on entire plant	1500.
22. Stipends for student work	400.
23. Light	700.
24. Correspondence Course	300.
25. Equipment	500.
26. Property and Building	328.
	<u>\$19380.00</u>

6/2/40
Recommendations from the Faculty of Nanking

Theological Seminary as Approved by

The Board of Managers.

In view of the early departure of Rev. J. E. Williams, D.D., to the United States, the Faculty hereby recommends that the Board of Managers request and authorized Dr. Williams to act as financial representative of the Seminary in endeavoring to secure the following immediate needs:

- (1) Four additional foreign professors, their salaries and residences.
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(2) The Faculty feel with increasing conviction that, to vitalize their own teaching and to give the students constant direction and demonstration in practical evangelism, there should be a staff of teachers sufficiently large to enable every one to be actively interested in some phase of local evangelistic effort.

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(4) With changing conditions in China it is becoming more essential that theological teachers have time for private study. The rising standards in academic and professional institutions, the better grade of students turning to ministry, the enlarging opportunities for winning the educated classes, the approach of the day when the leadership of the Church will be chiefly entrusted to Chinese - such are some of the considerations which at once suggest themselves.

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(5) We adhere to the principle that Seminary professors should preferably be selected from the number of experienced evangelists in China. But we have for several years past been endeavoring to secure just one such additional teacher, not only without success, but with no immediate prospect of success. The alternative in case of continued failure would seem to be to select men in America for this purpose. We propose therefore to select such men as are specially qualified for such positions, - possibly men now in the active ministry at home, - to bring them out without delay in order that they may have several years not only for language study, but also for learning the life of the Chinese people, and for gaining the evangelists' experience which, as all agree, they must have. We recommend the number given in order to assure the realization of such well-rounded preparation on the field. We trust that the Board will take such measures as will guarantee the needed period of training and practical experience in dealing with conditions in China. It is understood that these men will be admitted to our Faculty according to the constitutional requirements.

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In submitting this program to the Board for its consideration, the Faculty is aware that it may require alteration in details. Especially will it be advisable for the Board to advise with Dr. Williams as to the Method of making the appeal. But we are of the unanimous conviction that the general principle is in line with forward-looking Christian statesmanship. The time has come when planning large things for the Chinese ministry will prove many many times more economical than continuing to pour foreign missionaries into China. It ought also to be more fruitful. But it is absolutely essential as well. We trust that the whole problem can be thought out not merely in terms of the immediate requirements of our respective missions, but in terms of the largest most far-reaching service the Church of the West can at this stage render China.

Even though all the men called for in this recommendation are found and financed, it will be a number of years before they can be actively at work. It is none too early to plan now for conditions which can be easily forecast.

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MEMO REGARDING PROFESSORS ELECT OF THE
NANKING THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

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Rev. Donald W. Richardson, M.A., B.D., of the Southern Presbyterian Mission, Chinkiang, has been nominated to succeed Dr. Leighton Stuart in the Department of New Testament. Mr. Richardson studied at Princeton University and Seminary at which latter place, he received a scholarship by which he went to Germany, studying in Berlin and Marburg for one year. He also studied at Johns Hopkins, specializing in New Testament literature. Mr. Richardson came to China in 1910, and has been in charge of the Boys' High School at Chinkiang; also, incidentally, doing evangelistic work. The Board considers him as peculiarly well fitted for the department to which he has been called.

Rev. J. Walter Lowrie, D.D., Chairman of the China Council of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, 18 Peking Road, Shanghai, has been elected to come for a period of at least one year, if he can not come longer and it is hoped that he can, and will come permanently. Dr. Lowrie's father was a missionary for many years in Pao Ting Fu, and Dr. Lowrie was born in China. He came out as a missionary in 1883. He is well known as a strong conservative, spiritual leader. He has also a call for Theological work in the Theological Department of the University of Shantung. He would, if he comes to Nanking, as we hope he will, probably teach in the Department of Theology and Chinese Bible.

Rev. Edward J. Winans, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Peking, was also nominated as a professor. Dr. Rowe writes concerning him:

"Mr. Winans is a member of the Peking Conference of the Methodist Church. He came to China in 1910. He is, I understand, a graduate of the Boston School of Theology of the Methodist Church. I met him in Kuling two years ago and found him a very attractive personality. He made, I understand, a good record in scholarship; is sufficiently conservative in his theological views to have been elected to Professor of the Union Theological School at Peking. The school from which

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he graduated, the Boston School of Theology, is in Methodist circles, considered to be eminently safe and conservative." Mr. Winans has been teaching in the Department of New Testament in the School of Theology of the Peking Union University.

In regard to the need of all these men, it may be added that as is widely known, Dr. Leighton Stuart, who has been carrying a heavy ticket in the Seminary and has, from the first been one of the pillars of the institution, is next summer to remove to Peking to become President of the Peking University.

Dr. J. C. Garritt's return to China was, from latest advices, doubtful.

The furlough of Dr. P. F. Price is due at this time.

Unless men come from the outside to help carry on the work, Dr. Rowe will next Autumn, be the only experienced foreign teacher on the ground and he at this time is both Acting President and Treasurer in addition to his carrying of the teaching work.

Rev. H. C. Ritter and Rev. C. Stanley Smith, have been out less than three years.

There are three separate departments being carried in the institution which mean after a year or two, nine full classes.

For all these reasons, it is imperative that relief be given in the addition of new Professors; that the institution means men of the caliber of the men nominated above, as manifested by the present conditions. During the past year, there have been 106 students in the Seminary; 61 in the Seminary proper, 4 in the Advanced B.D. Course; and the remainder in the Bible Training School. These came from 11 provinces and 16 denominations.

The importance, then for the call for help can not be exaggerated, and it is earnestly hoped that these nominees will, with the cordial approval of the Missions concerned, accept the positions to which they have been elected.

P. F. PRICE,

English Secretary of the Board of Managers.

Recommendations from the Faculty of Nanking

Theological Seminary as Approved by

The Board of Managers.

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MAILER,
219 WALNUT STREET.
ENGLEWOOD, N. J.

THE GREAT MIGRATION
and
THE CHURCH in WEST CHINA

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THE GREAT MIGRATION
and
THE CHURCH in WEST CHINA



Report of a Survey
made under the auspices of
The Nanking Theological Seminary
and
The National Christian Council of China

SHANGHAI
1940

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THE GREAT MIGRATION

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FOREWORD—THE GREAT MIGRATION

One of the great migrations of history has been taking place in China. Uncounted millions have been driven from their homes by military aggression, by the ruthless attack upon civilian populations far from the arena of battle, and by the economic and social pressures caused by war and a changed political situation. Hordes have travelled vast distances into strange provinces; others have moved into the mountains or away from the highways of travel not far from their accustomed homes; yet others have gone to and fro, driven by fear and by hunger, by the search for work and the search for safety, and finding neither have found no settled abiding place.

Every province of China has been affected by this vast movement of population. From some sections of the country a considerable proportion of the normal population has left. In other regions there has been a great increase in the number of residents. Sometimes the change has been not so much in numbers as in character or in wealth—one group has moved away to be replaced by others of different customs and speech. There have been unexpected minglings and there have been difficult adjustments and there have been joys and sorrows, frictions and blessings. Even the thought-life and the spiritual experiences of the people of China have undergone profound modification.

Inevitably the Church has been involved in all of these changes. Multitudes of Christians have migrated from their homes to greater or less distances. Perhaps the numbers of such have been considerably out of proportion to their total share of the population. Before the war their institutions were relatively strong and numerous in the provinces that have been most seriously affected by the occupation of alien forces. The economic and social standing of a considerable group within the Christian community was above the average of the people among whom they lived. Because of these facts the Christian movement in China has become involved in a series of major changes which as yet have not been appraised.

What is the extent and the character of the great migration in China? What has this migration done to the church? What are the implications of these facts and changes for the church of tomorrow, especially in the preparation and training of its ministry and leadership? These are some of the questions that have pressed for an answer and have led to the preparation of this story of the Church and the Great Migration in China. The survey was sponsored by the Nanking Theological Seminary and the National Christian Council. A joint committee of these two institutions selected a team composed of the Reverend Robin Chen, secretary of the Commission on Life and Work of the Church, and the Reverend Carleton Lacy, a secretary of the China Bible House, and asked them to travel as extensively as possible through the provinces of the south and the west during the spring and autumn of 1940, and report on their findings. Other teams were to study the effects of migration in other sections of the country.

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The first study was made in the provinces of Szechwan, Kweichow and Yunnan and the chapters which follow are the report of observations and conversations in that field. It is planned to present a second report on the inner tier of provinces (including perhaps Hunan, Kiangsi, Fukien, Chekiang, Kwangsi and Kwangtung) before this team completes its work. Other surveyors will render a separate report.

The method of study was informal. Both members of the team had many acquaintances in the field visited and made many new contacts during the weeks of travel. They kept a record of well over a hundred personal conversations with local residents and immigrants. They shared in a few group meetings and attended a few conferences. A limited use was made of three questionnaires which they prepared while travelling. For statistical material they accepted published government figures when these were obtainable, sometimes corrected by the statements of well-informed individuals. They worshipped in many different churches, ate with government officials and college professors, students and preachers, chauffeurs and all sorts of travellers; they rode in all kinds of conveyances and slept in a variety of beds; for two months across thousands of miles of country they made their own observations as carefully as they could. It should be pointed out that never was an interview recorded at the moment of conversation and that quotations therefore are made entirely from memory as recorded at the earliest opportunity. In some cases the first draft of the report was submitted for correction by persons who had a more intimate first hand knowledge of detailed facts connected with some specific situation.

For the most part the two members of the team travelled together and constantly shared their impressions and findings. The report is from beginning to end a piece of collaboration. In its finished form however Mr. Lacy alone is responsible for the English report and Mr. Chen for the Chinese report. They are grateful for all the assistance rendered them, consciously and otherwise, by many friends.

INTRODUCTION—THE FOUR FINGERS TREK

Loukouchiao, July 7, 1937, is a convenient point from which to date the present conflict in China. This early spread to all of north China and resulted in a movement of population across Shansi and Shensi Provinces, and from Honan westward along the Lunghai Railway, converging on Sian and continuing with some dispersion into Kansu and northern Szechwan. This may be regarded as the forefinger of migration.

The long and fierce battle of Shanghai, followed by the fall of Nanking and later of Hankow, sent two streams of migration westward, one up the Yangtse River through the gorges into Szechwan, the other across Chekiang, Kiangsi and Hunan into northern Kwangsi and Kweichow, spreading as it went and leaving a widely scattered deposit much as the Yangtse itself has spread out in the approach to the sea. Here we have the second and third fingers of the westward trek.

The attack on Canton cannot be said to have started, but to have accelerated, the movement into Yunnan. The development of the Burma highway, the occupation of Hainan, the operation of the railway from Indo-China to Kunming, and the apparent relative safety of the regions "south of the clouds," directed an immigrant stream into the extreme southwest which may be called the fourth finger of migration. In actual numbers it probably corresponds as the little finger to the other three on the hand which has spread over the free provinces of China.

The thumb, as it stands apart from the four fingers, may fairly represent that other large movement of population which has taken place within the coast provinces without travelling long distances. A tremendous number of people have been driven from their homes, yet have not followed any one of the four long treks described in the foregoing paragraphs. Their movements are an integral part of the great migration and the problems which it has created. They are as different in character and extent, perhaps, as the thumb is different from the fingers and present a field for distinct study which had to be undertaken by a separate Study Team. It forms no part of this report except by occasional indirect reference.

Only in a very general way does this figure of speech represent the actual situation. Migration has followed no such distinct lines, especially in the western provinces where there is a constant mingling and moving backward and forward, yet these four fingers of the migration can serve as the basis of our study. So wide a geographical area was too vast to be covered in the limited time available to the Survey Team. The forefinger movement along the Lunghai Railway is rather different in character and has therefore been omitted except so far as reports and observations from others were obtainable. Personal travels and innumerable interviews on the part of the Study Team together or individually have provided the material for the report on the other three fingers. Part of this was casual and

incidental before this study was undertaken as a definite project, as other responsibilities took the team members for extensive journeys over the territory involved. The major part was specifically undertaken with this report in mind, and the data collected is of more recent character and is more specific in detail. Altogether a fairly accurate picture has been secured without dependence upon any large amount of statistical material.

THE GREAT MIGRATION

CHAPTER I

SOCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL ASPECTS OF IMMIGRATION

The most important aspect of the Sino-Japanese conflict has been the great migration. In his foreword to William P. Fenn's monograph, "The Effect of the Japanese Invasion on Higher Education in China" (China Institute of Pacific Relations, 1940), Liu Yu-wan says, "Already more than forty million of our people who are unwilling and unable to remain under the Japanese rule in the temporarily occupied areas have migrated inland, going west, north-west and south-west. They have carried with them lock, stock and barrel, their families, their capital, their plants, tools and their talents. In our vast hinterland today, new roads are built, new lands are reclaimed, and new factories are put up. Industrial cooperatives are spread everywhere and vigorous experiments are being made in extensive farming. Above all, an advance from a traditionally regional to a national viewpoint has already been achieved. This opening of the interior and the linking of the people is one of the greatest phenomena in all history."

This migration has reached through every class of society and has extended to every part of the country. Figures released by the National Relief Commission for nine months to the end of 1939 showed that this organization alone has distributed relief funds in amounts of \$37,000,000 to 20,713,718 refugees and 159,835 war orphans, and that it has branches functioning in twenty-three provinces. Of that large number only about 30,000 have been employed in the factories established by the Commission and a little over 70,000 have been settled on land reclamation projects and these very largely in the provinces closer to the battle-lines. 438 beggars are reported to be under instruction in useful trades and 8,486 unemployed to have secured jobs through the Commission's employment bureaux. These reports and figures substantiate more general observations that into the western provinces the migration has been largely a middle class movement.

A Middle Class Migration

An upper middle class migration in vast numbers is rather unique. That is the phenomenon witnessed in the western and south-western part of China during the past three years. Especially in Yunnan, Kweichow and Szechwan provinces the most conspicuous elements in the large influx of population have been from the official, the educational and the organized industrial classes. This has been natural in view of (1) The movement of government agencies to the west. With the approach of the invading armies up the Yangtse river, the national capital evacuated from Hankow to Chungking. Arrangements were made for a possible later moving to what at one time seemed to be the more secure city of Kunming. There was a necessary concentration of government agencies in the west not

only for the prosecution of military defense, but also for the development of the resources of the hinterland which from the outset have been regarded as a most essential factor in the program of national defense. Thus thousands of government officials and employees moved to the western provinces. (2) The general movement of educational institutions to the west. Heretofore they had been most thickly located in the coastal provinces where early they were subjected to virulent attack from invading forces. The large concentration of youth in comparatively close quarters subjected them to unusual hazards especially from air attacks. The government's policy of continuing educational work so far as possible uninterrupted, in recognition of the larger service which young people could render by steady preparation for a continuous national contribution rather than by wholesale enlistment in military service which for the time being certainly could be rendered more ably by millions of men already accustomed to the physical ordeals therein involved encouraged tens of thousands of students and teachers to go west. (3) The movement of organized industry to the west. The long-time defense program above mentioned relied considerably upon the development of natural resources and therefore called for the transfer inland of whatever industrial strength and ability could be moved from the occupied or more seriously exposed parts of the country. This process involved likewise the construction and development of those means of communication and traffic which might facilitate the prosecution of the military aspects of the war and at the same time make possible the steady supply of such natural resources as were desired by other parts of the world in sufficient degree to sustain the foreign credits of the nation.

The bulk of the migrating population, therefore, to these more distant provinces was composed of that group which to some extent had employment or had financial resources, together with the educational group which more or less moved in groups and which too was subsidized either by the government or by the migrating institution itself. That people without means, the peasantry and day laborers, were compelled by force of circumstance to find refuge in sections of the country less removed from their abandoned homes, is everywhere evidenced (see further discussion in connection with Chapter IV, Migration, Finance and the Church). The lower social group of immigrants is to be found more largely along the Lunghai Railway and its extension in the north, and "back of the lines" in the provinces nearer the coast. The migration of educational institutions calls for a chapter alone. The general social and industrial aspects of this western migration call for a few observations here.

Migration to Rural Districts

One must not overlook the fact that while there has been a great immigration of this upper middle class, especially into the cities and along the main highways of transportation, there has been a practically simultaneous emigration of residents of these western cities into the surrounding rural districts. The facts regarding this

emigration have been most difficult to secure, and information collected often appeared to be most bafflingly contradictory. Certain it is that soon after the movement of government offices, educational and industrial establishments into these western provinces, the enemy began a series of air raids with disastrous consequences to the cities and larger centers of population. Immense areas of dense population were devastated. Shops, larger commercial buildings, residences and schools were bombed and burned. The people began to heed official admonition and scattered to the country. How many actually left is a matter of conjecture: the published population figures vary widely. And the coming and going in and out of the cities has caused constant fluctuations in residence populations. Chungking, for example, which may have had a population of between 600,000 and a million people before the heavy bombings of May 1939, certainly saw a rapid reduction of that number in the immediately succeeding months to a possible 200,000. By May 1940, the number had increased to somewhere between 400,000 and 600,000, more probably nearer the smaller figure. Some of this increase was from immigration, but the opinion of most persons consulted was that the bigger part of this increase was accounted for by the return of householders or of families who had fled to the country but to whom the long clouded months of winter and the increase in bomb-shelter accommodations provided (or seemed to provide) a measure of security. Again and again it was asserted that this emigration to the country was so scattered as to be impossible of checking. City people usually have country relatives and friends. They soon discovered that the country offered them not only physical security, but financial security as well, for it was possible to rent their city properties for amounts sufficient not only to cover their expenses but also to reimburse them for lost business.

Changed Social Appearances

This doubtless accounted for the large number of down-river or out-of-the-province shop signs which were seen in these city centers of immigration. Chungking was the most conspicuous example, but all the larger cities visited showed the same transformation. One does not overlook the fact that always in all parts of China there have been found these evidences of the traders' readiness to go to distant cities if business offers favorable returns. There has not been heretofore anything like the migration of every type of business that is now to be seen in the west. For example, during one ride in a ricksha along a single street in Chungking it was noticed that there were merchants from Hankow, Wuchang, Shantung, Tientsin, Nanking, Shanghai, Soochow and Yangchow. They were engaged in all sorts of trades—iron, cloth, food, auto accessories, auto repair, restaurants ("Dinty Moore's" displayed candies, biscuits and canned goods for sale), books, medicines, barbering, tailoring, transport, baths, electrical supplies, leather shoes, Mexican hats; and besides there were the signs of down-river doctors, dentists and lawyers (these are from a list made merely from the shop signs which indicated occupations and the places from which the immigrants had come).

If this element represents any large part of the immigrant population it may seem surprising that the view is almost unanimously held that a large proportion of immigrants will return home after the war is over. Business men who have begun to make a living with their trade even in a distant province, do not readily pull up stakes and return to start over again a business which has already been lost. On the other hand, such traders follow the population. If they are catering especially to the upper middle class, many of them will leave when the government moves. Whether these traders have been in the west long enough really to be succeeding with their business could not be told—it was generally stated that the longer they stayed the larger the proportion of success and therefore of permanent residence. But the impression seemed to prevail that these lower middle class folk, the small shop-keepers, were not the preponderant element in the immigration population. As already said, in the city centers it was regarded that students, government officials and their families, and industrialists, including not only entrepreneurs and managers but also their administrative staffs and their skilled workers, were really the largest immigrant groups.

Causes of Friction

That is a significant factor for the social conditions of the country (see Andrew Roy's Chapter on Social and Industrial Changes in "China Rediscovered her West"). Immediately it implies a perceptible increase in literacy, a raising of living standards both physical and financial, a break-down of many old provincial mores and customs and the introduction of social standards and practices which were very alien to the people of the interior western provinces. Mrs. W. A. McCurdy writing in the China Herald of Chungking in March 1940 said, "The influx of so many people from other provinces has made for grumbling and scoffing at the backwardness of Chungking on the one hand, while on the other there has been resentment and much hurt pride at what appeared to be unjust criticism. A new spirit, that of cooperation, is growing; it is engendered by the necessity for oneness of purpose. It is greater or more important than any personal or provincial likes or dislikes." That the influx of so many upper middle class people was everywhere credited by the natives as the chief cause for the exorbitant rise in prices was obvious. 81% of the answers to the questionnaire on Immigration were to the effect that immigration is raising the standard of living; and 64% of those replying said, "Immigration has been economically beneficial to this region."

If one were to venture any comparison it would be that more than in any other city visited Kunming showed the marked imposition of a monied class upon a distinctly poorer community. That impression was more marked a year ago than at present. There, in contrast to Kweiyang and Chungking which were bleeding from the wounds inflicted by bombing raids and where everyone seemed to be very much occupied with the task in hand, Kunming seemed to be the refuge of a good many people with a measure of leisure and money with which to enjoy their security from the ills which they

had fled. Mr. Tilman Durdin, an experienced newspaper correspondent and observer, said much more recently that he was impressed at Kunming, far more than in Chungking, by the impact, the superimposition of the immigrant group upon the native community, which community had at an earlier stage been a superimposition upon the aboriginal population. "They have come," he said, "with more money and education, and there is more apparent resistance and irritation" (further to this point of irritation and resistance see Chapter III, Attitudes of Migrated Leaders).

However, a comparison of these three cities would point out that a larger proportion of the native population seems to have remained in Kunming and in Kweiyang than in Chungking. To a large extent the natives of Chungking have gone to the country and have left the city to the new-comers. Thus there is noticeable a greater change than in the other two cities which have had a tremendous increase in population without a displacement of the natives. This may be a reason for the oft-reported friction in Kunming. The population of Kunming was said to have been doubled since the beginning of the war, that of Kweiyang to have been raised from 120,000 to 200,000.

It appeared that in both of these cities the immigrant population was less stable or permanent than in Chungking where so many persons were attached to offices connected with central government functions. The earlier plans for a possible moving of the government to Kunming had been abandoned, resulting in many immigrants leaving that city. Others had left because of the high cost of living. From Kweiyang there seemed to be more scattering of immigrant residents to other cities or rural districts as well as on to one of the adjoining provinces, again on account of high prices in the provincial capital, and also because gradually industrial enterprises and even some educational institutions and rural improvement projects became located in other places. Thus there was less concentrating of friction points and more scattering of whatever social influences the immigrant population might have.

Influence on Social Thought

Another indication of the social impact upon the west was found in the Peoples' Political Council which was in session at Chungking during the Survey Team's visit in that city. Such resolutions of course are not local but national, but by the very force of circumstance they now represent the thinking of the leaders who are actually exerting a molding influence upon the whole life of the west. Many of these resolutions had to do with the widening sphere of woman's influence and her more active part in social, economic and governmental improvement; they dealt in an enlightened way with projects for the betterment of crops and industry, for the total elimination of opium (the almost complete disappearance of opium from the streets of Chungking was a striking sign of progress), the cultivation of cotton in its stead, the management of state farms, the care of refugee children and of disabled soldiers. At Tingfang in Kweichow attention was called to the significant training of local

women in public health and hygiene to help improve rural conditions, a piece of training however that was much hindered by the economic pressure upon these women to engage in weaving cloth for their immediate incomes.

The Industrial Development

These interests suggest that the actual social changes of vital importance are not those superficial ones of personal habits as much as those which are the direct or indirect result of a new industrial life which has touched the west. This, while distinctly immigrant in its impact, is something which is everywhere regarded as a permanent and fundamental change. 86% of the replies to the questionnaires (an exceptionally large figure for any statement to receive) recorded the conviction that new industrial establishments are probably permanent in this region.

It was found impossible to list all the industries, or even the types of industry, that have moved into the west. Iron foundries on a large scale, and associated industries directly concerned with the support of the war, chemical works, cement plants, munition works, a parachute factory, weaving of cotton, silk, wool and hemp, paper, glassware, matches, clothing, machinery, and mining developments were mentioned. Modern drugs, alcohol, rubber tires are among important new products. Coal and salt have been mined for years in large quantity but the methods are being improved to some extent and the output increased. The important feature in all this is neither the variety of industries nor the extent thereof (specialists in the field pointed out for example what a very small number of new spindles have been installed in the west as compared with the immense numbers lost in Shanghai and other coast industrial centers), but that organized industry with the concentration of labor and with large capital investment is taking place in this region for the first time. Much of the unskilled labor is local or native, but practically all the skilled and semi-skilled labor for this entire development is immigrant labor. That implies that for a long time to come much of this immigrant population will be permanently resident, and as communications improve, rather than return down river as most of them say they will do, increasingly large numbers of them will bring their families to the west. This already is happening within these groups.

Inquiry was made constantly as to the capital investment in all of this new industrial development. What actually seems to be the fact is that the Government has encouraged industries to move west and has extended that encouragement in financial form as well as with some preferential transport facilities where that is possible. In fact, it appears to be the policy of the national government to retain a measure of control in all such industries as may be regarded as contributory to the national welfare in the interest of the present struggle; and that covers a rather wide range. So in point of practice at least half of the capital investment in most of these industrial developments has come from government sources. Little evidence could be secured of any large sums being invested by natives

of the western provinces. Immigrant industrialists were putting in what they had, but as just said, on a basis of cooperation with the government. Overseas Chinese are making some capital investments in this part of the country. The Goodwill Mission from the South Seas, which was visiting the west in May, had announced an initial investment of \$200,000 toward the establishment of a non-profit-making pharmaceutical works especially to supply army needs, and the establishment of a million dollar rubber factory for the manufacture and vulcanizing of motor tires. 30% of the capital for the latter concern was to be provided by the quasi-public China National Tea Corporation, and the remainder by Penang merchants. Pertinent to paragraphs which follow in this chapter it may here be pointed out that the plans for this rubber factory include production capacity of 100 tires a day, branches at various points along the trunk highways, and an operating personnel to come mostly from Penang. It is not inconceivable that before these public spirited industrial philanthropists from the South Seas conclude their extensive tour through the western and southern parts of the country there may be announcement of further major capital investments from overseas.

In the coal mining industry skilled miners were being brought from Hunan province (where the industry had been more advanced) to Szechwan at a travel cost of \$300 per man, all of which was said to be a matter of "private enterprise." Even so persons intimately acquainted in this field gave assurance that the immigration of the necessary skilled labor was all too slow and too expensive, that the total number of immigrant employees in all the industries combined would not aggregate a very large percentage of the population and that the western provinces, despite the exploitation of many rich natural resources, could be expected to remain for years to come essentially agricultural areas. Two statements which represent the two commonly expressed judgments or prognostications may here be set down in juxtaposition, for both were frequently made by persons who felt sure of the correctness of this view, and both of which are unquestionably true. A considerable number (31% of those answering the questionnaire) were convinced that these industries were quite dependent upon the continuance of the war for their continued operation and that when that war was over the industry would collapse. An even larger number (86% of those answering the questionnaire) were even more certain that much industry was permanent here, that its continued operation would be largely dependent for years to come upon the immigrants who had come with it, and that a by no means small industrial community would remain a part of the western population. Thus there appears to be a contradiction even in the minds of those who made definite answer to these questions, for there is recognition of the fact that while many industrial plants will return to the coast, still there are many which will remain permanently in the west. It was observed that many of the industrial plants were housed in structures of a temporary character; also that there was a steady increase in the number of local employees in these plants. Thus it could be inferred that there was an element of insecurity in the industrial employment

of immigrants. At the same time there were seen large expensive structures which were requiring huge investment and literally years to complete. The whole area studied was within the zone of insecurity where bombing raids prevented any sense of safety and compelled all industry as well as any other occupation or even residence to preserve either a temporary character or the readiness to move to a safer place.

Transportation Developments

Transportation was one of the major industries of the new west. In this must be included the construction of highways and railways. Both in government investment and interest, and in the number of immigrants attracted by or employed in these industries in the west, transportation ranks at the forefront. Its development has greatly influenced the whole movement of population and has given much direction to the character of social changes which have taken place.

Years ago, while Chiang Kai-shek was fighting the Communists in Kiangsi, he learned that no military success would be permanent without adequate highways. The larger dimensions on which the present struggle has been waged have made that lesson even more patent. The national program of highway and railway construction which had made such spectacular and practical advance for the preceding decade has continued unabated during the years of the war. Recently published figures of the miles of railroad constructed show 633 kilometers actually completed since the war began. It is well known that as withdrawal along one railway and then another has been necessary the retreating armies have torn up the rails and had them transferred farther west and south where they were used for new construction. Thus as the Japanese broke across the Lunghai Railway a section of that line west of the Kinghan Line was torn up to prevent ready advance, and the rails were shifted westward for the extension of the line from Sian to Paochi and beyond toward Lanchow. Similarly when Chekiang Province was threatened, and also as the enemy attacked Kiukiang in the north of Kiangsi, a considerable portion of the two lines across Kiangsi province was torn up and the rails carried westward into Hunan. Thus while fighting was drawing steadily nearer in that province, railway service was being extended from Hengvang to Kweilin and construction had even begun southwestward from Kweilin across Kwangsi province before the enemy struck from the south at the end of 1939. Despite the Japanese occupation of Nanning, through passenger trains are now operating from Hengyang as far south as Liuchow in the centre of Kwangsi province.

While this actual laying of tracks and operating of extension lines was taking place, new major lines were being surveyed further west and the digging and blasting, tunnelling and building was going forward. The most conspicuous of these new railways was that from Kunming across the western part of Yunnan province to connect with the Burma railway, and the Yunnan-Szechwan railway to connect Kunming with Chengtu across eastern Yunnan, Kweichow and western Szechwan. These projects have called for a very large

number of workers. As in the case of other industries the common unskilled labor, dirt diggers and carriers and rock breakers, have been largely natives of the regions traversed. Even in these lines of unskilled peasant labor, however, there are reports of refugee immigrant peasants having been employed. The skilled workers, engineers, surveyors, bridge construction gangs, tunnel diggers, compressed air drill operators, even sometimes stone workers, have been almost entirely immigrants. The army of staff men for these projects, those in the white-collared jobs (for there are a good many of such even in railway building) are almost entirely immigrants. Very many of them have brought their families with them, and have set up out-of-the-province colonies in not a few towns along the new lines.

All that has been said of the railway construction has been likewise true of highway construction. This has gone steadily forward, but the main trunk-lines that have in very truth been life lines, have just as truly been immigrant lines. Conspicuous among these have been the several highways which converge or cross each other at Kweiyang: (1) the Kwangsi-Chungking Highway, crossing Kwangsi from the Indo-China border at the southwest, turning northward near the center of the province and continuing through Kweiyang due north to Chungking; (2) the Hunan-Kweichow Road, which from near the middle of the western border of Hunan proceeds nearly due west until it meets the Kwangsi Highway a short distance southeast of Kweiyang; (3) the Kunming-Kweiyang Highway, which connects those two cities and thence, merging with the Kwangsi Highway, carries on to Chungking; (4) the Yunnan-Szechwan Highway, which crosses a more western part of Kweichow province, striking the Yangtse river at a point nearly opposite the city of Luhsien (Luchow), and is now connected thence with various points in Szechwan; (5) the most famous of all, the Yunnan-Burma Highway from Kunming across the Burma border to Lashio; (6) the new west Kwangsi Road, which almost skirts the Yunnan provincial border, passing through Poseh, and then turns eastward to join the older Kwangsi Highway; and (7) several new roads that have been opened across Szechwan, especially the trunk-line from north to west, joining Hanchung with Chengtu and thence westward through Yaan toward Kanting (Tatsienlu) but not yet completed. These roads have been outlined in some detail because to such a large extent they indicate the routes taken by immigrants moving into the west, and the lines along which there has been a considerable settling of immigrant industrial workers. Here again we use "industrial workers" in the sense that both construction and operation of these roads has given employment to immense numbers of men who are almost entirely trained workers from outside the provinces in which they are now located. Many of them, perhaps to a lesser degree than with railway employees whose jobs are less speedily carried through, have brought in their families and formed at least the nucleus of an immigrant community.

The immense amount of industrial development in lines of communication may be indicated by figures recently released by the

Ministry of Communications. Without recording the amount of losses suffered in occupied areas they show something of the developments that have been taking place in other parts of the country. Roadways before the war in all China measured 110,000 kilometers; now in "free China" there are 80,000 kilometers in use. Telephone lines before the war measured 53,000 kilometers; now in government controlled areas there are 52,000 kilometers. Telegraph lines which measured 95,000 kilometers now within government controlled areas are 83,000 with 13,000 more under construction. New radio stations have been constructed at Chungking, Chengtu, Kweiyang, Lanchow and are being erected in Sikang, Kwangsi and Kwangtung. Before the war the government operated 584,000 kilometers of postal roads, and 72,000 post offices, now 528,000 kilometers of postal roads and 66,000 post offices (in the southwestern provinces alone during the year July 1938 to June 1939 the mail routes were extended by 17,600 kilometers, 108 new post offices were opened and 1450 substations and postal agents were established). Since the war began 9900 kilometers of new air lines have been put into operation, making a present total of 12,000 kilometers as compared with the 13,000 kilometers at the beginning of hostilities. 14,900 kilometers more have been projected. In addition there are now operating some 10,000 tons of small river boats, about 25,000 camels and unnumbered hand carts, wheelbarrows and carrying coolies engaged in transportation.

Immigrants in Transportation Service

The actual operating of these lines of communication especially the highways, that is, the operating of the immense volume of motor transportation which is now passing over them, is employing no inconsiderable number of trained or semi-trained men. These range from the highly trained highly paid division managers and directors of transport companies to the chauffeurs and mechanics most of whom are literate with not an inconsiderable amount of schooling as well as technical knowledge. The Southwestern Transport Company's office in Haiphong alone was said to provide for a hundred desk workers. The Yunnan-Burma Highway Commission office in Hsiakwan directs a staff of over 300, with more than 300 mechanics in the shops, and 400 chauffeurs operating cars. This road is said to have provided for 600 ton a day of traffic, and cars are supposed to be carrying an average of 3 ton; thus on the average one hundred cars a day each way are moving over a given point like Hsiakwan. (It is apparent that operation has not yet been perfected and that not a few cars which should be running are laid up for days at a time for repairs, but even thus their chauffeurs are also in the towns and the mechanics are at work on the cars. On the run from Kunming to Kweiyang at least twelve trucks of the Fuhsing Transportation Company alone were seen overturned along the road. One estimate gives 60% of the transport trucks out of commission.)

These figures but illustrate the large number of immigrants who are employed in a relatively permanent fashion on the great net of highways that have been opened up since the war began. Even along

the older roads, such for example as the main provincial highway across Szechwan from Chungking to Chengtu which has been operated for some years preceding the war, the great volume of transportation has called in a large force of employees from outside the province. Here, as elsewhere, not only the actual operation of traffic and the maintenance of the roads, but also a considerable amount of new trade which has sprung up along the roads, is carried on by immigrants. A series of well-equipped hospitals along the Burma Highway is staffed almost entirely by immigrants. Such organizations as the China Travel Service with its system of guest houses, a similar net work operated in Kwangsi and elsewhere by the Southwestern Transport Co., and numerous independent inns and restaurants along all the roads are very largely managed and served by people who have come from the coast provinces. The attendants in a bath-house at Kweiyang, the proprietor of a tea-house on the new road not yet open between Tzeliutsing and Kiating, the caterer of a restaurant in Tali—these are typical examples of either out-of-the-province men or of those who have come along the road long distances from some other section of their own province. And there are hordes more like them. Migration, as has been remarked before, is not only from coast provinces to the west, but also from the main cities of the western provinces out along these newly opened roads to the more remote sections of the country. These auxiliary or service jobs can readily pass into the hands of local people, but the more technical and skilled trades will probably remain for a long time largely in immigrants' hands.

Overseas Immigrants

This immigrant group includes many from overseas, especially in western Yunnan. They are the chauffeurs, drivers and mechanics and assistants who have been recruited (or have migrated in rather large unsolicited groups) from Singapore, Bangkok, Manila, Burma and the East Indies. Many of them were born in China and have grown up abroad. Others were born outside the country. They have come with various motives, and they are a motley group, black, brown, yellow; turbaned, skirted, or swaggering in lumber jackets and corduroys; speaking Cantonese, Malayan, Tamil, American, Russian, German and what-not, some singing in deep baritone the popular song hits of the day or whiling away their evenings in truck or inn with a companionable harmonica; others gambling large sums in the inns; a few smoking opium in the dens that still operate. Someone has termed them the worst pirate gang on the road. Officials of the transport companies admit that these men have given them plenty of trouble and concern. But here they are, immigrants indeed, away from home and almost entirely without any family ties. Even the Cantonese chauffeurs who have come directly from Kwangtung say they have no liking for Yunnan women who are rather the brazen type of the Kunming movie house or the near aborigines of the mountains, with neither of which groups they have any interests. They see no possibility or feasibility of bringing women up from Kwangtung, and by the nature of the job they have and the poor

pay which all of them insist they get, they have no plans for any settled home life.

That their pay is so meager does not appear either from the wages actually received nor from the additional income which in some cases amounts to a tidy sum. On the western Yunnan road truck drivers in May 1940 were being paid \$60 plus \$20 emergency allowances; in addition they were paid \$2 a day road money while on a haul. Their own statements were that they were thus getting approximately \$100 a month, that it cost them much more than \$2 a day for food on the road without expenditure for lodging; frequently they slept in the trucks to protect them from pilferage, and they were expected to pay for any losses and some types of damage. We were repeatedly told that they were not allowed to take on additional fares. In some cases chauffeurs were allowed the income from the sale of gasoline tins which amounted to from 80 cents to \$1.50 a five gallon tin. Drivers operating independently and picking up private jobs on the Kwangsi highway in 1939 contracted for as high as \$250 plus oil tins for the run from the Indo-China border to Chungking, normally a two weeks' journey at most. Obviously road expenses were high, hotel and inn rates were staggering both for food and lodging, and wear and tear on clothing was terrific. At inns where drivers ate they paid not infrequently \$1.00 a meal, often \$1.50 if they had more than one vegetable dish apiece. Not a few of them wore chamois skin coats which they bought rather crudely made at Tali and Hsiakwan for \$53 per coat or better made in Kunming for \$62 or \$70 a coat. They got their tobacco in Lashio, their silver ornaments at Tali, their felt pads and blankets in Hsiakwan and their Scotch plaid steamer rugs presumably at the Burma border—though plenty of mafoos and chair coolies on the Tali road had these foreign steamer rugs. And some of them got their opium at the little unnamed villages along the road with which they were well acquainted. That this scale of living did call for some additional income even where they had no families to support led to the operation of a big racket—the sale of transportation both to freight and to passengers along the road. The Survey Team estimated that the men operating the gasoline laden truck on which they travelled from Hsiakwan to Kunming took on at least one ton additional freight for most of the journey (including freight carriers who travelled with their loads of tea and other produce) and collected fares on their own account of approximately \$300 or \$400 for the two days' journey. It was not possible to learn exactly what their arrangement with the Company was for the use of gasoline: it appeared that for the run they were allowed an estimated amount, that any saving from that which they might make from turning off the supply and coasting down long hills was to their credit, and that for excessive amounts used in climbing hills (when they had an overload and therefore had to go all the way in low gear) they were required to make refund.

Transportation experts have reported that it was practically impossible to devise any scheme for stamping out these rackets until and unless the chauffeurs were paid wages sufficient to enable them

and their families to live comfortably on their regular wage. On the basis of the chauffeurs' own statements it would appear that they required a monthly wage of \$250. Many of them were in possession of rather large sums of money. One of them between Kunming and Kweiyang carried a small suit-case containing \$6,000 in cash. Another chauffeur on two successive nights of gambling along the road lost \$500 and \$1,500. By interrogation as to the source of their large incomes and observation as to their practices, it was found that in addition to collecting fares and freight and selling gasoline they had many ways of disposing of spare parts, selling batteries or exchanging new ones for old, and acting as agents or messengers for all sorts of transactions.

Aviation and Slow Transport Affect the Country

These disproportionately long paragraphs on the transport immigrant problem are inspired by the very large place that these immigrants and occupations play in the whole opening up of these western provinces to the coming of even more immigrants, and of the social and economic aspects of the whole new life in the west as it is developing under the immigrant impact. The paragraphs would be incomplete without reference to the air traffic which has made fairly phenomenal strides but which thus far has brought in a comparatively small number of immigrants. The personnel of the aviation corporations, both in management and in operation, is of course entirely immigrant—a part of it again being from overseas, mostly of a rather relatively cultured type of American born and trained Chinese. While the China National Aviation Corporation has been operating a lively passenger service in several directions across the territory studied, and while in recent weeks it has been developing its freight service in a rather surprising degree, the Eurasia Corporation has been compelled gradually to reduce its service, and there were rumours that it might soon be forced to suspend operations. Thus at best the total number of immigrant employees brought into the west by this aerial transportation was insignificant. It was however of a high type, many of the men attached to it had their families resident in the west, and they regarded both their residence and the carrying on of air transportation as a permanent feature of the new industrial development of the west. Said one aviation official, "The government may stay here three years or ten years; who can tell. But much of the industrial development is permanent. Chungking at least is destined to be a permanent center for the future development of transportation in the west, by air, motor car and rail. That means that industrial and cultural development here will continue."

There are many indications that the transportation industry is in the early stages of its development. As it expands an increasing number of local people will be drawn into it. However, the immigrant proportion of employees thus engaged probably for years to come will remain considerable. The early stages of transportation development, and the lines for expansion, may readily be seen in such prevalent western industries as salt and coal. Until now huge

numbers of burden bearers, transport coolies, have been employed in transporting these two commodities. Donkeys are used, but as one man interested in the salt business explained, "a donkey eats quite as much as a man, he cannot carry any heavier load, and besides it is necessary to hire a driver to go along with every four or five donkeys." With the opening of motor roads an increasing amount of salt is being transported in lorries. The coolies are not out of a job, but their hauls are shorter and some of them are being employed in loading and unloading trucks. The social and economic changes which may take place in the evolution of this essential industry give wide scope for one's imagination. The immigrant population at present is playing an important part in the change, and may be expected to figure vitally in the repercussions and adjustments that are bound to follow.

Similarly in the coal industry the transportation is a big item, and the coal industry and the salt industry in the west are inseparably related, such immense quantities of coal are used for boiling the brine even in regions where natural gas is now proving such a boon. Coal, like salt, has been transported largely on human backs. The objections to using donkeys cited above apply with equal cogency here. Not a few large-wheel, pneumatic-tired carts have been introduced on the new roads. But a heavily laden handcart is a most cumbersome vehicle to handle when it comes to ascending a long steep grade such as is so frequently encountered on these western roads. Therefore where motor lorries are not yet used for coal transportation, a large share of the loads are carried on shoulders and carrying poles.

Riding slowly by ricksha over a hilly Szechwan road not far from the Tzeliutsing salt works, we entertained ourselves one morning by counting the loads of coal that were thus transported by human beings. Besides all the donkey loads and cart loads which were engaging not a few coolies, it was found during a period of twenty-five minutes that loads were coming down the road on human backs, the backs of men and women, boys and girls, at the rate of thirteen and a half (13½) loads per minute! They were heavy loads, too, the agony of the strain telling all too plainly on almost every face. Such inhuman and financially uneconomical transportation must and will change with the opening of these interior roads to motor freight hauls. The reorganization of the industry will employ a not inconsiderable group of immigrant labor for a long time to come.

Immigration is having its effect, also, upon boat traffic, less extensively and less directly. The question was raised whether the opening of motor roads was not robbing the river men of their business, but assurance was given that there was a noticeable increase of river traffic by man-power boats. This is partly due to the exploitation of natural resources and the exportation of freight from remote areas as yet unserved by roads. Also it was found that the Government was promoting this means of transportation on one or two of the important rivers by the construction of large dams with modern locks, once more with considerable interest in

the importation of salt to certain heretofore relatively inaccessible mountain regions, and the reverse exportation of coal and other minerals from the same areas. While the boat traffic continues to be exclusively native, the erection and operation of large modern dams and locks is of course almost entirely by immigrant labor.

A marvelous period of social and industrial adjustment is just beginning. It offers a new challenge and a unique opportunity to the Church.

SUMMARY OF CHAPTER I

The great migration has involved the movement of at least forty million people.

The migration into the western provinces of Szechwan, Kweichow and Yunnan has been largely a middle class movement. This included chiefly (1) government officials, clerks and bureau employees, (2) students, teachers and others related to educational institutions, and (3) industrialists, skilled laborers and artisans, and a variety of persons engaged in transportation.

There is much fluctuation in the immigrant population, but the longer the war continues the larger the numbers who will find permanent residence and employment in the west.

The incoming of so large an alien population has resulted in much social change and in a great deal of friction between native residents and immigrants.

There has been a marked industrial development in this region made possible through the investment of capital which has been transferred from the coast and heavily subsidized by the government. This largely is permanent.

The development of transportation has become one of the most important industries in its relation to population movements and social and industrial change.

Some of these industrial and transportation groups constitute not only a distinctly new social element but a new and challenging opportunity to the Church.

CHAPTER II

IMMIGRATION AND THE CHURCH

When the eminent missionary leader, Dr. Robert E. Speer, made his last visit to China in 1926 he disconcerted many of his missionary friends by publicly voicing his conclusion that there was not in this country what could properly be termed a Chinese Church. Numerous survey reports published during the years since then, and especially the representation of China at the recent world missionary Conference in Madras, have given a different impression. Even for the less advanced field of the Christian enterprise, that covered by this particular study, we have a recent volume from a group of eminent leaders in many lines of service entitled, "China Rediscovered Her West" (edited by Dr. Wu Yi-fang and Dr. Frank W. Price) which includes "The Church" as one of the important factors in this discovery. By whatever term "The Church" may be defined, it will be admitted that there are in the western provinces many of the fundamental elements of a Church, that in many places substantial progress has been made in the integration of these elements, and that in the commonly accepted parlance of our day, there is to all intents and purposes a Church which is a going concern that is deeply affected by the immigration impact. This Church is vitally concerned with this major event, and its future developments are inextricably bound up with the movements and attitudes of the institutions and people who have come to the west.

A Backward Church

To understand at all clearly what has been and is taking place a little background history of the Christian movement is at least illuminating. An able survey and summary of the situation was provided in 1933 by a former missionary of many years' experience in China as a trained observer and professor of sociology, Dr. Guy Sarvis, in the Fact Finders' Volume on China. Two or three recent observers have remarked that the last stage of the west China Church development as there portrayed had changed little in the ten years since, and that Dr. Sarvis' report could fairly be taken as the starting point for a study of the field at the outbreak of the war. A statistical study recently released by Prof. Frank Price of the Nanking Theological Seminary and also his article in the new volume above referred to, indicate that numerically at least there has been no significant variation in this last decade. However, neither does Dr. Sarvis' survey pretend to cover all of the field of our study—it is a Szechwan survey—nor does Dr. Price's recent study lay claim to completeness nor final accuracy (Dr. Price was reporting to the Christian community in Chengtu with the groups there represented particularly in mind. He included church work in such parts of Sikang province as had earlier been regarded as part of the Szechwan mission field irrespective of recent political and geographical changes in boundaries; this may not entirely accord with the population

statistics which he used; also he excluded several smaller mission groups and churches working in the province with a total of at least ten foreign mission stations, between twenty and thirty missionaries, at least one mission hospital and a junior middle school or its equivalent, and a church membership for which no figures have been assembled. See Price's statistics in Appendix). Whatever comments or criticisms are made it is to be remembered that as a whole the Church throughout the west and southwest is in the primitive period of development as compared not to its history but to the Church in China as a whole. Its faults and shortcomings were common to other sections of the Church a decade or a generation ago, a fact which many of the immigrants frequently overlook.

The next most obvious fact to one who has visited the area at infrequent and irregular intervals during the past eighteen years, is that in Szechwan there has been an earlier period of greater outward prosperity and that in several respects the Szechwan Church at the beginning of the war was less popular numerically and less apparently alert than it was some years earlier. On the other hand, the Church in Kweichow and in Yunnan has not yet come even to its first adolescence: it is in every sense in its early infancy, and cannot be measured by any tests commonly used for a more mature Church. In these two provinces it was said again and again that the native people were indifferent to Christianity, that it made no appeal to them. (That does not include the various tribes in both provinces who have shown a responsiveness to the Christian message in sharp contrast to the Chinese indifference. This report has not dealt with the work among the tribes, for it could not be discovered that they had been touched to any extent by the great immigration.)

Various explanations may be given for this seeming retrogression in Szechwan, and the most readily given is that the earlier appearances were misleading, that there was much outward form where there was comparatively little inner life, and that to those who work intimately within the Church organization in the west, it is easily discerned that there is now a more genuine Church life, a more firmly laid foundation for a Church structure, than existed ten years ago. Some people think that the anti-Christian movement was more virulent in the west than in other parts of China, and that the Communist scourge which swept across part of Kweichow and Szechwan a few years ago adversely affected the Church.

The Loss of Schools

Another explanation will be found in the educational policy of the province and of the Church. There was a period at which the whole system of education within the framework of the Church, from the elementary school through the post-graduate departments of the university, was receiving strong emphasis and generous support from the missionary enterprise. The West China Christian Educational Association was a trail-blazer in its organization and supervision of primary school work, and provided the China Christian Educational Association with one of its ablest and most successful General Secretaries. It could be said that so far as most of the missions

were concerned, every church had its school. Even the China Inland Mission, which as a general policy has not gone in for even secondary education, had made one of its few exceptions within Szechwan province and had a successful school at Luchow. Large property investments were made, and several of these once crowded school buildings, after a period of vacancy, have proved to be havens of refuge in this time of emergency when immigrant schools have been most fortunate to find premises ready and waiting for them. Financial stringency within foreign Mission Boards rather than any thorough-going change in conviction as to the place of such an educational program in the policy of the Church was the first cause for curtailment. The second, closely linked to it, was the promulgation and enforcement of new government regulations for the registration and control of schools. It was discovered that not a few church-operated schools could not measure up to the government requirements, either financially or otherwise. This, with other troublesome regulations and the situation in Mission Board finances, resulted in the closing of not a few Christian schools.

The results were instantly noticeable in the churches. Once crowded church buildings were almost deserted. What had once seemed to be the case in other parts of the country was proven to be the case in Szechwan, that a conspicuous proportion of church goers were there either from compulsion, propinquity or deliberate choice as attendants in church-supported schools and that when this element was scattered the church-going constituency was lamentably small. This served to emphasize two tendencies; that of many pastors to build their church program upon the school and to assume a more healthy state of the church than actually existed because of apparently satisfactory attendance at church services week after week; and that of missions to build large church edifices at their own expense to accommodate an apparently pressing but actually insubstantial congregation. One of the depressing sights all over Szechwan so far as the Survey Team travelled was to find large, nearly empty church buildings, not a few of which had been crowded on our earlier visits to the province.

Residents Scattered

An explanation given again and again when comment was called forth on this apparently deserted appearance of the church was that a large proportion of local church members have been scattered in the country by recent bombing raids and official pressure to evacuate the large centers of population. Efforts to follow through on that explanation were not very fruitful. It was difficult to find any rural churches, or even hsien town churches, that reported any increase in attendance through the evacuation of cities. At Chengtu it was admitted that city residents who had moved to the country were coming in as far as 18 li to attend Sunday services in their home churches. Rural communities were found to which schools had moved from the city, which were thus provided with a church attendance that they had not enjoyed before. Some of the rural church experiment stations of the Nanking Theological Seminary reported a

number both of out-of-the-province immigrants and native city-dwellers in their congregations. But that any considerable, or even a scattered few, church goers from the city by migration to rural districts were anywhere increasing at all noticeably the congregations could not be discovered. It is conceivable that they were all refugeeing in unchurched hamlets, or as is so characteristic of the Szechwan countryside, in isolated farm houses. This gives no encouragement to those who hope for the strengthening of the Church through the scattering of Christians, if they cannot find their way anywhere to a church service. The Survey Team was in Szechwan only five Sundays and during that time could visit only a limited number of church services. In such attendance it was not always possible to determine actually how many in any given congregation were local people. The records kept show a distressingly small number. Some congregations were composed almost entirely of local people. Such congregations were all small. Other congregations were mixed, but the total number of natives in such congregations again was very small. The only crowded churches seen either in Szechwan or in Yunnan were those which housed congregations apparently composed largely of immigrants.

The conclusion forced itself home that, whatever the explanation, the actual church-going population of the western provinces without the migration influx was surprisingly low, and that there was an investment in church buildings and property out of proportion to the number of people now prepared to avail themselves of this generous investment. Years of experience in visiting churches in all parts of China and around the world have taught one to expect every congregation to be labelled "unusually small," either on account of bad weather or conflicting engagements, or in more recent months, chiefly on account of war conditions which have compelled a change from the regular hours or the evacuation of the constituency (most hosts are too courteous to add the only consistent explanation, that it is on account of the presence of the observer). However, records kept from week to week and place to place, backed by repeated questions and estimates as to the usual number in attendance, led to the conclusion rightly or wrongly that but for the presence in the churches of the west of a very considerable number of immigrant Christians and interested friends, the churches would be pathetically poorly attended.

Poor Leadership

Next to the war, the most frequently blamed cause of poor church attendance was poor pastoral leadership. The Survey Team could not possibly have acquired a first hand knowledge of the character and ability of the men who are in positions of leadership in the churches. The lament was so repeatedly heard that it could not be ignored that there was a genuine dearth of capable, well-trained men in the ministry. One was reminded at once of a statement made some years ago by a prominent Chinese layman who returned from the west and said of the Church: "They seem to have a fair number of aces in the deck, but they appear to be lamentably short

of kings, queens and jacks." The first striking evidence given of this situation at present is the eagerness with which immigrant pastors have been thrust into pastoral responsibilities both in the old churches and where new congregations are being organized. This is true not only of the main cities where the immigrants have first settled, but also more and more in remote towns and rural parishes. It could almost be said of some places that not only were the pews nearly empty, but also the pulpits were vacant.

Even less happy evidence, however, was given where the native pastors were preaching to empty pews and gave no indication of having any idea of doing anything to change the situation. One church visited had had the same pastor for eight years; there did not appear to be that many church members in his congregation although there were more reported on the roll. Another pastor who had the names of nearly a hundred contributors to his church, expressed surprise at the number of mothers who brought babies to the newly opened baby clinic, "for," he said, "where do they all come from? I didn't know we had so many people that ever came near the church." A down-river pastor who had just begun work when visited told us that his predecessor had left him no list of members that could be traced, and thus far he had found only a couple of families who showed any interest in the church. At another city where inquiry was made as to the number of members on the roll, the reply was that the present pastor had been here about three years and had found no membership list when he came nor had he been able to produce one since. There would be no value in listing the specific complaints made against the pastors; they ranged all the way from their lack of educational background, through lack of ministerial training and depth of religious experience and preaching ability, on to laziness, dishonesty, gambling and drunkenness, using opium, the want of ambition or a program, and back to the ever recurring addiction to the tea-house habit. Such a category of complaints was not compiled from missionary sources alone by any means, and no single item in the list has been set down without the complaint having been heard from more than one source and of more than one pastor; it is merely a list of repeated complaints. Similar complaints could be heard of pastors in almost any province or country. Probably they occur more frequently where the Church is immature. They are accentuated where a more mature and better trained ministry or membership moves suddenly in on the scene.

Church leadership where the Church is still in the early stages of its development almost always includes the missionaries as well as the Chinese pastors. There is in west China a high grade company of very able and consecrated missionaries. A fair list of complaints heard of the Church leadership must include those made against missionaries as well as against Chinese. One of those complaints was that there are still too many missionaries trying to do pastoral jobs for which they ought long ago to have trained Chinese successors, and that these missionary pastors simply do not get hold of the local people to carry responsibilities of church membership. So long as foreigners remain pastors of churches and so long as most

of the pulpit preaching is done by these foreigners, so long does the church remain a foreign exotic institution in the conservative section of the country which retains something of its anti-foreign bias.

At this point there was some mutual complaint between missionaries and their pastoral colleagues that there was no genuine sharing but a lack of genuine mutual confidence. The missionaries felt that since they had surrendered direction and control of the churches with the installing of fully accredited and ordained Chinese pastors their counsel and advice and service were not very eagerly sought, and that propriety and the remaining vestiges of nationalistic pride prevented their thrusting themselves upon their halting, stumbling colleagues. Chinese pastors on the other hand complained that their missionary associates had no ideas about running a local church successfully, that they sometimes spent their time pattering about matters that were of little account to the Kingdom, and that they were doing little to help out in a critical financial period for the church. One pastor said of his missionary colleague (and there was every appearance of the friendliest attitude between the two men, the missionary having expressed repeatedly the deepest appreciation of the pastor and the work he was doing): "He is very genuine, but he has no organizing ability" (Ta heng lao-shih, puh hui pan sz). Sometimes the unformulated statement (which missionaries have been known to make of themselves in other parts of the country as well as in the west) seemed to be that missionaries were floundering, that they simply did not know what to do in the situation in which they found themselves and the Church, that there was no constructive program on which all could pull together. In Kweichow and in Yunnan there seemed to be some feeling that missionaries did not take Chinese workers into their confidence, and treated them as employees rather than as fellow workers.

One missionary put it a bit differently when she said: "The old church members seem to be jealous of the immigrants because we find so much more in common with them. The immigrant Christians are delightful, educated, cultured people whom we love to have in our homes; so utterly different from the folks who were in the church before." Another missionary who had been for nearly a life-time in the west said: "We find these down river people so much more friendly and approachable. They seem really to enjoy associating with us." The many commendations heard of immigrant church workers in contrast to local men were just one more indication of the same thing about which local pastors complained: that the missionaries did not have intimate fellowship with them in the work of the Church.

These paragraphs should not be interpreted as a description of a Church torn by dissention and wrangling. Neither was there found anything which could be termed a strong anti-foreign feeling. It was rather a backward Church, still struggling along over some of the rough places trod by other sections of the Church ten or fifteen years ago, lacking in that lively membership and growing program of personal and community service which does much to absorb the shocks of petty jolts, and above all quite unprepared to receive an

immigrant impact loaded with a large relatively mature Christian element.

The Christian Immigrants

For the Christian element in the immigrant population was truly conspicuous. It was conspicuous by its high character, by its large group of tried and capable leaders in every walk of life, and by its very numbers. As indicated in a previous chapter this great stream of migration to the west has been largely a middle class, an upper middle class movement, to which in the lower Yangtse Valley a not inconsiderable part of the Christian population belongs. Furthermore, the figures of church membership show that a startlingly large number of Christians were to be found in the cities of Shanghai and Wuhan before the war (see President White's address to the Shanghai Missionary Association published in the Chinese Recorder in February, 1935). The evacuation of Shanghai residents perhaps is not so proportionately large as from some other cities, but with those of other Lower Yangtse cities they form no small group in the migrated population. Furthermore the removal of many Christian colleges, middle schools, theological seminaries and other institutions to the west took with them a group of Christian leaders and church members whose presence made a considerable difference in the communities to which they went. The government, furthermore, seemed to recognize the special contribution which men and women of Christian character and experience could make at this time to the national cause, and requisitioned the services of not a few outstanding leaders. The concentrating in a comparatively few places of a large number of these Christian men and women but served to make the Christian element in the immigrant population the more conspicuous.

This Christian element is a church-going crowd. Many comments of surprise were heard that so many people away from home and from their accustomed social connections should so persistently care about going to church. They seem to have the church habit and the church urge. Not a few of them are second and third generation Christians, of whom there are very few among the west China Christian communities. As such they have not only a church habit, but a church sense: they know what to expect in a well run church. They are accustomed to decorum and some good preaching. For all that has been said and written of the inferior churches and pastors to be found in almost any part of the country, these immigrant Christians seem to have developed a taste and an expectation for something better than they are finding. This, perhaps again, is because they come so largely from the better educated, upper middle class which is used to having the best that the church has to offer. Had immigrant Christians come more largely from the peasant and labor classes, from rural districts where the less highly trained pastors are more apt to be found, they would be less fastidious in their church tastes, and much less critical of the churches and their leaders. Also it is the more highly educated and those in positions that give them some standing and social security who are most apt to speak out and express their desires and their disappointments. The

result is a good deal of dissatisfaction among immigrant Christians with the type of church they have found in the west. Empty churches with poor preachers and no program is their three phrase characterization of the church they have found. These they might have found much closer to home had their flight not brought them so far.

Types of Churches

At this point it is inevitable that some distinction should be made in the groups that are coming and in their relationship to the churches. With all the limitations and unfortunate connotations in terminology perhaps there is no better way to indicate this general classification than as "conservative" and "liberal." Into the former classification by their own desire would go such churches and missions and Christians as those of the China Inland Mission, the Assemblies of God, the Seventh Day Adventists and a good many smaller and independent groups to be found in the western provinces. To these churches have come a much smaller proportion of Christian immigrants than into the Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui, the Chung Hua Chi Tu Chiao Hui, the Methodist and the Baptist churches for example. One reason which they give is the comparatively small number of those conservative churches in the particular areas from which large numbers have migrated to this area. About the Wuhan cities, for example, there is a concentration of Sheng Kung Hui and Chi Tu Chiao Hui strength and very little China Inland Mission work. Along the lower Yangtse River there are a good many of the liberal group of churches especially in the cities from which immigrants have come, whereas the smaller, more conservative churches are found in greater strength and numbers further inland, largely in rural areas with a membership of much more modest financial standing. So again and again these smaller churches in the west have reported that very few Christian immigrants have come to them. There is a further explanation to be derived from their own statements. They, and all churches, have discovered that a really considerable number of immigrants are seeking church life and contacts who have not heretofore enjoyed such or who find none of their own denomination in the region to which they have gone. Kweiyang was an outstanding illustration of this when at the beginning of the great migration Disciples and Episcopalians, Methodists and Presbyterians wandered the streets of that western provincial capital looking for home and friends and spiritual succour. They found only the China Inland Mission, the Seventh Day Adventists and the Roman Catholics. And the services, the people in the churches, the doctrine preached, just did not appeal to them. As one missionary in another city said candidly and a bit wistfully, "They came into our churches, looked around, shivered, and walked out." Another missionary indicated the situation in his church a little differently: "They came to me," he said, "looking for special attention and treatment. We have no time for that. They must understand that in Christ's Kingdom there can be no class distinctions and no provincial lines. Immigrants are no better than natives. If they can't appreciate that fact, it is no use their trying to worship in our church. A few of them have

accepted that Christian truth, but we don't have many of them." Whatever the explanation, the facts remain that generally speaking there are comparatively few immigrants in these more conservative churches. In that respect the city of Kunming is in a measure an exception to which a paragraph later will be devoted. In Kweiyang, too, the China Inland Mission conducts an English service which attracts immigrants. In other places the record cards show that where Sheng Kung Hui and Methodist, for example, were finding approximately 80% of the congregation to be immigrant, the China Inland Mission in the same cities would show fully 80% of the congregation to be natives. In Chengtu the Sheng Kung Hui appeared to have a larger proportion than that of natives at the morning prayers; the Baptists said that a good many immigrant young people came for one of two Sundays, but did not remain and build up a congregation. With many exceptions the general statement seems to hold that immigrant Christians come largely from the more liberal churches and immigrants seeking religious life have tended to turn to the more liberal churches in the cities of the west, and where they have not found such they have organized them.

The marked exception referred to was Kunming (on which more extensive notes will be found in the Case Studies in the Appendix). There was a unique situation here with a tremendous influx of students, not in Christian but in government and secular colleges and middle schools. The churches of the city were numerous but not strong, variegated in ecclesiastic connections but for the most part strongly conservative. Yet they recognized immediately the challenge and the opportunity which confronted them in the migration to their neighborhood of six or eight great universities, medical and fine arts colleges, thus "making this relatively backward city now the third largest educational center in China." They set to work as best they could to meet the situation. And however cynical one may be about the motives which actuate students in going to church or professing religious interest, it can hardly be denied that at Kunming surprisingly large numbers of students from these colleges have shown a yearning for something which draws them toward even the conservative churches of the city. As a consequence there were found to be large enrolments of college students for Bible Study at the China Inland Mission, about fifty students on a Saturday night preceding examinations attended a lecture on the Bible at the Quaker Mission where conversions and baptisms were taking place, students persisted in going to the Assemblies of God for music, and four or five weekly services were conducted in English by the various missions and churches for the students and others of the immigrant community who were attracted by that form of church worship.

English Services

This brings us to the consideration of special churches and church services organized by or for the immigrant groups in the west. These English services are the simplest and most frequently met of these devices. They provide some of the features which immigrants have most missed in the local churches, such as well-directed

music, good preaching, and more or less formal ritual, and have naturally tended to separate the more cultured or westernized worshippers from the native *hoi polloi*. These desired aspects of church worship have been provided with the minimum of organization, with little responsibility placed upon most of those who enjoy attendance, and without setting up another church which could be regarded as a rival to the churches already established in these cities. They are usually looked after by a small committee of missionaries (sometimes with a few immigrant Chinese acting with them) or by the missionary in charge of the church which conducts them on a denominational rather than a union basis. They have brought together Christians of many denominations and educated immigrants who have Christian inclinations without church affiliations, and they have been conducted at practically no expense other than incidental running expenses which are easily covered by the weekly collections.

In several cases these appear to be the best attended church services in the city. At Kunming the attendance was said to run as high as 250 in the Methodist church, where the attendance at the Chinese service was about 50; and this is but one of several English services conducted in the city each Sunday. At Chengtu 160 people filled the quaintly beautiful, Chinese-style Baptist Church edifice for this union service; only a fraction of that number came to the Chinese service in the morning. At Kiating the bi-weekly service was as well attended as, probably better than, the morning services in the three churches of the city. Attendance records showed that a considerable part of these congregations, from 20% to 50%, was usually made up of foreigners. The rest of those present were almost entirely immigrants. Like any other church service this demonstrated the need of careful preparation in every detail for the successful carrying on of such an assembly for worship. It goes without saying that experienced, well-trained missionaries and a constant stream of visitors are able to provide a general run of better preaching than is to be found in many local churches. The preparation of good, suitable music, the arrangement of prayers, responsive readings, efficient ushering and friendly meeting of strangers, the persistent advertising and extending of invitations—these are details which do not take care of themselves in any church, and the neglect of them quickly registers in attendance and interest and the whole tone of the worship meeting. Where the over-loaded missionaries have attempted to carry the whole burden of this ministry to a class of immigrants, they have done so at times to the detriment not only of the service itself, but in some measure of those who might be strengthened in their Christian witness by being encouraged to accept some such simple responsibility.

On the other hand these missionaries have been sensitive to the sensitiveness of the local churches and their pastors. They have felt the importance of avoiding any reflection upon the work which these pastors were already doing. It has been possible on the basis of language difficulties to set up an English language service that would not be regarded as another church congregation. Without organizing committees they have kept expenses at a minimum and have placed

no load of responsibility that might seem to tax the time and effort that should be devoted to the established churches. There can be no doubt that local pastors are sensitive at these points. They must be dealt with in a more constructive manner if these English services are to be much more than a religious luxury, or are to build into the permanent structure of church life either for these immigrant Christians or for the churches in the communities of which they are for the time being a part.

Immigrant Congregations

At several places distinctly immigrant congregations have been organized on a more churchly basis, or perhaps it might be said on a more truly Chinese basis. Some of these have frankly attempted to bring about a complete church organization; others have preferred to call themselves Christian fellowship groups. Some of these are rather distinctive in character. Most of them have subjected themselves to the charge of being "class churches," for while the class of which they have been composed is ostensibly the whole immigrant class, the very "middle class" character of this migrant group has led some of the local congregations to feel that these immigrant groups are inclined to look down upon the native churches.

Among such immigrant congregations may be mentioned the so-called "Little Flocks." While they themselves repudiate this or any other designation which might seem to identify them as a denomination, their own leaders are able to report on the numbers of such groups in the west that meet regularly for worship, and also of the number of baptisms administered to their converts. Theologically very conservative they are an exception to the general tendency noted above for immigrants to ally themselves with the more liberal churches. Here, however, is an immigrant leadership (largely lay leadership in government or commercial service) and a nucleus of members who in several instances have travelled together to the west. Some of these Christians are of the university student group. They maintain a warm, emotional type of worship and a fervent propaganda, and must be recognized as an active Christian immigrant element. By mutual consent and inclination they have little fellowship with other Christian groups, they themselves charging that the established churches lack in spiritual vitality and abound in worldliness, while on the part of the other churches the charge is made that these groups are spiritually self-centered, seeking primarily to get rather than to give. Such a charge puts the spotlight on the whole attitude of the Christian Church in this or any community as it seeks so constantly to build up itself—with whatever motive—and to force the question for the Church in west China at this time of national crisis, whether the words of Christ apply as truly to the Church as to the individual, that "he who seeketh his life shall lose it; and he that loseth his life for my sake shall save it." The Church in west China, both native and immigrant, is tremendously concerned at present with saving its own life.

Another group of peculiar interest among the immigrant Christians is the large number of graduates of Christian schools.

This is a large field to which the National Christian Council and the China Christian Educational Association have been giving specialized expert attention during the past year. Much of the problem of approach to this large group is identical with the approach to the upper middle class immigrants which has been the focus of the preceding paragraphs. The delicate relation mentioned between local pastors and those who have attempted to organize immigrant church congregations is felt here. The question has been raised rather pointedly whether local churches can make their services attractive enough to draw these alumni into the churches, and whether if they draw them they can give them sufficient work and responsibility within the church and of a congenial character to keep them actively and happily interested in the church; or whether, recognizing the incurable weaknesses or fundamental differences in character of the local churches and their membership, the alumni must be encouraged for their own spiritual welfare to organize their own church life in such a way as to provide for their spiritual nurture and a scope for worth while religious activity. Practically this same problem is occurring in some places in the approach to the students by both the church and the Christian Association (see Case Studies: Kiating). The emergence of these problems is no cause for dismay but a very real indication of the eagerness of the meagre Christian forces with an inadequate local church to meet the challenging new situation created by the immense migration with its conspicuous Christian element.

There is encouragement to be found in the variety of approaches that are being made to these problems, indicative of the adaptability, flexibility and creative imagination within the Christian Church. For example, in Kweiyang we have two distinctly immigrant churches: (1) the Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui, organized along definitely denominational lines intended specifically to care for the Sheng Kung Hui Christians who had migrated from the "down-river" areas, and the students whom their experienced workers are attracting to fellowship with them; and (2) the Chung Hua Chi Tu Chiao Hui, which, attempting to embrace Christians of all shades of denominational, doctrinal or ecclesiastical inclination, has organized with a diverse membership of immigrant Christians from all parts of the country (see Case Studies: Kweiyang). In Chungking there are two immigrant congregations which represent two lines of approach (there are other groups of immigrant Christians also meeting in Chungking and not a few immigrants worshipping in the local churches), (1) the Sheng Kung Hui Fellowship which meets in the Institutional Church (Methodist), designed to provide for Sheng Kung Hui members who cling loyally and lovingly to their own ritual forms, led by a clergyman of their own order, but organized with an informal local committee rather than as a recognized church of the diocese; and (2) the Ch'iu Ching Union Church, composed largely of government officials and their families and other immigrants resident in one of the city's suburbs which was singularly lacking in churches, and now led by an immigrant Sheng Kung Hui clergyman and assisted by a missionary of the same denomination, who offer

some of the distinctive features of their church life without sacrificing the union character of the church. In Kunming there is yet a different and rather unique church effort, once more closely associated with the Sheng Kung Hui approach to the immigrant problem. This is the Wen Ling Tang, which has been organized and conducted under the leadership of Dean T. C. Chao, a Methodist member of the Yenching University faculty. The personnel and program of this church effort has been described by Dr. Chao in the Chinese Recorder of January 1940. While ostensibly organized as a non-sectarian Christian approach to the students who are fairly well concentrated in that immediate neighborhood, the Wen Ling Tang has found direction and affiliation in the Sheng Kung Hui, and gives every indication of becoming a student church of that denomination when Dr. Chao returns to his work in Peiping. There has been some criticism that as a church it has insufficiently placed responsibilities upon the student committee which serves rather ably in some respects, and has depended a little too much upon the voluntary assistance of employed workers in other organizations for the handling of business matters in the community. That it is providing a distinctive, congenial type of worship and fellowship for the more intellectually disposed students is its major contribution in a city where the churches' intellectual approach to religion has not been excessively scholarly. That this is by no means the only approach to religion sought by university students is indicated by their large numbers to be found in the variety of services offered by religious bodies which are not nearly so intellectual or academic. (for further comment see Case Studies: Kunming).

The citations from these three cities illustrate the spread and vigor of the Sheng Kung Hui approach to the immigrant problem. This is one of the outstanding features of the situation that strikes the visitor to the west. It is exceptional. No other denomination has responded in the same way. No other denomination shows anything like the same active interest in the situation that has developed. Part of this is due to the large migration of Sheng Kung Hui membership from the Yangtse Valley. Part of it is due to the exceptionally high standard of ministry found within the Sheng Kung Hui and the number of capable, trained church leaders therefrom who have been found within the immigrant groups. Part of it is due to an ecclesiastical organization and executive ability, at present in the hands of men of vision and action and creative imagination who have pressed forward when more democratic missions and Churches have been arguing and planning and corresponding in an effort to work out a procedure for cooperative or united action. There are those who regard it all as superimposed and without any local foundations, and point out that if it is so the return of the migrant populations to their homes after the war will leave nothing of a Church thus built.

Members of the Sheng Kung Hui have deprecated the fact that while so much attention and effort have been given to providing for the church life of its immigrants, no parallel effort has been made in education and medical service. Reference will be made elsewhere to the union middle school of this Church which migrated from Wuhan

to Chennan in western Yunnan where it is far separated from any of the church work of this denomination. That is the only piece of educational work to be found among the immigrants of this Church in Yunnan or Kweichow except for its share in the union institutions at Hsichow. This lack is at the root of the fear above mentioned that much of this church effort will prove to be superficial with no roots struck down into local soil, and that it will largely wither away when the tide of immigration has receded.

Immigrant Pastors

A chapter on the immigrant impact on the Church would be incomplete without reference to the installation of immigrant pastors in local churches. Reports indicate a good deal of opposition from local congregations and a measure of unpopularity, but that on the whole the immigrant pastors thus installed have been a real blessing to the local church. The number of city churches which have made such an arrangement is rather surprising. The oft-repeated complaints about the inadequate native leadership in the churches have but pointed to the large proportion of churches in most of the cities visited by the Survey Team which are now served by immigrant pastors to clinch the argument. These men have brought a wider experience, a better training, a broader outlook, and an energy perhaps in part born of the migration itself that has been invigorating for local churches, and not a few of them were beginning to show a pick-up that suggested fundamentally good engines, only needing the right mechanics or chauffeurs to make them function effectively. The disappointing aspect of the situation in too many cases has been the avowedly temporary character of the work which these immigrant pastors are attempting to do, and their rather general lack of a sense of mission or enthusiasm toward the tremendous task and unparalleled opportunity which calls so urgently in all parts of the west for an adequate leadership (see Chapter on Attitudes of Immigrant Leaders).

This has led not a few people in the west to the conclusion that for all the talk of a new national unity the church in the west must expect and prepare to get its future leadership from the west itself. The migration has aroused the Church to a new realization of its need for a trained leadership and has brought to the west a demonstration of what that leadership may be when serious attention has been given to its training through many years and even generations. There is not yet any evidence that the immigration is bringing any large amount of consecrated trained leadership as a permanent contribution to the west; and thus far those who direct or control church policies and finance have not shown any marked inclination to transfer work and workers to the west on any permanent basis. The Church, however, is now aware of its failure to produce for the churches in the west the type of leadership which will enable the Church to move forward in step with other lines of development and reconstruction in those regions that have not been invaded by the enemy. To remedy this neglect becomes a major responsibility in the period immediately ahead.

SUMMARY OF CHAPTER II

The Church in west China is far less mature than in the areas from which most of the immigrants have come.

In its immaturity it suffered more than other sections of the Church from anti-Christian movements, a changed educational policy and a sudden reduction of Mission Board subsidies; a fact which many immigrants fail to appreciate or understand.

Recent air-raids have scattered city populations and thus further depleted church strength, leaving many practically emptied churches for the use of immigrant Christians.

The chief deficiency of the Church in the western provinces was its dearth of trained leaders. This has led to (1) the appointment of immigrant pastors to local churches, and (2) the organization of immigrant congregations.

Immigrant Christians are accustomed to a large measure of Church leadership being Chinese. They are therefore the more critical of missionaries retaining so many pastorates and so much administrative control as they find in the west.

Much of the friction between Chinese and foreign Church leaders is of the nature experienced in other parts of China more than a decade ago.

The Christian element in the immigrant population is conspicuous by its ability, character, trained leadership and Church consciousness.

Among these Christians there appears to be a larger proportion from the more liberal churches.

Students in large numbers are seeking genuine religion wherever it may be found.

The organization of special services and congregations for immigrants has created problems and strain with local churches, while meeting some felt needs.

The Church in west China, with its large immigrant additions, now seems to be in danger of being so preoccupied with itself as to neglect its service to the community.

Many immigrant pastors are lending effective leadership but with little sense of mission or response to the tremendous task and challenging opportunity of building a Church in the west.

Thus the Church has a major problem to provide an adequate, permanent leadership for this developing Church.

CHAPTER III

ATTITUDES OF MIGRATED LEADERS

That the character of the future Church in western China will be determined largely by its Chinese leadership goes without saying. That these years of the war period when such radical changes are taking place in every sphere of life are formative and crucial for the Church is almost as obvious. It has been pointed out earlier that during these years the leadership of the Church in the western part of the country to a remarkable degree has passed into the hands of immigrant ministers and laymen, men and women with far more training and experience in Christian service than was had by the majority of what we have called "native" leaders—those born and prepared in the provinces where they have been serving. The contribution that has been made through a broader program, a higher concept of the place and function of the Church in the community, the richer content of the Church's message made possible by more thorough training and to some extent a deeper religious experience, has been indicated in a previous chapter. The next observation is set down with considerable diffidence as we consider the attitude of this immigrant leadership toward the situation and the future task.

Confusion and Antagonism

There have been noted three stages in the development of the migrant leaders. At the outset they were simply refugees. They were driven from their homes, from their congregations, many of them away from their associations and accustomed tasks. Others came with a company of friends or fellow workers, sometimes with a school staff and pupils occasionally bringing some meager equipment with them. But for the most part they were in flight, in confusion, in bewilderment, bereft and stricken, frequently stunned. Not a few of them had no plans, for a time they had no apparent inclination to resume work. Many of them had their salaries forwarded to them from "down river" or were provided for from mission or denominational relief funds. They had few possessions but accepted gratefully whatever assistance was extended to them.

Part of the difficulty at first lay in the antagonism between the people of the west and the immigrant group. Evidence of this was found on every hand, and almost everyone admitted its existence. This antagonism was partly the natural resistance to a sudden invasion. It was partly deep-seated provincialism, the conservatism of an interior or mountain dwelling people in contrast to the more liberal tendencies, customs and attitudes of those who live nearer the coast and the outside world. Frequently it was said that the natives hated or resented the immigrants and that the immigrants despised the natives. Sometimes it was put more mildly than that; the two groups each found the other naturally irritating; their speech was different, their dress, their food and eating habits, their mores

and their traditions. To have to ask at every meal that the pepper be left out and then still find the food so highly seasoned as to make it hardly edible makes tempers as hot as tongues. To find the tea-houses the most populous places in town and the surest resort of anyone who may be sought seems to the stranger from the bustling coast the rankest waste of time, not to say of morals. After some weeks in the western provinces one down-river man remarked, "If ever reform was needed it is in the tea-houses of Szechwan and the flies of Yunnan." "Not opium but tea-houses are the curse of this province" was another like-inspired remark. Other types of friction are discussed in connection with the working together of the educational institutions. While foreigners generally claimed that these antagonistic attitudes were wearing away and school administrators claimed they had been very insignificant and temporary, conversations carried constant allusions to them and they unquestionably colored the whole attitude of the church immigrant leaders to their task, not only at the outset, but even to the present.

While the questionnaire on Immigration used by the Survey Team did not apply especially to the Church leadership, it was felt that to a very large degree these leaders shared the general attitude of the people of their group, both the native leaders and the immigrants. It is therefore significant to note that 83% of those who answered this questionnaire said that "Immigrants tend to despise the natives of this region" and 81% said, "Natives tend to be jealous of the immigrants." An additional statement was checked by 28%, namely that, "The natives tend to despise the immigrants." No one thought it true that "Natives and immigrants mix in a friendly spirit," but one person wrote after that statement the word, "growingly." This "growingly" was indicated in a large number of conversations to be the present spirit, and one of those who omitted to check any of the statements in this section of the questionnaire said in conversation that the people of different sections were beginning to understand each other better and that the natural reserve which exists in all lands on the part of interior mountain dwellers was gradually yielding as the peoples became acquainted.

Repeatedly during our stay in Szechwan we were told that the antagonism between native residents and immigrants would be found to be much more widespread and intense in Yunnan. This did not prove to be the case in the observations of the Survey Team. It was evident in and about Kunming. There as everywhere the immigrants were blamed for the exorbitantly high cost of living. The immigrants in turn blamed the natives for profiteering. Church workers were disposed to feel that most of the culture and intellectual achievements in Yunnan during recent years had been brought in from the outside. The concert arranged by the National Youth Movement and held while the Team was in Kunming was provided almost entirely by immigrant talent as was pointed out with perhaps a touch of pride by those in charge who also were from outside the province. Frequently it was said that Yunnanese people lacked in intellectuality, interest and enterprise. The more charitable ascribed this to excessive malaria, goiter and opium. One woman from the

coast who lives in a purely rural district said she got no glimmer of response from the country women among whom she tried to work, but that the children, while intellectually not bright, were interested and responsive and that she had hopes for the next generation. In Kweichow the immigrants complained that the natives were indifferent and unresponsive in contrast to the much more alert tribes people. They admitted in some cases, however, that the young people were as eager to learn and imitate and progress as those to be found anywhere.

Farther west in Yunnan all trace of antagonism along provincial lines disappeared. In the communities where immigrant schools had settled there seemed to be the warmest cordiality and cooperation. While Christian workers here frankly stated their intention to move back to their home regions at the earliest favorable opportunity, they were warm in their appreciation of what the local people had done for them and of the opportunities for service during their temporary enforced sojourn. Even in Kunming and Chungking we were given assurance that out-of-the-province administrators, doctors and nurses had no trouble in dealing with native patients in the hospitals except where there were distinct language differences, and the language barrier and low intellectuality were given as the only real hindrance to the effective preaching of the Gospel in western Yunnan by an out-of-the-province evangelist.

There was some intimation that much of the antagonism in Yunnan was probably political, that the Yunnanese guarded jealously, and had done so for years, their rights of autonomy, and that people from other parts of the country regarded them with suspicion and as potential traitors. The reports of this political antagonism appeared to the Survey Team to be grossly exaggerated. A newspaper correspondent of long experience in China and of the highest integrity reported that after his visit to Kunming and a long personal interview with Governor Lung he found nothing but the most complete and genuine loyalty and determination to cooperate in national defense. It appeared to the Survey Team that this was the case and that there were neither grounds for political antagonism nor anything like the amount of it that was reported, although political and military support was perhaps inefficiently provided.

Local Difficulties

It would be unfair to leave the impression that the difficulties of adjustment have all been between peoples of different provinces, or that it was only the out-province immigrants who found it hard to carry on or get to work after their enforced evacuation. One of the disturbing elements in the situation appeared to be in the demoralization of local people when they were bombed out of their homes or otherwise forced to vacate the places in which they had been accustomed to work. It seemed to be about as hard for Szechwan people to leave their cities and go happily to work in makeshift quarters under primitive rural conditions as it was for down-river people to adjust themselves to the conditions in the west. This may account in part for the large number of out-of-the-province

leaders who had found positions in west China institutions. With as many immigrant schools and other institutions as were found to have moved into the west it was to be expected that these might absorb the qualified leaders who had migrated. But in most institutions visited, even those native to the province but forced to move to the country or away from their own buildings and locations, there were found to be a surprisingly large number of immigrants on the staffs. This in a measure at least was due to the reluctance of natives to evacuate when their institutions moved, or their inability to make the necessary adjustments. One striking illustration was a middle school visited in its temporary quarters. These were of the simplest type and very overcrowded. Thither to a small hsien city the school had moved after a bombing raid which partially wrecked its comfortable, spacious building. The Survey Team found that all but one of the original staff had left, and it had been necessary to build up a completely new faculty. With this one exception the new faculty was all from down-river. The missionary reported a greatly improved spirit in the school, that all administrative responsibility was in the hands of the new immigrant principal, and added that she herself had never been more happy in her missionary work.

If this picture of adjustment difficulties seems too dark, let it be borne in mind that it is general and not absolute, that there were many bright exceptions and that this period of bewilderment was in most cases of comparatively short duration. Very quickly the calibre of leadership began to assert itself. Men and women accustomed to work, seeing multitudes in need, had no disposition to remain idle. It has been characteristic of the west, especially since the capital moved to Chungking, that it is seriously energetic, sometimes almost painfully busy. That spirit soon found expression through the trained leaders of the Church who had gone westward. Some of them had led their flocks or had moved their schools and they soon found new locations in which to reestablish themselves and go to work. Others made their experience and abilities so freely available that they soon became indispensable. If it is true, as was said by one or two in Szechwan, that these immigrant leaders have crowded the natives out of their jobs, and that often good local men and women are being overlooked in favor of the more aggressive or better known leaders from down river, in most cases our observations led to the conclusion that usually the best person available has been engaged for any position open. The immigrant attitude of despair and scorn soon changed to a determination to make the best of the situation which was not of choice, and to get on with the job. That was the second stage.

Homesickness

The third stage is less encouraging. Almost without exception immigrant church leaders regard their present service in the west as temporary, as a necessary expediency to be terminated at the earliest possible date consistent with their determination to enjoy political and religious freedom. They are grateful for the positions that have been opened to them, they are glad for a place to live and to work,

but they have no desire to remain. An overpowering homesickness grips at most of their hearts. They cannot comprehend what changes have taken place since they left home. They still think of returning to what they left. They still talk as though the price of rice down river were no higher than when they fled in 1938. They still envisage the school on the old campus with the same curriculum and schedule, and are willing to remain in the west only until they can return to the *status quo ante*.

Perhaps this is partly responsible for some of the complaints that have been made by local people of the attitudes of the immigrant church workers. One missionary said (and others expressed a similar opinion), "We can't count on using these down-river people as leaders in our church. They are not willing to eat bitterness. They are accustomed to too high salaries. They expect too much and are not prepared to make the necessary adjustments. They will have to go home and let us find and train our own local leaders."

A teacher of English in a Yunnan Middle School said that during the first year of the migration probably 75% of the compositions from his students reflected this nostalgia. The Survey Team found an even higher percentage of longing to get home among the preachers, teachers and other Christian workers with whom they talked in the west.

Homesickness is to be expected. The wrenching experiences through which these men and women have passed could not but leave their mark. What seemed to the Survey Team a tragedy was that so few of these church leaders appeared to have caught the vision of opportunity which stretched before them on every hand, that so few of them were challenged by a sense of a hard task which needed to be done, that so few of them gave any intimation of a sense of divine leadership or commission such as characterized their early dedication to the ministry. The Survey Commission of 1935 ("Education for Service," Chapter X, Section X) lists the motives for "Entering the Ministry" as given by 533 students in theological schools. 27% reported "a call or urge." 27% mentioned the altruistic motive of service, and not a few listed human and social need. Any of those motives of course might call men to service in the provinces from which these Christian workers have come; but there was little evidence of any effort to weigh or evaluate present opportunity and need or even to raise the question, "Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?" or to say, "Here am I Lord, send me." Most of these leaders seemed to take it as a matter of course that when the war is over they would go home.

Said one school principal, when asked if the large enrolment of local students in his immigrant institution and the field of service offered by practically a whole county waiting to be influenced for Christianity did not appeal to him in a challenging way, "Nobody wants us; why should we stay?" Said a young pastor who was making a distinct contribution in church and community, attracting students and developing young people's work and a new program in a church which had gone quite to seed, "I'll carry on and do the best I can while here; but I am a down-river man, trained in that

part of the country, and I hope to return there in a few years." The replies to the Questionnaire on The Church give some justification to this feeling of being unwanted, for nearly half (45%) of these checked the statement, "Local churches dislike but benefit by immigrant leadership." An even larger number (52%) thought that "The employment of immigrant pastors is probably temporary." One pastor put a different aspect on the situation in his reply with a tone of resignation and evident regret: "I have a job here. There would be nothing for me to do if I went back. I presume I'll stay if they will employ me here."

Little opportunity was afforded for direct questioning of theological students in the west, but the question was put to their professors. At Chengtu it was thought that some of the students working under the Nanking Theological Seminary Faculty in the Department of Rural Church Work were beginning to find their experimental parishes so attractive and challenging that it was likely several of them would remain in the west. Several persons questioned expressed the conviction that despite the homesick replies usually given by church workers, if the war continued much longer they would begin to find themselves so fitted into new tasks that they would remain in larger numbers than they themselves thought. The disturbing element in this whole situation is not that Church leaders from the east should desire to return home and leave the field to the developing leadership of the west, but that the attitude generally expressed showed so little appreciation of the national dimensions of the Church, so little missionary spirit, so little response to the challenge of a big job difficult to be accomplished.

New Sense of Mission

Once more with diffidence we record that this appeared to be in strong contrast to the spirit expressed by some men in government service and in industry. Again and again the Survey Team was impressed by the enthusiasm of men in business or in some of the government bureaux for the task in which they are enlisted. There was often a sense of mission, of adventure, of creativeness. For example, after a visit to a region where an immense chemical plant is being constructed after two others had fallen into Japanese hands, where a new weaving factory is developing the wool, cotton and hemp industry, where wounded soldiers are being rehabilitated in industry, and where the Salt Gabelle has had its headquarters, it is recorded that many of these managers and entrepreneurs had a light in their eyes and enthusiasm in their voices as they explained what they were doing in overcoming difficulties, that spoke volumes for the future of the nation. The same thing was true of officials of the Burma Highway in Yunnan and of other transport service in Szechwan. Whatever the outcome of the war they saw a future for western China. Of the chemical plant above referred to the manager said, when asked if he was not afraid of bombing raids, "Our plant won't be finished for two years. We are building for the future." Said a man in Chungking with some knowledge of the official attitude toward education for the nation, "The government will never again think of education in terms of the coast provinces. Shanghai-made education

isn't big enough for China any more. The college that doesn't share in the developing life of the west in years to come will be discounted in the government's attitude, in favors and appropriations." Outside of church circles again and again we found evidences of a new appreciation of the opening opportunities and a much greater inclination on the part of many people not to commit themselves to permanent residence in the west but to regard their return home as much less definite than they did a year ago. That change was not one of despair, but of a gradually awakening understanding of the nationwide task of reconstruction which would command for years to come the service of many of the best trained leaders. That understanding apparently has not yet been awakened among the immigrant church leaders. "If the war continues long enough" (to use a phrase frequently heard), perhaps it will come.

An effort was made to interpret or explain this attitude as found among church leaders. That can only be done as a matter of personal opinion. It appears to be in part based on an attachment or loyalty which is rooted back in the place from which these immigrants have come. So long as their salaries continue to come from the church administration down-river, their interests and loyalties will not be transferred. As long as their loyalty is to a particular church organization or group it is hard for them to develop an enthusiasm for a yet undeveloped Church in a new field. To some extent the government has caught the imagination of its supporters and employees as a national institution which operates on a nationwide basis. No such appreciation of the Church has as yet been secured and those who work in and for the Church still think of it in regional and denominational terms. One must guard against generalities and none would presume to say or imply that all government employees and industrialists have transferred their affections to the west. Far from it. The only point of these paragraphs is to emphasize the failure of the Church to produce in its well-trained down-river leaders this sense of mission or responsibility for the great section of the country in which the Church is as yet undeveloped and where the need for the Gospel in its best expression is distressingly urgent.

SUMMARY OF CHAPTER III

There was a great deal of natural friction between the immigrants and the people among whom they sought refuge.

Native antagonism did not seem to be as deep-seated and as widespread as many immigrants thought it to be.

Both immigrants and natives, when suddenly driven away from their homes, find it difficult to adjust themselves to new living conditions.

Following the first period of maladjustment the best leadership has found many positions of influence and service.

Most of the immigrant leaders regard these positions as temporary and purpose to return home. They have not caught a vision

nor responded to the call of a constructive task in building the Church in the western provinces.

The Church does not appear to have regarded its task in national dimensions, but rather to have cultivated sectional and denominational loyalties. New conditions call for planning nationally rather than regionally.

CHAPTER IV

IMMIGRATION, FINANCE AND THE CHURCH

"Refugees are not poor." This statement frequently heard in west China sounded very queer to those who had been accustomed to seeing tens of thousands of refugees cared for in matsheds and fed on the plainest rations. It sounded strange to those who had fled with the warpressed throngs into southern Kiangsi where the government handed out the dole for a few days and then compelled the horde to move on before they should be bombed out or might devour the land. Apparently being a refugee in Szechwan or Yunnan was something quite remote in experience as well as geographically from being a refugee in Hunan or Kiangsi or Anhwei and Kiangsu.

Few Destitute Refugees

The refugee situation of 1940 in the west, was somewhat improved from what might have been found in 1938 or early 1939. It was admitted that with the first inrush of immigrants many came who had no means of support, many who were destitute and completely dependent upon charity or relief agencies. Here as in other parts of the country relief camps were set up and people were cared for *en masse*, not as individuals. Some of these camps were still in operation. Relief agencies were still receiving and distributing funds. That their activities were less conspicuous was due in part to their great reduction in numbers as people had moved on further or had been scattered away from the cities and main thoroughfares of communication. To a remarkable extent destitute refugees had been absorbed by the general population; the government had taken over and was administering in a constructive way the rehabilitation of those without independent means; and the streets were comparatively free of the pathetic homeless, unfed and unclothed.

Some few reports were obtained of specific refugee groups that had passed through the territory and during their stay had been assisted by local philanthropy. One such group had passed from western Honan through southwestern Szechwan en route to work on some government construction job, presumably the new railway or highway through Kweichow. Why these people were so destitute if engaged for government service was not explained except that they expected to get work at their journey's end. In another instance one member of the Survey Team travelled with a group of more than a thousand refugees from Hainan and southern Kwangtung who were being forwarded "at government expense" to a point presumably in southern Yunnan. These people had clothing and usually baggage, a bedding roll and a suit-case and often a camp-cot and money. Later no trace could be found of them nor any information about such groups having been settled in Yunnan province. We were permitted to read accounts of the sad plight of penniless boat loads who poured in on Chungking after the fall of Hankow and the bombing of Ichang and other Yangtse river cities, but that inrush

lasted for a comparatively short time. At Fowling on the Yangtse we were told there were still refugee camps and the Church was doing something for them. Outside Chungking there were said to be camps, but the Team did not succeed in locating and visiting them. We were told of destitute families of soldiers whom the government was settling on farms and in light industries near Kiating. These reports appeared to be somewhat confused, but so far as they were true the situation was so well in hand that there seemed to be full justification for the statement that "Refugees are not poor."

The facts are otherwise in the northern part of the area. Transportation has been relatively cheap and easy along the Lunghai Railway, the forefinger of immigration routes. Into southern Shensi and northern Szechwan have come large numbers of the poorest of Honanese peasants, without money and with comparatively little ability or intellectual equipment for coping with a bafflingly hard situation. Workers in the industrial cooperatives state that while in that part of the field many who have joined for industrial help and training are out-of-the-province peasants and laborers, very largely from Honan, in most of Szechwan the workers in the industrial cooperatives are predominantly from among the Szechwanese themselves.

The High Cost of Living

This explains to some extent, then, the comparatively high financial rating of most immigrants in the larger part of the western or southwestern provinces. People without money or some means of support could not afford to travel so far and over such expensive routes. Lin Yu-tang, in the closing chapters of "Moment in Peking," describes truthfully how the poor and destitute refugees fell out along the way, long before they reached the west. The immigrant group in that area therefore constitutes a middle-class problem and that is one reason the Church, which is so largely middle-class in the lower Yangtse Valley, has such an undue share in this problem and in the immigrant impact. Not only has the expense of long distance travel retarded the migration of the poorer classes; the high cost of living has steadily whittled down the numbers of those with smaller means in these areas. Repeatedly it was said that those who did not have money simply could not remain in these parts; they had been compelled by economic necessity to move on or to go back. When it was pointed out that expenses of living had meantime risen seriously in the regions from which these immigrants came and to which they were returning, it was usually replied that there they had relatives or friends or property and whatever the cost of living it would probably be easier to get along than in this western land of strangers.

The problem of living expenses was, without qualification, the most persistently present throughout our travels. If there was one phrase heard more than any other it was "the high cost of living." The Survey Team had not intended to deal specifically nor in any comprehensive way with the economic situation. It could not avoid paying some attention to it in its vital bearings upon the whole immigration problem and the life and work of the Church. As with

most statistics sought there was little available reliable material to be had. Everywhere inquiry was made as to the cost of staple commodities. There are no inclusive figures worth reproducing. For one thing currency values were not the same and were constantly shifting. In the main it could be accepted that the Shanghai dollar was worth about \$1.30 in the west. Rice measures differed everywhere. Sometimes the price of rice was quoted by the load or by the picul, sometimes by the bushel, sometimes by the catty or any other of several measures. It was soon discovered that every such measure had to be defined, for there were "heavy loads" and "light loads," "old measures" and "new measures," piculs measured in catties and piculs measured in pounds, and catties that varied as to the number or the size of the measure. These variations were not consistent and were peculiar to almost every hsien or district. Conclusions had perforce to be tentative and general.

Szechwan Not So Poor

The people of Szechwan seemed to have the impression, not to say the conviction, that they lived in the most expensive part of the country and that they were desperately poor financially. That fact was stated frequently enough to be convincing, but it was impossible to reach that conclusion. Prof. Lewis Smythe of the Nanking University who is an expert in collecting industrial data and who has done much research work along these lines both in the Nanking field and in the west, quoted the index figure for commodity prices (as against the pre-war figure) as 2.87 in March. This was in sharp contrast to the Shanghai figure of 3.84 quoted for that same month. Quotations in Yunnan were less exact, but with the elimination of prices on imported foreign goods the figure was given as approximately 4, whereas more than one person in Yunnan cited specific figures to prove that it was costing ten times as much to live there now as it did before the war. Inquiries made a year ago (in June 1939) led to the conclusion that living costs in Chungking were high, but not nearly so high then as in Kweiyang or Kunming. At that time prices in Kunming, especially for rice, were high out of all proportion to the price in the surrounding country. That discrepancy has now disappeared, and at every place visited in Yunnan the cost of living was found to be excessively higher than in Szechwan. That does not discount the high cost of existence in Szechwan. According to a Szechwan resident in Kweiyang the cost of living now in Chungking is probably higher than in Kweiyang. It seemed to the Survey Team almost incredible that any employees of the Church should still be receiving less than \$20 a month. Ricksha coolies on country roads were paying \$1 a day rent for their vehicles, charging proportionately and apparently doing fairly well. The most miserable chair-bearers were paid 6 cents a li or not less than \$5.00 a day.

For all that, neither the province nor the people of Szechwan in general gave the impression of being poverty stricken. So experienced a worker as Miss Irma Highbaugh, after years of work in rural areas of north China and now engaged in the Ginling College Rural Extension work, wrote in the Chinese Recorder for March 1940:

"This is a poor hsien we are told. And there is terrific zest these days for economic improvement, in fact it is second only to the zest for the once despised rural work. To our eyes dulled by the sight of barren hills for several months each year, these constantly green fields do not look so poor. To one who grew up in the country and who has been accustomed to think of poverty as shown by lack of ready cash, and limited wearing apparel, as seen not only in this country but in Europe and other poor sections of the United States, this hsien seems quite opulent." This was the conclusion reached by the Survey Team. It may have explained the reaction of a worker who, after years of experience among the country churches of Honan and now beginning his service in Szechwan, when asked if the churches here would ever be *able* financially to support well trained leaders, replied guardedly: "The local church *will* not support a well trained ministry." Both in Yunnan and in Szechwan, however, the excessive amount of taxation was given as the true explanation of the burden of poverty.

To this question of church support we shall return presently after citing a few miscellaneous prices to suggest what it actually does cost people to live in the west—and perhaps our inquiries tended to relate especially to living costs for refugees or immigrants. It was frankly recognized by all concerned that there were generally three price levels, one for foreigners, a second for immigrants, and a third for natives. Immigrants laughingly referred to having been made well aware of what foreigners had always been up against in meeting expenses in China. They complained with less grace that when they had been in a place long enough to learn the proper prices and offered those, merchants and traders still refused to sell to them except on the "out-of-the-province" level. This was unquestionably one of the realest sources of irritation and friction between immigrants and natives, for however much pleasure a man or woman may find in bargaining or haggling over prices, it always annoys him to find that he is being cheated or discriminated against. On the other hand rather consistently the natives charged the immigrants with having much more money than they themselves had, and with being very largely responsible for the high cost of living either through paying exorbitant rental prices or in some vague way of being accustomed to higher price levels. Like the summer resort natives of New England coast towns the local residents felt they were justified, nay compelled, to make a good living out of these transients during the brief period of time they might be with them. In Kweiyang it was remarked that the immigrants have plenty of money to spend and buy whatever they want at any cost while the local people have to get what they can afford on their small income.

High Prices

Students in the immigrant colleges of Szechwan were paying in the neighborhood of \$12 a month for food. In Yunnan the figures quoted were \$18 and \$20. In some cases these amounts were said to be insufficient to pay the actual food cost and it was supplemented by a grant from the school. Rice in Szechwan had doubled during the year, but was now approximately \$40. In Yunnan it was from

\$92 to over \$100 for a picul of 120 catties. Pork which formerly sold in Kunming for 18 cents a catty was in May \$2.40. It costs \$8.00 per month in Kunming to feed a dog. Rickshas charged 40 cents per mile, and on a rainy day it was impossible to get a ricksha to cross the city—about two miles—for less than \$3.00. At Shapienba, the student center outside of Chungking, a cake of palm olive soap cost \$2.00 and \$2.20, and a plain enamel drinking cup \$1.40 and \$1.80. A small bottle of fountain pen ink cost \$4.50 both there and in Kunming. Empty beer bottles fetch \$1.00 apiece. A tin of condensed milk in Chengtu cost \$8.00. Tea at the roadside was 5 cents, 6 cents, 8 cents and 10 cents a cup, according to the inn or restaurant and the quality of tea (We had the good fortune to sit down in a newly opened restaurant bearing an out-of-the-province name, where for that day tea was free to all coolies! This reminded us that in the good old days of travel in Kiangsi there was always a crock or a pot of hot tea from which the wayfarer could help himself without charge). With such prices prevalent it is no wonder that the high cost of living was everywhere the chief topic of conversation. In fact it was very often the all absorbing subject of thought.

Support of the Ministry

It is not possible now to recall a single conversation or interview with a pastor in Szechwan in which this subject of living costs was not mentioned. Immigrant pastors said it was impossible to make ends meet on their down-river salaries at the exorbitant prices which the natives were charging them. Missionaries pointed out that the high salaries paid down-river men would prevent their accepting permanent employment in the west. Local pastors were jealous of the immigrants who had brought with them much higher salaries than local men were being paid. Sometimes they seemed to insinuate that their own work (which they knew to be criticized) would be more effective if they were paid as well as the down-river pastors were so they would not have to spend so much time and effort trying to keep alive. These local pastors (and the immigrant pastors too) admitted that immigrants attending church were very generous in their loose-plate collections, but generally they found it no easy matter to get them to accept any financial responsibility for the church nor to make a pledge or regular stated contribution. On the door of one church was posted a list of the contributions from each member of the congregation for the previous quarter. There were 99 entries. The quarterly gifts ranged from four cents to 96 cents. A glance showed several amounts of over a dollar, but upon examination of the names it was found that these larger amounts had all been received from the resident missionaries or from "visitors." The local pastors said they could not get adequate support from their congregations nor from mission funds. Missionaries recognized what these leaders were up against and seriously debated a plan of helping them from their own salaries. But there was such widespread dissatisfaction with the type of leadership that many of these native pastors were giving their congregations and so much weariness with being regarded "as rice-bins" (to use one expression heard), that many missionaries

were determined that some other more constructive plan must be found for the support of the ministry.

At times it appeared that a considerable amount of the enthusiasm found for the employment of immigrant pastors was that most of them had brought their salaries with them. Perhaps this did make them more efficient. At least it relieved local committees and administrators of one source of worry and they could give that much more attention and energy to working with these immigrants to make their ministry successful. When the question was raised as to whether it was fair longer to support some of these immigrant pastors and their families from relief funds, now that they were regularly engaged by local churches, the reply was that the church could not pay them and that if they did not do pastoral work they would be on relief anyhow.

Some of these immigrant pastors were rather eager to tackle the problem of finances in the local church and to see if they could not put them upon a sound basis. To them this seemed especially feasible while they had so many generous immigrants in their congregations. They were warned to go slow until they should become more familiar with the financial history and situation in the western churches. A larger number was disposed to leave the situation alone. Their salaries were provided from other sources, the local congregations were more or less dispersed by air-raids and subsequent evacuations to the country, everyone was burdened by the excessively high cost of living, and although they knew that the old methods of church finance in Szechwan were not such as they could approve and share in, to change or criticize would be an unwarranted insult from a stranger in the church and community. Therefore very little was being done in a constructive way to meet an impossible financial situation in the Szechwan churches. These problems seemed less pressing in Yunnan and Kweichow where churches were more frankly in their infancy and not expected to be self-supporting, but there too the complaints were frequently heard that the ministry was inadequately paid.

It is not necessary to take the time and space here to describe the system of finance that has been so widespread in connection with church work in Szechwan. The system of "hweis" (a form of loans or investments and pooling of funds for mutual benefit in turn) is not peculiar to this part of the country. Nowhere else, however, so far as we are aware, has it so completely gripped the church, and gripped it with a strangling grasp. Not only the individual churches but all manner of Christian organizations, the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A., the schools and the hospitals, have sought this substantial, quick road to self-support. Some of the set-back to what once appeared to be a rapidly growing, fairly prosperous church is now ascribed to this single cause. In one city one organization was said to have spent most of its energy during the past year in trying to get itself free from the yoke of bondage which this financial system had imposed upon it, and another organization was said to be spending so much time and effort in trying to keep the system working successfully

until it should reap its share of financial benefit that it was rendering little other worthy Christian service in the community. These are not the observations of the Survey Team but the remarks that were made to us both by local people and by immigrants with first-hand knowledge.

Failure of Self-support

With a fettering tradition, a very small membership, outrageously high prices, and an uncertainty as to what to expect or count on, the financial outlook for the churches in this field was not bright. The Survey Team became thoroughly convinced that for all the immediate future, for years to come, a very large measure of financial support for the church in the western part of the country would have to come from other sources if the church was to meet the unprecedented challenge and opportunity with which it is now faced. When the Survey Commission of 1935 presented its report and the Kuling Conference discussed its findings and recommendations "Self-support" was the slogan of the day. The whole report appears to be based upon the assumption that therein lay the hope for a truly lively, on-going church in China. It begins to grow apparent so far as the west is concerned, that this widely held conviction was largely the result of rationalizing on the part of Mission Boards and their representatives who were having a very hard time to raise the funds necessary to keep the missionary enterprise going. At about that time a succession of Board Secretaries visited China apparently commissioned to impress upon the whole Church here that its spiritual life was about to be stifled by Mission Board appropriations. As the thermometer (or barometer) of foreign giving toward church work in China dropped rapidly toward the zero mark there was almost a stampede to get on the self-support bandwagon, either by means of resolutions that were never carried out, or by temporary expedients which have become hardened into policies or have already proven themselves ineffective. The Church in Szechwan shows plainly the ill-effect of this too hasty, too early effort to put pastoral support over onto a Church which was not ready spiritually, intellectually and financially, nor numerically prepared to accept the burden. This is now the general conviction and it is expressed in the overwhelmingly large proportion of those who returned the questionnaire declaring that questions of finance must not be allowed to condition the training of an adequate pastorate and church leadership. The general conviction seems to be held that we must first provide the Church with an adequately trained leadership. If this is done we may expect that well trained ministry to secure its financial support. The 1935 Survey Report implied that this had not proven true, that the Church with the best trained ministry was very far from self-support and that this fact did not seriously disturb its leaders. The five years which have intervened since the publication of that report have not brought any striking change in this respect, and it would appear to the Survey Team that one of the largest and most conspicuous contributions being made by immigrant leaders in meeting the challenge presented by a large migration of educated church folk, is now being

made by church leaders whose support still comes very largely from foreign sources.

Every day the Survey Team was made aware of an unparalleled opportunity for the Christian Movement in the west. To an extent impossible to measure that is an emergency opportunity which will be considerably modified by change in political and social events that are too complicated and may be too serious to be sketched even briefly here. The testimony on every hand was that an adequate leadership was supremely needed to lay hold of this challenging opportunity. That leadership in a measure, for the time being, is being met by immigrants. Their successors must be found and prepared immediately. No financial traditions or shibboleths or expedients should halt or impede the Church at this hour. Men and money are urgently needed for the Church in west China. That was the conviction which every conversation and observation daily burned into the hearts and minds of the Survey Team as they went from place to place through the provinces of the west, visiting the churches and talking with their leaders, and trying in every way possible to discover the facts of the great migration, their bearing upon Church life, and the implications for the future. Whatever the cost in money, if the Church is to grow in the west, the present offers a unique opportunity which can only be met by trained leadership.

SUMMARY OF CHAPTER IV

The majority of immigrants in the western provinces are not destitute.

The high cost of living is imposing heavy burdens on the people. Although living costs in the west are not very much higher than in other parts of the country, the average cash income is probably much lower than at the coast.

The unsolved problem of adequate support for the ministry is one of the chief obstacles either to securing a well-trained local ministry or to retaining an experienced immigrant ministry.

The Church in Szechwan has been set back by bad financing, excessive pressure for self-support, and a too early and sudden withdrawal of Mission Board subsidies.

To meet the unprecedented challenge and opportunity in the west the Church there must be aided with an increase of funds from outside sources.

No financial consideration should be allowed to prevent the Church from providing an adequate trained leadership for this emergency opportunity.

CHAPTER V

IMMIGRANT COLLEGES AND MIDDLE SCHOOLS

The migration of Chinese educational institutions from the coast provinces to the interior is one of the most dramatic phenomena of recent history. The romantic story is full of tragedy, full of heroism. Half the middle schools and colleges have been on the march. A third of them have gone into the west and the southwest. Their hundreds of teachers with their families and the thousands upon thousands of students constitute a major element in the throng of immigrants who have trekked across the country and so materially changed social life and custom in the most conservative sections of China.

More publicity has been given to this part of the great migration than to any other. Statistical material has been more readily assembled. It is no purpose of this report to repeat or even to summarize more comprehensive and detailed records that already have been made. Our concern is with the effect of this educational migration upon the Church and the implications therein for the future program of Church activity. We are indebted to Professor Wm. P. Fenn of Nanking University for his pamphlet on the migration of higher educational institutions (see reference above: "The Effect of the Japanese Invasion on Higher Education in China"), and to Mr. Kiang Wen-han of the Student Division of the Y.M.C.A. for his mimeographed reports on educational institutions and student groups which he has visited and studied intimately. The Survey Team made no special effort to include any large number of these institutions in its travels, but did include the several main university centers, Chungking, Chengtu, Kweiyang and Kunming, going to the campuses, class-rooms and dormitories of many of the colleges there and at other places. They included also several of the middle schools, both immigrant schools which have found new homes in the western provinces and a few of the schools which were already there. No special statistical studies were made of these institutions except to inquire persistently of the numbers and percentages of students who were immigrants and how these percentages were changing. Along with that investigation was always made an effort to learn of the student and faculty relationship, the change of life necessitated by the migration, the adjustments which have been taking place, and the attitudes and expectations of administrative authorities, of teachers and of students both toward their residence in the west and toward their future plans. And above all else (as indicated in an earlier chapter and in the case studies found in the Appendix) the questions were asked, What is the Church doing for these students and teachers? How are they responding to the Church approach? and What new opportunity and challenge do they offer?

The Policy of Migration

The evacuation and migration of educational institutions took place primarily as a matter of self-preservation, and secondarily as

a matter of national policy. In one or two instances brought to our Mission Board administrators or Boards of Founders had shown some disposition to favor the closing of an institution rather than its removal. This was partly due to financial considerations, for the transfer of schools with their personnel and equipment to distant western provinces (or for that matter even from the suburbs of Shanghai into the International Settlement) has been to involve the schools in terrific expense. For this reason a larger percentage of middle schools, whose operation has been so largely dependent upon local resources especially tuition fees, were forced to close rather than migrate. But opposition to migration was also a matter of policy, for Christian colleges, most of which have been maintained as union institutions, have been built up to serve a relatively local constituency, and where there was any possibility of their migrating it would likely be to a region in which this constituency was not to be found, or which was already being served by another union institution supported by the same groups. To move a union university and to continue to support and operate it alongside of other Christian universities serving the same churches and drawing their support from the same sources, seemed to some to be a waste of money and personnel, and to move into a virgin field where there was no such constituency appeared to be taking an expensive walk into a blind alley.

The field administration, however, did not usually share this point of view. In some cases earlier experience had taught the institutions the disastrous consequences of even a temporary suspension of the school if it had any hopes of later resumption. A faculty and student body once scattered is most difficult to reassemble and none of the Christian colleges was prepared to sign its own, even a tentative, death warrant. Furthermore the government was urging the continuation of all educational institutions, and was prepared steadily to increase its financial support toward education (the total appropriations for productive education for 1940 announced by the Ministry of Education are fixed at \$1,200,000 which represents an increase of \$400,000 over the original figure). For most Chinese the maintenance of schools wherever that could be done without sacrificing educational and political freedom was regarded as a matter of national loyalty. For this reason the policy of Christian schools differed not a whit from that of government and private institutions and with one accord (except from Peiping and a few other places in north China) colleges and middle schools went out onto the road.

Some of them did not go very far. They moved out of the cities into the country, or from fighting zones into protected areas. This was true even of the colleges and middle schools as far west as Chengtu, from which city all schools and even the Szechwan University moved away. Thus in a sense in the western provinces we find the local institutions almost as much involved in the problem of migration as those which come from other provinces, for they have had to find makeshift accommodations in unfamiliar communities, adjust themselves to new relationships, and in some instances even reorganize their faculties more completely than schools which had moved much greater distances.

Expense of Migration

Such migrations have not been easy for anyone concerned. The immense expense involved has already been referred to. Heavy sacrifices in many cases were made by faculty and students alike. Students in the Associated Universities at Kunming told of their repeated moves from Peiping south and west, involving all sorts of means of transportation including finally the long, long trail of a thousand miles by foot. Mr. Kiang Wen-han cites one college which moved seven times before reaching its present location. While practically all students and teachers talk hopefully of return to their old campuses "when we have obtained our national goal," administrators are wondering how they can possibly return. Funds for moving came from war relief funds secured under emergency pressure which cannot be applied for the prosaic task of "moving back." Large quantities of equipment and not a little real estate have been damaged. The Ministry of Education listed war losses up to August 1938 for the institutions of higher learning alone as \$33,604,879 and these have been fearfully increased in the two years since. Nanking University has had one foreign member of its faculty constantly engaged since the evacuation from Nanking in 1937 in trying to get necessary equipment moved to Chengtu and the task is still incomplete. The cost of transporting Hua Chung University to its present remote home in Hsichow runs into so many tens of thousands of dollars as to make one wonder how it can ever move again, or even survive where it is.

A later release by Mr. Chen Li-fu, Minister of Education, announces losses by higher educational institutions to the end of December 1939. He says that of 108 colleges and universities in China before the war 14 have been completely destroyed and 91 either occupied or damaged by the Japanese. Losses sustained by national universities and colleges are given as \$37,000,000, by provincial universities and colleges as over \$8,000,000 and those by private and mission colleges and universities as nearly \$45,000,000. Of this last group the missionary institutional losses are listed as follows: Nanking University \$15,380,400; Soochow University \$550,000; University of Shanghai \$1,510,000; Cheeloo University \$957,000; Lingnan University \$3,800,000; Hua Chung University \$431,000; Ginling College \$6,306,000; Hangchow Christian College \$600,000. It would appear that these figures are based upon the assumption of the total loss, for example, of the two Nanking institutions, which are in occupied territory. These schools have had to evacuate, but members of the faculty are still in possession of the property which has suffered comparatively little actual damage. On the other hand when the Japanese paid damages of \$1,060,000 to the University of Shanghai it was estimated by members of the faculty that this represented not more than one third of the damage done and the loss sustained. Furthermore these figures do not represent at all the expenses involved by these institutions in evacuation. According to the Ministry of Education report losses suffered by middle and primary schools were even greater than those of the higher grade institutions, totalling \$209,000,000. Of 3264 middle schools 40% or 1296 were in

areas now occupied by Japanese. Of 294,000 primary schools 129,700 had been forced to close since the war. Any financial figures must be qualified by the present depreciation in national currency values whether replacement costs are considered, or the original investment in terms of foreign exchange.

These enormous moving expenses are now being matched by enormous surviving expenses with the extremely high cost of living in the places to which these schools have moved. Students are paying three times as much for food as they did previously. The generous support extended by the government, by Mission Boards, by the Associated Boards of Christian Colleges in China, and by various relief funds, have enabled most of the institutions to keep down their fees usually as low as and in some cases lower than they were before the war. But incidental expenses soar; and the cost of living for faculty members and their families is placing upon them a burden of such extreme economy and in some cases poverty as to make it a question how long they can continue. The dilemma in which not a few schools are finding themselves is expressed in one sentence: "We can't afford to carry on here, but we can't afford to move."

The courage and faith which has brought them thus far is enabling them to carry on. The Survey Team was inclined to feel at times that Christian schools had not yet reached the point at which they were forced to make their wants known in quite the way other schools have done. They have relied upon the support from Mission Boards and their constituencies and on the war relief funds provided through church channels, and have not been disappointed. They may come to the place where they will have to turn their petitions in a larger way toward the government and toward relief funds which thus far have been distributed perhaps disproportionately to students in government and secular institutions—such funds for example as those from American and European students which in the western provinces seem to have gone in very small measure to the students of Christian schools.

Settling In

However unsatisfactory the financial outlook, and very little was heard of this, for the most part these immigrant schools are beginning to settle down. That expression is used relatively. There is much more inclination to plan ahead for a period in the present situation than was shown eight or ten months ago. Having functioned for one or two years in their present locations, and seeing no immediate prospects of being able to move back, schools are giving more attention to improving their present working conditions and to laying out careful plans for some time ahead. Some are planning for a year at a time. Others are planning for two years—for the school years 1940-1942. More and better buildings are being made available. Some of the temporary quarters in which students have been housed have been so unsatisfactory as almost to compel improvement. For the most part students in Christian schools have been better housed than in government schools, but by no means always. Nanking University by arrangement with West China Union

University is erecting a permanent class-room building to care for the Nanking classes during the period of their residence on the campus there and then to revert to the West China University. William Nast Academy of Kiukiang, located in a little market town on the Szechwan highway, and longing with a heartbreaking eagerness to return down river, has erected two small buildings of fairly permanent character, and is sinking some thousands of dollars in the slow process of cutting a well through solid rock to find a water supply for the school. Nankai Middle School has erected a complete permanent plant at Shapienba that does not suggest even the possibilities of a disastrous bombing raid, a plant which was erected even before the evacuation from Tientsin took place. The Su Deh Girls' Middle School from Chungking in temporary quarters at Pishan is making arrangements to move into more satisfactory buildings as soon as present rental agreements can be terminated. These are but a few illustrations of the more settled attitude toward work and location which is gradually possessing the migrant institutions.

Schools and Their Constituencies

This settling in, however, is raising a double question for these immigrant schools: whence are they to get their students in the future, and what are their graduates to do? During the early months of their location in the west these schools all had a student body composed almost entirely of those who had been in attendance at the institution in its original location. When the storm broke and the schools began to move the students were more or less scattered. In many cases they moved *en masse*; in other cases they were given a travelling allowance and told that the school would reopen on a given date at a stated place. Not a few of the students moved independently or with their families earlier or later and eventually reentered the institution in which previously they had been registered. In any case the first year saw comparatively little change in student personnel except a reduction in numbers. The second year has witnessed in most schools a sharp increase in attendance, and the third year's enrolment shows that continued upward trend. The significant thing about this increased enrolment is that usually the increase has come from among local students, or natives of the region. Nearly every school reports an increase in the percentage of native students, a decrease in the percentage of out-of-the-province students. To be sure, most of the student groups interviewed, the Bible classes and fellowship groups and informal companies of students, were from every province except that in which they were gathered, or at most there were one or two local boys and girls. This was to be expected in that local students were more apt to have native friends and associates and felt less longing for what these church associations could offer. Some immigrant schools, however, reported that as much as half of their enrolment was now local or native to the province in which they had found asylum. This meant (1) that more native sons and daughters were seeking higher education, and (2) that immigrant schools on the whole maintained a higher standard which appealed even to those

who had been accustomed to more laxity in education. Everywhere it was admitted that the educational standards of the immigrant schools were higher than in local schools, especially in English and in science. These subjects were said to have been very poorly taught in the west. Nevertheless, the best scientific equipment found in any middle school laboratories was that of a local institution, perhaps partly because migrant institutions had naturally been unable to move all of their equipment, and partly no doubt due to the fact that this school had recently been thoroughly reorganized under the direction of an eminent immigrant educationalist, and had a faculty which was almost entirely immigrant.

The increase of local enrolment, and even more the decrease in enrolment of new students from the immigrant group, was to be expected as the stream of migration began to slacken. It was, however, making some of the immigrant institutions begin to question their future policy. If they did not return to their native environment before four classes had completed their course of study and graduated they were facing the likelihood of being no longer directly related to the constituency which they were created to serve. If that proved to be the case they were left to compete for students from the local constituency. So long as there is a steadily increasing local student enrolment this may not be serious; nevertheless it was questionable whether local middle schools, even augmented by numerous immigrant middle schools, could produce qualified students fast enough to keep filled up the ranks of all the immigrant colleges and universities. Even if they did there was almost bound to be competition in bidding for students unless colleges began emphatically to specialize. For example, by the fall of 1941 what will induce a student from Szechwan to enroll in Cheeloo University rather than in West China Union University or in Nanking University, all on the same campus? It was admitted that a considerable part of the West China Union University immigrant enrolment had come from students who arrived in Chengtu too late to enter one of the immigrant institutions which was much more strict in declining tardy registration. Such differences, however, would early be eliminated or would result in lowering standards in a spirit of competition. On the other hand an isolated institution like Hua Chung, far removed both from its geographical and its ecclesiastical constituency, with a tradition of maintaining a very definite proportion of Christian students, faced the possibility of being dependent for its incoming classes almost entirely upon a few local non-Christian schools which it was doing its best to develop to higher standards. Even its own most closely affiliated church middle school at Chennan was a day's distance by fastest motor car or two days by ordinary travel, and the students at Chennan seemed little inclined to plunge that much further into the remote and expensive west when they had their choice of several good universities at the much more accessible city of Kunming. A small church college—Hua Chung now has an enrolment of slightly less than one hundred—can maintain itself only if it has abundant financial resources and a very loyal constituency which it very definitely serves.

Hua Chung, in common with several other migrant schools, however, is up against this second half of the problem, namely whether it can continue to serve its designated constituency not only by making its classes available to students but by making its graduates available to the supporting constituency. These migrated mission colleges were organized to serve rather definite constituencies of the churches which support them. Many of the families of those constituencies, many of the churches and some of the schools still remain in occupied territory. So long as the war continues and these areas remain under military or foreign control there is little likelihood that more than a very few of the graduates of these schools will return home. Almost without exception the students talked with expressed the desire to return home "after we have gained our objectives," but stated definitely that until then they would seek employment in the western provinces. The supporting constituencies of these schools, therefore, are bound to raise the question as to why they continue to operate these institutions so far removed from the constituencies from which they are expected to draw their students and to which they are expected to contribute their graduates. Hua Chung, by way of illustration, has been supported largely by the Sheng Kung Hui, the English Methodists and the London Mission. The London Mission or the Church of Christ in China as yet has no work in Yunnan province, but has begun to work in Kweichow; the Methodist work in Yunnan is at Kunming and northeast of there, several days' journey from Hsichow where Hua Chung is located; the Sheng Kung Hui has work in Kunming but is only now projecting church work for immigrants westward along the Burma Highway. How and where will graduates of Hua Chung find their own church constituency to serve? At Chengtu are four union universities largely supported by the same churches some of which have a constituency in Szechwan, but hardly large enough to absorb the output of four universities. Already in the field of medicine the local church hospitals are finding themselves overstaffed with internes and residents. Educational institutions which remain in the west, therefore, even during the next two or three years, may be forced to study as they have not done heretofore, the specific field or vocations for which they specifically purpose to prepare their students.

Amalgamation or Specialization

Both in curriculum and in attitude this spirit of readiness to make adjustments to meet the new situation in which they find themselves seems to have characterized the migrant institutions. The colleges, universities, technical colleges and middle schools which have gone westward and southward have been led by administrators who in character, ability and spirit have proven themselves to be of remarkably high calibre. In some cases it has been an eye-opener in the west that such capable leadership had developed and it has been received in some cases as a bitter blessing. That is to say it has been a little hard for the western educational leadership to measure up to the imported standard. There has been a rather large number of immigrant teachers added to local faculties, and even some local disappointment that so many immigrant leaders have been

installed in positions of administrative responsibility. On the whole personal jealousies have not been serious nor far reaching, and personal generosity and magnanimity have helped to clear away friction and obstacles. Both immigrants and local men and women have insisted that what difficulties have appeared have been of a minor character and have to a very large extent been overcome (see Chapter II, Attitudes of Migrated Leaders).

This oft reiterated insistence on the harmony that now prevails only serves to emphasize the difficult adjustments that have had to be made. It is nothing short of a marvelous achievement that five universities as diversified as those now gathered in Chengtu should have succeeded so well in finding a happy working agreement; or that such stalwart institutions as have now drawn together at Kunming should have gone so far as to be referred to commonly by their own students no longer as separate colleges but as "Lien Ta"—the Associated Universities. Christian schools in China in the past have not been very cooperative, and sufficient credit has not yet been accorded the administrators of these several universities and colleges for what they have achieved and are still achieving. For the future it appears certain that they will have to choose between amalgamation and specialization, unless an unexpectedly early return permits them to dissolve their hard-earned friendly associations.

Effect on Local Communities

The immigration of these educational institutions has had a deep and wide reaching influence on the communities to which they have come. Kunming, once a sleepy conservative provincial capital of probably much less than 100,000, has doubled in size, but the presence of a few thousand students and teachers is the most evident element of change. The northwestern corner of the city has every appearance now of being "a college town." Kiating, desolated by a horrible bombing fire last summer, nevertheless teems with the seventeen hundred youths of two universities and gives the churches something quite different to think about and work for than they knew before the war. Little hsien like Chennan in Yunnan or Pishan in Szechwan with their newly arrived middle schools, or Jenshow with its Ginling College Rural Extension school, and numerous market towns like Hsichow and Tingchiaao or the temple precincts at the foot of Mt. Omei which house part of Szechwan University—these and many other communities have felt the impact of the educational immigration so vigorously that they will never be the same. In some places the schools have set to work with will and tact and ability that have wrought real change in the behavior and the spirit of the town. In other places they have lived altogether too much to themselves. Occasionally their tactlessness, sometimes their aggression or their attitude of superiority, have met with resistance and frustration. Country folk do not like to be rushed too fast nor do natives of any place like intruders to tell them how backward they are. On the whole, however, townspeople and churches have given a reasonably generous welcome to the migrant institutions whether from the cities or from out of the provinces. The schools have not

always been so generous in their attitude toward the backward churches which they have found, but the adjustments are being made probably to the mutual benefit of all concerned.

Future Policies

According to Dr. Price's statistical studies of the Christian forces in Szechwan there were 21 church middle schools in the province before the war. These have been joined by 8 more immigrant church middle schools. As compared with church membership statistics for the province and in contrast to Yunnan with but three Christian middle schools (one junior, one senior and one immigrant union senior middle) Szechwan province would now seem to have its share of Christian middle schools. But compared with the total native population of the province or compared with the distribution of Christian middle schools in the coast provinces before the war (the provinces which are now termed "occupied"), the supply cannot be regarded as over abundant. While Christian school authorities will not have occasion to study the middle school problem in quite the same way as the college problem will have to be studied (as suggested above), it is not unlikely that before the war reaches a conclusion that permits all of these immigrant middle schools to return home the church and school authorities together may have to take stock and review the situation to determine whether these immigrant schools are to remain immigrant or whether they are to be naturalized and definitely become part of the life of the community in which they have found refuge.

Christian workers in Kweichow referred frequently to the fact that there was practically no Christian educational work carried on in that province. With the migration of many Christian colleges and middle schools to the west the only one to settle in Kweichow has been the Yale-in-China Medical School from Changsha. They felt that there could be no permanent Christian structure nor any trained leadership for the Church in this region unless in the redistribution of educational institutions some middle school and perhaps one Christian college was located in this province.

As already indicated this great migration has taken most of the middle schools out of large cities into rural or semi-rural communities. This is true both of the down-river schools and the Szechwan institutions. This has been part of the reason for difficulties in adjustment referred to above. It raises another of the questions which educationalists have had up from time to time, but which heretofore has been allowed to answer itself by the mere fact of a well established school being well housed in an expensive plant. Now, however, with some plants permanently destroyed and these many schools temporarily housed in semi-rural communities educationalists are again having to ask whether or not such location is in the best interests of the best and most practical type of education. Is it, for example, better for a girls' middle school to be located in the heart of Chengtu or in a little village 70 li outside of Chengtu? Are young men getting a better middle school education on a comfortable campus in the bus-served suburbs of Chungking, or can the best

interests of health, morals and education be served by having those boys in school among the hills two or three hours outside of the city? Some of the teachers already are saying, "I hope we never go back. Better work and better spirit prevail here in the country." Others feel as though they were in exile and that education is apt to become cloistered and detached from the world. It is in part a question of curriculum and type of education, in part a question of constituency and of the type of pupils who can be attracted to study in a rural community. For many, as long as the old buildings and grounds are intact they will be the determining factor. Property has a tremendous part to play in church and in educational policies. For others it will be determined by the duration of the war, by how many changes in curriculum and methods of instruction and personnel of teachers and students take place before it is possible to raise any questions of another move. "Wait and see what happens," is the way a good many are going ahead without attempting to formulate plans or articulate policies in these days of uncertainty. Meantime it has been good to realize that necessity has been the mother of both invention and efficiency, and faculty and students, once accustomed to the finest buildings and the most up-to-date equipment, are now carrying on with new enthusiasm in poor quarters and with inadequate equipment. "If the new spirit of cooperation, sacrifice, and service which has been born in many institutions is still alive after the war, China itself will be that much the richer" (W. P. Fenn, "The Effect of the Japanese Invasion").

Involved in this question—and this for colleges as well as middle schools—may be the question of their foreign personnel. The foreign personnel connected with church schools has not been as ready to migrate, or at least has not migrated in as large percentage, as have the Chinese faculties. Reports from government schools indicate that a better proportion of faculty than of students has been held to the institution through the process of migration, so that generally speaking there are more teachers per student than heretofore. This facilitates, perhaps, the emphasizing of the tutorial system on which the Ministry of Education has of late laid some stress. The indications are that the ratio between Chinese and foreigners on the teaching staff of migrant institutions has not been maintained. Several explanations are given. Foreign teachers have been left behind to look after property and school plants. Those who have been on furlough at the time of evacuation have been slow to return, pending decision as to the school plans. Some have felt a definite call to minister to the poorer classes left behind in "the home town," unable to follow the general migration, or were so involved in relief work at the time of migration that they could not readily leave. A few for family or health reasons have not found it expedient to migrate. So for one reason or another the foreign personnel in migrated institutions has been reduced considerably. Now it appears that while this is true the immigrant middle schools seem yet to have as large a number of foreign teachers as do the local middle schools or perhaps a larger number. That is to say, the down river middle schools had so many more foreigners on their teaching staffs before the war that even though they have lost

several of them the total number of foreigners connected with immigrant schools is still proportionately very much greater than in the local schools. Just the opposite is true in the higher educational institutions where it was reported to be a matter of surprise that so much of the teaching as well as the administration of the immigrant colleges had passed to Chinese and so comparatively little of it in the local university. Put a little differently, west China educational missionaries have tended to invest their talents in the institutions of higher learning, whereas down river the tendency in recent years has been for educational missionaries to find their field of service more largely in the secondary schools. If those who determine the policies of the Church are to review the whole situation now these facts will have to be kept in mind both in the reassignment or redistribution of their foreign personnel and in the budgeting for their educational institutions.

SUMMARY OF CHAPTER V

Migration of educational institutions was a matter both of self-preservation and of national policy.

Schools are confronted with the high cost of survival and the future expense of removal to a permanent seat.

Migrated schools are beginning to improve their temporary accommodations with less expectation of an early return home.

These schools are facing the problems of (1) lower educational standards in the west, (2) few available students from their original constituencies, (3) possible competition among themselves, (4) future service to their supporting constituencies.

If four union universities supported by the same church and mission groups are to survive on the same campus they may have to choose between amalgamation and specialization.

New problems of location, housing, and community relationships have emerged through the unplanned migration of schools and colleges.

The migration of educational institutions presents mission administrators with some problems of redistribution of subsidies and of foreign teaching personnel.

CHAPTER VI

THEOLOGICAL SCHOOLS AMIDST THE MIGRATION

The migration of theological schools is a vital factor in considering the future Church in the south and west of China. Our observations left no doubt of the deficiency in leadership training here in the past, of the resultant weakness of the Church, and of the very real service rendered to this weak or infant Church by the immigrant leaders who seem to have come providentially for this critical period. It is generally agreed that this immigrant leadership is for the most part temporary, that most of these trained pastors at least will return whence they came at the earliest opportunity, and that the Church in the west and southwest during the years to come must depend upon locally provided leadership. This being the case the contribution of the theological schools is of paramount importance, and the Survey Team gave considerable attention to inquiring into the work and program of the theological schools now in this area.

The 1935 Survey Commission reported the existence of two schools in this area, the West China University College of Religion which was at that time being reorganized into the West China Union Theological College at Chengtu, and the Baptist Bible Training School at Yachow which had nine students with junior middle school preparation and which we understand has since been merged with the lower department of the Theological College at Chengtu. Into this area the war has sent along the fingers of the great trek the Canton Union Theological Seminary now located at Hsichow in western Yunnan, the Central China Union Theological Seminary of Wuchang which has found dangerous asylum at Lingling in southwestern Hunan, and some of the students and several of the faculty of the Nanking Theological Seminary who are working intimately with the West China Union Theological Seminary in its temporary quarters at Chengtu. (The Fukien institutions which also have been affected by migration but within the province will not be dealt with in this section of the Report.) This on the face of it would appear to give the west adequate provision for the training of its future leadership in the Church, and upon these institutions, geographically so widely scattered in relation to the whole territory, might well be worked out a comprehensive program of theological education for what in common parlance is called "free China."

The situation is by no means so simple and satisfactory as at first appears. The migrant institutions, like most of these war immigrants, regard this residence in the west as temporary. How temporary none of them ventured to say. A year ago Dr. Frank W. Price of the Nanking Theological Seminary, who is unusually well informed on national affairs and the plans and expectations of the government, said freely that while the government officials were saying, "Back in Nanking in two years," he himself was more conservatively predicting that "We'll be back on our own campus in 1942." Now neither Dr. Price nor anyone else with whom we talked

in the spring of 1940 was venturing to set any dates. In Chengtu the leaders of Christian institutions were working with a much less restless spirit than at an earlier date, some of them saying, "We are planning upon the assumption that we shall be here for at least two more school years." At Hsichow the president of the theological school said, "We don't want to go back to Canton nor to Hongkong now. We are planning our work here for a year at a time." At Lingling there has been considerable uncertainty as to whether bombing raids would permit the continuance of the school there, and there has been some division in mission councils as to the practicability of the present plan. But efforts are now being made to secure additional teaching staff to carry on in this location, and arrangements are being made to send new students from Yunnan to study there in southern Hunan. At the same time arrangements are being made to reorganize some theological training for constituents of this institution in the Wuhan center from which it moved.

Canton Union Theological Seminary

The 1935 Survey Commission reported Canton Union Theological Seminary as a men's Theological Seminary of two departments, one requiring senior middle school preparation in which 16 students were listed and one based upon junior middle school graduation in which 13 students were registered. Several references in that report indicated that the constituency of the school (i.e. the supporting missions or churches) had insisted upon maintaining this lower department although the administration within the school itself consistently sought to raise the standards of theological education and would prefer to confine its work to students who had had at least the equivalent of a full senior middle school course. The migration has secured this desired goal, at least for the time being. The lower department was "lost off" when the school evacuated from Canton. At the temporary quarters at Shatien there were inadequate facilities for carrying on the lower work. When the school made its second pilgrimage to Hsichow, and at the invitation of Hua Chung University affiliated with the College there located, both the conditions of affiliation and the shortage of staff made it still impractical to operate more than the senior department. At present no plans are contemplated for reopening this department in Hsichow. In Hongkong some talk was heard, however, of the desirability of providing in some way for the lower grade training.

A language difficulty presented itself when the Canton institution located in a national language speaking area and began affiliation with a university which used that language and English in its classroom work. It was obviously impractical to continue theological school class-room work in Cantonese if university students were to be admitted to theological classes (although Hua Chung University now reports more students from Kwangtung than from any other province), and the Canton institution had no other ready source of supply of new students. Furthermore Cantonese theological students who were electing courses in the university would carry on their work there in the national language. The faculty of the Canton

school therefore has been endeavoring to learn the national language for teaching purposes. At present classroom work is conducted in a combination of Cantonese, Kuoyü and English. The school worship services are conducted in whatever of these three languages the leader chooses to use, or in a combination of two or more. Both faculty and students have found some language barriers to effective community service, but practically all south China students for some years now have had a working knowledge of the national language, so that these difficulties are probably much more real to the foreign faculty than to any one else. Yet the colloquial pronunciation of the region about Hsichow is very marked. Others from outside the province, not connected in any way with the Canton group, complained of the difficulty in making themselves understood by these people who have a rather large admixture of tribes influence. Nevertheless this part of Yunnan is what can be classified as a "Mandarin speaking area" and the language adjustments are no greater than are required in many parts of the Yangtse Valley.

A far more serious problem for the Canton Theological Seminary is its remoteness from its constituency, from the field which it is designed to serve and from the schools and churches from which it would naturally expect to draw its students. Although some tentative applications have been received from Hongkong for students who are considering entering theological school next fall, few new students thus far have entered since the school migrated to Yunnan except from the Hua Chung University. Two new students came from Hongkong and two from Central China last fall. Hsichow is inaccessibly located. For beauty of location on the shores of the lovely Er Hai at the foot of 14,000 feet high, snow-capped peaks in a fertile valley 6,500 feet above sea level, it is an ideal retreat. But for students from Kwangtung to reach the place requires a journey by sea, rail, bus and horseback of not less than a week and more probably two weeks, and an expense of several hundred dollars. The Survey Team spent nearly a week in Kunming trying to get passage to Hsiakwan (which is the terminal point for bus transport some 75 li—25 miles—from Hsichow), and on the return journey were told that they would have to wait for ten days before seats would be available in the regular passenger bus. The hopes of travelling by the Hua Chung University bus were dashed by finding that vehicle "out of commission" at the China Inland Mission at Tali, repair and gasoline costs having made its operation impracticable. It was learned that it cost the Hankow Diocese Union Middle School \$200 to drive their light station wagon to Kunming and back, which is about half the journey between Kunming and Hsichow.

The problem of placing graduates is perhaps less acute than that of recruiting students, for church organizations keep in touch with their men in preparation and are prepared to direct them to possible fields of service. There is naturally great reluctance on the part of these graduates to return to "occupied areas." On the other hand the work of the constituent churches is relatively undeveloped in Yunnan or that part of "free China" which a school in this location might be expected to serve. The Methodist (English)

Church might be expected to benefit most from the presence in the province of the Canton Union Theological Seminary, for they have four mission stations in this field (Yunnan and Kweichow). Apparently, however, the churches here are not prepared to use the type of more highly educated pastor being produced by this school, for they are proposing to send seven men with less preliminary schooling out of the province to study at the Central China Union Theological Seminary in which this church also has a supporting interest. (In travel distance there is little choice between going from the Chaotung field to Lingling or to Hsichow). Meantime they have continued to provide some elementary training at a Bible School or training institute at Chaotung. The discussion of this whole problem appears to be very much alive within these Methodist circles. It is of importance in considering the larger plan of theological training in the west and in any effort to work out a unified program of theological education for the country, especially as the Methodists are associated with other churches in at least two union theological schools.

The Sheng Kung Hui work in Yunnan, except in the city of Kunming, is in its earliest stages. The plans of extension and development if carried steadily forward would very soon provide an opening for any graduates of that church from the Canton institution in the field immediately adjacent to its present location. The Church is undertaking a challenging task in western Yunnan which ought to appeal to any well-qualified theological seminary graduate, and so long as this school remains at Hsichow it is strategically located to supply this need. The Church concerned, however, appears not yet to have clarified its own program of theological training. So long as the school was at Canton and specializing for a local dialect area there was little question of its function. But with its removal into the national language field the Sheng Kung Hui has to raise the question of the Church's cooperation in two union theological seminaries of the same grade in west China, and this question arises at a time when some consideration is being given to a reorganization of the Central Theological Seminary on a national scale. That purpose was referred to in the 1935 Survey Commission report. The vicissitudes of war and migration have again thrust the problem forward. The school, not having migrated to the western part of the country, does not come into the purview of this report. The fact that there is still a strong sentiment and conviction within the Sheng Kung Hui for a national theological seminary of their own has a very real bearing upon the program and policy of all of the union theological seminaries now located in the western provinces. For the present the inclination and policy of the ecclesiastical authorities in this field appears to be the warmest cooperation with the Canton school with the hope of availing the Church of all the services the school can render (Incidentally, a member of the Sheng Kung Hui, now resident in Hsichow, has recently tendered his resignation from the Board of Directors of the Central Theological Seminary in protest against the proposals to attempt the resuscitation of anything which purports to be a national theological school anywhere within what is known as "occupied territory").

The third one of the Churches cooperating with the Canton Union Theological Seminary and having work in this southwestern part of the country is the Church of Christ in China. As with the Sheng Kung Hui its church work both in Kweichow and in Yunnan is in its earliest infancy. As yet it has no churches to call the graduates of the seminary. So long as these graduates are not set upon having pastorates they may find positions in the west. They appear to be more keen for fields of service, even though these be outside the more formal church organizations. Cooperatives and community service projects in free China for the time being are more attractive to them than pastorates in occupied territory. Following the southwestern conference called by the National Christian Council at Kunming which worked out some joint plans among the churches in Yunnan for the entering of yet undeveloped fields, it is proposed that a number of the students of the Church of Christ in China should spend their summer vacation pioneering in the mining regions of southern Yunnan where the church hopes to undertake work. With its work in Kweichow very young and restricted in extent, and with the West China Union Theological College in Chengtu to meet the needs of Szechwan and Sikang, it is hardly to be expected that the Church of Christ in China can take a very deep interest in any permanent theological training in the extreme western part of Yunnan.

In 1935 Canton Union Theological Seminary in its higher department was reported to have 16 men students. Now in its refugee quarters, far removed from home and from the highways of traffic, it reported 34 students, men and women, all of them doing the equivalent of college grade work, ranking well with the corresponding class in the university. By the closest cooperation between the two schools it has been possible to develop some genuine post graduate research work. This is a practical demonstration of the values obtainable through a proper correlation between theological seminary and university, maintaining their separate identities but jointly sustaining the highest standards of scholarship. President Wei of Hua Chung University has long desired to have a high grade theological college closely affiliated with the university over which he presides. It is his ambition that such an institution should do the equivalent of university and post graduate work. If these two institutions remain long enough in the seclusion of Hsichow where the administration is left free to work out the realization of their dreams, something unique may come to pass. Dr. Wei has a conviction that theological education should be far more intimately integrated with Chinese culture and social life and philosophical thought than has yet been the case in any of our theological institutions. Under his direction a community religious worker is beginning his training at Hsichow by making a serious study of the religions of the region. President Wei's philosophy of theological education is not a part of this report. The fact that he has such a philosophy, that he has an ambition for this kind of theological training in connection with Hua Chung University, and that the exigencies of the situation are providing a beginning in that direction, must be borne in mind in thinking of a program for theological education to embrace the whole

country in the years to come when Hua Chung University may return to Wuchang.

West China Union Theological College

In June 1935 an unofficial meeting of church, mission and university representatives in Chengtu decided to recommend to their respective bodies that the work of the College of Religion of West China Union University "be reorganized as a union theological college, situated near the university but separate from it, offering a four year course based upon graduation from senior middle school." This recommendation was adopted in principle by the bodies concerned and the new institution for theological training came into being the next year.

What the school might now be, had it not been for the war, none can tell. Certainly its growth has been more rapid and in some ways more satisfactory than was anticipated a few months before the war began. The faculty appears to be well satisfied with the growth and development of the institution. Coeducation is not an after-thought but an integral part of the school and the women teachers are taking a lively share in the work. Contrary to the original proposal as endorsed by the Kuling Conference in 1935 for a school based upon graduation from Senior Middle School, it has seemed expedient to provide a lower course also for students who have had only Junior Middle School training. This has in a measure complicated the relations between the Theological College and the universities on the adjoining campus where classes are open to the students of the higher department of the theological college. There was some embarrassment in social and religious relations where the students of the lower department were not welcome to the student center and student activities on the university campus while their fellow students in the higher department were free to come and go. The experience of similar institutions in other places and countries was apparently being repeated, and the lower department was coloring the reputation and standing of the whole theological college, although the academic standards of the higher department were not impaired. The president of the institution explained that the college was definitely committed to providing ministerial training equivalent in standing to that of a university course, but that in deference to the present state of the Church in west China it was temporarily necessary to provide courses for junior middle school graduates. He was less definite than some persons connected with the institution as to what should be the future policy with respect to post-graduate study. He seemed to feel it advisable to leave this question open for future developments and needs to determine. Both from faculty and from members of the Board of Managers of the West China Theological College very definite statements were secured that nothing more than the course leading to the Bachelor of Theology degree was needed as a permanent part of the curriculum for west China. The president of the Board of Managers however said very definitely, in speaking of the future needs of the Church in trained leadership, that "if we had a post-graduate course it would be more helpful."

More deliberate conversations on the subject developed the fact that at present there were five students who were taking special post-graduate work leading to the B.D. degree, and that several others had indicated their desire to take this course at Chengtu. In pre-war circumstances it might have been convenient for these students to go to Nanking to take the work in the graduate school of the Nanking Theological Seminary. In fact some of these men and women probably would not be in Szechwan but for the great migration. The situation was definitely abnormal. It was not to be expected that there would be any such group each year, or even once in two years, ready to take graduate work. At best for the whole country numbers would be so small for years to come that economy and efficiency must lead to the support of one central graduate school of theology for the whole country (though Yenching University might conceivably have a distinctive contribution to make in the field of graduate theological scholarship which was not altogether germane to the discussion at that moment). Thither it would be advantageous for students from Szechwan to go for study in times of peace when national unity had been restored. For the present, however, a situation and an opportunity existed which made a strong appeal to Nanking Theological Seminary to cooperate in providing or to provide through West China Union Theological College the facilities for these students to pursue their post-graduate theological training without going to the coast. Several of them were men and women already experienced in church work. Others were theological students or university students now completing their college grade studies who could to the best advantage follow through their theological education without delay. West China Union Theological College was not prepared nor equipped to offer this additional training. It could do so only if Canton Theological Seminary would move to Chengtu with their teaching staff, or if Nanking Theological Seminary would send some of its first string professors to meet this emergency. There was no evidence of any desire on the part of the Chengtu school to secure this additional work as a permanent department of the College, nor even to have the prestige of these higher students enrolled with them. Any arrangement which could be worked out with Nanking Seminary to provide this instruction and thus secure to these men and women the higher training which was desired to make them most efficient workers in the Kingdom of Christ at a time when there was urgent need for adequate church leadership, appeared to be acceptable to the group concerned.

The education of women in theology is a definite part of the plan and practice of this institution. As already noted it was co-educational in its inception and from the beginning of its work. It appears to be the conviction of leaders in church work in the west that women must be trained at the outset to take a larger share of the leadership of the Church, and there is no inclination to temporize with lower standards of education for women or to provide separate institutions for their training. This is the more remarkable when it is recalled how very recently partitions in the churches still separated the two sexes, and that until within very recent months dormitory regulations supposedly in force on the university campus

forbade conversation between boy and girl students except at certain limited hours of the afternoon. Now the president of the theological college says they look definitely forward to women becoming pastors in charge of churches, apparently not with any financial reason in mind but purely on the basis of the type of leadership which they are capable of rendering.

Parenthetically it may be recorded here that while this is the studied attitude of those who are planning and directing ministerial training and seems also to be the view of the aggressive leaders in church work, the Survey Team was a little disconcerted to find a number of well-trained and experienced women church workers who had migrated to the west and who after months of residence there still remained without the sort of employment for which they were trained and in which they might presumably excel. In some cases this was undoubtedly due to the attitude of superciliousness or disdain on the part of down-river church workers which is discussed in the chapter of this report on Attitudes. There seems to have been more difficulty in a number of cases on the part of immigrant women leaders to adapt themselves to the new situation than among men, and not a few pastors who might have become contented were handicapped by desperately homesick wives whose attitude toward local women was almost "catty." Part of the difficulty, however, was certainly in the inability of the local church set-up to find a place for these women either alongside a lower grade of women church workers or by displacement. There were many who had made a useful adjustment and in church, in school, in hospital and in social service were making a valuable contribution not only to the present work but in demonstrating the future place of woman's leadership in the Church of the west. The unhappy instances which came to the attention of the attention of the Team probably were the exception rather than frequently the case.

Work on the construction of buildings for the new and permanent campus of West China Union Theological College had begun on a plot of ground between their present temporary quarters and the university campus. The architect's drawings were rather pretentious, but appeared to provide insufficient accommodation for faculty residences, to contemplate an uneconomical dormitory scheme (which has already been modified in the first dormitory now under construction), and to crowd too many buildings close together in comparison with the adjoining university campus and the large open spaces now available. The modification in the dormitory plan will correct this latter fault also. The provision for only six faculty residences is certainly inadequate for a theological college which already lists twelve professors (some but part time) besides seven from Nanking Theological Seminary, and which already finds itself seriously understaffed. The estimated cost of all buildings now planned is given as \$25,000 U.S. currency. The campus contains about 25 Chinese mou. The fact that conspicuous government radio towers rise almost from the corner of the campus might lead to apprehension for the safety of these new buildings so long as bombing raids continue. But it is the spirit of the west that goes ahead with the job that has to be done

despite the dangers, and there is no questioning the need for much more adequate quarters for the Theological College than the temporary home which it now occupies, secured when numbers of students and teachers were very much smaller than at present. The enrolment is 30 men and 12 women. Of these 18 are from outside Szechwan. Three years ago when the school was organized it opened with four students.

Mention has been made of the handicap to its relations with the adjoining universities in maintaining a below-college standard for one department of the theological college. It was a matter of some surprise that the theological college allowed a further barrier to its possible intimate scholastic relations with the universities to exist in the seemingly small matter of schedule of class hours. It was mentioned that while free admission was offered to theological college students of the higher department in any of the classes of the several universities for which they might register, actually very little use was made of this opportunity because of conflicting class periods or a difference in the daily schedules. Where two institutions have gone to the trouble and expense of housing themselves on adjoining campuses, and even have the same Boards of Governors in America and Boards of Managers on the field, where it is a constant drain upon the faculty's strength to keep up with the heavy teaching schedule and where the theological seminary is admittedly short of an adequate staff especially in the field of Chinese subjects, and where not one but now four colleges of liberal arts are offering the advantages of one of the strongest faculties that could possibly be convened, it seemed strange that a matter of class hours should deprive the theological college students of the privilege that should be theirs and burden the administration with the expense of extra teachers and courses. Some other reason may lie behind this lack of adjustment, and perhaps time will rectify it. Possibly it is simply one of those minor unadjusted points of which a good deal was heard on the university campus which have been irritating but insignificant, and which are gradually disappearing.

As in the case of Canton Union Theological Seminary, but to a much less extent, the future of the West China Union Theological College is closely related to the policies and decisions of constituent churches and denominations. Mention has been made of the desire within Sheng Kung Hui circles to provide the theological training for its leaders within a central training school for the whole Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui, or at least to maintain such a denominational institution of high grade and national character as will enable it to turn out such of its own leaders as prefer to prepare in such an institution. For some years there has been some talk also of providing such a central training school for women workers in the Church also, and some funds for such an undertaking already have been provided. While the Survey Team was in the west representatives of the women's work of the Sheng Kung Hui in all parts of China were assembling at Shanghai to give consideration to the best means of providing for the theological training of the future women leaders in the Church. It was quite clear that in Chengtu at least

the preference within the Church was strongly in favor of providing for the training of both men and women leaders of the Church in west China in the West China Union Theological College. It was felt that any centrally located or so called national institution, unless in Szechwan, would be too far removed geographically, socially and psychologically from the west China Church to make it capable of serving effectively, and that the expense of sending students away would limit the number that could there be trained. The Sheng Kung Hui had from the start taken an active, keen interest in the West China Union Theological College. The bishop of the diocese is both a member of the Board of Managers and an esteemed lecturer on the faculty. He and his colleagues feel that they have been able to keep in sufficiently close touch with their students in the Union College to give them both atmosphere and training which is native and essential to their best continued service in the Sheng Kung Hui. To redirect any of their effort to an institution of their own Church, either for men or for women, would seem to be unwarranted dissipation of strength. Not the slightest enthusiasm could be detected for the scheme except such as rightly belongs to any strong denominational loyalty which is well developed within this particular church. Both here in Szechwan and in Yunnan, therefore, the support of the ecclesiastical leadership was apparently being thrown toward union regional training in theology rather than toward central denominational training. Yet in both cases there were expressions of sympathetic open-mindedness toward any proposals that might lead to even more effective ministerial training.

The other constituency which had problems in relation to ministerial training in the West China College was that of the Church of Christ in China. Here the problems were utterly different from those of the Sheng Kung Hui or from those cited in reference to the Canton Seminary. The Church of Christ in China has been represented in Szechwan heretofore by the United Church of Canada and the churches of the former Canadian Methodist Church. This was their one field of work in China, and all of their theological training, supported by their General Board and their Women's Board, was concentrated, so far as it existed at all, in the West China Union Theological College. The former Canadian Presbyterians were at work in Honan, and were a cooperating body in the Cheeloo School of Theology. These two Canadian Churches are now united and the Mission Board of the United Church in Canada thus has become a supporting body of two theological schools. The Cheeloo School of Theology has remained on its campus at Tsinan, although the Medical College and the College of Liberal Arts of Cheeloo University have migrated to Chengtu. The enforced evacuation of almost all Canadian missionaries from Honan and the serious interruption to their church work in that field has raised some questions as to the continued support of the Cheeloo School of Theology at Tsinan. If the present situation is very temporary it may be assumed, perhaps, that sooner or later the Cheeloo School will again become the best training School for pastors and other church workers in northern Honan. The Mission for the time being has transferred several of its missionaries to Szechwan where they will have opportunity to

contribute from their northern experience to the developing church life of the west, and to study in the light of political movements what relation Cheeloo and West China Theological Seminaries are to bear toward each other and to the Church of Christ in China at work in northern Honan. There is at present but one student from that field registered in the Chengtu institution.

Meantime another element has entered into the picture with the disruption of English Baptist work in Shansi, and the modification in lines of communication with Shensi. The churches fostered by this Mission are also a part of the Church of Christ in China. The training of its ministry for both provinces heretofore has been entrusted in large extent to the Cheeloo School of Theology. Some time past when the Canadians were somewhat disposed to migrate from Shangtung to Szechwan and the other departments of the university did so move, the Baptists in the theological school felt that their Shansi and Shensi constituency might possibly be better served from Tsinan than from Chengtu. Now however the missionaries are largely out of Shansi and those who remain in Shensi have much closer touch geographically with Szechwan than with Shangtung. A main artery of transportation extends from Chengtu directly north through Hanchung to Paochi, which city is in direct rail communication with Sian and all of southern Shensi. This, together with the present political and social and economic ties of the province, bind Shensi quite intimately to the national life which finds expression in Szechwan. Shensi is a lively part of the great free China and the presumption is all in favor of the churches there looking southward to Chengtu for the training of their leadership rather than eastward, to Tsinan. At present there are three students from Shensi studying in the West China Union Theological College. Much of what is recorded below in this chapter applies to the Cheeloo School of Theology so far as it relates to the training of the ministry for Shensi province. What Cheeloo School of Theology decides to do, and what its constituent bodies determine to be their policy for the training of their ministry, therefore becomes of very vital interest to the West China Union Theological College. The whole program of theological training in a new way cuts right across all sectional lines.

Nanking Theological Seminary

When the war moved in on Nanking there was little time for comprehensive planning. The future was too obscure for long-range planning. Student bodies and faculties scattered in all directions. This was true of the Nanking Theological Seminary. Eventually the school reopened in Shanghai, but seven members of the faculty and eight students made their way to Chengtu and integrated their work with the West China Union Theological College. No separate teaching schedule has been maintained. The Nanking teachers have been assigned classes in the West China College and the finest type of fellowship and cooperation has developed. The students who did not graduate last year are now enrolled in the local institution. There is no such separate existence of schools on the same campus as is

found among the universities on the adjoining campus. A distinctive contribution has been made, however, in the rural experiment stations and the extension work which the Nanking faculty members have carried out in partial cooperation with the West China Union Theological College.

In addition the Nanking faculty has had much to do personally and financially in bringing to the Chengtu campus some outstanding lectures which could hardly have been secured without this aid. The West China College faculty expressed the highest appreciation of the invaluable service which had been rendered in this way, and felt that but for the assistance rendered they would have been quite unable to cope with the rapidly increased attendance caused no doubt in part by the general migration from the coast provinces. Many expressions of approval were heard also of the extension and research work which members of the Nanking Seminary staff have been able to carry on. The work in rural and city parishes conducted under the Nanking faculty supervision and the men whom they have been able to draw to and place in these openings have made a large contribution to the suddenly renewed church life of the west (further reference thereto is made in Chapter II on the Church).

The West China Theological College was definitely desirous of having at least two more full-grade professors from the Nanking Theological Seminary come to Chengtu before autumn. They said that only thus could they meet the demand from definitely applying students for a two years' advanced course in theology. It was impractical to send these highly qualified men and women to Shanghai to take the B.D. course, but it was likewise impossible for the small faculty of the West China Union Theological College to offer the courses necessary for this degree. This was a case where it was felt that only by combining the resources of these two institutions at this critical time could the real opportunity be embraced. Without such intimate cooperation it appeared probable that the five students now enrolled in the B.D. course and others who are applying would have to be denied the additional theological training which they sought to fit them for church leadership;—at least for the time being such graduate studies must be deferred as they felt that they could not go to Shanghai for the year of residence work required by Nanking Theological Seminary.

When the editors wrote Chapter IV, Part II of the 1935 Survey entitled "Education for Service" (p. 135), they said of the Graduate School of the Nanking Theological Seminary, "Located as it is in the capital of China its students have every opportunity to come in touch with the currents of thought affecting the national life; see, and participate in the many varied forms of Christian activity both in the city and in the surrounding country, especially in the two training centers, urban and rural, maintained by the Seminary, and yet have something of the seclusion and concentration which is possible in an institution which has its own corporate life." It would appear that this expressed the school's ideal of the situation for carrying out graduate study in theology. In the midst of warfare and migrations and temporary housing it is not to be expected that

the ideal can be reproduced. The Survey Team is convinced that the nearest approach now possible to the picture sketched by that statement is to be had at Chengtu. A good class of students are said to be there ready and waiting with the necessary qualifications to take the course of study in the Graduate School. If the Seminary genuinely desires at this time to carry on that expensive type of training for the Ministry of the Church in China, and if it has the staff available or procurable, the cooperation offered by the West China Union Theological College and the several universities now grouped on the adjoining campus of West China Union University, surely come as near as could be hoped for to the conditions under which the Seminary restated its work in 1935.

Among the Nanking teachers there seemed to be a more settled attitude toward their work than could be the case in Hsichow and probably Lingling. They did not know how long they were going to have to stay, but there was a lot to be done here and the sooner they got some foundations laid in this part of the country the more likely would there rise some permanent structures in rebuilt churches (we do not refer to brick and tile) as a permanent contribution from the Nanking Theological Seminary. That appeared to be the attitude of the staff. We were told that members of the student body who had migrated were becoming so deeply absorbed in their task that it was probable several of them would decide to make Szechwan the field of their life work.

The field of research calls for one word here. Both in Yunnan and in Szechwan the Survey Team was aware of interest in and facilities for research that ought to be capitalized. Such opportunities usually require finances and personnel which are not readily available. Too many workers find routine and the pressing schedule of classes or church meetings or administrative details so mandatory and the maintenance of institutions already operating so expensive that only the fringes of research work are undertaken. The government on the other hand is finding it imperative and presumably in the long run economically beneficial to devote large sums of money and many trained efforts to research in the fields which it is expecting to develop. To a commendable degree some of our Christian colleges, especially in the field of agriculture and social-economics, have done invaluable research work. In the field of religion, however, it would be hard to list any considerable original achievement. It is for this reason, perhaps, that research work carried out by Nanking Theological Seminary professors has attracted much favorable comment (and some adverse criticism inspired probably by unsatisfactory interpretation of findings or by the incompleteness of work crowded into an already overloaded schedule). The research work begun in the field of religion at Hsichow has been referred to above. These but suggest the possibilities for Nanking Theological Seminary greatly to extend its usefulness to the entire Church in this period of rapid change and reconstruction. It was reported that negotiations had already gotten under weigh between Canton Union Theological Seminary and the Nanking School looking in this direction and it was apparent that the faculty in Chengtu would continue to push forward

so far as they were able, especially in the field of rural church work. There was a suggestion that the pressure of actual needs to be met in this field is so heavy and the direction of student activities are so arduous that something of accuracy in the field of pure research might possibly be sacrificed. The natural sequestration of a school at Hsichow and the advantageous touch with throbbing national life on a great campus at Chengtu need some way to be combined to get the best results in scientific research.

Central China Union Theological Seminary

(This section is written without having visited the institution and is therefore tentative, probably to be rewritten entirely after the Survey Team has been to southern Hunan.)

With its migrations less extended but no less adventurous and hazardous than those of other migrant theological seminaries the Central China Union Theological Seminary has moved from Wuchang to Lingling in the southwestern part of Hunan. Here a remnant of its faculty and student body are bravely endeavoring to hold together the institution in the midst of dangers and difficulties, to serve a constituency in the most distressed part of all China, in a field which is one of the most inaccessible in all China. The Survey Commission in 1935 reported that the school had 8 full time faculty members and 17 students of whom 3 were women. The recommendations for this school therein recorded read: "The Central China Theological Seminary at Wuchang serves the Chung Hua Hsun Tao Kung Hui (English Methodist Church) and the Lianghu Synod of the Church of Christ in China with the cooperation of the London Missionary Society and the Mission of the Reformed Church in the United States. We recommend that its faculty and Board of Managers consider the adoption of a plan similar to that effective at Nanking Theological Seminary, whereby students who are preparing for the rural ministry might take the first two years of work at Wuchang, then go to the Huning Middle School at Yochow for a year's work in agriculture and rural reconstruction, and finally return to Wuchang for a fourth year of study leading to graduation." (p. 130.)

Whatever progress may have been made before the war toward carrying out this type of program it has now become utterly impossible. War terrors have been especially prevalent and widespread throughout the field of the constituency of this institution. Necessary leave has reduced the faculty so that it has been found not easy to plan the work for next autumn. There have been apparently divergent viewpoints held by the constituent bodies or by elements within those bodies. The Methodists of Hunan and Hupeh have held to their purpose to continue this grade of training for graduates of Junior Middle School as being the type of minister needed by the rural churches of these two provinces which constitute a large part of their work. The same is true of the Methodists in Yunnan and Kweichow (whose position was discussed above in the section on Canton Union Theological Seminary) who are even venturing to send seven students into Lingling for their ministerial training next autumn. At present the School is definitely cut off from serving

the constituency of the London Missionary Society in and about Hankow. The Church of Christ in China, in which the London Mission now expresses itself, is to their mind better served in the west by the other theological seminaries in that part of China. The Reformed Church is a Hunan Church and presumably can do no better for the time being than make the Central China school serve it as fully as it is able. It is understood that a new missionary of that Church is in preparation for work on the faculty. Experiences of the past support the policy of keeping an institution running under makeshift conditions rather than to suspend or close, so long as it is the purpose of the supporting bodies to continue this type and grade of theological training in a separate institution for Central China. To serve the whole field of its constituency the school has now made arrangements to open a branch in Hankow where it is expected that at least ten students will enroll in the autumn. This will bring the prospective enrolment to about 30 students which is said to be about the limit that the cooperating churches can reasonably expect to place upon graduation. Two full time and one part time foreign missionary are expected to teach at Lingling; efforts are still being made there to strengthen the Chinese teaching staff.

Concordia Seminary at Wanhsien is a refugee institution of the Lutheran Church of which information is not yet available.

The Problem of Leadership Training

The foregoing paragraphs will have indicated something of the effort which is being made in the western provinces to provide an adequate training for the future leadership of the Church which is developing in that field. They have included but brief reference to the training which is being given to men and women already in service. This is being provided through the regular channels of church work, in local or denominational Bible training institutes, and more recently in Yunnan and Shensi as well as in Szechwan by rural experiment and extension work conducted by the Nanking Theological Seminary faculty in collaboration with the West China Union Theological College and other agencies in the field. Students from the Canton Theological Seminary were planning to attend one of these extension training institutes to be held at Chaotung in the northeastern part of Yunnan province this summer.

On every hand it was felt that too much attention could not be given to the problem and task of training the leadership of the Church for the newly developing part of China. More than once the view was expressed that the leaders in the Christian movement in China were unprepared for and incapable of presenting the Christian apologetic in a convincing manner in the face of the present situation. Bishop Yu Pin of the Roman Catholic Church who has been director of the war relief work of his church, said that such forms of service were indispensable and greatly commended the church to non-Christians, but that in the years ahead as the government more and more took over relief agencies and social service the Church would stand or fall by the measure to which its ministry was able to state the Christian message adequately for the intelligent leader-

ship of the new age. This he felt his own Church in the west at present was utterly incapable of doing. President Francis Wei expressed a similar view of the many service projects which the Protestant Church has so ably carried out in response to the national need. A Christian professor who has taught for years in a church college and is now on the staff of one of the government universities which has migrated said he had a religious experience which satisfied himself, but when it came to stating the case for Christianity in a way that would be convincing to his non-Christian colleagues on the faculty he simply had to leave that to the preachers and theologues, of whom there were usually not many around when the argument was up. He felt that sincere Buddhists were much better equipped in this respect than were Christian laymen.

In considering this task of leadership training, conversations frequently turned to the new aspects of the problem that have emerged with the temporary division of the country into "occupied" and "free" territory. As shown in this Chapter several of the theological schools have been forced to migrate, or have had part of their staff and students migrate, and some have had their constituencies cut in two. The 1935 Survey envisaged the possibility of something like a unified plan of theological training for the whole country. Both immigrants and native residents agree almost without dissent that it is now impossible to train the Church leadership for the west in an institution located at the coast. There appears to be a strong conviction in some quarters that no institution which purposes to be national in character and service can perform its functions adequately within what is commonly regarded as "occupied territory." Earlier there certainly existed among evacuees to the west some feeling that individuals and institutions who remained under Japanese control, or in those sections of the country where there was any limitation placed upon freedom of speech and movement or support of the national cause, were not altogether loyal to the country in a time of supreme need. So far as our inquiries and conversations could discover there is very little if any of that feeling still extant. There is, however, a strong and widespread conviction that academic and religious freedom can find far better expression, and that the training of church leaders for the years to come in China, can be carried out to very great advantage in the environment and the intellectual and emotional climate that is most genuinely characteristic of the nation as a whole. That word should be qualified by the recognition of some of our most clear-sighted and thoughtful educators that under the national government in the stress of warfare and with the party system of control now operating there is in "free China" a distressing not to say dangerous limitation of thought and teaching in the schools which needs to be persistently, quietly and firmly resisted especially by all Christian educational institutions. To them this would serve to be a further argument, rather than otherwise, for the training of our church leaders by a liberal theological school in the presence of that very situation.

In the discussion both of theological training and of college education the claim was advanced by immigrants who have gone to the west that institutions which remained near or at the coast should

APPENDIX 1

SAMPLE CASE STUDIES OF IMMIGRATION CENTERS

1. In Szechwan

(a) *Kiating.* "The world's most beautiful mountains and rivers are found in Szechwan and Szechwan's most beautiful mountains and rivers are near Kiating." So wrote the famous Sung Dynasty scholar Su Tung-po. At the confluence of the Tung and Min rivers in western Szechwan, opposite the red sandstone, tree-crowned cliffs in the face of which is carved a mighty Buddha, lies Kiating—or what is left of it, for a fearful bombing raid and conflagration last August razed a large part of the business section of the city. The normal population was given as about 100,000. Nobody seems to know just how many people have scattered to the country. A rough guess was that half the population had moved away. A few shops have been rebuilt since the fire, some substantial new buildings including hotels have been constructed. For the most part the city still has the appearance of a stricken community. In the past the city has catered rather largely to pilgrims en route to Mt. Omei, the foot of which is a day's journey west, and Buddhist influence has been strong.

Three churches have mission stations in Kiating. According to the 1937 Handbook of the Christian Movement in China the Canadian Methodists began work here in 1894, the American Baptists in 1894, and the China Inland Mission in 1888. Although in the past each mission has had a larger resident personnel here at present there were found to be two couples and two single ladies of the Canadian Church, one couple and one single lady of the Baptist Church and one couple of the China Inland Mission. Each denomination has one church in the city, the second and larger edifice of the Church of Christ in China (Canadians) having been destroyed in the fire last summer. This body has an ordained minister who has had junior middle school training. The Baptist Church is now led by an unordained graduate of Nanking Theological Seminary who holds Presbyterian Church membership in Kiangsu (although he was earlier a Methodist). The China Inland Mission church is really shepherded by the missionary with the assistance of a local evangelist. Attendance at the Baptist Church numbered 60 on the day of our visit, of whom 90% appeared to be immigrants. At the Church of Christ in China the attendance was 60 or 70 of whom 50% probably were immigrants.

The Canadian Mission once operated its Mission Press in this city. More recently it had both boys' and girls' junior middle schools, which under government regulations were forced to close because they could not come up to the financial standards required. A primary school is still run for girls. The Canadian Mission maintains also a hospital for men and for women which is for the present entirely staffed by Chinese. The Baptists also formerly carried on educational work with a large boys' boarding school (junior middle), but this, too, has been given up. According to the Chinese district

pastor it is the policy of their church to center their institutional development in Suifu and Yaan where no other churches are attempting to do similar work.

Kiating attracted rather large numbers of immigrants at an earlier stage of the war. That situation has changed since the bombing. Business has been driven off the street. Industry has developed further down river. Only the student immigrant population remains with their professors and their families and a relatively small number of kindred spirits. But this educational immigrant community in and near Kiating is large and important.

Within the city is located Wuhan University with 1400 students. Outside the north gate is the National Polytechnical College with 300 students. 70 li away at the foot of Mt. Omei, partly in the hsien city and partly in a large temple known as Pao Ko Sz is the Szechwan Provincial University with 1000 students. These three large colleges with their student bodies, faculties and families and friends constitute a distinct immigrant field and opportunity.

In each of the institutions there is a group of active Christian teachers and students. The two colleges at Kiating have had intimate contacts with the churches there. Unused school buildings belonging to the missions have been rented to the immigrant schools as dormitories for students or teachers. Available land within the hospital compound likewise has been let to them. Both in the churches and in the missionaries' homes student Bible classes and music groups are attracting a delightful company of young people. An afternoon English worship service is conducted on alternate Sundays. This is in charge of a committee composed of teachers and students, pastors and missionaries. An ordinary attendance is 40 or 60. Good music, careful ushering, arrangement of books and forms of worship, all indicate that thought and care, time and prayer are going into making a success of this worship hour. A good many of those who attend the English service attend one or the other of the Chinese church services in the morning. Thus far the contact with the institution at Omei has been through individual Christians on the faculty, some of whom attended the English service the day we were there. The institution has been visited by a team of Christian Association secretaries.

The challenge of this large student group has appealed to the Y.M.C.A. Conferences were being held with missionaries and with Christian professors. The approach already made by the churches was recognized to be commendable, invaluable. The missionaries themselves pointed out that they had hardly begun to touch the large numbers of non-Christian students. There was a disposition to work the task out together. Some apprehension was felt lest the Christian Association might seem to students to be presenting a message and program outside or apart from the church. A further fear was expressed that the small group of active Christian teachers and students might be overtaxed as to time and interest and finance to support the Y.M.C.A. in addition to what they were trying to do for and through the churches.

It was suggested that the Baptist Church might be made a student center and the Y.M.C.A. use it as the base from which to carry on its activities. The church is well located for this purpose and has a good sized plant attractively laid out, originally designed to provide for a boys' middle school. There are ample rooms for social, recreational and educational activities. At present the Sunday school is composed almost entirely of college students. The suggestion of making the Baptist Church the center for Y.M.C.A. work was met with the fear that it might seem to identify the Christian Association in the minds of the students too closely with a Church or a denomination, and that it might not be quite fair to the other churches in the city. However the working relations between the several missionaries appeared to be most friendly and the problems connected with the Y.M.C.A.'s approach to the student situation were being talked out with truly Christian candor. There was not yet evident any clear conviction as to the future of this church. One of the missionaries admitted that the older church members were rather jealous because they seemed to find the immigrant group so much more attractive, and further admitted that the older members were largely an ignorant, dirty, unintelligent group with which it was difficult to find any basis for intimate fellowship.

The attendance at church was about 90% immigrant of whom a large proportion were more or less directly connected with one or another of the colleges (the pastor estimated about 80% of his congregation usually immigrant). This church once had a large membership, many of whose names are still on the roll, but few of whom now take any active interest in the church. Financially it is a victim of the "hwei" system, with which the pastor will have nothing to do. He finds the old members mostly rather critical of him or hostile to him, and is quietly setting about building up a new membership. He admits that these new members are mostly immigrants as they are the people whom he can most congenially approach, and that "when the war is over" they will all leave—and he then hopes to go too. There are four small rural parishes or preaching points where he has some members and for which he has some responsibility. Apparently his chief interest and effort is with the immigrant people in the city, and in another group whom he visits once in two weeks at Wutungchiao. The pastor is a man of ability and personality, well-trained, preaches a thoughtful, well-constructed sermon. He appeared to be utterly discouraged with the church as it existed, and to find his only hope and interest in approaching the immigrants.

(b) *Wutungchiao*. Wutungchiao is a beauty spot in western Szechwan, two hours' ricksha ride down river from Kiating. Surrounded by hills which enclose a sort of "five-way" lake or lagoon, the village hides behind wide-spreading hwangko trees which shade the broad roadway and reach far out over the quiet water-course. Here row-boats serve as gondolas to transport people from one part of the village to another, or at sunset time make of the lake a picnic ground for happy family parties. To this sequestered, sprawling village has come a great immigration in recent months. The Salt Gabelle has brought 600 employees here to operate the national

administration. With their families and relatives, their own schools and hospital and library and other civic activities, they constitute an intelligent, attractive, well-to-do community in themselves. In the neighborhood are to be found an immense chemical plant for the manufacture of soda and nitrogen products, fertilizers and related products; an army uniform factory which is developing woolweaving, cotton and hemp, and has much valuable machinery about to be installed; the work shops and supervised industries for the rehabilitation of wounded soldiers; a paper-mill, coal mines and an iron foundry, salt wells and boilers, and not far away a parachute mill, and a hospital for wounded soldiers. All of these, except the coal and salt works, may be said to be immigrant industries. While unskilled manual labor is provided locally, i.e. the cheapest of dirt-diggers, load carriers, and some brick masons and carpenters and weavers and spinners, all the skilled artisans, the foremen and the directing and supervising staffs are immigrants, either refugees or especially imported for the task in hand. It was impossible to get any estimate either of the original population or of the immigrant population. In fact that village is so spread out and these industries so widely scattered that there is really no definition to the boundaries of Wutungchiao.

The chemical works has a directing staff of 80 men and about 2000 other employees, largely skilled or semi-skilled of whom all are immigrant. Many of the staff members have brought their families from Hopei, Kiangsu and other provinces. Well built homes have been erected for them on the hill above the plant, and they are provided with substantial and elaborate bomb shelter caves.

Similar statements might be made of the other industrial plants which, however, are not quite so technically dependent upon such large numbers of imported skilled labor. Banks, government offices, army interests and some scientific research (details not secured) have brought to this region a significant immigrant population of rather exceptional character. At the time of our visit there were disconcerting rumors that the Salt Gabelle might be moved away soon.

The only church in Wutungchiao is that of the China Inland Mission. At present there are two women missionaries stationed here (Chukutan). Their residence and the church are in a relatively inaccessible or out of the way part of the village. The evangelist is admittedly poorly educated and not very effective. There is small membership in the church, no actual figure being procurable. The missionaries said they would be glad to have the educated immigrants come to church but realized they had little in the way of attractions to offer. Some do attend occasionally. A member of the Salt Administration who is an earnest third generation Christian said he had been to church several times but did not find the sermon very inspiring nor the atmosphere very congenial.

The young pastor from the Baptist Church in Kiating comes down once in two weeks to hold services for members of the staff who are working with wounded soldiers. This is several li distant from the C.I.M. church and his coming has the consent and approval

of the missionaries who regretfully acknowledge their inability to cope with the immigrant situation. An invitation was extended to English speaking immigrants when in Kiating to attend the English service there, but its being held only on alternate Sundays made it a little difficult at Wutungchiao to know when to count on it. Suggestions were germinating for the forming of one or more Christian fellowship groups among the Christians of various staffs in the community. Their being so widely distributed and the lack of leadership and initiative in this direction seemed to be the main deterrents. While the Survey Team was visiting Wutungchiao a private family baptism and Holy Communion service were held in one of the Christian homes, the first Sacraments in which some of these immigrants had shared since their flight from down-river homes.

There was some report of a vestige of anti-Christian feeling among the villagers here. Inquiry seemed to indicate rather that it was criticism on the part of the village educational people of the particular form of religion that had been offered. For the most part the attitude of local people toward religion seemed to be that of cool indifference. Christianity's present opportunity to gain a foothold in the community is with the numerous Christians, members of Christian families, and graduates of Christian schools who are to be found in connection with the immigrant enterprises now located here. The next step would be to interest the local employees engaged in newly established industries, with which many of these Christians are connected.

(c) *Ting-chia-ao*. Tingchiaao is a one-street market town on the Szechwan highway, half a day's motor ride northwest of Chungking, i.e. approximately a quarter of the way to Chengtu. It has nothing to distinguish it from many other market towns except a rather striking "north gate watch tower," which under the eventualities of war and immigration has become a boys' school dormitory. In the more prosperous days of Methodist Church work in Szechwan two decades ago this village became the seat of a church and a boys' and girls' higher primary school. Land was purchased and buildings erected of an attractive architectural design. Those palmy days passed and left the school buildings empty, the church nearly deserted, the resident pastor and the Bible woman continuing year after year to visit in the homes and in the tea shops and to hold some sort of service on Sunday without a community program.

Migration brought a boys' junior and senior middle school (Methodist) from Kiangsi which was granted the use of the buildings and the remnants of equipment. Petty discord early arose over the use of some of the property and in the relations between school and pastor. The immigrants succeeded, however, in making necessary improvements to the plant, erecting some new modest but useful buildings, and in renting adjoining temple and city properties for housing the large number of boarding pupils. In the process of migration this boys' school had become co-educational. With the teachers and students had come also some of the faculty families and of students as well, and a number of Christian workers and other friends from the same down-river community with old connections or

associations. Some of these were persons of sufficient means to provide themselves with comfortable residence accommodations close-by in the village.

The student enrolment is about 400, an increasingly large proportion of whom are Szechwan students. It was estimated that perhaps 100 more, including teachers and their families and relatives, and other friends from down-river who have settled in the immediate vicinity, have thus brought to this little market town an immigrant community of 500. Their own estimate was that they were spending in the village \$50,000 annually. Considering the price of food, rent, wages to laborers, and other expenditures this was a very conservative estimate.

There was a good spirit among students, faculty and friends. An immigrant missionary of another church who had taught in the school here during the previous year said she had never found a better Christian atmosphere in any school, and contrasted it with the Szechwan Christian school in which she is now teaching. Another immigrant missionary who is now teaching here remarked on her own joy in the work and on the very appreciative spirit of teachers and students alike. A recent visit from the "Spiritual Mobilization Team" (Lautenschlager, Shao and Miss Ho) had been well received and several tens of students had indicated their purpose to lead the Christian life. The standards of scholarship were being kept up with a good faculty, most of whom though not all, had come with the school: two or three immigrant teachers had been recruited since reaching the province.

Students had engaged in some political propaganda in the surrounding country. Their slogans and pictures (cartoons) were to be seen painted on walls outside the city. It was reported that a small effort had been made in public health, cleaning up immediately around the school premises—but this was very limited. Friendly relations had been established with a large, well housed government school about one li distant. The presence of the immigrant school had led to the opening of a local post office in place of the letter-box station which formerly sufficed for the community. A regular highway bus stop was not far from the school.

Church services were conducted by the local pastor. The school community practically filled the church. Very few people from the village apart from immigrants attended. The pastor was a fairly well educated man (junior middle school) with potentialities, but with no apparent program and the school administration felt that he had no message for the students. Like other pastors found in several places he seemed to have lost any vision, sense of mission, or very high ethical standards that may have taken him into the ministry. The Bible woman appeared to be capable of developing under proper leadership, and was willing to work along with the immigrants. She was the only local person at the midweek prayer meeting.

The school community appeared to be quite satisfied with itself with no sense of responsibility for the larger community. The teachers and their families were desperately home-sick and carried

on here only under the hope of an early return down river. There was no indication that they sensed the large opportunity which their superior training and experience offered them in the village or the rural district. The Szechwan students appeared to be chiefly a scholarship problem because their science and English were so deficient (Chinese and social subjects were of a very much higher standard, perhaps even higher than in the down-river school). An observer commented that there seemed to be a little tendency within the school to draw too sharp a line between Christians and non-Christians. It was impossible to avoid raising the question as to the type of Christianity which might be developing within this rather exclusive, relatively self-contained, educated immigrant community.

2. In Yunnan

(a) *Kunming*. A glance at a missionary or church directory would give the impression that Kunming was the most adequately churched city in China. On the basis of population before the war no western city had so many churches as this relatively small, conservative, remote southwestern provincial capital. The estimated population in 1937 is given as approximately 100,000. There is some doubt as to whether there were as many people as that living in the city. To minister to them there were the following Protestant religious groups: China Inland Mission, Vanburger Mission in association with the C.I.M. but with a separate personnel and establishment, the Assemblies of God, the Apostolic Faith Mission, the Methodist (English) Church, the Seventh Day Adventists, the Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui, the Young Men's Christian Association, the China Bible House and an independent missionary. These had at least six organized church congregations inside the city. The Missionary Directory gives the names of 26 missionaries (wives additional) allowing for corrections which we have made. So far as we could learn there was but one Chinese pastor with a theological seminary training, the other churches being served by the missionaries and by evangelists of less than the equivalent of senior middle school education.

To these have been added since the beginning of the war the Young Women's Christian Association, the Quaker Mission with its (inter-denominational) Bible Training School, and the Wen Ling Tang (see Chapter II, The Church). The independent missionary previously listed has moved to the southern part of the province. Another independent missionary has started work, but at the time of the Survey Team's visit illness was forcing the suspension of his work which had been making headway and a contribution especially related to the immigrants. Immigration has brought an experienced well-trained ordained pastor to the Methodist Church and an experienced, foreign educated evangelist to the Quaker Church. Other high grade (well-educated and experienced) evangelists and one foreign missionary are associated with him on the staff of the school and working in the church. At the Wen Ling Tang were found three full-time workers well trained. Both the Y.W.C.A. and the Y.M.C.A. had general secretaries who had come from other parts

of the country. The Sheng Kung Hui was just installing a newly consecrated bishop in this city as they were also reappointing a missionary for full time work at Wen Ling Tang and among the students. The Presbyterian Mission had allocated a missionary with no local church affiliations for work among students. Other shifts in missionary personnel had not materially changed the strength or distribution of the missionary force as listed at the beginning of the war. The Bible Society had substituted a Chinese secretary in place of its former missionary.

A recent conference had been called by the National Christian Council which was attended by representatives of more than half of these religious groups. A committee on cooperation had been appointed but there were questions raised from within its membership as to whether it would function at all effectively. Each church or group was busy in its own way, and most of them were attracting a surprisingly large number of students from the universities and middle schools, and some other immigrants. English worship services were being offered at the Wen Ling Tang, the Quaker Mission, the C.I.M., the Methodist Church and at the home of the independent missionary. The Quaker Mission Saturday evening fellowship hour was attracting large numbers (fifty on a night preceding examination) for a religious address, gospel singing and games. The morning worship of the Wen Ling Tang drew professors as well as students. The Y.M.C.A. admitted that so far as a program for students was involved they had been chiefly engaged in distribution of relief funds and assisting the church groups but it was found that so simple a service as providing clean bathing facilities was attracting students the long distance from the colleges outside the northwest corner of the city to the Association building in the extreme southeast. The Y.W.C.A. was caring for a good number of girls in a hostel at some distance from the other organized activities of that association. The Presbyterian missionary was conducting Bible classes for students at the dormitories and serving in connection with the several churches among whom his services were found generally congenial and helpful.

The Episcopal church with its seminary trained pastor did not appear to be as liberal in its appeal to the immigrant group as might be expected, though that denomination was making its contact effective through the Wen Ling Tang. Also by a union with the Methodists and the assistance of some immigrant leadership one of the two Christian junior middle schools of the province was developing rapidly a full three years' senior middle school course. This rapid growth has been due in no small part to immigrant entrance to the student body. A subsidy is received from Soochow University as a part of its service to its migrated constituency. (Another Christian senior middle school has migrated from Wuhan and is temporarily carrying on in the city of Chennan—See Chapter V on Schools, and Section on Home Missionary Movements).

The industrial impact of migration on the city of Kunming is not so apparent except in the sphere of transportation. A large number of commercial immigrant concerns were reported to be

engaged in some phase of the big transportation job, either of building roads and railroads, or of transporting goods (see Chapter I on Industrial Aspects). The outstanding industrial concern—the big modern cotton mill and electric power plant operated by L.C. King—got its start before the war, though much of its skilled labor and managerial staff is from outside the province. Other mills and factories, a water power plant, a big radio station, mining syndicates and other industries were springing up at greater or less distances from the city. The total contribution of these altogether to the population and problems of the city of Kunming did not bulk large in proportion to the two major immigrant groups, those in education and transportation. At an earlier period in the war there had been a considerable concentration of national government officials here in anticipation of a possible eventual removal of the capital to this supposedly secure spot. Those plans have changed and many of the officials and their families have moved away.

Every testimony and observation supported the evidence that Kunming is the most expensive city of the country in which to live. On the whole the surrounding country and smaller cities in the province seem to show but minor variations in living costs. This has led to a large emigration from Yunnan, not a few people being compelled to return to whatever miseries they might find at home because they no longer had the means upon which to subsist in the west. This had already taken some of the immigrants who had begun attending church and was threatening to take others active in church work. The entire staff of the Wen Ling Tang for various reasons other than financial expected to change during the summer. Missionary personnel changes were taking place with only the normal frequency and there were no reports of any plans materially to increase either the missionary staff in Kunming or the number of employed Chinese workers in the several church organizations.

(b) *Hsiakwan*. Hsiakwan is an important highway town in western Yunnan. It is two days' motor run (420 kilometers) west of Kunming and a little further from the Burma border. It stands at the southern end of the lovely Er Hai (a lake 30 miles long and about 6500 feet above sea level), and of the 14,000 feet high range of mountains which have helped to make Tali famous. Tali is thirty li north along the lakeshore from Hsiakwan, one of the larger cities of Yunnan (an early estimate of population was 30,000), noted for its temples, marbles, markets and art. Hsiakwan is a double town, the village of the Jade Dragon (Yü-lung Chuen) on the hillside where the boys' and girls' primary schools and the "town library" are to be found and into which over the old mountain road come long caravans of produce-laden donkeys and which before the highway went through was estimated to have 10,000 people, and below the commercial mart where now hundreds of motor trucks crowd the narrow streets, more hundreds of mechanics and drivers of several races mingle with tribes peoples from the hill country, and extensive shops and garages are being constructed on the outskirts of town. The Burma Highway has large offices here, employing an office staff of 300, over 300 mechanics, and directing about 400 drivers. The

Southwestern Highway and the Fuhsing Trading Companies likewise have here large offices and an immense amount of business. The town is distinctly a transport town. Many of the commercial trucks discharge their cargo here either for Tali and further north, or in some cases by transfer to trucks which do not make the through run along the highway. Burmese, Tamil, East Indian, Malayan and all kinds of Chinese drivers and mechanics were met on the street.

The village has several shops doing good business with these men in supplying them with chamois skin coats, felt caps, silver ornaments. There are large numbers of old fashioned "donkey-inns," caravanseries, and more up-to-date inns for the accommodations of chauffeurs and travellers. There is one small bath-house on the street, a theatre featuring a troupe of Shanghai shadow actors (when we were there), and a street chapel. The liveliest places were the transport company offices, the restaurants, the China Travel Service Guest House, the Highway offices and repair shops.

The one chapel in town is operated by the Chinese Home Missionary Society. The evangelist Miss Chen, is one of the most experienced and respected workers of the Society. At the time of the Survey Team's visit she was convalescing in Hsichow and the work was in charge of a young man and his wife who had been working in the province as members of the Bethel Band. They were intelligent, alert, educated young people, Mr. Chu being a Liaoning man educated in Peita. Both had Bible Seminary training in Shanghai. A third member of the band was with them temporarily.

There were said to be 40 or 50 church members in town affiliated with the Mission. It was not easy to conduct church worship with decorum, because of the curious crowds who continued to press in from the main street on which the chapel opens. Sometimes overseas chauffeurs and mechanics indulged in criticisms and minor disturbances, heckling the preacher. Immigrants from the Guest House or the various highway and transport offices not infrequently attend services here. A good many of them are Christians and come from Christian colleges and middle schools.

Conversation with several men of this group indicated that they would heartily welcome an intelligent liberal Christian community program. It should have particular reference to the cultural and recreational needs of educated men and women who have plenty of late afternoon and early evening leisure. (A striking sight in this frontier town was a modern young woman in slacks and short-sleeved sweater, her hair beautifully rolled, swinging into the Guest House with her tennis racquet under her arm and dining with a Highway office man who had just given her a warm game and a lovely bouquet of wild roses.) It was learned that the Sheng Kung Hui has some plans under consideration for undertaking some such Christian program. No greater opportunity in this particular line of work appeared anywhere, provided those who undertake it are less interested in building a church than in providing for the human and spiritual needs of a conglomerate crowd of very alive young men.

Communication between Hsiakwan and Tali by car, ricksha, bicycle and older conveyances is very easy. In Tali there are several Christian enterprises—the China Inland Mission has a church and for the time being an attractive group of young men in language school; Pentecostal and other missionaries are conducting a boarding school for American children; a professor of Canton Union Theological Seminary while resting for tuberculosis cure has taken over an attractive little Christian center especially to serve educated immigrants; and one of Dr. Reichelt's staff is carrying on some study and mission work for Buddhists. So long as Canton Theological Seminary and Hua Chung University remain at Hsichow it should be possible to work out a plan of Christian approach and service to this whole region that would include the several Christian agencies in Hsichow, Tali and Hsiakwan, and perhaps other points such as Paoshan, Chennan and Tsuyung along the Burma Highway.

3. In Kweichow.

(a) *Kweiyang*. One of the most beautifully located provincial capitals is Kweiyang. Until five years ago it was a small, backward, little-known town tucked away among the mountains of one of China's most conservative, undeveloped provinces. In 1935 the national government began military developments here and immediately a change began to take place in the social and industrial character of the city. By the time war broke out the population was perhaps 120,000. When the great migration set in the population quickly jumped to 200,000. Studies made in the summer of 1939 showed Kweiyang to be probably the most expensive place in the country to live; at present local residents admit that Kunming and Chungking (and by implication other cities) are higher. Early in 1939 a bombing raid brought widespread disaster to the city. Fires spread rapidly and destroyed a large section of the city. No further raids followed until May 1940. During the meantime much rebuilding had taken place, many bomb shelters had been blasted in the rocky hillsides, and the city showed a remarkable degree of recovery.

From the early days of migration Kweiyang became a conspicuous refugee center. This was partly because of the converging here of provincial highways from Hunan, Szechwan and Yunnan. Perhaps even more was it attractive as a relatively secure spot protected by high mountains and a rough terrain. The government appeared to be making it a defense base. The Red Cross, both Chinese and International, early found it advantageously located to serve as a base for their activities. To this region came several universities, medical schools and hospitals. So too came many Christians and a new program of Christian work.

Before the war the China Inland Mission, the Seventh Day Adventists and the Roman Catholics had established church work in Kweiyang. The C.I.M. has perhaps more than a hundred congregations scattered over the province, the S.D.A. between ten and twenty. Both groups testified to the conservative or indifferent attitude of the Chinese of Kweichow to the Christian message, although the tribes people have proven to be much more responsive. (The Methodists

from Yunnan, the Evangelicals from Hunan and the Christian and Missionary Alliance have crossed the provincial lines and each has one or two stations in the province.) In Kweiyang it is estimated that at least 90% of the population is Buddhist in sympathy, with a small sprinkling of Mohammedans—possibly 2% or 3%, although casual appearances indicated a greater strength than that.

No statistics were secured of the pre-war membership in the churches. Efforts to break through indifference and superstition of the local people had been discouraging. With the dangers of warfare hanging over the city many people had fled to the country and neither of the Protestant churches earlier established in the city had attracted very large numbers of immigrants. The Seventh Day Adventists (whose pastor was a Szechwan man) reported only six or seven members in attendance at church services. The China Inland Mission, with a church membership not over one hundred, was conducting three services each Sunday, early morning prayer, regular Chinese preaching service, and an afternoon English service which attracted usually about thirty people. Immigrant Christians had been found to be a real help and inspiration to this congregation, although it was admitted that many immigrants felt or created a gulf between themselves and the natives and it was not always possible to attract them to identify themselves with a local congregation even for worship. Even among those nominally "natives" very few were born in Kweichow province.

The large migration of Christians from other denominations and the rather distinctive type of Christian work carried on by those organizations already in the city led to the early opening of new avenues of Christian approach especially to the immigrant population. The Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui found many of its members here from other places, and assigned one of its immigrant clergymen who had had exceptional experience in work among government school students to organize a congregation and to continue his student work. With him was associated a missionary deaconess, and later another clergyman as the church grew and the student work demanded more of his time.

Other Christian immigrants of several denominations who were accustomed to forms of worship and church activity yet different from those found in any of these Christian groups formed themselves into a Church of Christ in China. This body while definitely related to that Church has sought to be as inclusive as might be desired to meet the situation and has drawn into its membership immigrants earlier associated with several denominations. There are now about 120 names on the Church register.

The Young Men's and the Young Women's Christian Associations likewise were drawn by the singular developments of this immigrant center to establish associations here. While they have been much concerned with the administration of relief funds to the students in government schools, they have been developing a more comprehensive program and have not confined their activities to the immigrant group. Like the churches they have found the local people relative-

ly unresponsive, though here as elsewhere the eagerness of youth to be up-to-date has drawn some of them into the Christian fellowship.

Conversations and observations brought out some of the difficulties which were being encountered by these newly established Christian groups. (1) They found themselves appealing more or less to the same constituencies, especially in educational circles, without a very well correlated program. (2) They found the students somewhat preoccupied or overloaded with studies and school activities, and a little too widely scattered for church work centered in the city. (3) They were much aware of the instability of church work built entirely upon this student and immigrant group which already was showing a good deal of tendency to fluctuate. The immigrant leaders working in these newly established churches and Christian agencies recognized the exceptional immediate opportunity as a challenge to their best effort. They reiterated the need, however, of laying some foundations for a permanent church structure in the more permanent element in the population. To that end they urged the need of some Christian educational work in Kweiyang or its immediate vicinity. They pointed out, further, that the type of work they were doing among students would require considerable sums of money from outside sources. The two immigrant congregations were doing very generously in the support of their own church work, aside from such ministerial salaries as were otherwise provided.

The new line of Christian effort in Kweiyang appeared to be making a favorable impression in the community. The church very definitely was more highly esteemed and less a matter of popular indifference than it had been before the great migration. To conserve this gain and establish the church upon a permanent firm foundation it was urged that a comprehensive program should be undertaken which would include some Christian educational institution, some Christian medical service, some definite lay leadership training, and the distribution of the right kind of Christian literature. The presence of the Yale-in-China medical work here in Kweiyang was cited as a valuable asset. It was unique as the only Christian educational institution that had migrated to Kweichow, a province which was without any Christian middle schools or universities. It was ably assisting in a provincial program of public health. Faculty influence was a positive Christian force in the community.

APPENDIX 2

HOME MISSIONARY WORK IN THE WEST

Two major projects have been undertaken in the field of our study which may be termed Home Missionary efforts of the Chinese Church. The first of these is the work of the Chinese Home Missionary Society in Yunnan and Szechwan, and the second is that of the Church of Christ in China in Kweichow and Szechwan. The Survey Team came into touch with both of these undertakings and had occasion to enquire into and learn something of this work especially in relation to the great migration.

The Chinese Home Missionary Society was founded twenty-two years ago, with no thought of the situation which has developed in the Southwest and West during these past three years. A group of earnest Christians were fired with a missionary zeal to carry the Gospel message to unreached sections of the country, and to do this as an expression of the corporate experience of the Chinese Church. They declared their readiness "to cooperate with every church, every missionary organization and every Christian, regardless of denomination." A survey of the field revealed large unevangelized areas of Yunnan, and thither a band of Chinese missionaries were sent after the leaders of the movement had made a preliminary prospecting tour. The first mission was established at Lufeng, with an evangelist, a teacher, and a medical practitioner. Later posts were established in Mengtze, Tsuvung, Chennan, Hsiakwan, Shachiao and Changning, and more recently the Missionary Society took over the station of the Churches of Christ in Australia Missionary Society at Hweili, Szechwan. (The work undertaken by this Society in Mongolia does not come within the purview of this report.)

Since the establishment of these outposts of the Gospel the great Yunnan-Burma highway has opened up the western part of the province in a surprising way, and as if by providential guidance the Home Missionary Society is found to have work started at six of the towns along this highway. This Missionary Society has been at work in this field for over twenty years, it has 33 paid appointed missionaries (of whom 16 are local people) in the field including those of the Mongolia station, and their reports show a present church membership of nearly 2000 in Yunnan: not an inconsiderable number as compared with some of the other churches working in the province, especially if the tribes Christians are left out of the numbering. Yet this work appears to be little integrated with the thinking of or planning for the Christian occupation of Yunnan.

The case study of Hsiakwan gives some account of the work done by the Home Missionary Society's workers in that strategic city. At Tsuvung there seemed to have been some unfortunate incompatibilities within the CHMS staff itself and between them and other Christian workers in the city which had been partially solved by the good apostolic example of separation. What is left now is one man making

his Christian contacts very largely by the practice of medicine and partially dependent upon his fees for support, and ambitious to erect a church from his own resources which he hopes may be redeemed by the Society at such time as they are prepared to take it over, and a church membership of about forty persons. This is located close to the bus station and China Travel Service Guest House where each night (at the end of a day's journey from Kunming or Hsiakwan) large numbers of guests, chauffeurs and others especially interested in the transport business have a long evening to spend and not infrequently difficulties in finding accommodations because the guest house is usually more than full. Until a few months ago Tsuyung was the site of an aviation school with several foreign instructors, but this busy enterprise with its educated immigrant personnel has now moved further west. Miss Cornelia Morgan, a veteran Yunnan Missionary, and Miss Ging-mei Zia, sister of two prominent Christian workers in Shanghai, are conducting in Tsuyung a flourishing orphanage with some 60 children, of whom perhaps half are from immigrant families largely connected with the highway or railway construction. They have what is called a Bethel Chapel, but it has no organic connection with the Bethel Mission, nor with the Bethel Bands which have been working rather extensively in Yunnan Province.

The Home Missionary Society station at Chennan was carrying on the only Christian work in that city until the Hankow Diocese Union Middle School located there a year ago. The Home Missionary Society workers and the native Christians associated with them gave this immigrant school a hearty welcome to the community, and apparently the most cordial cooperation has continued. The principal of the school felt that the presence of his school and its Christian teachers was making a real contribution to the upbuilding of the Church for which the Missionary Society had so patiently laid the foundations. In almost no other place visited did the working together of a local church group and an immigrant group appear to be so genuinely friendly. This may have been partially accounted for by the fact that the workers of the Missionary Society are themselves originally from outside the province. But the differences in background, experience, church training and affiliations, education and associations were all so great as to make the working together the greater achievement.

The Survey Team twice stopped at Lufeng for meals, as do so many hundreds of travellers, each time spending about an hour in the town, but without hearing anything of the Christian work that has been conducted here since the Home Missionary Society entered Yunnan. It was not until later that it was learned that in this town was located their first station. Lufeng has become an important transportation point where most motorists along the highway stop for a meal and where many truck drivers arrange to spend the last night on the run from Burma to Kunming rather than enter the city at the end of the day. Food and accommodations are much cheaper here and the chauffeurs have made it a favorite rendezvous, a fact which is not at all noticeable to the ordinary traveller passing along the main road. Apparently church work here has not made an effort to advertise itself, and there were no signs in the inns and restaurants

and frontstreet shops of such Christian posters and scripture texts as frequently reveal the presence of some evangelist or colporteur in such a village.

The few contacts made by the Survey Team with these Home Missionary Society stations and their workers gave clear evidence that a considerable amount of pioneer work has been done and that through this undertaking not a few people have been won to the Christian life and many more have had their first introduction to it. The impression could not be avoided that perhaps the meager force and limited financial resources had been too widely scattered, and that the Mission as a whole perhaps lacked intimate directing so that there was not a sufficiently well-formulated and integrated program. The workers were by no means unaware of the immigration impact upon their communities, and recognized their insufficiency to cope with the new situation which confronted them. While less highly educated than many of the immigrants now moving into their communities their average amount of training probably measured fairly well beside that of other Christian workers in the province. Not altogether but for the most part they gave the impression of being quite willing and happy to welcome whatever new Christian approach could be made to this new immigrant population if that approach could be sympathetically related to the spade work which had been done. The General Secretary expressed his eagerness especially that their efforts might be supplemented by more Christian educational work. The workers themselves gave no indication of having thought seriously into the question of further church relationships for the people who had been won to Christ through this missionary enterprise, but like so many similar efforts in various parts of the country they were drifting into the creation of another sect or denomination with no strong organic church relationship.

The Church of Christ in China began its missionary effort in the west soon after the tide of immigration began to flow into those provinces. Somewhat earlier the idea of undertaking some Mission work in Kweichow had been suggested, but no plans had matured. So when various churches and missions were debating what to do, which way to move, and who should go, the Church of Christ in China caught the vision and embarked upon a missionary program to be sponsored and supported by that Church body on a national scale. It was early recognized that Kweiyang offered a unique opportunity in the very large number of educated, comparatively well-to-do, officially and privately employed immigrants who had gone to this remote city only to find that the Christian forces already in the city were quite inadequate for the new situation. There was in Kweiyang a China Inland Mission station with an active church, but one which was frankly not prepared to offer to this immigrant population the more liberal, variegated program of church work which would make a strong appeal. There was also a small Seventh Day Adventist Church somewhat similar in its constituency.

Almost simultaneously with the beginning by the Church of Christ in China of its work in Kweiyang, the Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui began work especially for its own church members and students

who had migrated to this new educational and medical center, and the YMCA and YWCA both established work, the one in the southern and the other in the northern part of the city. They had special interest in the concentration of students here, and in the administration of student relief. From the start there seemed to be a cooperative spirit among Christian immigrants and the opening of the work by the Church of Christ in China was supported by Christians of many denominations. (Further see Case Studies of Immigration centers).

At Tingfang a branch church was soon established, again by the coming together of variously affiliated church members who had no church home in this new part of the country. Their own contributions went far to provide for their needs as a newly organized congregation, but the national missionary effort of the Church, now supported as a memorial to the late General Secretary, Dr. Cheng Ching-yi, who had led so enthusiastically in opening up this work, put the Kweiyang and Tingfang churches on a firm footing.

Meantime the Church had caught another vision of a more remote missionary enterprise that was less closely related to the immigrant population. It was to be sponsored, however, by an immigrant government which was concerned with the fullest development of human as well as material resources in this western part of the country. The semi-civilized condition of some of the tribes people in the extreme northwest of Szechwan Province was a challenge to the government and the Church as well. Together leaders of the National Government and the Church of Christ in China worked out a plan of approach to these people which would bear in mind all of their needs, most of it to be supported from government funds provided the distinctly religious phases of the program should be financed by the Church. The challenge was accepted and the enterprise was being launched when the Survey Team visited Szechwan.

The project is of special interest in this study because of the relation which it sustains to other work of the Church in this field, and the contact points and attitudes developed between local church workers and immigrant projects. Wisdom of course demanded that the Christian work undertaken in this missionary project should be as closely as possible related to the work which the Church of Christ in China was already carrying on in Szechwan. The Church throughout the country was to be asked to share in its support, but this must include support from the Church in Szechwan. And it might be reasonably expected that when the initial missionary stages had been passed, and perhaps when government support had been withdrawn, the work would rather naturally fall into the general program of the Szechwan Church.

Szechwan pastors, being already a bit over sensitive of the superior attitude of "down-river people," and inclined to regard them as a bit over aggressive and not too careful to regard the susceptibilities and more intimate knowledge of the local situation as held by local pastors, were somewhat disposed to regard this missionary project as something which was undertaken without sufficient preliminary consultation with pastors who were later asked to help carry the burden. They were already suffering from altogether too meager

incomes and local support did not begin to meet the needs of the older parishes; then why take on the additional burden of support for remote tribes people, especially if the government had tens of thousands of dollars to pour into this project and the national offices of the Church of Christ in China had the resources to launch this big enterprise without taking the local church into its confidence? Eventually a happy solution was found and the Church and Synod are pressing on with a nobly conceived missionary project.

From outside the Church of Christ in China criticism was heard that this missionary enterprise was unfavorably affecting the whole development of an indigenous church in the west; that the pouring in of so much money and the payment of such large salaries was making it difficult for other churches to carry forward their programs upon the lines already laid down. This same protest was made against the employment of any immigrant pastors and teachers, that they got so much bigger salaries than the local workers that it was causing discontent and might seriously delay the day of a self-supporting Church in Szechwan.

Something of that same attitude seemed to be directed toward NCC secretaries and other peripatetic visitors who appeared to be running about over the country telling the local people how to do their work. Why should down-river people know so much more about the carrying on of church work in the west than those who had been giving a lifetime to this very task? Such criticisms were pointed perhaps in a measure at the recent series of conferences and committee meetings for which an unusually large number of NCC, NCCRE, CCEA and possibly other secretaries had been present. It was appreciated that several of these were actually settling down to attacking a concrete local problem and on the whole the service thus rendered by many down-river Christian workers was welcomed and highly commended. One criticism made of the visiting secretaries was that in setting up committees they naturally tended to select too large a proportion of men and women from down-river with whom personally and with whose abilities they had already made acquaintance. Thus an unfair impression was given that the really successful workers in the province were largely immigrants, whereas there were many successful church workers among local groups whose achievements had been insufficiently brilliant to attract the attention of new-comers and visitors. On the whole, however, all assistance from national organizations seemed to be welcome, the more so because some felt it had heretofore been meager and too long delayed.

These paragraphs on Home Missionary work may seem a bit gratuitous. They have been included as a partial answer to a question specifically asked as to what the people of the west thought of the "down-river organizations," their secretaries and their projection of work into the western part of the country. They are intended at the same time to serve as a record of high esteem for these phases of church work which have been carried on in the west upon the initiative of other than foreign mission boards and their representatives, and to point out the necessity of including all of these in the counseling and planning which is intended to make effective the Church's approach to the whole immigration problem.

APPENDIX 3
THE QUESTIONNAIRE

I. IMMIGRATION

Make a check after as many of these statements as you think are true*

1. Most of the immigrants to this region will return home after the war. 0
Most of the immigrants to this region are finding employment and will remain here after the war is over. 0
Many immigrants will return home after the war, but a considerable group will remain here permanently. 78%
2. War immigrants settle chiefly in the large cities. 67%
War immigrants have formed many rural communities. 47%
War immigrants have scattered widely over the province. 47%
3. Immigrants are largely dependent upon relief agencies. 0
Immigrants are mostly well-do-do and not dependent upon employment. 0
Immigrants have gained employment chiefly in farming. 0
Immigrants have gained employment chiefly in village industries. 0
Immigrants have gained employment chiefly in factories. 50%
Immigrants have gained employment chiefly in industrial cooperatives. 44%
Immigrants have gained employment chiefly in schools. 67%
Immigrants have gained employment chiefly in government projects. 86%
4. Immigrants generally are poor and ignorant. 0
Immigrants generally are well to do. 0
Immigrants are generally trained in some profession. 75%
Immigrants are generally literate. 53%
Immigrants are largely of the student group. 61%
Immigrants are frequently Christians. 61%
Immigrants are seldom Christians. 0
5. Immigrants tend to despise the natives of this region. 83%
The natives tend to despise the immigrants. 28%
Natives tend to be jealous of the immigrants. 81%
Natives and immigrants mix in a friendly spirit. 0
6. Immigration has been economically beneficial to this region. 64%
Immigration has imposed financial strain on this region. 0
Immigration is a chief cause of increased living costs. 53%
Immigration is raising the standard of living. 81%
Immigration is lowering the standard of living. 0
7. Educational standards have been raised by the influx of students. 89%
Educational standards have been lowered by the influx of students. 0

*The percentage of affirmative replies is indicated if 50% or more (or if significant).

- Education has been jolted out of ruts to its ultimate benefit. 47%
Education has lost its higher goals through emergency changes. 0
Education is becoming practical and better adapted to local needs. 47%
Education is chiefly for white-coliared and government jobs. 0
8. New industrial establishments are probably permanent in this region. 86%
New industrial establishments are dependent on the war for success. 31%
New industrial establishments will return to the coast. 0
New industrial establishments are building on local resources. 58%
 9. Employees in large industries are chiefly immigrants. 0
Employees in large industries are chiefly local people. 0
Employees in large industries are increasingly from local population. 0
Immigrant employees in large industries are becoming permanent residents. 42%
 10. Very few immigrants have acquired property. 33%
Few immigrants are interested in local improvements. 0
Owners of organized industry are largely immigrant. 50%
Government officials regard their stay here as temporary as for not more than two years. } 81%
as for not more than six years. }

NOTES ON QUESTIONNAIRE I—IMMIGRATION

A great many people have definite impressions based on few clearly stated facts. For example, 44% of those returning the questionnaire thought that many immigrants have gained employment in industrial cooperatives. The majority of these replies were marked as applying to Yunnan and Szechwan provinces. Yet the men and women working with the industrial cooperatives in these provinces told us that very few immigrants here were employed in the cooperatives, that nearly all of the workers were natives. The case was different in Shensi and the extreme north of Szechwan where many of the workers in industrial cooperatives were poor immigrants from Honan. Much publicity on the development of cooperatives has led to a widespread popular impression that they were absorbing a large number of the poorer immigrants in these western provinces.

Another illustration, not so pronounced, is found in the statement that "Very few immigrants have acquired property." 33% marked this as true. But several presumably well informed persons returned the questionnaire with this statement definitely modified to indicate that "not a few" or "very many," immigrants have acquired property. Apparently it was a local matter of fact that in the suburbs of Chungking a good many officials, and perhaps other persons of means, have acquired houses and lands. Certainly both there and in Kunming a good deal of residence property was being erected. The explanations

given were that residences were hard to obtain, that government officials knew they would have to remain for some time, that no safer investment could be found for money.

Nobody expects *most* of the immigrants to remain here after the war is over. Nobody thinks that natives and immigrants mix in a friendly spirit.

Nobody claims that immigration is lowering the standard of living. Yet many implied in conversation that living costs had gone up so terribly that they could not make ends meet and they were being forced to various expedients to keep families provided for (see the Chapter on Finance and the Church). One pastor said that after all sorts of sacrifices had been made there were only three courses to be chosen from if one would remain in church service: celibacy, birth control, or divorce. There is some carelessness in distinguishing between high costs of living and high living standards.

86% find the largest group of immigrants to be in government employ, and the next ranking group appears to be students. The actual number of immigrant students is probably very much higher than that of government employees (see Chapter V on Immigrant Schools); no figure is available of the numbers of men and women in government service nor what proportion of them are immigrants. But it may be that many engaged in industry are regarded as "in government projects." The impression is general that the immigrant group is very largely literate, very little of it poor and ignorant and only a small part dependent upon relief agencies.

Educational standards are generally believed to have been raised by the influx of students, 89% holding this view. (This comes the nearest to unanimity of any positive statement.) But many educators interviewed said that the increasing number of local students in their schools was making it practically impossible to hold those standards. The fact that 47% of the replies registered belief in the ultimate improvement of education was supported by other statements and hopes of professors that, in time, sacrificed standards might again be restored.

The questions on industrial establishments were not phrased so as to bring out all the facts. Several persons modified or qualified their answers. It is generally believed that many of these establishments are here to stay (86% so stated), that the proportion of those which remain has some direct relation to the duration of the war, and that to a large extent they are building on local resources (58% said so). But local resources may mean natural resources or financial resources. Investigation disclosed that most important industrial plants are at least 50% government financed, that not a great deal of local capital is being invested, but that quite a little down-river capital has been invested in the form of transferred machinery. Skilled employees are almost entirely immigrants, unskilled labor is largely recruited from local sources. Practically no indication was given of immigrants going onto the farms (See figures in Chapter I on Social and Industrial Aspects).

The prevalence of Christians among the immigrants is attested by 61% of the replies. But that is accounted for not a little by the persons from whom questionnaire replies were obtained. Again and again C.I.M. churches indicated that they found very few of their Christians among the immigrants, and one missionary of another church in Kunming said that immigrants are seldom Christians—it seemed to him more genuine Christians were to be found among the natives. A very small percentage of the replies from Kweichow marked the frequency of Christians.

The answers do not show any noticeable variation between Yunnan and Szechwan nor very striking local variations, except for the pronounced influence of a large concentration of government officials in Chungking, and possibly some influence there of an early influx of comparatively poor refugees soon after the fall of Hankow. A few replies showed the expected inconsistencies, and in a few instances comments had been appended to show that the writers themselves were quite aware of these.

The replies to the last statement varied considerably, some indicating one period, some another, and a larger percentage marking merely the expectation of a temporary stay. Taken together 81% of those marking the questions think that government officials regard their stay in the west as temporary.

As with all three questionnaires no conclusions in the body of the report have been based upon these replies except as they were substantiated or corrected by personal interviews and other information obtained.

II. THE CHURCH

Make a check after as many of these statements as you think are true.

1. The Christian population has been largely increased by immigration. 86%
The increase of Christian population by immigration is not conspicuous.
As many Christians have moved away as have moved in.
Not more than 1% of the immigrants are Christians.
Not less than 10% of the immigrants are Christians.
2. Few Christian immigrants have come into the Church. 70%
Many Christian immigrants have come into the Church. 66%
Individual members of Christian families frequently come to the church.
Immigrants come to the church usually in groups.
Christian immigrants prefer to set up their own worship groups.
3. Local churches welcome immigrant additions. 65%
Local churches resent large immigrant additions. 52%
Local churches are unattractive to immigrants.
Immigrants make little contribution to local church life.
Immigrants give little financial support to the church.
Immigrants have considerably strengthened local church finances. 65%

4. The organization of immigrant congregations
 is dependent upon strong immigrant leadership. 52%
 is dependent upon outside financial assistance.
 is dependent upon interdenominational cooperation.
 is dependent upon denominational initiative.
 is encouraged by local churches.
 is discouraged by local churches.
 is the best thing for the local churches.
 is so infrequent as to make replies to the above invalid.
5. Local churches welcome immigrant pastors and evangelists. 45%
 Local churches do not respond to immigrant leadership. 45%
 Local churches dislike but benefit by immigrant leadership. 45%
 The employment of immigrant pastors is probably temporary. 52%
 Immigrant pastors will be permanently employed.
 Immigrant pastors cannot expect to secure local financial support.
 Immigrant pastors are bringing new vitality to local churches. 65%
6. The immigration of Christians has raised the spiritual level of local churches. 86%
 Immigration of Christians has raised the social and intellectual standing of the local church. 65%
 Immigration of Christians has made little perceptible difference in the vitality and standing of the church.
 Immigration of Christians has made the local church more worldly.
7. Non-Christians have a better opinion of the church than they had before the war. 86%
 Non-Christians regard the church as foreign and unpatriotic.
 Non-Christians regard the church as parasitic.
 Non-Christians pay little attention to the church.
8. The church is engaged chiefly in saving people from their sins. 28%
 The church is engaged chiefly in creating a new social order.
 The church is engaged chiefly in supplying the morale to meet war trials. 48%
 The church is engaged chiefly in carrying on emergency relief measures. 45%
 The church is engaged chiefly in conducting schools and hospitals.
9. War and immigration have given the church new respect in the community. 52%
 War and immigration have given the church a new vision of social opportunity. 62%
 War and immigration have given the church a new sense of spiritual mission. 55%
 War and immigration have given the church bewilderment and insecurity.

10. The church may expect to make rapid advance after the war. 55%
 The church may expect unprecedented obstacles after the war. 31%
 The church may expect little change in program and function after the war. 24%

NOTES ON QUESTIONNAIRE II—THE CHURCH

There is almost unanimous agreement on two statements: (1) The Christian population has been largely increased by immigration (86%); and (2) The immigration of Christians has raised the spiritual level of local churches (86%). One dissent is recorded by a reply that finds as many Christians to have moved away from some locality as have moved in, by another reply to Questionnaire I that very few Christians are found among the immigrants, and by two who feel that the immigration of Christians has made the Church more worldly. So far as estimates have been provided the general opinion seems to be that the proportion of Christians in the immigrant population is somewhere between 1% and 10% of the whole. Half the replies from Kweichow indicate that less than 1% are Christians.

Many individuals (young people as well as elders, according to reports) have joined the Church, for in not a few cases part of the family has been left behind. Replies came from both local people and from immigrants. A majority of them—65%—believe that the local churches welcome these immigrants to church membership, but that the immigrants themselves find the local churches unattractive (52%). Nevertheless a sufficient number of immigrants have been responsive to make 70% of replies indicate many additions to membership, and generous enough to make it felt that local churches have benefited financially by the migration influx (65%).

65% of the replies credit immigrant leadership with bringing new vitality to local churches, although 45% say the churches dislike such leadership even while benefiting by it, and 52% are sure such leadership will be but temporary. In Questionnaire III all replies indicated that immigrant pastors are apt to make a permanent contribution to the church. Those replies as to leadership may be compared with the 86% who credit the immigration membership with raising the spiritual level of the church, the 65% who credit them with improving the social and intellectual standing of the church in the community, and the 86% who believe that non-Christians have a better opinion of the church than they had before the war. Curiously enough after that almost unanimous statement we find only 52% saying that "war and immigration have given the church new respect in the community." What is it then that makes nearly everyone feel that the church is more highly regarded than before by the non-Christians? 62% find that war and immigration have given the church a new vision of social opportunity, and 55% detect a new sense of spiritual mission. Be that as it may 45% likewise find the Church "engaged chiefly in carrying on emergency relief measures," while less than 28% of the replies say that the Church is engaged chiefly "in saving people from their sins." Only 7% see

the church bewildered and insecure in this present crisis, although the chapter on The Church may give the impression of a good deal of bewilderment and a possible suggestion of insecurity. More replies indicate a concern for the future, 55% recognizing a new situation in which the Church may well expect to make rapid gains after the war (not a little because of the favorable effects of immigration), many of whom at the same time realize that there are almost certain to be unprecedented obstacles for the Church to overcome—31%. That can only be interpreted as a conviction on the part of many that on the whole the Church in the west has benefited and been permanently strengthened and re-equipped by the impact of migration. 24% however expect things to continue much as heretofore with little change in the program and functions of the Church after the war.

III. LEADERSHIP TRAINING

Make a check after as many of these statements as you think are true.

1. Few native pastors have middle school training. 62%
Few native pastors have theological training.
Few native pastors have Bible school training.
Most native pastors have Bible school training.
Most native pastors are suitably trained for their task.
2. A higher type of training is needed for leadership in the Church. 90%
A higher type of training would unfit the evangelists for local churches.
A higher type of training is available for those who are qualified to take it. 65%
3. The local church cannot financially afford a well trained ministry. 38%
A well trained ministry will secure the necessary financial support. 58%
Well trained ministers as district or circuit leaders can secure their support locally.
The financial problem should not influence adequate leadership training. 62%
4. There are now adequate facilities for training our church leadership.
There is need for more training schools in this region.
The schools here need strengthening in finance.
The schools here need strengthening in personnel.
The schools here need strengthening in educational standards.
It is desirable that one or two immigrant training schools remain here as independent institutions.
It is desirable that one or two immigrant training schools remain in cooperation with local institutions. 58%
5. There is need for a graduate school of theology here for university men and women. 42%

- A graduate school of theology here would be poorly attended. 42%
A graduate school of theology would raise the standard of our ministry. 46%
Graduate students in theology are not so apt to enter the local ministry.
6. It is advantageous for students to go to the coast for advanced theological training. 0
Students trained at the coast do not fit into the local situation.
More trained pastors should be encouraged to migrate from the coast.
Immigrant pastors are not apt to make a permanent contribution. 0
 7. At least three theological colleges are needed for the south-west.
Theological colleges in these parts of the country can serve all China.
 8. Ministerial training should place more emphasis on
the historical interpretation of the Bible. 81%
on personal evangelism and soul winning. 65%
on how to serve the rural community. 73%
on social applications of Jesus' teachings. 65%
on methods of church work and membership training.
on pure theology.
 9. Our present church leadership is most successful
in the psychology of personal problems. 27%
in the winning of individuals to Christ. 0
in preaching a convincing gospel.
in interpreting the message of the prophets.
in running a church efficiently.
in teaching Bible classes.
in cultivating a spirit of worship.
 10. The best training can be given
in travelling evangelistic bands. 38%
in station classes. 50%
in summer institutes.
in Bible schools of at least two years course. 46%
in supervised work as a pastor.
in religious courses in Middle School.

NOTES ON QUESTIONNAIRE III.—LEADERSHIP TRAINING

This questionnaire, like each of the others, was used as supplementary material. No conclusions in the body of the report were based on the returns from questionnaires except as they were sustained by the body of evidence collected in more than a hundred recorded personal conversations and innumerable observations, impressions and expressed opinions in groups of which no written record was made. Questionnaire III was especially limited in its usefulness first, because it was not so well constructed as the other two, in some cases the terminology used was provincial, or insufficiently well defined, in some questions too much detail was included without

making the statements as comprehensive or inclusive as they should have been; second, because many of those who attempted to answer the questionnaire did so from too limited a knowledge of the field of ministerial training and lacked the facts regarding what had actually been started or was now being undertaken, and therefore had to base their statements on their acquaintance with very few churches and the local situation with which they were conversant; and third, because this being a somewhat technical questionnaire to which many of those contacted in personal conversation could not be qualified to reply, a smaller number of returns were secured on Questionnaire III.

The returns on several statements are so nearly unanimous as to merit attention. 90% of those who returned the questionnaire said that "a higher type of training is needed for leadership in the Church." On every hand this conviction was expressed. Whatever the shortcomings and failures of the Church the first and most positive explanation was given as being due to poor leadership especially in the pastorate. Frequently the contrast was made between the leaders who had come from outside the province and the general run of local men. Even where a pastor who had made no great success of his churches down river was given appointment in the west there was a sigh of relief at the apparent improvement.

Missionaries pointed out their own or their colleagues' neglect in not giving the same attention to and making the equivalent financial investment in the training of potentially strong pastors that had been given to prepare men for medical or educational work. The very history of ministerial training in the west, and the very late attention to this important element in church building was obvious to all. But what few took time to point out was that not all the failure of the ministry was due to inadequate training. Several of the pastors were found to be relatively well educated, but they had gone to sleep or to seed on their jobs again and again, and in some cases moral disintegration appeared to have set in. As one person commented at the end of his replies, "Our need is not for trained men alone, but for men of faith in Christ and the Bible."

As to what was needed in ministerial training there was general agreement that more emphasis should be placed on "the social application of Jesus' teachings" (73%), on "personal evangelism and soul winning" (81%), on "how to serve the rural community" (65%). 27% seemed to think the church leadership was already most successful in soul winning, which was thus given first place in the excellences listed. No one thought the ministry to be most successful in interpreting the message of the prophets although present conditions might easily lead to a new emphasis on that portion of Scripture teaching. Perhaps the relatively small percentage checking any existing special excellence explains the high percentage calling for so many needed emphases. This but further underscores the conviction that the church leadership is most inadequately trained. In fact 62% recorded the opinion that few local or native pastors have had theological college training; information otherwise secured would lead us to expect more nearly unanimous checking of this

statement. Nor had any equivalent thereof been provided either through the college of religion in the university or through courses on religion offered in middle school. Even such training in service as was recommended by the 1935 Kuling Conference has been largely neglected until within the past four years one denomination has been making real strides along those lines. The only reply to the questionnaire which stated that "most native pastors are suitably trained for their task" came from the Sheng Kung-Hui.

There was much diversity of opinion as to how better training could best be given. Apparently there was insufficient acquaintance with the status and accomplishments of theological schools to get any consensus of opinion in regard thereto, though 63% of those replying were sure that a higher type of training is available for those who are qualified to take it. 58% felt that it was distinctly desirable that one or two immigrant theological training schools should remain in the western part of the country "in cooperation with a local institution" to aid in this important task. 46% said that a graduate school of theology would raise the standard of our ministry and 42% said there was need for such an institution though conversations did not bear out this judgment. Not unlikely there was some misapprehension as to what was actually meant by "a graduate school of theology." The same number (42%) said such an institution would be poorly attended, and yet many of them felt there was need for the school.

On the questions of financial support 62% said that "the financial problem should not influence adequate leadership training" (see further discussion of this subject in Chapter IV on Finance and the Church) and 58% were sure that "a well-trained ministry would secure the necessary financial support." On the other hand 38% thought "the local church cannot financially afford a well trained ministry" and one other changed the statement to read, "The local church *will* not support a well-trained ministry."

To the question "How can the best training be given?" 46% said "in supervised work as a pastor." This it is that one of the denominations in part of Szechwan has been attempting to emphasize in recent years apparently with a recognized measure of success. 50% felt that summer institutes could provide the best training. Efforts previously made in this line are now being supplemented by the Extension Work under the direction of the Nanking Theological Seminary faculty in the west. Of the other methods suggested there was none that secured 40% agreement, and comments several times indicated that what seemed to one person a useful method was heavily discounted by another. 38% favored the travelling evangelistic bands which have been used sometimes along with other methods of "supervised work." A team of immigrant leaders in "spiritual mobilization" work has been especially successful in visiting schools and church conferences.

APPENDIX 4
PRICE'S STATISTICS

Statistics of Protestant Church Work in Szechwan, 1939.

Name of Church or Denomination	Churches		Church Members	Sunday Schools		Church Contributions	Paid Church Workers			Foreign Mission Stations	Foreign Missionaries	Primary Schools			
	Main	Branch		Total	Schools		Pupils	Pastors	Others			Total	Lower	Higher	Total
Sheng Kung Hui (Episcopal)	9	30	39	20	756	3,217	10	19	29	6	28	2	1	3	310
Methodist ...	37	41	78	42	2,779	11,160	45	89	134	3	32	—	—	21	3,000
Chi Tuh Chiao Hui (Canadian)	57	44	101	104	7,014	6,203	24	92	116	10	137	—	—	86	5,222
Baptist ...	4	36	40	14	2,000	5,266	—	15	15	4	13	7	4	11	1,600
Friends ...	11	—	11	10	585	—	—	6	6	6	12	—	—	—	—
China Inland Mission	93	136	229	54	2,500	5,000	12	53	65	43	130	—	—	—	—
Total	211	287	498	244	15,634	30,846	91	274	365	72	352	—	5	121	10,162

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Statistics of Roman Catholic Churches in Szechwan, 1937.

Dioceses	Bishops			Priests			Members
	Western	Chinese	Total	Western	Chinese	Total	
8	5	3	8	102	248	348	175,147

Comparative Statistics of Szechwan Protestant Churches.

Year	Churches		Members	Sunday School		Paid Church Workers			Mission Stations	Missionaries
	Main	Branch		Total	Pupils	Pastors	Others	Total		
1920	369	487	12,954	21,567	35	455	490	76	543	
1934-1935	251	—	15,217	14,152	—	—	562	75	380	
1939	211	287	13,653	15,634	91	274	365	72	352	

Price's Statistics

	All China	Szechwan	Percentages
Population ...	438,000,000	47,000,000	10.7%
Church Members ...	512,873	13,653	2.6%
Ratio of Members to Population ...	1 : 850	1 : 3,500	—
Christian Hospitals ...	232	25	10.8%
Christian Middle Schools ...	249	25	10%
Christian Universities & Colleges ...	13	1	8%
Foreign Missionaries ...	6,059	380	6.2%

Where figures were not available for the year given the latest available figures have been substituted. Figures were gathered by the Rural Church Department of the Nanking Theological Seminary and used by courtesy of Dr. Frank W. Price without his verification.

APPENDIX 5.
OUR ITINERARY

- April 1. Sailed from Shanghai at daylight on B. & S. s.s. "Kiung-how."
 4. Arrived at Hongkong.
 5. Visited churches in Kowloon and Hongkong.
 7. Flew to Chungking. Attended Herman Liu Memorial Service.
 8. Visited Hospital for Wounded Soldiers.
 9. By Bus to Pishan.
 10. By Ricksha to Tingchiaao.
 11. By Truck to Chungking.
 12 & 13. Meeting of N.C.C. in Chungking.
 14. Preached in Chungking Churches.
 15. By Bus to Shapienba and return.
 17. Flew to Chengtu.
 21. Preached in Chengtu Churches.
 22. By Bus to Niukiang.
 23. By Truck to Tzeliutsing.
 24. By Ricksha to Junghsien.
 25. Spoke at Church of Christ in China Retreat.
 26. Left Junghsien by "hwah-gan" (bamboo litter).
 27. Arrived in Kiating by hwah-gan and sampan.
 28. Preached in Kiating Churches.
 29. By Ricksha to Wutungchiao (L. returned to Kiating).
- May 1. Return to Kiating.
 2. Flew by amphibian to Chungking via Suifu and Luchow.
 5. Visited hospital and school in Chungking hills.
 6. Flew to Kunming.
 9. (Air-raid at Kunming)
 11. By motor-van to Tsuyung.
 12. By motor-van to Tali.
 13. By horseback to Hsichow.
 14. Addressed Hua Chung University and Canton Theological Seminary.
 15. By horseback and truck to Hsiakwan.
 17. By truck-driver's seat to Chennan.
 18. By private car to Tsuyung and truck-driver's seat to Kunming.
 19. Preached in Kunming Churches.
 20. L. to Hanoi by train.
 22-26. C. to Kweiyang by truck.
 27-29. C. in Kweiyang.
 30. Bus to Tingfang.
 31. Bus to Kweiyang.
- June 2. Preached in Kweiyang.
 3-5. Bus to Chungking.
 7. Plane to Hongkong.
 Steamer to Shanghai.

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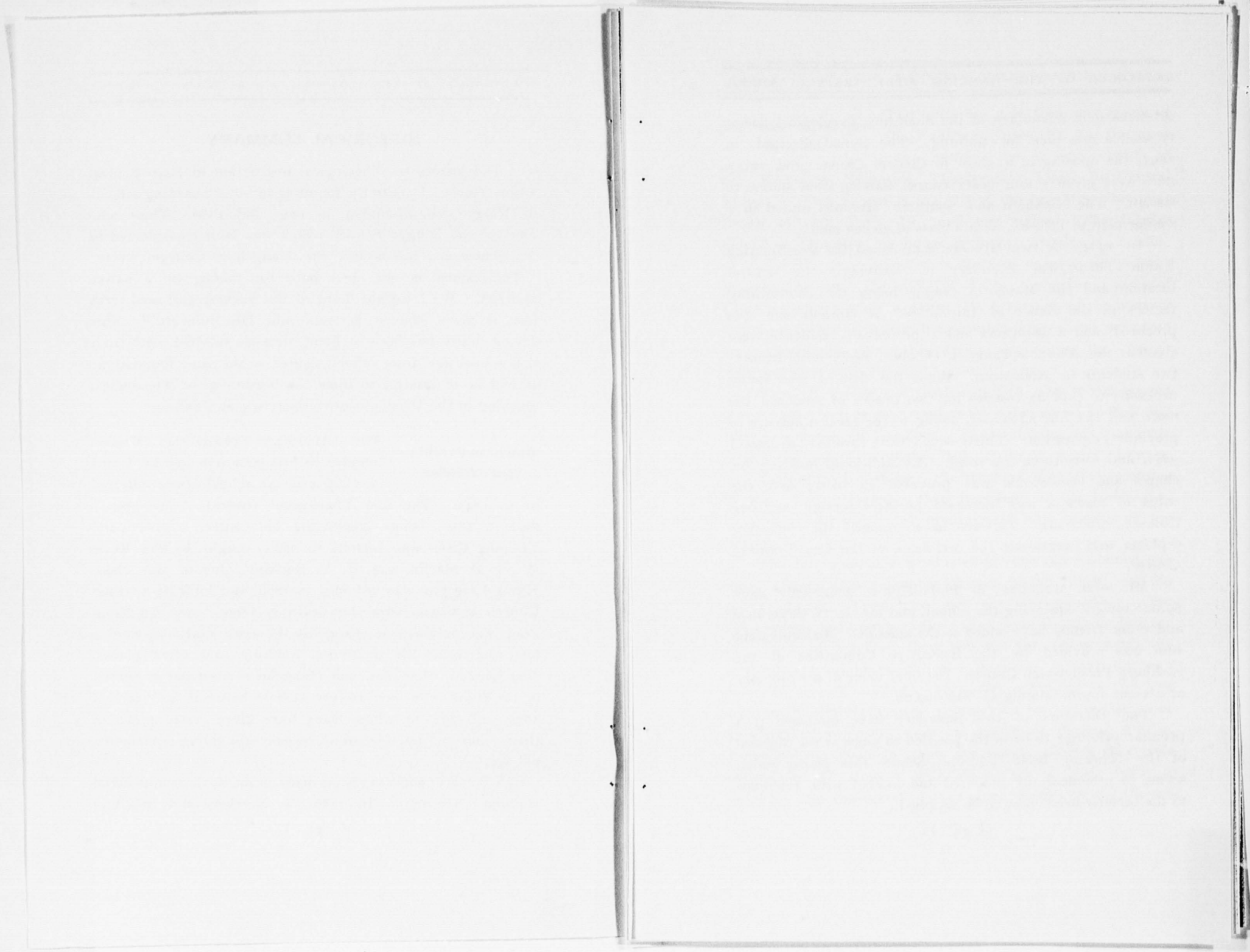
HISTORICAL SUMMARY.

The history of Theological instruction in East Central China reaches back to the founding of boys' boarding schools at Ningpo and Shanghai, in 1845 and 1860. Those who founded the Ningpo School, which was later transplanted to Hangchow and has become the Hangchow College, wrote: "This School is our chief hope for raising up a native ministry. We trust the Lord of the harvest will send forth from it many efficient laborers into His vineyard." This devout desire has been in great measure fulfilled, both from that school and from others planted on the same foundation. It will be of interest to trace the beginnings of Theological teaching in the Missions now coöperating at Nanking.

**American Presby-
terian Mission.**

THE American Presbyterian Mission founded its first station in Central China in 1844, and the school above referred to in 1845. The first Theological student, "Min-geen," died in 1851, before completing his course. A Helpers' Training Class was formed in 1851, taught by the Revs. W. A. P. Martin and H. V. Rankin. One of this class, Kying Ling-yin, was ordained in 1864, and built up a strong Church at Yüyao before his death in 1866. Rev. Zia Ying-t'ong was ordained as evangelist the same year and lived a long and useful life in Ninpo, Nanking, and other places. The Ningpo, Shanghai, and Hangchow missionaries shared in the training of over twenty pastors between the years of 1860 and 1875, of whom many have given noble proof of their ministry, and two or three are still living in honored old age.

A break of some years occurred in the work of ministerial training after 1875. In 1886, the Northern and Southern



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Missions took advantage of the Shantung Theological classes to send a few men for training. The Synod directed, in 1893, the opening of a class in Central China; and seven men were given a four years' course, moving from station to station. The Northern and Southern Missions united in a similar plan in 1902-05, with a class of eleven men.

In 1904, the two Missions established the Presbyterian Union Theological Seminary in Nanking; the central location and the Mandarin tongue being the determining factors in the choice of this place. A suitable site was procured, and a dormitory and a professor's residence were erected, the school opening in October, 1906, with twenty-two students in attendance. From the first it was found necessary to provide courses for two grades of students, the more and the less advanced, owing to the great difference in previous preparation. Thirty-seven were enrolled the second year, and forty-three the third. An additional building for chapel and class-rooms was provided in 1910; and the corps of teachers was increased to three foreign, and one Chinese, professors. Thirteen have received the Seminary diploma, and twenty-one the certificate of the Lay Training Course.

Mr. Wm. McCahan, of Philadelphia, generously gave \$9,000 toward equipping the school, and Mr. L. H. Severance and other friends have added to the amount. An equivalent sum was provided by the Executive Committee of the Southern Presbyterian Church; the total value of the property at present approximating G. \$29,000.00.

The Directors of this Seminary have esteemed it a peculiar privilege to be in the position to place at the disposal of the Nanking Bible Training School this plant, which seems so providentially prepared and located with reference to the broader needs now to be supplied.

Methodist Episcopal
Mission.

The following note from the report of the Nanking University for the year 1892 contains the earliest records of the Methodist Episcopal Theological School in Central China:—"This School is the gift of the late Mrs. Philander Smith of Oak Park, Ill., and was named 'The Fowler School of Theology' in honor of Bishop Charles H. Fowler, D.D., LL.D. It is intended to furnish training for persons intending to enter the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church and for other workers. It is the aim of the instruction to combine a thorough understanding of the Scripture and a knowledge of the history and doctrine of the Church with practical work."

The gift was \$5,000 Gold, and with it there was erected a building which is now used as the Administration Building of the University of Nanking. The beginning was extremely modest as regards students; the course of study, however, was comprehensive, though the teachers, with the exception of Rev. J. C. Ferguson, then President of the University, were men who had a full program of duties outside of the School.

The first class was graduated in 1896 and contained two men. There were a number of men in the School who did not graduate. These two men are now preaching. For some reason not known to the writer, but presumably because of a lack of teachers, there was not for several years any attempt to continue the School. However, in 1901, during a series of revival meetings, there were a number of the best men in the University who volunteered for the ministry and expressed a desire to pursue a course in Biblical studies. Provision was made for their instruction, though they were obliged to be content with only part of their work in theology, and continued to take some studies in the Univer-



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sity. The next class was graduated in 1904 and there were four men. In 1905 there was one graduate, while in 1906 there were four more.

The Dean of the School was now obliged to take furlough in America and there was no one to take up the work. The result was that when he returned to China there were no students to teach. A small class was slowly assembled, but they were men of little previous preparation. There was but one teacher, and it was very discouraging for both students and teacher for one man to attempt to take a class through the whole course of study. After a little more than a year under these conditions, the School was removed to Kiukiang and the Dean was placed in charge of a School of 190 boys and men, grading from College down to Primary School. There were from twelve to seventeen students in the Theological Department during the two years while the School was at Kiukiang. Several men went into the active work of the ministry during this period. The Rev. C. P. Hu gave part of his time to instruction in this department during these two years.

When, in the summer of 1911, it was finally decided to affiliate the Theological and Biblical training of the Methodist Mission in Central China with the Nanking Bible Training School, thirteen of the men from Kiukiang were transferred to Nanking and became the nucleus of the Methodists' share in this new and promising project.

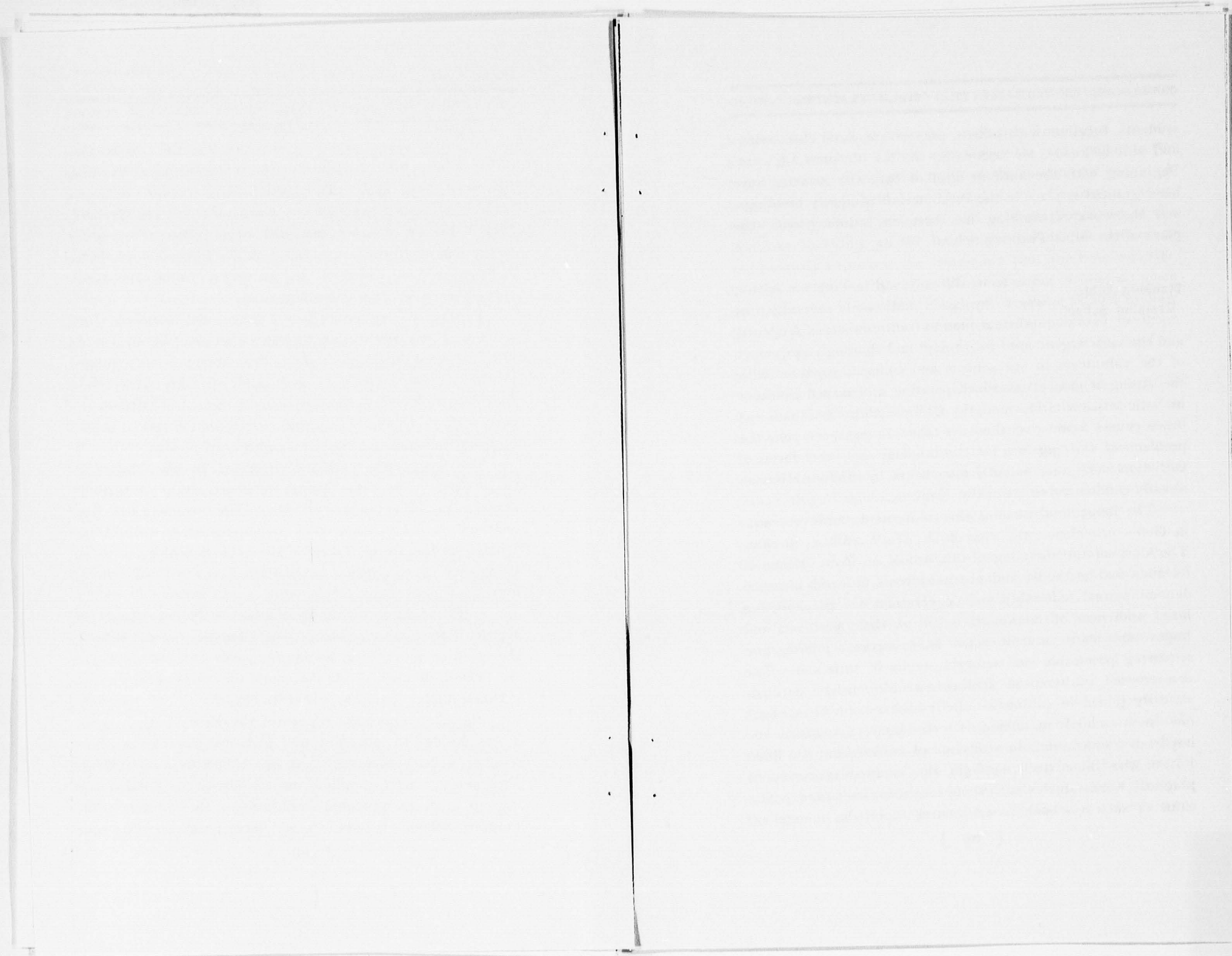
Foreign Christian Mission. On July 17th 1908, the Disciples' Mission, in Convention, voted to establish the Disciples' Bible College and Training School, and asked Mr. A. E. Cory to move to Nanking for this purpose. The first term opened March 16th, 1909. Thus began a work which the mission had been desiring to

do for many years. The aim was to follow the general plan of the Moody Bible Institute or the Bible Teachers' Training School of New York. The Bible College was for the special training of college graduates for the Ministry. The Training School was for those who had little or no college training but had a fair elementary knowledge of the Bible and Christian doctrine, and felt called of God to prepare for service as lay evangelists or in other Christian work.

Besides the regular course of study, which covered three years in either department, great emphasis was placed on practical work during the term. The students went regularly to the various chapels in and about the city with much benefit to themselves and to the work visited. At times the regular work of the School was suspended for special united or group evangelistic campaigns, with good results.

The first year's work was done in rented buildings near the Friends' Mission. There were seventeen students in attendance. The next year the School moved into new quarters erected in connection with the Church work of the Mission at the Drum Tower. Here the School grew to an attendance of 26, with a graduating class the third year of nine.

A gift of \$6,000 Gold having been made by Miss Mary Myrtle Warren for the erection of a building for the School, the question arose as to its location, and as to the future of the School, in view of the movement for the establishment of a Union Bible Training School in Nanking. In harmony with the often expressed wishes of the Mission in the past, it was decided to join forces as fully as possible in Bible training with those engaged in the coöperative movement. Arrangements were therefore made whereby the Mission was able to erect its proposed building on the present Bible Training School grounds. It will have rooms for sixty-four



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students, together with offices, prayer-rooms and classrooms; and will be ready for occupancy in the autumn of 1912. Beginning with the autumn term of 1911 the students have been granted a place in the Presbyterian Seminary buildings, and the work of teaching has been in harmony with the plans of the Bible Training School.

**Nanking Bible
Training School.**

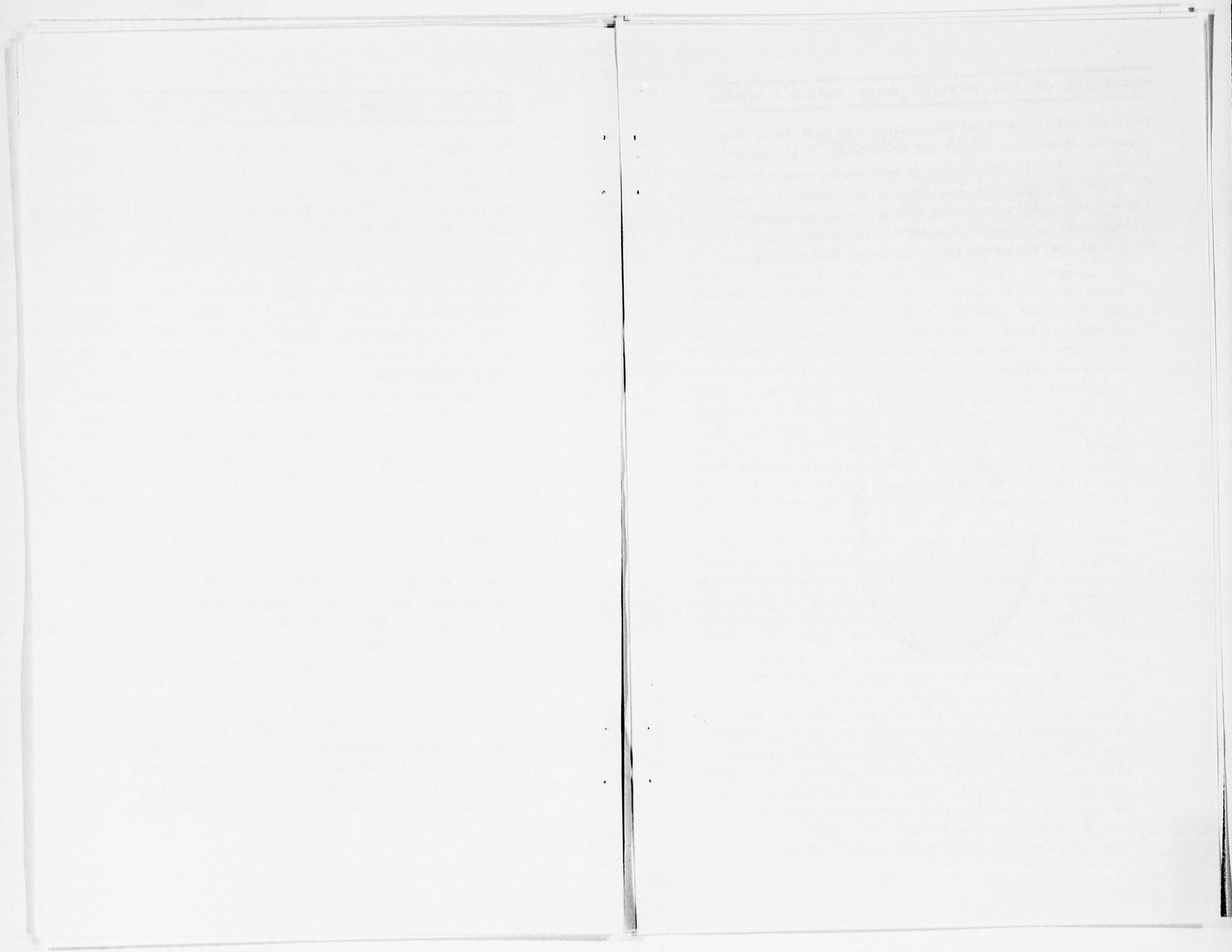
The many difficulties attending the setting apart by each Mission severally, of sufficient men to train ministerial students, and the very urgent need for prompt and thorough equipment of the volunteers in our schools and colleges, together with the strong tendency toward coöperation and united endeavor in both Mission circles and the Chinese Church,—these and other causes made easy the step taken in 1911, whereby the problems of training men for the ministry and other forms of Christian work were unitedly undertaken by the four Missions already conducting this work in Nanking.

The immediate cause of this movement, however, was, in God's providence, the visit of Dr. W. W. White, in 1910. The story of the founding of his school in New York, of its aims and methods, and of the success attained in interdenominational fellowship and coöperation, was given before large audiences of missionaries, full of their problems and hopes and fears; and it acted as a solvent, joining and rendering permeable the elements previously unmixed. The missionaries gathered at Kuling and Mokanshan enthusiastically joined in calling for the establishment of at least one such school in China, which should emphasize the importance of training in study not of books about the Bible but of the Bible itself, and in the many-sided forms of practical work, and which should be a *union school*. The value of such a school, based securely upon the evangelical

foundation, as a conserving and unifying force for the growing Church in China, appealed with great power to the growing sense of essential unity of the missionary body. A conference was held in Shanghai in September 1910, representing twelve provinces and a large proportion of the Missions, including all the larger ones, and this conference unanimously expressed the conviction that the time was ripe for the establishment of a Bible Training School on lines similar to that of the Bible Teachers' Training School in New York. A representative committee was appointed to draw up a plan of organization, decide upon location, and to establish the school.

The Committee chose Nanking to be the location for the first school. The property of the Presbyterian Seminary was then loaned to the new school for a short term of years, to give time for working out permanent plans. In addition to the small grants received from the coöperating Missions, a considerable sum is donated for current expenses, through Dr. White, by a staunch supporter of Bible teaching in New York. The work done by the organizing Committee involved the establishment of both a men's and a women's school. The former began work in September 1911, and the latter will open (D. V.,) in September, 1912.

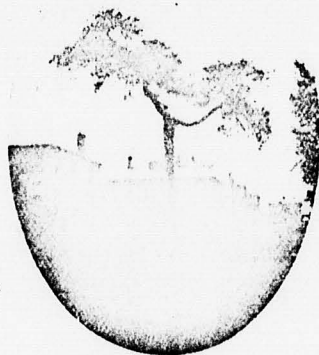
The hearty interest of the Chinese in the project has been invited in a very practical way by having them represented on the Board of Managers, and has been manifested in many ways; not least by the enthusiastic Institute for Pastors and Christian Workers, held in the school buildings, September 5th to 8th, 1911, just before the opening of the new school. Over a hundred workers were in attendance, many of whom were women; ten of the eighteen Provinces being represented. At the opening of the School, September 13th 1911, the pupils in the three uniting or affiliating schools were



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received, and the work of assimilation was well under way, when the Revolution caused the suspension of all work in Nanking. But the School had in six weeks passed beyond the period of experiment into that of accomplished success. There is reasonable expectation that a number of contiguous Missions will soon find it possible to join in the fortunes of the School, and contribute to, as well as profit by, its success.



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HISTORICAL NOTE.

The Nanking Theological Seminary is a union institution in which five fellowships cooperate in the education of a Ministry for the Church in China. The cooperating members are: The Presbyterian Church in U.S.A., the Presbyterian Church in U.S., partly through the East China Synod of the Church of Christ in China, largely composed of churches originally established by these two Presbyterian bodies; the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and the United Christian Missionary Society. Into this Seminary there were merged the following schools which were formerly conducted as denominational institutions: The Presbyterian Union Theological Seminary, of Nanking; the Nanking Bible College of the United Christian Mission; the Methodist Fowler School of Theology. In 1911, after careful deliberation, this larger union was tentatively organized for a period of two and a half years. At the end of this period, a constitution and articles of agreement were adopted by a representative Board of Managers. Their decisions and actions were referred to the Churches concerned. Upon the approval of these Churches, the union was declared consummated. The years since have witnessed most cordial relations. The harmony with which the cooperating bodies have together conducted this Seminary is a witness to the fact that they are one in loyalty and devotion to our Lord Jesus Christ. The property then held by the Presbyterian Seminary was by them transferred to the new institution as their share in the project. The other cooperating bodies granted funds for the enlargement of the plant, for the building of new faculty residences and for the erection of additional buildings. In the Nanking Incident of 1927, the Seminary suffered considerable loss, the East Dormitory having been burned while occupied by the Nationalist Army, while all the buildings were stripped of furnishings and equipment. In order to protect the buildings, the entire plant was rented, in the fall of 1927, to the Supreme Court of the Nationalist Govern- X

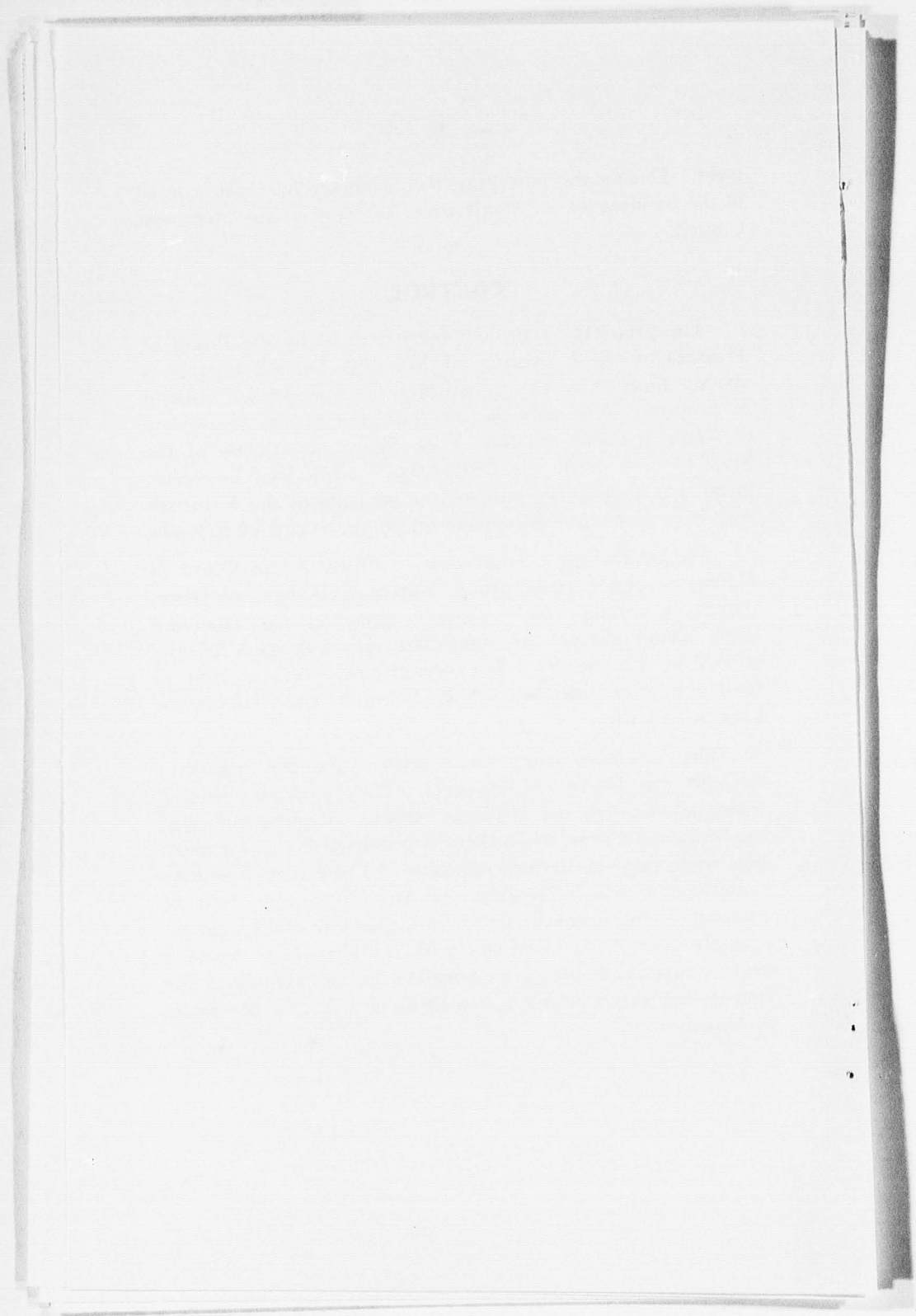
ment. During the past year, the Seminary has been housed in the building of the Conference Academy of the Methodist Church.

CONTROL.

The property of the Seminary is held by the Board of Trustees of the University of Nanking, but the control is strictly limited by the Constitution to the official holding of property. Through the incorporation of the University of Nanking under the New York Board of Regents of the State of New York, the University is authorized to recommend that degrees be conferred on students of the Seminary who have met the requirements set by the Board of Regents.

The controlling organization in China is the Board of Managers. Each cooperating Church elects its own representatives, through whom there is united control involving every detail except the immediate administration of the school by the faculty. The constitution provides that at least half of the members of the Board be elected from the Chinese ministry.

The Churches voice their wishes for the Seminary through this Board of Managers. They elect the faculty, which administers the Seminary affairs. Regular meetings are held once a year, while there is provision for called meetings when they are deemed necessary. There is an executive committee to which important ad interim matters must be referred. This is meant to provide adequate checks, to intimately connect the Seminary with the Church, to make it evident that the School is responsible and answerable to the cooperating units, under a constitution which is the Basis of Union.



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