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A TRIP TO LINHSIA, HOME OF CHINESE MOHAMMEDANISM

Jan. 16-31, 1939

Y. P. MEI

Appointment in the Northwest is a hit-and-miss affair. For instance dinner invitations may be issued for all hours between 10 a.m. and 7 p.m. By a happy combination of intelligence and luck, which does not usually happen, you will arrive as the second to the last guest. The greenhorn always manages to get there ahead of the host. Once I had two invitations for the same evening and had to go hungry until I got home, the party I went to first having started late, while the other which I tried to catch up with *was* punctual.

The understanding was that we make time and start at dawn, and I on good faith got up at the small hour of 4:30 on January 16, all keyed up for the trip to Linhsia. The mules did not appear until 8:00, and with the necessary repacking at the inn and all the other ado, we started off shortly after 10. In the meantime I finished correcting an essay, a long over-due job, and therefore the time became an unexpected boon rather than boredom. My practice now is to carry a book that I have long wanted to read and have myself entertained near the entrance of a dugout between the alarm and the actual raid. Nothing seems to come on time around here and the long wait is likely to be tedious.

"Linhsia" means very little to most people, but when we begin to talk about "Hochow", the old name for the same place, most people who know anything about the Northwest will prick up their ears. Although Linhsia is only one of the 2000 odd hsien of China, it holds the record of having produced some seven provincial governors and divisional corps commanders. As to lesser political and military lights, they are virtually innumerable. The home of Gov. Ma Pu Fang of Tsinghai lies 60 li west of the hsien city while that of Gov. Ma Hung Kuei of Ninghsia is 50 in the southwest direction, and the two noted villages are only 30 li apart. On the other hand, Hochow is also known as the brewery of all the "mohammedan uprisings." Of these, one proverb observes "thirty years a small one, and sixty years a big one," while another reduces the time allowance by half. Apparently the worst struggle took place in 1873, for the 12th year of Tung Chih's reign is still on everybody's tongue. There are no actual statistics regarding lives lost and damage done, but a total of half a million for casualties on both sides is not exorbitant. The most recent uprising took place in 1928, the 17th year of Min Kuo, and Ma Chung Ying's name* is still being used to quiet crying babies along the country side. Linhsia has naturally developed an atmosphere of mysterious challenge to the inquirer, and all students, of whom there are very few, for the journey is very tiring, approach it with a mixed sense of curiosity and anxiety.

* Ma Chung Ying was only in his teens when he started the big conflagration which spread out to Chinese Turkestan. Ma was not only young but also small in stature, and so he was known as the *hsiao ssu ling*, the small commander. It happens the colloquialism for "small" in the NW. is "ka". Thus the common local reference to Ma Chung Ying sounds quite like "gasoline".

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Mr. Li An-che, Mr Chang Hsueh-pin, both of the Kansu Science Education Institute, and a bank clerk headed for Labrang made up the party of four, with me. The four mules were attended to by two mohammedan brothers from Hochow. Once on the road and leaving Lanchow behind, I felt distinctly happier. Lanchow winter was drab and the country sunshine and fresh air inviting. The more I tramped around, the more true appeared Pope's simple line, "God has made the country: men made the city." When I learned that the muleteers were Hochow mohammedans I thought the social investigation could begin with a peripatetic setting. But within 5 minutes I discovered my illusion. The dialect was difficult enough but not insurmountable. What was in the way was the huge gap between our different worlds of discourse. All wisdom I could gather from these Hochow friends was the price of bread for men and that of hay for the mules—of the two they were much clearer about the latter!

The mules were much more interesting objects for aesthetic contemplation than the muleteers. Of the four I had the leader, a fine specimen of health and energy. In spite of the 200 odd catties of baggage, he carried himself with an air of dignity and pride. His tassels were really crimson and his bells had a deep resonance. Thru the 200 li he did not make a single faltering step. Soon after we got beyond the Lanchow suburb, the muleteers urged us to mount as if they were anxious to demonstrate the strength of their animals. It was with some reluctance that I gave in to the pressure, for I made the total load of some 400 lbs for my noble steed. I said "mounting"; it was really climbing from the muleteers knee to the mule's neck and finally on to the top of a mound of bedding. The circus rope-walker would do well starting her balancing exercise with a muleback ride. The rocking motion was at first quaint, soon monotonous, and finally hypnotic. Yet, just as the animal motion induces sleep, the slippery seat requires vigilance. If any of my preacher friends is looking for a vivid illustration of "paradox of life", he may cite this. About the first English novel that I plunged into reading was R.L. Stevenson's "Travels with a Donkey." But for the life of me I couldn't recall anything about the book beyond its title.

Mules average 8 li an hour. More often than not, walking was more inviting than riding, especially when numbed legs helped to kick up a conscience. The only inhibition to such kindness comes from the story about the chairman of the Society for the Humane Treatment of Animals expressing "brotherly love" to asses. Once when I was way ahead of the team and waiting to discard my undesired overcoat, I saw coming at a distance the driver on top of the mule. It wasn't at all clear as to whose energy considerateness should prefer to save, the man's or the mule's.

There were two hills on the way. Chien Shan has an altitude of 2690 m, while Niu Hsin Shan reaches the height of 2400. Of course the base must

be around 1500 to begin with, but still it was a stiff climb each time. When we got on top, the tired men had a ride and the tired animals had an additional load of 150 lbs. each. In this case it was tired legs, benumbing conscience, or spirit willing but body weak. Still the sense of injustice was hard to get over. The animals have a way of trailing right along the very outer edge of a mountain path no matter whether it is 5 feet wide or twenty, and at several sections there was a deep precipice down below. Stepping into the poor mule's hoofs—in imagination only!—I decided I would end it all by tumbling over the steepest place, me, my load, and my rider. I was able to entertain such brave thoughts mainly because it appeared to be an impossible thing to happen. When people told us at Linhsia that just a few days ago such an accident did happen to a party with fatal consequences at almost exactly the spot where my imagination had its free play, the decision immediately seemed to require drastic revision.

Food and lodging would be no problem on this road—provided you brought your own food stuff and carried your own bed. With a late start we could cover only 60 “long” li the first day. And at dusk we found ourselves at the top of the 2690 m Chien Shan. Some half dozen houses stood at one spot and that was our station. Two people had already nicely parked themselves on the only *kang* in the only inn with an opium smoking outfit, including a smoky lamp, between them, when we arrived. But at the muleteers' announcement of the arrival of *wei yuan* (meaning comm. member or commissioner by which I have always been addressed in my country travels in Kansu, the alternative is *kuan chang* or officer), the inn-keeper made short and unceremonious work clearing out the couple who were having such a good time over the opium lamp. The inn-keeper's wife made haste cooking us “*fan*”, meaning food or rice. The insistent reference to the “*fan*” that was in the process of cooking made us wonder if we might really have rice for supper, an expensive affair even in Lanchow. When the “*fan*” was finally produced it proved to be a bowl of thick slices of dough in sour soup. The sour juice we learned was a liquid form of vegetables preserved thru fermentation. It was Francis Bacon who said that “knowledge is power”. This knowledge about the origin of the sour soup helped greatly in swallowing the supper.

While my three comrades were struggling with their bedding on the *kang*, I had to survey carefully the topography of the floor. After some effort making the rough places plain, I was able to spread my cot. While I did not have to think about the bugs and lice and all the other specimens in the zoological collection that must be thriving on the warm *kang*, I did have to pile up my coat and sweaters and even scarf to make up enough of a mound to bury myself under for the night. Middle of January of course is in the third Nine Days after the Winter Solstice, in other words, it was coldest winter weather whether by Chinese count or foreign. For headwear I had a tennis cap which in the dim

light looked not unlike the white cap that is so popular among the mohammedans. And I went to sleep with the happy thought that if another "uprising" should be scheduled for that night by the mohammedans, my tennis cap might make a difference between life and death. Although we decided to have an early start, the day started earlier than I had expected. Chang and Li, having been thoroughly roasted on all sides on the hot oven of a *kang*, began discussing their misery at what appeared to me to be three o'clock in the morning. One of them claimed his neighbor at home had a fire in the house which was started by the mattress catching fire on the *kang*. The other reported a poor child that was baked to death when the mother heated the *kang* somewhat more than usual. Of course nobody could listen to such stories lying down and so we all got up. When we started after the usual packing and loading, we walked the first ro li in the light of the moon and stars. As to temperature, well, whatever water was left in the pots and basins in the room froze solid during the night.

Long before noon we reached the east bank of the Tao River. The ferry town of Tang Wang Chuan was on the other side of the River. A caravan of mules and muleteers were leisurely taking their lunch and we had to wait till the ferry carried them over. As soon as we crossed the river we were in Hochow, East Section. The mountains were rugged and had monstrous shapes. From on top of Niu Hsin Shan we had a specially good view of this quaint scenery with all the light and shade under the clear winter sunshine of Kansu. Li An-che insisted the spot would be much advertised if it were in America, for he thought it was much deadlier than the Death Valley.

While admiring the poignant beauty of the landscape, I was suddenly struck by a mule rider coming towards us from a distance. The snow-white flowing hood made me decide it must be a Catholic sister. Closer view and reorientated senses changed the decision to a mohammedan woman. The realization that we were now in mohammedan territory came as a sudden revelation. The following morning the sight of a man chasing with a bludgeon in hand a crying woman who must be his wife eliminated all further questions as to the community in which we found ourselves. These East Section Hochow mohammedans are a strange lot. While the West Section supplies all the governors and commanders, the East Section produces only privates and bandits. These mohammedans have a foreign look but the characteristics are different from those with Asia Minor blood. Worst of all, they talk a very foreign, Mongol-like language. Our inn-keeper, for the second night, talked to us in Kansu Chinese, but to his household in a language quite unintelligible to us. I went to bed with a feeling of uneasiness. Those of you who read the "All Men Are Brothers" will recall how the hero always got into an inn that was really a thieves' den, and a midnight sword dance was necessarily staged. At any rate this lot of strange-looking and strange-sounding mohammedans made food for thought.

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The 200 li hike took us two and a half days and we arrived early in the afternoon of the third day. We had some stiff climbing and good exercise. Not even the cart, to say nothing of the car, can travel over that "road". Besides hunting, I suppose it is only the whimsical attraction of Hochow that can make us do this in midwinter.

Like most cities in China there is an irresistible logic in the location of Hochow. Hochow is situated in about the middle section of the valley of the Ta Hsia River. Hence the new name of Linhsia, or On-The-Bank-Of-The-Hsia-River, a la basic English? Labrang, the noted Tibetan center in Kansu, lies about 200 li up river in a westerly direction while about the same distance down in the northeast the Hsia River joins the Yellow River as one of the latter's three chief tributaries. Hills rise on both sides, and at the most picturesque as well as strategic spot stands a temple with its pagoda, overlooking the city and keeping off from it the evil spirits. It would not be surprising if in this case the evil spirits are thought to be some apparition of mohammedanism. The city is approximately square. The south suburb which is the mohammedan ghetto is about equal in size. This is by far the more lively section of the town. Trade seems to be more brisk and population thicker. Towered roofs of the mosques stand out in clear outline against the horizon. It is remarkable that while the buddhist temples retreat into the most secluded mountain resorts if they can, the Islamic mosques insist on occupying the center of the community of adherents physically as well as in spirit.

Land is relatively fertile, and fruit trees and flowers are in abundance. The greater part of Labrang trade with the outside world is done in Hochow, and the Mohammedans who make such keen tradesmen certainly make the most of it. There is every reason for Hochow to be a thriving town except for the recurrent "uprisings". Ruins in the suburb as a result of 1928 are easily pointed out, and people talk about the good old days of the *Pa Fang* (meaning the eight squares, name of the south suburb) before the reign of terror of the *Ga-so-line* followed by that of the Christian General Feng Yu Hsian's *Kuo Min Chun*. Of course many and worse experiences of fighting and blood shed are in the history of miserable Hochow even if the memory of the present generation fails to go back far.

Of individual stories of this sad struggle we may cite a couple. The county inspector of education is a nice cranky old mohammedan by the name of Hsiao. His grandpa was some sort of an official and his family was well-to-do and respected. The uprising at the time of Tung Chih reduced his estate by half, and that of 1928 reduced it to nothing. The expression in his wrinkled face was one of helpless fatalism as he told us the story. Meng Ming proved to be a very faithful servant in our teachers' institute besides being a clean-looking young man. When he indicated his willingness to come and work in the Science Education Institute at Lanchow, I was interested to find out more

about his family background, etc. He told me he was not a mohammedan, had 80 *mu* of land and a house, a wife, two children and a younger brother. It sounded like a good family and I inquired about his old folks. What happened was when trouble was brewing in 1928, he and his younger brother, boys of 14 and 6, were sent to Labrang and the older people adopted the policy of watchful waiting. But, alas, they waited too long, and when trouble did come it came in a rush and allowed no channel of escape. And so the whole family except the two boys were wiped out! After listening to such and other stories, I could not get rid of the persistent query "what has been this man's loss and suffering," as I walked about the streets and looked into each face of the Hochow people.

Hochow people were hospitable to us and we were invited to eat at all hours. The day when all organizations and groups joined in holding a welcome meeting was specially memorable. The meeting was to be at 10:00 a.m. and a mohammedan lunch was to follow. The meeting wasn't held until 12, and after the meeting we were informed the lunch had to be cancelled because they just realized that it was Friday, the mohammedan Sabbath. Apologies were profuse of course, but they did not help expecting and hungry stomachs. The magistrate tried to remedy the situation by taking us to a restaurant. And just as we were about to have something to eat, in came a group of the educators of Hochow who insisted in expressing their high esteem of us by giving us a treat there and then. This "then" proved to be 5:00. p.m. when a full dinner was served. That day we shared vividly the feeling of daylight fasting so much practiced by our mohammedan neighbors.

Hochow is naturally full of interesting folks. One prominent mohammedan in his seventies asked me many questions about the British and American loans to China and then turned to discuss the beauty of Paris. You see, some twenty years ago he made his pilgrimage to the Mecca, and, being better educated than most mohammedans as his degree of *Chii Jen* testifies, he was wise enough to put in an extra couple of months for travel in Europe. Pilgrimage to the Mecca is a requirement of the religion as a great aspiration of the individual moslem. Those who can actually make it from China are naturally not many, but the annual exodus serves as a reminder of a sweeping movement that ought to be. Whether or not all Chinese mohammedans are descendents from the three original Arabian missionaries and therefore make a distinct racial group by themselves, the universal psychological orientation towards the Mecca of the whole moslem world has brought about a unity of conscisusness comparable to the Catholic religion long before its present decadence. The returned pilgrims carry back souvenirs of the culture of Asia Minor together with tales and emblems from the holy land. I was informed that the fad of growing long beards among the moslem men was quite recent and could be traced back to one of the returned pilgrims who enthusiastically sponsored the whisker movement as a symbol of unity with Arabia and Egypt. Those of us who have come from

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the sea coast, require a considerable degree of reorientation in the NW. when it comes to discussing international matters.

The super-magistrate over the 5 hsien districts in this mohammedan region is a moslem. He has the usual moslem surname of Ma and he is referred to as Ma Chuan Yuan according to his title. Ma Chuan Yuan is in his sixties but still retains signs of a strong-built physic. He has passed through many uprisings and has joined in many a battle. As he has usually been on the side of law and order, his present post is a sign of recognition, altho he can hardly read and certainly not write. The really interesting thing was his story about the Mongol mohammedans, which problem almost gave me a sleepless night on the journey. The moslems, who populate the East Section of Hochow and talk a Mongolian-like language that we came across on the way, are really Mongol moslems. Ma Chuan Yuan himself is one of them. According to him, towards the end of Yuan Dynasty one of Kublaikan's descendant clans adopted the mohammedan religion. This infuriated kinsmen and they had to flee the country. There were probably several hundred of them who were not allowed to settle down anywhere until they reached what is now the East Section of Linhsia, a land not of milk and honey but thorns and the yellow earth. There must be some 100,000 of them now and they spread into parts of several hsien. Life has been hard and there is no education to speak of. No written language is known, but all thru the 6 centuries they have clung to the Mongolian spoken language. Even today most of them know Mongolian only. Ma Chuan Yuan's nephew, who is vice-chief of the inter-hsien police and has attended Nan Kai Middle School in Tientsin and Military College in Nanking, told us that he began learning spoken as well as written Chinese as a second language when he was 12. Here you are: a community of 100,000 of Mongols by race, mohammedan by religion, and Chinese by culture. What a gold mine of material must be here awaiting the Mongolian linguist and ethnologist.

I am here reminded of a passage in Snow's "Red Star Over China." Snow has an admirable bend towards socialistic chivalry, and his discussion of the Chinese mohammedan problem from the standpoint of racial minority is almost to be expected. But unfortunately facts do not seem to bear him out. The more I stay around the NW the less I know what people could mean when they talk about the Chinese mohammedan race. First of all nobody can deny the fact that the great majority of moslems in China are Chinese converted to the mohammedan religion. It was reported that after one big massacre, over 90% of the non-mohammedan Chinese that were left alive adopted the Islamic religion in one district. Among the mohammedans in the NW there are several *K'ung* families, i.e., descendents of Confucius. Chinese buddhists do not become Indians, neither are followers of Jesus considered Jews anywhere in the world. Of course there are moslems in China who are different racially from the ordinary Chinese. We have long heard of the *Ch'an Hui*, the Turbaned Moslems, of Chinese Turkestan; the Salar *Hui* is well known

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and much talked about in the NW, and here we have come across the Mongol Hui. These different racial groups under the name of *Hui* are probably no more related than the German to the Englishman, whatever these might mean racially. It is true that the moslem religion through its vigorous discipline of the daily life of the adherents and, might we suggest, through its policy of keeping its communicants in ignorance as far as possible, has brought about a high degree of unity and sense of group-dependence. But, after all, the problem of the Chinese moslems is a problem of religion and culture, and to discuss it from the angle of racial minorities would certainly be misleading though possibly more sensational.

To come to Hochow without visiting Piehtsang and Hanchiachi the two villages in the West Section responsible for so many generals and governors would be inexcusable. Mr. Li An-che and I made this interesting tour in two days. With the fine-spirited mules and horses that the local garrison commander loaned us we made the 60 li to Piehtsang in less than 5 hours. Piehtsang is situated on the hillside with a streamlet running down below. There are many more trees and shrubs around than in any other village in Kansu I have seen. Piehtsang is the home of the Tsinghai governors. To differentiate among them, Ma Chi is referred to as the late governor, Ma Lin, his brother, as the retired governor, and Ma Pu Fang as the young governor. Ma Pu Fang and Ma Pu Ching, who is in virtual control of the long strip of Kansu west of the Yellow River known as Ho Hsi, are sons of Ma Chi. Ma Lin, the retired governor, was at home, received us and entertained us royally. We arrived at 2:00. A meal was served at 3:00. After a walk through the big flower garden and a visit to the mosque, another meal was served at 5:00. The retired governor himself inquired whether we liked our *kang* hot or cold. As it was mid-winter and as none of us brought any too much bedding for the over-night trip, we requested "a little heat." But, alas, this thoughtless request proved to be our undoing, for it developed into such a temperature by midnight that it was debatable whether sitting up in the cold room would not be more comfortable than continuing the torture on the *kang*.

Ma Lin is in his sixties and a heavily-built man. People think he is a kinder and more generous person. He filled the gap as governor of Tsinghai after his brother's death and before his nephew attained the necessary prestige. Altho it looks like a family affair, still it is by no means simple. For in the autumn of 1936, young Pu Fang made things so hot for the old uncle that the latter found it necessary to make the pilgrimage to Mecca. The retired governor is now a member of the National Government Comm. He expressed keen interest in developments of the war and unwavering loyalty to the Generalissimo. He seemed punctilious in his religious observances and his household was an interesting group of old men averaging 65 in age. Arriving in the same afternoon was the number one manager of the household of Honan Prince from Labrang

to inquire after the health of the retired governor with a gift of horses. This Prince and his household are supposed to be Mongol by race but they have long been assimilated by the more vigorous culture of the Tibetans even to the point of giving up the Mongolian language in favour of Tibetan. And so Gov. Ma's guest-court that day became the meeting place for very mixed cultures.

Before we took leave of our host, we, the two of us attended to by two of Gov. Ma's clerks who were very abstaining, were served a regular dinner in the morning. And the grand finale was a course of two chafing-dishes with exactly the same contents. All that we could learn about the idea of the double chafing-dish was that it was the sign of double respect.

Hanchiachi was reported to be 30 li south of Piehtsang, but it worked out to be at least 45. Hanchiachi is a bigger village and home of the recent governors of Ninghsia. Ma Fu Lu was a military officer in charge of a brigade of mohammedan soldiers in the Manchu dynasty and died fighting in Peking during the Boxer Uprising. The command was transferred to Ma Fu Hsiang his brother, who later became Gov. of Anhui and Mayor of Tsingtao. Ma Hung Kuei the present Gov. of Ninghsia is the son of Ma Fu Hsiang, while Ma Hung Pin the Commander of the 84th Army Corps is the son of Ma Fu Lu. And all these Mas come from Hanchiachi. Gov. Ma's home in Hanchiachi has long been uninhabited and is badly in need of repairs. The mosque is by no means grand either. But a whole group of schools, including a middle school, has been founded by Ma Hung Kuei in memory of his father. Most of the teachers are graduates of the Mohammedan Normal School in Peiping, and these schools are easily the best in Hochow.

While talking about the Mas, it may be remarked that Ma is such a common surname among the moslems in the NW that the proverb goes, "Out of ten moslems nine are Ma. If he is not a Ma then surely a Ha." Insofar as the moslems do have any distinctive characteristics, they are notably similar to those of the Jews. Industriousness and frugality and a keen business sense are among the strong points. Miserliness is often carried beyond scruples and usury pursued to the extreme. In the evening that we spent in Piehtsang our soldier attendant from the city came in to report that he needed some money to buy supplementary fodder for the animals because what was allowed by our host was not enough. The reason given was either true or untrue, but surely somebody took advantage of our being guests to get some extra money. A recent traveller from Tsinghai asked me what could be the reason for so many important people piling up such big fortunes. The only possible reason I could think of was making money for money's sake.

Our story about Hochow would be incomplete without mention of the Holtons, the only missionary family in the district. Mr. and Mrs. C.D. Holton are members of the Christian and Missionary Alliance, a society specializing

in evangelistic propaganda among the border races for its program in China. They have lived among the Salar moslems of Tsinghai, the aborigines of Lintan, and are now stationed among the moslems in Hochow. Visits to missionaries' homes in the far inland China are always a treat. They remind one that living-quarters could be kept clean and comparatively comfortable if one used his mind and effort. They are educative in the sense that one can gather information about what is going on different from the official version. Sometimes the foreigners miss the mark in their observations but usually they are more than valuable material for reference. Above all one can discuss books and world events in a give-and-take atmosphere. Mr. Holton, for instance, knows a great deal more about the Tibetans, the moslems, and the aborigines in southwest Kansu than I myself and most other Chinese. And some of his books on the religions, races, and travels in China's NW I would give a lot to be able to read. Both of their daughters were born in the NW and they are attending school in Cheefoo. In general life has to be adjusted to the environment. Mr. Holton is occasionally off on evangelistic trips beyond reach of mail or telegraph weeks at a time. Christian evangelism among the adherents of Islamism and Lahmaism requires faith of a special kind anyway.

January 31st, the day I was to leave Linhsia for Lintao, happened to be a big festival day among the Mohammedans. They do not celebrate New year's or any other festival. Each year they observe a month's day light fasting. This last year, it started on the first day of the ninth month by the lunar calendar. At the end of the month they celebrate the conclusion of the month's good work with a big service and lot of exchange of gifts. That is the biggest festival among the moslems. 70 days later, or 100 days from the beginning of fasting, they hold the second of the two special occasions of the year. It was this latter that made a sort of a farewell party for me at Hochow. It is known as the festival of the killing of the sheep. I wonder if biblical students couldn't trace it back to the passover of the Old Testament. At any rate it was an impressive affair. There must be 4000-5000 men gathered on the aerodrome, seated in rows in the cold winter morning and listening to the *ahung* talking from a little platform in Arabic of which none of the congregation can understand more than ten percent. They all wore a simplified turban of white cloth with a flowing tail which made the mass specially picturesque. The visit to this open-air service made a very fitting climax to my trip to mohammedan Hochow.

Dr. Corbett
Mrs. Plumer Mills

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STUDENT LIFE IN CHINA

An Assembly Address Delivered at Oberlin College by Y. P. Mei.

The scholar in China through the ages has held a place of importance such as is hardly equalled anywhere else in the world. At the head of the four social classes stands the scholar, who is followed by the farmer, the artisan, and the tradesman. You will note that the soldier has no place in this system at all - an admirable social structure perhaps, until you have to fight a war against foreign aggression. The admiration for wealth in China is almost always tinged with an element of suspicion. It is only the educated man that commands universal respect, pure and undefiled. The scholar is the brain-trust of the government, the arbiter in local affairs, and is expected to be a living example of the "superior man," the ideal of perfection since the days of Confucius. The hyphenated expression in English, "scholar-gentleman," is an untrennbar term in Chinese, for merely high IQ in the sense of cleverness simply does not count.

This time-honored social esteem for the scholar in China is still a living force today. But, of course, the modern Chinese student is no more the stoop-shouldered, "white-faced" scholar of yore. The present-day Chinese students are not unlike the students of America. They are young and gay and full of energy as well as quite capable of mischief. They play games and publish campus papers. They hold debates and picnics. They study books for learning, and they study their professors for grades. Except two or three women's colleges, practically all institutions are now coeducational. And of course campus romance is visible, and, sometimes, even audible. The Chinese students have heard a great deal about universities in foreign countries from their teachers and friends, and a large number of them want to pursue advanced studies abroad, and especially in America, which will make them even more like the American students.

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Without dwelling any further on the similarities, let us look at some of the differences between the Chinese and the American students. First of all, there are so much fewer of the Chinese students among such a large population of China. Total college attendance in China during these war years has been reported to be about 50,000, which means 1 college student to nearly every 10,000 population. The students are very conscious of the situation and their responsibility toward their less fortunate fellow countrymen, and the education-for-service idea is very widespread. The proportion of women students within the total student body is smaller yet, probably not more than 20%. Evidently when a father can't send all children to college, the chances are 4 to 1 that the girls are left out. But the Chinese women students, though a relatively small group, are a plucky lot and often the pride of their institutions.

Another outstanding difference is the usually sober and silent appearance of the Chinese students. It has been the well-known despair of many a new American teacher in China to try to cultivate responsiveness in classroom conduct. Not a few at first thought the Chinese students were either insolent or dumb. The Chinese students in American colleges, on the other hand, have usually been puzzled by the general eagerness to speak up in classroom discussions when, as it often turns out, there is not the slightest evidence that the participant knows what he or she is talking about. The Chinese student is terribly afraid of losing face. Unless he is dead certain he has a point, he prefers to hide his ignorance. Sometimes when he is quite sure of his ground, he would still want to wait to be discovered and spring a surprise. This seems to give him a pleasure, more subtle and poignant. Apparently the difference here involves, among other things, the tempo and pace of life in the environment in general.

Still another point. The Chinese students are more mature, possibly physically older by a year than the average American students of the same college class, but certainly a good deal more serious-minded. Most of them have seen suffering since their tender age, and their middle school course is way stiffer than that of the American high school. In recent years this serious-mindedness often turns itself to the political sphere. Twenty-five years ago it was the students in China that brought on the intellectual movement known as the Renaissance as well as put fear into the hearts of the corrupt officials. Fourteen years ago it was the students who agitated for military resistance against Japanese aggression with the slogan, "much rather be jade crushed than earthen ware whole!" And today it is the students who are discussing constitutionalism and demanding democratic government. Campus atmosphere is never stale. Sympathizers and fellow-travelers may be found for all the "isms" you have heard of, and occasionally they take it harder towards each other than is pleasant for the college administration.

These war years of course have made a terrific difference to student life as well as other groups in China. The story of Chinese students walking thousands of miles to school in the early years of war is already epic and need not here be repeated. Total blockade and inflation have stretched the limit of endurance even of the Chinese people, who are considered well trained in this virtue through the ages. Student dining halls are, as a rule, without chairs and even benches. Food is meatless except for special occasions, and boarders are constantly hungry. Sickness is so prevalent that one might think it was several epidemics, especially TB, malaria and dysentery, breaking out together. Text-books are as rare as "hair on the chi-lin[\] and horns on the phoenix." Ink is an

indescribable mixture and the best virtue of the note paper is that it makes good blotters. Electric light in the evening is a most undependable affair and candles are beyond the means of most academic people. Before I left China last spring, I had not seen more than 1/2 dozen books published after 1941, and a college president is said to have somewhat better facilities than his students. The government has made a real effort in supporting the colleges, the faculty and the students, and many students have been benefitted by the World Student Relief Fund.

Under such impossible circumstances the institutions, faculty, and students have been working desperately to maintain standards. Professor Joseph Needham, Professor of Biochemistry of Cambridge and Director of the Sino-British Institute of Science and Culture, visited all the important educational centers in China and said in his report that he considers two Chinese war-time universities up to the standard of Cambridge and Oxford. Had the Chinese students abandoned themselves to self-pity, few would have been quick to condemn them. But when they forgot their miseries and started up community service projects, frequently under the auspices of Christian student organizations, including adult education classes, children's playgrounds, soldiers' comforting bands, etc., why, it made one feel an inner gratification in the teaching profession and confidence in the future of China. A number of college men have answered the call of the government and voluntarily joined the armed forces, while the rest have been consciously preparing themselves for national reconstruction. All in all, students in China have undergone a period of suffering as acute as it is prolonged, and yet they are coming through it undaunted in spirit. It is quite certain that in years

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THE AIM OF YENCHING UNIVERSITY

An address broadcasted from the Chengtu Broadcasting Station on December 8, 1943, the first Anniversary of the Formal Reopening of Yenching University in Chengtu

Yenching University is an institution of Christian higher education in China. She has adopted for her motto the phrase, "Freedom through Truth for Service". Although this may sound vague and general, yet in a very real and fundamental sense it has been and is regarded as the aim of the University. What does it mean?

Concretely it means to Yenching a three-fold aim of research, instruction, and character-building.

RESEARCH:

In her academic program Yenching has emphasized original research as well as day to day instruction, and her contributions to knowledge may be compared with those of any educational institution in China. The Yenching Journal of Chinese Studies, the Index Series in Chinese Studies, the Yenching Journal of Social Studies, the Sociological World, the Occasional Papers of the History Department, and the Political Science Series, not to mention the numerous books and essays published by members of the Yenching faculty, have received the attention of the academic world, at home and abroad.

Two professors, Dr. William Adolph and Dr. C.F. Wu, have won international prizes for their research in natural sciences.

Yenching's keen interest in advanced studies has also been manifested in the establishment of her Graduate School which was among the first to be set up in a Chinese University. The research emphasis has kept instruction fresh and vivid, and the opportunity for advanced studies contributes towards teacher training for a number of colleges in China.

INSTRUCTION:

In conducting its program of instruction Yenching University stands for liberal education, in a modern sense. By liberal education is here meant education for an effective understanding of the fundamental principles governing human life in its social relations and natural environment. The curriculum is built around the back bone of arts and sciences. The community of scholarship assures a broadened outlook. University lectures, publication of scientific papers and reports of progress of research and contributions by faculty members and more mature students should so permeate the atmosphere of the University that every member in the community cannot but feel the relatedness of the different fields of knowledge which will in the end help him "to see things steadily and see them whole".

But Yenching's program has not been confined to matters of theory and principles; there has also been an effort to meet specific needs in China. The Department of Western Languages has taken pride in raising the general level of attainment for Yenching students to a point which has made it possible for them to pursue their college studies with credit in English, and in having prepared a large group of successful teachers of the language for college and secondary schools. Yenching graduates hold key positions in chemical industry in China - especially leather tanning, while Biology graduates have provided leadership in Universities throughout the country. The Home Economics Department, one of the first in the country, has double emphasis of child welfare training and nutrition research, both of which will have such a central place in China's reconstruction. The largest number of social workers active in many fields, and of journalists have come from our Departments of Sociology and Economics and our Department of Journalism.

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Many Government services, notably the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and of Finance, have on their personnel lists a considerable number of Yenchinians. Cooperative organizations, in particular the C.I.C., have found their best personnel among Yenching graduates.

CHARACTER-BUILDING:

As a Christian institution Yenching believes in the practice of the Christian way of life, realised not merely by the pursuit of knowledge, but also in living a community life based upon freedom, truth and service. In other words, Yenching's aims at character-building in her education program, both by study and experiment and by imbing the minds of her youghs with the sense of religious fellowship and social responsibility.

President J. Leighton Stuart conceiv es of Yenching as "an ideal community". Accordingly members of the faculty have been assigned a double responsibility in relations to the students: to teach them and to live with them as their friends. Thus the doyen system, which emphasizes free informal discussion and individual conferences between teachers and students, was an Yenching practice long before it became a government requirement. Of greater significance, the Yenta Christian Fellowships, an organization of voluntary membership, endeavors to create among teachers and students a profound understanding of the fundamental principles governing human relations: a common sense of right and duty, a sharing of advantage, and all that goes to make the Yenchinians a good Christian a a worthy citizen.

The reconstruction of post-war China will call for immense efforts. Yenching prepares to play her part, by sending continually into society ~~groups~~ groups of young men and women with liberated minds and energies, ready to ~~se~~ serve as they are called upon to manifest their faith in "Freedom through Truth for Service".

Y.P.Meix
December 7, 1943
Chengtu



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The Challenge in China

AVA B. MILAM

Miss Milam, dean of home economics at Oregon State College since 1917, studied homes and home life in China, Japan, Korea, and the Philippines for a year prior to introducing home economics at Yenching University in 1923. To date twenty Chinese students have been trained in home economics at Oregon State College for leadership in their own country.

PUT the family in order and rule the state in peace." This old Chinese proverb signifies that the family and home have for centuries been considered of the greatest importance to the welfare of China. Girls from good families are eager to achieve a good background for home economics, recognizing that it includes basic work in physical, biological, and social sciences.

Although home economics was introduced less than a quarter of a century ago at Yenching University, China now has a number of well-educated young women who give prestige to various aspects of the work. Some of them are studying in the United States; others are working professionally in China; still others are homemakers, a reserve which could be called upon for at least part-time service, since Chinese custom no longer frowns on professional work for educated married women.

Other colleges offering home economics courses are Ginling College at Nanking, West Union University at Chengtu, Hwa Nan College at Foochow, and Lingnan University at Canton.

Martha Kramer of Kansas State College, who was at Yenching University from 1937 until Pearl Harbor, and her two graduate students from Yenching, Ho-I Pai and Jui-Fang K'uang, inform us about their home economics program:

Before the war, Yenching graduates prepared for teaching in both mission and government schools. Child welfare was one of the most important fields for these students because almost all Chinese women must work and their children must be cared for outside the home.

The work of a hospital dietitian has long been alluring to Yenching students. Before Pearl Harbor, a majority of the home economics graduates accepted appointments each year as student dietitians in the great Peiping Union Medical College. Some remained on the staff; others went to hospitals to organize modern departments.

No large percentage of graduates in home economics has gone into work in adult education. However, interest in that area exists. One graduate took a position at Cheeloo University to assist Mary K. Russell of Kansas State College with adult work in the villages.

Yenching University hoped for a demonstration center for student work in adult education with rural women and just before Pearl Harbor purchased a pleasant Chinese dwelling with a number of spacious courtyards which open into a village street convenient to the University. The location is strategic for work with families from surrounding villages and farms.

During the war Yenching University moved to West China, where home economics students taught and carried on social welfare work. They have now returned to Peiping.

A letter from Caroline Chen, acting head of home economics at Yenching University and one of the eight girls in the first home economics class there in 1923-24, says:

Just now we have no equipment in our home management house and none in our laboratories. We can't even afford to buy one sewing machine for my clothing class. United Services to China has given money to start our village nursery school and to supply a few teachers and some equipment for our university nursery school. Li Keng (MS Oregon State College) has charge of the nursery school; she has one assistant.

According to Mei-Ling Wu, graduate of Ginling College and former teacher of biological science there (now at Oregon State College), the home economics department of Ginling College has two nursery schools, one for faculty children, the other for children of neighborhood workers. In West China, where they migrated, their home management house consisted of four rooms in the students' dormitory. Homemade equipment was used in their food and nutrition laboratories, which were basement rooms. Now that the College has moved back to Nanking, its original site, conditions are no better; nothing is left except the walls of the school buildings.

Ruth Sun (MS Oregon State College), head of the nursery school and child development training in Ginling College, says 40 home economics majors are enrolled this year, not including freshman girls. Equipment, staff, and recent-edition books are greatly needed.

President Lucy Wang of Hwa Nan College, now in the United States, explains:

Home economics work was started at Hwa Nan College in 1931 by Mae Ding (MS Oregon State College). Since Miss Ding's marriage Jean Chen (MS Kansas State College) has carried on alone.

Hwa Nan College moved to Nanping in June 1938 to escape the invading Japanese army. There, in crowded and temporary quarters, the College was re-established and served for eight years. Now it is back on the Foochow campus, which was completely wrecked by the invaders. The program of rehabilitation has started, but more funds are needed to equip the home management house and laboratories and to provide an adequate library. An unusually large group of students have signed to major in the field. Perhaps some day home economics will be required in all secondary schools in China, but to achieve this more trained leaders are needed. Do you know of anyone who is ready to come and help us?

That the department of agriculture and forestry in China anticipates the development of a program aimed at improving rural homes is apparent. Three Chinese graduate students have been given some financial aid by the government for training toward that end.

They are Suen-I Wu Chang, Teh Yin Ma, and Winnie Chu. Dr. Chang completed work for her MS and PhD at Oregon State College and, with her husband and two children, is due to return to China this spring to enter government work in agriculture and home economics extension. Teh Yin Ma (MS Virginia Polytechnic Institute) is now doing extension work in China. Winnie Chu is now studying at Michigan State College.

This brief glimpse into the home economics field in China will reveal something of the big task that is ahead in training leaders and expanding programs and facilities to meet the needs of China. Christian colleges in China that have served as leaders in this field need funds to re-equip their laboratories, home management houses, and nursery schools and to recondition their buildings. Some whose plants have been destroyed must construct new buildings. Libraries which have been wiped out must be restocked. Scholarships are needed to bring some of the ablest leaders to the United States for study.

Many Chinese college women eligible for scholarships have lost their homes; some have been teaching, and the salaries of these teachers have been pitifully insufficient even to provide adequately for nutritional needs.

China needs also a few carefully chosen American women (specialists and administrators) who are willing to go there on sabbatical leaves or for a longer time to help in the advancement of home economics education. Home economics must become indigenous if it is to survive in China. Americans who go there must go in the spirit of students of the culture of China's homes if they are to make their contributions lasting. China needs neither immature American college graduates who are seeking adventure nor the more mature women who can see only home economics as adapted to American homes.

We American home economists, as individuals and as an association, have a big opportunity to make an investment in China which can bring great returns in human betterment. Each of us has a chance to help.

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TURNING THE SOIL FOR THE FIRST BUILDING OF THE YENCHING COLLEGE FOR WOMEN.

On the afternoon of July 7, 1922, in the ruined park of a prince five miles from Peking, a simple little ceremony of breaking the ground for the buildings of Yenching College set the seal of success on the ~~brave~~ campaign for funds carried on by the Joint Committee for Union Colleges, and gave the promise for the future of "greater things" for the brave little college which has just completed the seventeenth year of its struggle upward. Happy indeed were we that this first soil could be turned by Mrs. Avann, now visiting China. Mr. Gibb, of the Peking University faculty, now Chairman of the Construction Bureau, presided, and introduced Mr. Hill, our resident architect, and other foreign and Chinese members of the Bureau, then told us that the white lines at our feet marked the foundations of the Russell Sage Memorial Building, and the smaller building marked out at the west was the Faculty Club House. On the brief program Mrs. Avann represented the Yenching College Committee, and began her remarks with words used by a beggar, "You have, I have not", to express the appeal which is making gifts from the women of the Occident, rich in Christ's love, rich in the truth which has set them free, rich in material things, flow into the treasury of the Joint Committee, for their sisters in the Orient. May they continue to flow in, supplemented by magnificent gifts like that from the Laura Spellman Rockefeller Memorial Fund, until the dream of buildings to house a thousand college girls comes true. Scripture passages were read by Miss Payne, representing the faculty, and Miss Lee, representing the undergraduates, while Miss Ting, representing the alumnae, voiced the praise and prayer in all our hearts, and as we listened to her supplications some of us were praying that the alumna of the future may be as earnest and devoted as these pioneer college women of China. Miss Miner, in the closing remarks, expressed the hope that every young woman going out from the Yenching College of the future may indeed be "taught of Jehovah", and "meet for the Master's use," thoughts which had been brought before us in the scripture passages read from Isaiah 54:11-14, beginning, "I will set thy stones in fair colors," and 2 Timothy 2:19-21, "the firm foundation of God standeth,"

The little group of College students watched with wondering eyes when dainty little Mrs. Avann drove the spade into the ground, and Miss Miner crowned her

seventeen years of service to the college by turning the second sod, then they reached out their slender hands for spades and picks, and joined the teachers, the Construction Bureau staff, and visiting friends, forming merry rows along the lime-marked lines of the foundations.

On this beautiful, historic site of about eighty acres when we face westward and "lift up our eyes" it is "to the hills", which that afternoon made a purple-blue mass in the background, with mists and showers gathering about the nearer hills, one of them crowned and flanked by the stately buildings of the Summer Palace, about a mile away, the other, more distant, lifting up the Jade Fountain Pagoda, which we have made ours by focusing upon it our main axis of the University buildings. "All things are yours", is the message that came, the wonderful heritage of the past in this marvelous land of China and in the lands of the West which are reaching out gift-laden hands, the challenging hope of the future, when Yenching "may lay hold on that for which" she "was laid hold on by Christ Jesus."

Lillian Miner -

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A. PIONEER COLLEGE FOR WOMEN IN THE FAR EAST.

Miss Luella Miner
Peking

"For a woman to be without ability is her virtue," said a son of Adam born in China. It was Eve who first lusted for the fruit of the tree of knowledge, having heard the promise, "Ye shall be like the gods, knowing." This may have influenced her sage masculine descendants when they migrated to eastern Asia to wall in, - not the tree of knowledge of which they themselves wished to partake freely that they might be, if not gods at least mandarins, - but their women. These walled-in daughters of Eve still managed sometimes to steal the fruit, so ancient China had her women poets, worthy to stand with Sappho, her women artists who with brush or needle made poetry for the eye, and some empresses whose ability truly was in excess of their virtue. Stolen ~~fruit~~ fruit may be sweet, but partaking thereof perchance endangers character.

It was British and American women who themselves had proved that equal opportunity, regardless of sex, is the birthright of all, who first set fruit, not forbidden, before the eyes of Chinese girls. "The fruit is poisoned," said suspicious mothers to their daughters in those early days, "it has in it medicine which will beguile you," warned wary fathers and brothers. So only forlorn maidens whose parents were too poor or too indifferent to care for them, and very eager, venturesome maidens went to those early mission schools. This was a little over ^{half} a century ago in Peking, earlier in the treaty ports in the south. Very slowly grew those mission schools until 1900. Out of that cataclysm began a new world in China, with new forms of life, a new educational system with the university at its apex, and, at last, government schools for women.

It was just when the government was modernizing its educational system that the first college for women evolved out of a mission high school, Bridgman Academy in Peking. So small and quiet were its

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beginnings that some question just when it began to be. Surely it was when four Bridgman Academy graduates returned in the autumn of 1905 to begin that course of study which they completed four years later, when the North China Union Women's College gave them their diplomas. It was in 1905 also that the college was formally organized as one of the colleges under the North China Educational Union, in which four Protestant missions in North China cooperated.

It was the quality of Chinese women which made possible this rapid evolution from primary school to college in forty years, and this makes the genesis of collegiate education for women in China vastly significant. There has always been a force latent in the womanhood of China, and a longing to set out on the Great Adventure. It has never submitted to belabored or bejewelled wholesale slavery, like India's sad womanhood, or to universal dollishness like Japan's man-pleasing maids and matrons of olden times. It has never in any other nation been necessary either to bind the feet or to burden the shoulders of every woman in the land to keep her from competing with her brothers in the race of life. China ceased to be a man's world when modern education was adopted for girls as well as boys, albeit today in the government schools there are twenty three boys to one girl. She began to be a man's and woman's world when democratic principles won the day in 1911. In the making of the China which is to be, woman may play a larger part than she has played in any other nation, though the same Russia which is to be may also be largely the product of her wisdom and love.

For eleven years Union College stayed in the buildings of Bridgman Academy where it had its birth, but the growth of both departments made it necessary for one to swrm, so the college moved late in 1916 to an old ducal palace near by. Before Columbus discovered America some of these buildings were erected. There in the Ming Dynasty lived the famous prime-minister, Yen Sung, more powerful than his Imperial head; there after 1644 lived the T'ung Clan, and

from this palace the first emperor of the Manchu Dynasty took a bride, who became the mother of the famous Emperor K'ang Hsi. Now, in the place where once stood the throne on which this emperor sat when he visited the T'ung Clan, there is a college chapel platform, and where subjects once kowtowed to majesty sit college women singing praises to the King of Kings. And on that college platform sits a ~~talented~~ talented member of the faculty who belongs to this same T'ung Clan. Back to Manchuria in medieval times this young woman traces her ancestry, but her forefathers followed the ways of the literati, not of the princes and dukes whose pride and extravagance led to their downfall, typified in the ruins which were repaired to make this home for the college. This girl of the ancient T'ung Clan was born in a Christian home, and after graduating from the college where she is now teaching, she studied and taught four years in England. Is it not all typical? New life shall spring out of decay and China's women will redeem her past and glorify her future.

A building which the T'ung dukes used for a gambling den is now a chemical laboratory, and in the retired court where the gamblers smoked their opium athletic maidens play ^{tennis or} basket ball. ⁱⁿ The stately building where the "first lady" passed her lazy days in embroidering or burning incense to Buddha, college girls sit reading the latest magazine or gleaming items for the next debate from daily papers, hardly taking time to glance up at the beautiful carving which once enshrined a god. A whole procession of gods passed out from a side court to leave room for faculty houses, and an outside court which once sheltered servants and retainers is now the home of a half day school where poor children are taught five afternoons a week as a labor of love.

The queer old birds and beasts which ornament the tent-like tile roofs looked down on many a scene of cruelty and lust in Yen Sung's day and when Boxer bands gathered in the courts in 1900. They look as calmly now on academic processions with Chinese women in cap and gown, they listen as unmoved when college students in the

historic throne room rehearse "The Merchant of Venice" that they may give an entertainment and get five hundred dollars to support their missionary school and pay the expenses of a dear alumna who has gone as a missionary to far Yunnan. Not even in summer vacation days can the birds and beasts sleep, for the students prepare to repeat the play in a large auditorium where they are made happy by getting over seven hundred dollars for their patriotic campaign. The old courtyard has witnessed a still more impressive scene; the college students are gathering there, their faces aglow with the solemn joy of those who have forgotten self for a cause. Each one has a bundle containing a warm garment and perhaps a little food, for like the men students of whom thirteen hundred were imprisoned the night before, they may pass the next night without bedding or food. They stand a moment while their leader voices their prayer for help, then pass out from the gate in a silent procession to join other silent processions of girl students and march to the President's Palace to plead for their country. Very hot are the fires of patriotism which were kindled in young hearts when the decision of the Paris Peace Conference reached Peking. A new national consciousness has been born of the student movement, and in bravery and self-sacrifice the Chinese woman student is equal to her brother. She stands among those who

"Never turned their backs, but marched breast forward", though her eyes saw plainly the soldiers with fixed bayonets standing in her path. The Chinese soldier is not a Turk; the bayonets were lowered, but more than one girl has been carried to a hospital with injuries received in this student campaign.

One other scene is significant. It is the first confused day when university men from all the colleges in Peking have gathered in the government university to organize the Student Movement. Only two women students are there, representatives from the Union College. The young men are excited, and in a moment of passionate disagreement the meeting seems about to break up, when one of these young women rises and in a few earnest words pleads what the great cause may

not be forgotten. The storm calms, the presiding officer thanks the ~~speaker~~ speaker, and after several hours, when darkness begins to fall, and the two young women withdraw, all rise to show their respect.

No less significant ~~is~~ ^{are} the keen interest and quiet respect with which university men and women of rank and culture, albeit of the old school, listen to the college woman of today as she addresses large audiences. She does it with a directness, an earnestness, a poise and utter forgetfulness of self which is born of her sense of a mission.

There is wonderful material in these Chinese women. And think of the quantity of it! There is only this one college for women in all the northern half of China, so hers is the task of training leaders for a hundred million women and girls. The Chinese government has no schools for girls above the grade of normal school. Ginling College, started ten years after the college in Peking, is south of the Yangtse River. Two-thirds of the provinces in China are represented in the student body of this college in the capital, some of whom have travelled a month to reach the college, and will remain here four years without returning home. The twenty six graduates from the full college course and the thirty four from the two years special courses are filling important positions as teachers, physicians, Y.W.C.A. secretaries, lecturers, leaders in social reform and patriotic movements and pioneer missionary enterprises. Even more important is the influence of the college woman in the home, as intellectual and spiritual companion of her husband as wise and loving mother, as a builder of the model home, healthy and happy in moral tone as well as in all that makes for physical wellbeing. This is China's greatest need today.

There are five other union colleges for women in the Far East, Ginling in Nanking, China, founded in 1915, one in Madras, founded the same year, and one in Tokyo founded in 1918. The other two are medical colleges, one in Peking which dates from 1907 and one in Vellore, India, formally opened in 1918,

"Union College" is about to change its name, after the manner of womankind, ^{perhaps} taking the Chinese name of Peking University, with which it is now affiliated, as the women's department. "Yenching College" may someday be as familiar a name as Wellesley or Smith. In Peking University several strong Protestant missions cooperate for higher education, and its location in the capital, which is a great educational center, gives it a unique opportunity. Its plans for extension, involving with the women's department an expenditure of several million dollars, make it desirable to secure for it a larger site outside the city walls.

So perhaps someday the shiny, timebeaten lions guarding the old gateway of ~~Ying~~ ^{the Tung dukes} with its heavy threshold worn into two ruts by the lifting over it of the chariot wheels of many generations of duchesses, will watch the exodus of ~~the~~ Yenching College faculty and students as they go forth to a larger home, with wider opportunities, near the men's university.

Will that mean coeducation sometime?

That is another story, but the earnest, dignified Chinese college woman, with her lack of self-consciousness, is as ready for it as any woman in the world, and the chivalrous Chinese man student, eager that his sister and his future wife may have the opportunity which his gentle, refined mother lacked in her secluded life, is worthy of it too.

^{this} Yenching College ^{in Peking} has another beautiful name, "Wellesley's Sister College". This adoption was by a recent all-college vote. Just how the big sister will serve the younger one is also a story for the future, but perhaps the benefit will be mutual as Wellesley reaches out through her sister college to realize in the Orient her ~~ide~~ ideals of freedom and service.

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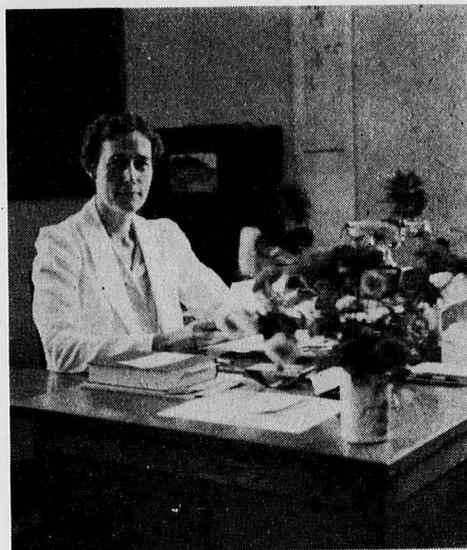
Back on the Gripsholm

By MARGARET B. SPEER, 1922

WITHOUT doubt every man or woman who is or has been in service overseas has felt, in moments when contemplation was possible, a split consciousness of living in two separate and unrelated worlds—the worlds of combat, of mud and blood and noise and sudden action, and the world of home, of familiar and comfortable routine, of the small daily pleasures of family life whose values are appreciated almost in direct proportion to our separation from them. (And, by the way, how often do we civilian Americans stop to think how different we are from most belligerents in being able to use the word “overseas” for all first-hand experience of military action? Canada is in the same category with us, and Japan for the present, but not England, not Russia, not Europe, not China.) Those of us who have come back from internment in China find ourselves conscious continually not only of two separate worlds but of *four*; and we cannot live in the present one, real and dear and pleasant as it is, without the constant pull of ties in the other three which keep us from accepting this one as normal or in any way to be taken for granted.

The Journey a Transition Between Worlds

The transition from the last world I lived in to this one was a long, unreal period of apparent suspense in space and time, and then of gradual adjustment, as we travelled for eleven weeks from the Civilian Assembly Center in Weih sien, Shantung, to New York. First, three days by train in crowded third-class cars where those who could not sleep sitting upright on hard wooden seats found their only chance to relax by spreading out a



Margaret B. Speer, 1922

steamer rug and going promptly to sleep on the dirty station platforms where three times our train was held up while the tracks ahead were repaired after damage from guerrilla bombings. Then a month on board the crowded *Teia Maru*, a ship that must have been pleasant enough for its first-class passengers in the days when it carried its normal load of four hundred instead of our group of fifteen hundred and three repatriates, and when its passengers could while away the lazy tropical days with reading or writing. For reading matter we had Bibles—the only books we had been allowed to bring—but our Bibles could be either read for their own sakes or studied as language textbooks, since many people had brought Chinese, Japanese, French, or Spanish Bibles or Greek Testaments. Our only other reading matter was a selection of Japanese propaganda pamphlets which were doubly useful in that their pages provided most interesting reading and their margins and

Reprint from the *Bryn Mawr Alumnae Bulletin*, March, 1944

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Being fitted with new clothes on the *Gripsholm*

Life

fly-leaves were our only writing paper. Then came six weeks on the clean, white, friendly *Gripsholm*, with letters at last from home, and books and magazines to correct our ignorance of all the happenings of the last two years, and miraculous supplies of butter, of fruit, of white bread, of all the good things we had dreamed of, to fill up the bottomless cavities in the skinny frames of old and young. The days on the *Gripsholm* provided a perfect period for our transition back to regular American life from internment camp habits of standing in queues, of accepting what was handed out to us by "authorities," of being content with clothes that were ragged, patched, faded, rumped, shapeless, but considered wearable as long as they held together and had no indecent holes.

What Internment Means

We are now back in America with new clothes and new jobs, but we cannot

put away the consciousness of that other world of internment. It is not just a memory for us—it is an actuality for hundreds of our friends, thousands of our acquaintances. Our American friends who are still interned are waiting eagerly for another trip of the *Gripsholm* but the still larger numbers of our British, Dutch, and Belgian friends know that although a British exchange might take many of the children and some of the women, most of them will have to make the best of internment until the end of the war. For most people it is fortunately not an unbearable life. Conditions vary in different centers depending on the climate, on the economic conditions of the surrounding countryside, on the facilities available to the Japanese when they first set up the camps, on the temperament of the commandant, and on the ingenuity and morale of the internees themselves. In most civilian centers there is nothing that can honestly be called deliberate bad

treatment, but there is much that is inconvenient, unpleasant, and very different from the comforts of home that most internees had taken for granted all their lives. Very few people *enjoy* lack of privacy—eight or eighteen or twenty-eight roommates in dormitory rooms for the “unattached,” or one or two children with their parents in a room where three cots leave no inch for a table or a chair. No one enjoys monotonous and scanty food. Potatoes, meat, cabbage, leeks, noodles, fish, *can* of course be cooked in a variety of appetizing ways, but it is very difficult to produce anything but stew, and stew, and more stew, when the only cooking facilities for a mess hall feeding four hundred people are two large cauldrons. No one enjoys an endless struggle against dirt. (Being clean is one of the luxuries which well-to-do people are least likely to recognize as the greatest of all luxuries.) No one enjoys the sense of being a prisoner—and who can forget that he is a prisoner when there is roll call every morning before breakfast, when some one else decides how many letters one may write and what letters one may receive, when there are high walls that no one goes outside of except the daily garbage-dumpers? And yet none of these experiences can be called a very desperate hardship for the healthy adult with a cheerful disposition. For the old, the ill, the very young, and the parents of the very young, internment life is hard. For all, there are difficulties, mental and physical, which any imaginative reader can guess at, but there are also compensations: the sense of achievement that comes from helping to turn a chaotic, unorganized conglomeration of many nationalities, all ages, and all sects into a coherent, orderly community; the sense of independence that comes to a group that does everything for itself; the sense of work well done that surely the Israelites knew when they turned out the

first strawless brick; the sense of keen satisfaction that comes from living through something new and hard and disagreeable and very much feared beforehand and finding that you can “take it.”

Bitterness of Life in Occupied China

But this internment world was a comparatively brief experience for those of us who came back from North China on this last trip of the *Gripsholm*. We were in camp for only six months. We did not have to face the bitter weather of winter, like the friends whom we left behind. We did not have the heat of two summers in camp, like our fellow repatriates from Hongkong. It was long enough to be, like the experiences of one of W. S. Gilbert's characters, “indelibly lined on the tablets of one's mind when a yesterday has faded from its page,” but not long enough to have blotted out in any degree the consciousness of that third world where we had lived before we were interned—Occupied China, where our Chinese friends and former colleagues are having to make the daily choice between starvation with a clear conscience or compromise in order to get a job that will barely keep the family alive. This morning's mail has brought a letter from one of our Yenching alumnae in Free China. She writes of her parents still in an occupied area. Her father, a scholar, a poet, and well-known Christian leader, has had bitter experiences as a political prisoner of the Japanese. He is now “free” but not free to leave Occupied China. “They are as well off as can possibly be. The church pays a small salary for my father's preaching and my mother feeds chickens, plants vegetables, and they get along pretty well.” They are fortunate. She writes of another friend, a distinguished scholar and collector, who was so ill when he was released from prison that he was hardly expected to live. “The W—s

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are very badly off. They have sold all their things and as prices are getting very high, they, being quite a big family, can scarcely keep body and soul together." The young ones, the ones without too many family ties, have gone West, but there are many who cannot go. Jobs that can be taken without loss of self-respect are rare. The more able the man, the greater the pressure brought by the puppets to co-operate with the military program. Rice, white flour, even such coarse cereals as millet and kaoliang that used to be the diet of only the poorest workers, are now unobtainable by ordinary Chinese citizens. Instead they must eat a cereal mixture advertised to be a mixture of thirty or forty wholesome cereals, but actually made up largely of peanut shells, pressed bean residue, and the sweepings of the grainshop floors.

Attitude of the Chinese

I think of our proud old gardener who insisted on pulling up the tomatoes and cucumbers and cutting down the grapevines in our garden the day we had to leave our house on the Yenching compound so that there should be nothing left for the Japanese who would soon move in. He came to see me eight months later in the city when he heard we were about to be interned. His cheeks were sunken and he told me that the cost of the family food (one pound of cereal per person per day, nothing more) had more than trebled during those eight months. But his shrewd old eyes were bright. "I will not work for the Japanese. I worked in the Summer Palace when I was a boy. I have worked for you for thirteen years. I have always worked for good people. I will not work for the Japanese. My wife and I are old. If we should die soon, what does it matter?" I think of the Chinese head of a great hospital. I was having tea with his wife

the day the Japanese army took over the hospital. It was all done politely, but twenty-five years of service to the ill and poor were over, twenty-five years of scientific experiments were stopped. Dr. S—— was white when he came into the room. "I have just come from a funeral," he said, and before he could cover his face with his hands the tears began to run down his cheeks. I think of other friends—students, clerks, shopkeepers. They cannot go on the streets without seeing the slogans of "co-prosperity" waving on white cloth banners at every intersection (although white cloth is now prohibitively expensive for clothes) while below the banners the khaki-clad soldiers elbow civilians into the gutters and in the gutters often lie the bodies of those who have found that co-prosperity is just another way of spelling starvation for the conquered.

This is the pattern of the world of Occupied China as we knew it in Peking. There were foretastes of it in Japanese military pressure from 1931 to 1937. From 1937 to 1941 Japanese occupation was moderated by an unwillingness to alienate entirely the good will of England and America and by the fact that mission schools and colleges and hospitals and churches and social agencies provided places where many patriotic Chinese could work for China and for a Christian community and not for the false ideals of the "Co-Prosperity Sphere." After Pearl Harbor the last moderating influence vanished. It became harder and harder for even the most internationally-minded to believe in the good faith and the idealism of that unseen portion of the Japanese people who, we knew, hated the brutality and the arrogance of the military as much as we. Some of us knew that such a group of Japanese existed because we had had friends among them. We tried to remember them when we were enemy aliens in Occupied China

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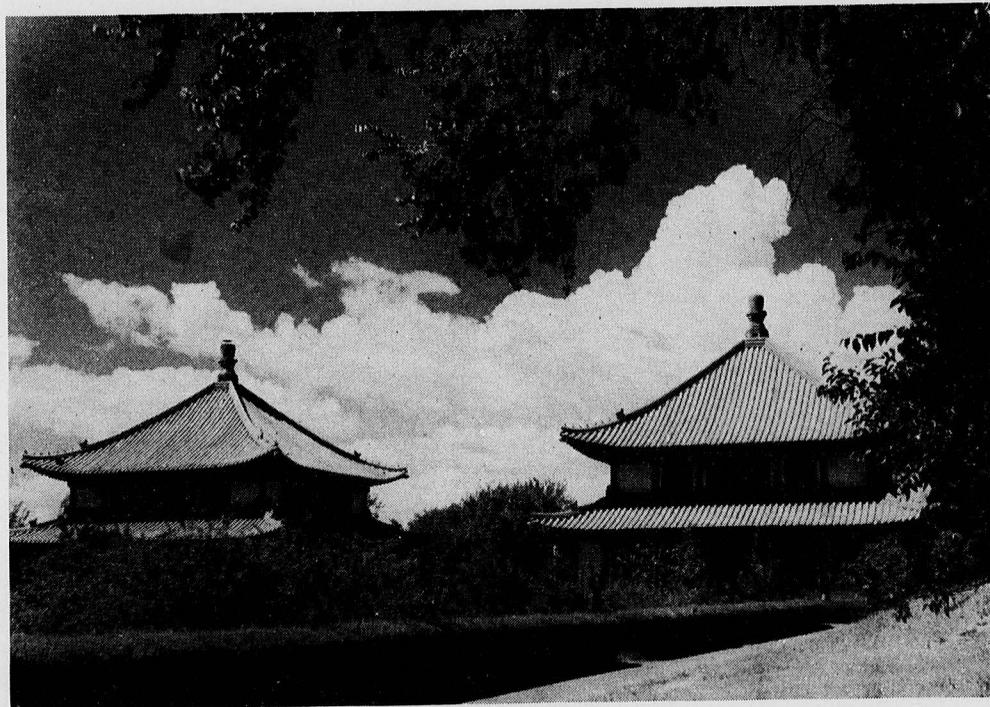
and we hang stubbornly on to our memory of them now.

Universities Reopening in Free China

But there is still a fourth world that is real to us repatriates—Free China. Some of us have never been in what is now Free China. But Peking was once Free China and now that Free China is somewhere else, we still feel we know it well. The friends who were our next-door neighbors and the students who sat in our classes and the doctors and nurses who treated us if we fell ill, have, in almost every case where it was possible, gone to Free China. In some cases they have gone only fifty or a hundred or two hundred miles into the hills to join the guerrillas; in most cases they have travelled two thousand miles or more to Szechuan or Yunnan.

Yenching University, whose faculty I joined nearly nineteen years ago, was closed by the Japanese within a few hours

of the attack on Pearl Harbor. That attack took place about three o'clock on the morning of December 8th according to Peking time. Before nine o'clock the Japanese gendarmerie had taken over our campus. On the 9th they announced that all students who had homes in Peking might go home. Oddly enough, every one of our eleven hundred and fifty students found a home in Peking that night, although more than half of them came from other provinces. Twelve of the senior Chinese members of the faculty were arrested and imprisoned for six months. President Leighton Stuart was "detained" and is still being held under close house arrest. Within a few months all the Chinese members of the faculty had to leave their homes on the campus and were scattered. The Western members of the faculty were closely watched by the gendarmes. The Japanese announced in all the Chinese newspapers that Yenching University had been abolished because it had been a center of



Campus of Yenching University which was closed a few hours after Pearl Harbor



Students at Yenching, many of whom have followed the University to Free China

Western imperialism. But Yenching was not abolished; it only skipped a semester. In September, 1942, Yenching University reopened in Chengtu with two hundred and fifty students at convocation and more arriving ragged and tired and happy every week. The teaching staff were mostly our own graduates, younger men and women who had had little administrative experience but who are courageously tackling the almost insuperable problems of finance, quarters, equipment, and supplies. The cost of living has increased one hundred and sixty times (yes, *times*, not per cent) and salaries for teachers have increased only one-eighth as much as the cost of living. Everyone is overworked. Tuberculosis is prevalent and malnutrition is common. A large part of the women's dormitory burned down last spring. An ordinary sheet of paper for a freshman theme costs more than \$5. But the Japanese did not abolish Yenching or any of the other universities that have reopened in the western provinces. They merely spurred them

into new life. A letter came yesterday from Agnes Chen (Bryn Mawr, Ph.D.), who is taking my place as Dean of the College for Women. She spoke of sixteen students, both boys and girls, who had just volunteered to join the Burma Expeditionary Army, and of twenty-five more who had been accepted a little earlier as interpreters with the American forces under General Stilwell. And then speaking of the fear we used to feel in the old peaceful days that Yenching life was "soft," she wrote, "We stored our energy and strength then in order to go through the impossible when necessary."

So there are my four worlds. In three of them my friends are finding it necessary, more often than not, "to go through the impossible." In the fourth, the world of home, most of us are still in the stage of "storing our energy and strength." I hope that it is in order that we too can "go through the impossible when necessary" as courageously as our Chinese allies and our own men and women overseas.

Thanksgiving on the Gripsholm

By MARGARET BAILEY SPEER

A SMALL stay-at-home boy who continually heard his parents at family prayers asking for "journeying mercies" for older traveling members of the family grew tired of always being left out of the fun and put in his own prayers a request for "a journey and mercies." In his mind the journey was the main thing although it would be very nice to have the mercies thrown in. Now we have had the journey which we longed for and plenty of mercies besides, and we are profoundly thankful for both.

We can all remember Thanksgiving Days in other years when the American response to the President's proclamation was a sort of desperate Pollyanna search for bright spots in the midst of deep gloom. We knew that as a nation we had greater physical comfort than any other nation in the world, but we knew too the despair of the unemployed, the fear in many hearts of the inevitable involvement in war. We approached Thanksgiving Day as if it were our duty to find a silver lining in the clouds and as if we could do it by conscientiously flashing a small torchlight about. The day after Thanksgiving Day our small flashlights were turned off again and we were back in the thick fog. We forgot that the real silver lining of a cloud is never the reflection of even the brightest searchlight but comes from the sun which is there all the time although it may be hidden from our sight.

For most of us on this ship, this Thanksgiving Day has been entirely different from those other days. The darkness of war is still all about us, behind us, ahead of us, nearer for some than for others, but we have not had to search so painstakingly for bright spots. The presence of the sun behind the clouds has been made real to us. Every one of us has had deep causes for thanksgiving every day of this journey. Nothing could be more unnecessary than for any speaker to try to point out causes of thanksgiving, or to urge us to say thank you, like the mother telling her four-year-old to say thank you to the stranger on the deck for a toy. We do not need to be told we ought to be thankful. We felt so thankful on Thanksgiving Day that the tears rolled down more than one pair of cheeks as we sang "The Star-Spangled Banner." If we should feel any more thankful we would burst.

But this thankfulness is rather an uncomfortable business. It has raised some nagging questions. First, what are we really thankful for and is our gratitude something that should last or is it natural for it to be temporary? Is it a mood that was very glowing and satisfying when we gloated over our first wonderful meal on the Gripsholm, but that inevitably peters out as we have grown accustomed to the meals so that we comment rather querulously when we come down to lunch with our hearts set on ice cream and find that the dessert is only fresh fruit? (Imagine saying "only fresh fruit" in camp!) There is danger that such a

Margaret Bailey Speer, daughter of Mrs. Robert E. Speer, honorary president of the National Board, and Dr. Robert E. Speer, is dean of the College for Women of Yenching University, China. Since December 8, 1941 (which was December 7 in the United States), Miss Speer, with the other American members of the Yenching faculty, has been interned, first on the Yenching campus, later in Peking, and after March 1943 in the internment camp at Weihsien, China. She was one of the group repatriated last autumn, and arrived in New York December first. She was asked to lead the service on the last Sunday aboard the Gripsholm, and because the things she said at that time express the attitudes of so many of those who have been through the same or similar experiences, we consider it a privilege to be able to share them with the readers of the *Womans Press*.

brand of gratitude will vanish into thin air when we have been at home a few weeks and find that queues are not confined to internment camps and that even in the Promised Land there are discomforts large and small.

So it is good to probe about a little in our minds and to examine the things for which we are really thankful. The list is tremendous. Leaving out the journey, which is best of all, and thinking only of a few of the mercies, we could begin with such simple things as chocolate from the Red Cross; clean sheets and friendly stewards who change them; good food that we do not have to cook ourselves, and so much of it that we have forgotten that hungry feeling we had for so long; miraculously good weather and calm seas; overwhelming kindness at Port Elizabeth; the toys for the children bought by the American sailors in Rio. We could go on indefinitely. But is the list going to be all material things? Of course not. The fact that we will soon be with people we love from whom we have been separated; the fact that we are free citizens going to a free, unoccupied, uninvaded, unbombed country—these rank at the head of the list.

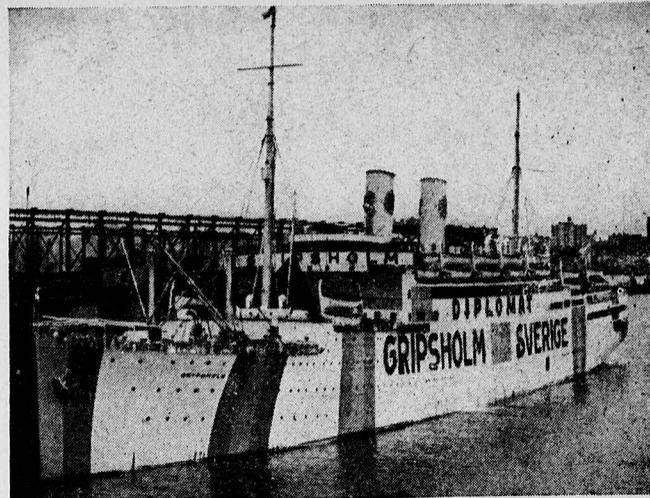
But we cannot deny that all the small, good, satisfying physical comforts do bulk very large. It is right, not wrong, to take conscious pleasure in such things. But suppose some of these pleasant things are taken away from us, what then? There are both men and women on this ship who will soon be in uniform and before long some will be in places far less comfortable than even internment camps. When the plentiful food and the clean sheets and the sunny, idle days of this journey are only a memory, what then?

We all spoke on Thursday morning of being glad that we were celebrating Thanksgiving Day on the Gripsholm instead of on the Teia, in the warm waters off South America instead of in the cold and cheerless mess halls at camp; but suppose we were on the Teia with the Gripsholm still ahead of us, would we not still have plenty to be thankful for? Are not the things

for which we are most thankful the things that are real and true even when we are not lapped around in comfort? Wherever we are, we are thankful that we are Americans or Canadians. Wherever we are, we are thankful that there are great nations which, though they have faults and weaknesses, though their records hold some things of which we are ashamed, still fight for the great causes of freedom and justice. Wherever we are, we are thankful that men are willing to endure hardship and pain and peril, willing to give their lives for their countries and for what they believe to be right. (When we put it this way, we are saying we are thankful for manliness and heroism on the part of our enemies as well as among our own forces—I hope that we really mean this.) Wherever we are, we are thankful for the essential goodness and kindness of human beings which many of us saw more clearly in internment camps than ever before. Wherever we are, we are thankful that God reveals Himself to us and brings strength and serenity to us when we need these gifts most desperately.

So it is good to keep asking ourselves what we are thankful for and to keep remembering that it is not only for the physical comforts but for far more permanent things. Yet when we think of the material things—this journey and these mercies—there is another question that keeps nagging at us even more persistently and more disquietingly. One evening on the Teia—one of those hungry evenings—I happened to be standing on the deck when a man came up from below with a treasure in his hand—a wonderful, large orange. He came straight to a child who was standing there—not his own child or one related to him in any way, but one of the children whose parents were not on board—and put the orange in her hand. A lovely smile of joy and surprise spread from ear to ear and she said, "Oh thank you, *thank* you, but why are you giving it to me?" We have all asked that question again and again in these months. Why, why, have we been given these good things when others have not?

The nursery rhyme tells us of a little boy who, when he was given a Christmas pie, sat down in a corner where no one else could crowd in to ask for a share, and, when he had pulled out a fat plum, said: "Oh, what a good boy am I!" As Christians we see all the good things of life as evidences of the loving care of a Heavenly Father, but we cannot take the Little Jack Horner complacency as a Christian attitude. It is revolting to any honest Christian to believe that God is good to us because we are better than other people or because He loves us more. Are we dearer to our families, more valuable to our country, more beloved children of God than the friends we left behind in Manila, in Stanley, in Pootung, in Weih sien? No, a hundred times no. Is it because of any virtue of ours that we are well fed when there is famine in India, while malnutrition grows worse in China, when children are hungry in every country in Europe? No. We reject any such suggestion with horror. At least I think we are all honest enough to reject such complacency when applied to ourselves as individuals. We can think of too many friends we left behind, who, if things were arranged according to deserts, deserved to come on this trip far more than we did. But when the Little Jack Horner philosophy is applied not to



Courtesy Swedish American Line

THE GRIPSHOLM IN DIPLOMATIC DRESS

individuals, but to classes or countries or races, perhaps after all we do accept it.

The people whose work makes us comfortable—cooks working over hot stoves in crowded galleys, miners on night shifts, ricksha coolies who have so often pulled us in the heat or the cold—how easy it is to persuade ourselves that in some curious way these people do not deserve to have the same comforts, the same consideration that we need. In camp, when we were cooking or hauling water, we told ourselves, as the perspiration dripped down our faces, that we would never again be unsympathetic with those who labored by the sweat of their brows. But I fear that it will be terribly easy to slip back to the point of taking it for granted that there is a class of people who should do unpleasant things to keep us comfortable, that somehow we deserve the comfort more than they do.

And if this is an easy state of mind to drift into in regard to classes, it is even easier and even more terrible in its results in the case of nations. You and I know that we are no better than friends of ours who are deprived of the comforts we have now. But when we think of our rich land of plenty with its tremendous production schedule, its well-dressed, well-fed people, its freedom, and when we compare it with other countries, it is very easy to fall into the Little Jack Horner error on a national scale and to believe that America—or Canada—has been blessed with prosperity and her people with freedom because somehow it is a more virtuous country, dearer to God than other nations. We find ourselves in a real confusion here. Our country, as countries go, is good and great and it is a blessed thing to be a free citizen anywhere on the American continent. During the last few months we have all felt this with greater strength, with greater pride than ever before. But if for an instant we fall into the error of thinking that our blessings are all due to superior moral virtues, we shall be failing our country at a point where she most needs us. A complacent Little Jack Horner in the nursery can be ignored. A complacent, powerful Jack Horner among nations is not only extremely unpopular, he is a definite menace to world peace.

We need not push the analogy to races, but it is

just as dangerous there as it is with classes or countries.

But we have not yet answered that nagging question: Why have these causes for thanksgiving been given to us? It is a question which we must keep on asking although we will not find the answer. They *have* been given to us who have done nothing to deserve them. "He hath not dealt with us after our sins nor rewarded us according to our iniquities." We do not know why we have been given comforts that others lack, but we do know that such mercies put us eternally in the debt of the loving Father who has given them to us and eternally in the debt of every person who has been less fortunate than we. How can we pay these debts? That is the pressing question.

According to the old Mosaic law the debt could be paid by a thank offering, a sacrifice given in the Temple. It is not a bad idea to make a thank offering in return for specific blessings. I imagine all of us will want to give a special gift to the Red Cross in gratitude for what it has done for us. But something that is done once and for all is too easy a way to repay heavy obligations such as most of us are under. Our consciences cannot be eased so simply.

One of my friends told me that she woke up before daylight one morning early in this trip with the beautiful words of the Prayer Book sounding over and over again in her ears: "Give us that due sense of all thy mercies." What is a due sense? The rest of the prayer provides the only possible answer. "That our hearts may be unfeignedly thankful, and that we show forth Thy praise not only with our lips but in our lives by giving up ourselves to Thy service, and by walking before Thee in holiness and righteousness all our days."

If we have plenty to eat when others are hungry, then a due sense of our mercies tells us that we are under a debt which must be paid to the hungry, sometime, somewhere. If our children are able to grow up in a country where they are free from attack or where they are not regimented in little Nazi bands before they are in their teens, then a due sense of our mercies tells us that we are under a debt which must be paid sometime, somewhere, to children who are huddling in air-raid shelters or being taught distorted history and false science for the sake of the State. If we have escaped from desolate places where a conquering army has left hatred and bitterness behind it, then a due sense of our mercies tells us that we are under a debt which must be paid, a debt to show that armies on foreign soil who resort to brutality and cruelty are never truly conquering, but are only sowing the seeds of their own destruction, a debt to show that hate

and fear will not work on our side any better than they have worked for our enemies. If we have felt Christ's love for us, then a due sense of our mercies tells us that we are under a debt to try to show in every action of our lives that love is the Christian way of life.

There is no easy way to do these things. The particular path of holiness and righteousness that each one of us must walk is one which we must find for ourselves. It is harder to find it in wartime than in peace. We shall probably lose it many times, but we shall be bitterly ungrateful unless we try.

Is the arrival of this shipload of passengers going to mean anything more to our country than joy to our families and a few more heads and hands for useful jobs? That is something, but not enough. Is it going to mean an increase of sensationalism, a lot more people urging vengeance, urging hatred, suggesting cheap and brutal panaceas? Or is it going to mean a new strengthening of the forces of justice, more people trying sanely and calmly to tell and to learn the truth, more people who realize that the collapse of our enemies will not bring permanent peace if our only aim is their destruction and if we are still complacent about discrimination against the Negro, prejudice against the Jew, superiority toward the Oriental, veiled jealousy toward our allies?

A due sense of all God's mercies requires nothing less than a giving of our whole lives in His service.

"No gifts have we to offer
For all Thy love imparts
But that which Thou desirest,
Our *humble*, thankful hearts."

Let us join in saying together the beautiful words of the General Thanksgiving, trying to make them true for our own lives.

"Almighty God, Father of all mercies, we, thine unworthy servants, do give Thee most humble and hearty thanks for all Thy goodness and loving-kindness to us and to all men; we bless Thee for our creation, preservation, and all the blessings of this life; but above all for Thine inestimable love in the redemption of the world by our Lord, Jesus Christ; for the means of grace, and for the hope of glory. And, we beseech Thee, give us that due sense of all Thy mercies, that our hearts may be unfeignedly thankful, and that we show forth Thy praise, not only with our lips, but in our lives, by giving up ourselves to Thy service, and by walking before Thee in holiness and righteousness all our days; through Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom, with Thee and the Holy Ghost, be all honor and glory, world without end. Amen."

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YENCHING UNIVERSITY

RETURN TO
YENCHING UNIVERSITY
150 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK CITY

December, 1928

By Mrs. Marshall Stewart
Appeared in Peking Leader

M. Hedrick
Please return
Self-Help for Students?
Ching-Ming

The tradition which has from time immemorial separated scholars, as a class, from the activities of trade and agriculture, has long been recognised as a major problem in the development of Chinese education. For the most part, a modern education has been open only to children of wealthy parents --- an outstanding reason why the infusion of modern scientific methods into trade and agriculture has been so greatly retarded. To further intensify this strangulation policy, custom has made it virtually impossible for the student eager for a college education but without sufficient resources, to supplement these by working his way through a Chinese university, as is so common in educational institutions of the western world.

Yenching University is making a most significant contribution in its methods of solving this problem. The past year, almost one-third of the entire student body has received financial assistance in some form, either by means of scholarships, long or short term loans or positions enabling them to earn a part of their expenses. This feature, absolutely unique in Chinese universities, is carried on by a committee established for the sole purpose of thus rendering aid to deserving students.

The success achieved in this work is especially noteworthy when one reflects how deeply-ingrained is the traditional attitude of superciliousness with which the Chinese student views all kinds of manual labor. And, while it would be unreasonable to expect that such a concept of centuries could be broken down immediately, it is gratifying to see Chinese students gradually awakening to the fact

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that all honest work is honorable and that the student with sufficient grit to work his way through college, has lost nothing in dignity by so doing.

We find the types of these self-help activities ranging through many fields, permitting students to work part-time each day in such capacities as: teachers in Chinese primary and middle schools near the university, teachers of Mandarin to foreigners, tutors to children, typists, copyists, clerks, book-keepers, salesmen in the student co-operative store, salesagents, library workers, gardeners, household servants, laboratory assistants, messengers, translators, preachers & landscape workers; and in the Womens' college, students do sewing, knitting and even serve as shopping guides.

In some of these types of work it has been necessary to devise a system of subsidy to give students a minimum wage which will make it worth their while to do manual labor; this is essential because of the low wages accorded to coolie labor, which can be hired to work twelve hours a day for eight dollars a month --the exact cost of a student's board for that period. Obviously a student who can take from his university program only two hours a day for such work, cannot materially assist himself through college on the market coolie wage; hence a subsidy is provided to make his earnings sufficient to cover his board.

Although stress is laid on the desirability of working one's way rather than applying for scholarships or loans, it is an amazingly difficult thing to provide deserving students with sufficient remunerative work; and this problem becomes even more acute as the campus landscaping nears completion and cuts off that opportunity of

employing students for manual labor. It is hoped that in the future some university project may be worked out which will guarantee a permanent opportunity for work, to a large number of students.

Look for scholarship fund

Scholarships are granted on the basis of high grade record, all-around character and financial need, after a thorough investigation by the committee in charge of student self-help work. At present the number of scholarships is distressingly small. Last year, \$1300 was granted in scholarships divided among twelve students. The highest award was \$140 and the lowest was \$60; this maximum is not even enough to cover the aggregate expenses of board and tuition and is considerably less than half of the budget necessary for the most frugal students.

During the past year, sixty-four long-term and seven short-term loans were granted. All students receiving loans were regular, long-course students, of at least sophomore standing, with a reasonable grade ratio, good character, in real need of financial aid, and who had shown a willingness to help themselves. The maximum loaned to any one student was \$100 and the minimum, \$25. Requirements relative to repaying these loans and the amount of interest were determined according to the particular loan fund from which the money was given; in the case of one fund, the maximum amount loaned could not exceed \$50, which was given to seniors with the requirement that these loans must be repaid in full within one year, being 6% interest. Other funds from which loans are made are under different regulations to the effect that after the six months following graduation, during which time the student may have time to establish himself he must begin to repay his loan, at the rate of 10% of his income each month, with interest at 8%; the total must be paid before the expiration of five years.

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As a protection against loss, each student guarantees his fellow borrowers to the extent of not more than 10% of the loan he has received. There is a short-term loan fund, to be used for emergency only, from which not more than \$40 is loaned to any one student and this for a maximum of three months without interest. If the loan is not repaid within three months, a charge of 1% per month is made from the time of the loan, making the penalty for non-payment quite high.

Doubtless, the excellent results achieved in this work may be attributed to the fact that the committee for student self-help maintains a thorough-going policy of personal interest in each individual applicant. A student must have at least two interviews with the chairman before his loan is granted. Thus loan requirements are explained, budgets are carefully gone over and advice on financial matters is offered. In case the loan is made, the parents of the borrower are notified. On the other hand, a student is often shown that it is unwise to borrow, is persuaded to either work or cut his budget so that a loan will be unnecessary. Many students are thus fortunate in learning basic lessons in thrift. When a student is denied a loan a personal interview is sought to explain the reasons for the refusal and to encourage him to rectify the causes for his rejection. Such a program which is actually breaking down the students' traditional scorn of manual labor, which is teaching the youth of China that a "penny saved is a penny earned" and which is stressing in every possible way the psychology of working one's way to education rather than either borrowing or dropping out of the ranks, is a gigantic educational enterprise, which by its wise and patient training today, will surely leave its imprint on these citizens of the China of tomorrow.

OCCASIONAL PAPERS

By the scholars, fellows and their advisers
in Chinese studies at Yenching University

TAO IN THE *LUN YÜ*

Lucius Chapin Porter

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TAO IN THE LUN YÜ 論語

The present paper presents a brief review of some initial studies undertaken as part of a larger plan to prepare a glossary in the English language of Chinese philosophical terms. There are manifest difficulties in carrying out such a plan, for translation work requires a more exact knowledge of terms and meanings in each of the selected languages than is required in the ordinary use of either language in which a general agreement as to meanings is assumed. Special effort is needed in order to isolate the variety of meanings that are in almost all cases connected with any given term, and to prepare clear and definite statements of these meanings. At the same time, one must keep in mind the manifold meanings involved in the terms found in the language into which the translation is made. Throughout such work one needs to guard against the tendency to find easy equivalents and to allow the meanings of the term chosen for the translation to colour the interpretation of the original meaning. This last tendency is evident in much of the recent writing on Chinese philosophy by both Chinese and Westerners in which equivalents in western philosophical terminology are found for Chinese terms, and a *westernized* meaning given to early Chinese thought. There is, moreover, a danger of warping or misinterpreting the meaning of a term used in early Chinese thinking by the use of meanings derived from a later Chinese use of the same term. One must be on guard even when keeping within the limits of the Chinese records. As Coleridge says in his "Outline of a History of the Art of Reasoning," there is need for 'a Dictionary . . . which, regarding words as living growths, effects, and organs of the human soul, seeks to trace each historically through all the periods of its natural growth and accidental modifications...'¹

1. Quoted by I. A. RICHARDS in *Mencius on the Mind* (London, 1932), 131.

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As in some measure a safeguard against the tendencies to misinterpretation just mentioned I have tried to make use of two specific methods, first, the method of 'multiple definition'² and second, one that may be called 'the concordance method.' The method of multiple definition is one that I learned from Professor I. A. Richards in 1930 when he and Professor L. T. Hwang, Mr. Li An-che and I worked together over the material from Mencius that Professor Richards afterwards published in his book, *Mencius on the Mind*. In using this method one tries to analyse and list all the various meanings attached to a given term and thus display its whole range of meaning. A similar table of multiple definitions is prepared for the terms in the second language suggested for the translation. With the two tables showing the range of meanings in hand one looks for points of correspondence between the two, seeking for correspondences in the concrete material presented, and guarding against imposing correspondences upon the material. The flexibility of mind encouraged by the use of this method, and the attitude of curiosity as to the varied uses of a single term are the chief values in its use. This is an unwonted attitude for most of us. Following Professor Richards' suggestion,³ we have to 'watch our thoughts as well as think,' and may get a 'sense of an almost unlimited spider's web of radiating allied meanings' that is 'daunting.' There is, however, as he points out, 'a chance that a persistent study of the general forms of ambiguity...might give us a greatly increased control over our thinking.' Among natural scientists one finds persistent effort to substitute special terms with limited meanings for terms of vague meaning and wide application. We, whose chief concern is with the social sciences using abstract ideas, need to follow this example and pare down *meaning* towards more precise, exact and concrete proportions.

2. *Op. cit.*, 92 and 129.

3. *Op. cit.*, 129-130.

The second method which I name, the concordance method, means the taking of each case of the use of a given term in a given book and determining as far as possible from that book alone the meaning to which the term refers. Admiral Ts'ai T'ing-kan 蔡廷幹 uses this method in the concordance to the *Tao t'è ching* which he entitled *Lao chieh lao* 老解老, *Lao tzū* explaining *Lao tzū*. By first discovering from each document by itself the meanings connected with a given term, one is guarded against reading into the term other meanings, whether derived from later periods of the culture to which the document belongs, or derived from comparison with another culture. By tracing a given set of Chinese terms through a series of philosophical documents by means of this concordance method one may get ranges of meaning from which to study the living growth of meaning and the characteristics of its uses at varying historical periods. By combining the two methods of multiple definition and the concordance method, one may be able to display the total range of meaning of a given Chinese term. Comparison with a table of the range of meanings of various English terms may then lead to the discovery of points of more or less specific and definite correspondence between the two; such correspondences, if and when found, will be more free from bias and prejudice, with meanings more closely equivalent, than correspondences determined by more hasty methods directly connecting a term in one language with a term in another. The 'term to term' method might be called the 'dictionary method.' For the concordance method indices of terms are needed. It is gratifying to note that the increase of such helpful works is a characteristic movement in present-day Chinese scholarship.

Up to the present I have made but a slight beginning in the use of the methods suggested, for the most part as yet limiting myself to the concordance method applied to the term *Tao* 道. As you are all more familiar than myself with Chinese literature and with the varied meanings of this term, I fear you will find the remainder of this paper uninteresting, a prosy review of much that

you have long known. For myself it has been an interesting effort to disregard what I had previously known of the term and to discover as far as possible from different books the variety of meanings connected with this term. I hope to go on to seek interpretations of the meaning of *Tao* in other Chinese philosophical literature and eventually, by the use of the concordance method, to prepare a table of multiple definitions and range of meanings.

In general, one may speak of the Confucian and the Taoist currents in Chinese thinking. I have chosen a book from each of these currents, examining in each document the occurrence and meaning of *Tao*. The *Lun yü* is the first document I have chosen to study.

Before giving some of the detail of my study, let me point out two ways in which the problem of examining the variety of meanings involved in this term (or any other term that could be chosen) can be dodged. Often one finds the term transferred into English by transliteration. It is probably not altogether a bad thing to accustom foreigners to use a term like *Tao* and recognize it as a distinctive Chinese term. But to do so is a truly good thing only when the term is presented as a symbol to be filled with the meanings understood by Chinese, and these meanings can only be given by explanatory material that must be based on something like the methods of analytical and exact study which have been proposed. In the end the interpretation of the meanings of *Tao* must be made. The other way to dodge responsibility for interpretation is to choose some English term of wide and vague meaning, comprehensive enough to cover as a general symbol the various meanings of the term. I have in mind the translation of *Tao* as *Way*, a translation used by Arthur Waley in his recent translations of both the *Lun yü* and *Tao tê ching*⁴. An advantage in using consistently a single English word such as *Way* is that the reader may recognize that it stands for a single given Chinese term. But the word *Way*

4. WALEY, *The Analects of Confucius* (London, 1938).
WALEY, *The Way and its Power* (London, 1934).

does not in itself tell anything about the sort of way intended in the original. And what one wants most to know is precisely what sort of way is referred to in each case. *Way* may very well be a convenient term, perhaps the most convenient term in English to use for *Tao*. But its use must be supplemented by a table of the whole range of meanings involved, with either notes or paraphrases given to explain each and every particular aspect of *Tao*. In Waley's work an introduction and supplemental notes are given. But for thorough study a more extended table of all the varied meanings is needed.

Turning now to the *Lun yü*, we find fifty-three paragraphs in which the word is used one or more times. In thirty-nine of these passages the word is found in a saying from Confucius himself. Where the word appears in sayings of his disciples or of other persons, there is not evidence enough to distinguish any special shade of meaning differing from the meaning intended by the Master. Without taking the time this afternoon to read a table of all these passages let me try to indicate some of the characteristic ways in which the term *Tao* appears.

Twice, *Tao* simply indicates a road or path.⁵

Once, *Tao* refers to the fashion or style of talking to a Music-master, perhaps on a ceremonial occasion.⁶

Once, *Tao* refers to the meaning or teaching expressed in a quoted couplet.⁷

In nine instances, *Tao* refers to conditions within a state or the empire, that is to say, the term has a social reference. *Tao* is said to prevail or not prevail 有道無道.

In practically all the remaining cases, the great majority of cases, the term *Tao* is qualified by a pronoun or other word or words to indicate the *Tao* of some particular person or persons.

5. IX:11 死於道路乎 XVII:14 子曰道聽而塗說德之棄也
6. XV:41 師冕出子張問曰與師言之道與子曰然固相師之道也
7. IX:26 子曰是道也何足以臧

The combination 天道, Heaven's *Tao*, is found once.

Let us next proceed to examine the group of cases that can be referred to as 'somebody's *Tao*' to see if any description or definition is given in the *Lun yü* material that will enable us to put content into the term *Tao*. We find Confucius speaking of 'my *Tao*'⁸ and, in the same paragraph, a description is given by Tsêng Tzū of 'our Master's *Tao*.' The '*Tao* of the Gentleman' is mentioned several times,⁹ the '*Tao* of the Ancients' appears once,¹⁰ and once, the '*Tao* of the Former Kings.'¹¹ One should associate with those 'who possess *Tao*.'¹² We wish to know whether or not these various sorts of personal *Tao* are alike; is the meaning of the term the same in each case, or are different meanings symbolized? A number of questions come to mind. Did the word have an accepted meaning for those who heard Confucius speak, or for those who read the record after it had been committed to writing? Was the Master's *Tao* the same as the Gentleman's *Tao*? Was this also the same as the *Tao* of the Former Kings? Did Confucius accept a *Tao* known and practised by these same Former Kings? Or, did he discover a new meaning and give the term a fresh and original interpretation? We can fully agree with Wang Ch'ung 王充 who notes in his *Lun-Hêng*, 'the Seventy Disciples would be only like the Literati of the present day. For though learning from *Confucius*, they could not thoroughly inquire. The words of the Sage they did not completely understand, his doctrines and principles they were unable to explain. Therefore they ought to have asked to get a clearer conception, and not understanding thoroughly, they ought to have raised objections in

8. IV:15 吾道

9. V:15 有君子之道焉 VIII:4 君子所貴乎道者三 XIV:30 子曰君子道者三 我無能焉

10. III:16 古之道

11. I:12 先王之道

12. I:14 就有道而正焉

order to come to a complete understanding.'¹³ We can only present our questions to the book and hope that by exerting the pressure of critical and imaginative study the material itself can be forced to give suggestions, if not completely satisfactory answers.

Fortunately, Confucius himself suggests that a single thread or unifying principle ran through his own *Tao*¹⁴ and this suggestion is interpreted by Tsêng Tzū in the words 'Our Master's *Tao* is just loyalty and mutuality' 夫子之道忠恕而已矣. Moreover, the second of these terms, *shu* 恕, mutuality or consideration for others, is defined by Confucius himself in his answer to Tzū-kung's request for a single word to serve as a rule of practice. 'Is not mutuality such a word? Never do to others what you would not like them to do to you.'¹⁵ *Tao* so used and partially defined, might be taken as meaning Confucius' teaching or his way of life, or as a combination of the two; a moral code characterized by a strict sense of duty in the effort to live up to one's own ideals for oneself, and to put oneself in the other man's place in all dealings with others. *Tao* may now be taken as a personally accepted moral code or way of life, a habitual manner of conduct. Such a use fits in with the other instances. Somebody's *Tao* becomes somebody's way of life, or code. But we wish to know how the other codes, or ways of life, referred to in the *Lun yü* agree with, or differ from, that of Confucius.

Taking up first the *Tao*, or code, of the Gentleman, we are again fortunate in finding three passages that give some description of qualities of character and conduct connected with that *Tao*. Speaking of Tzū-ch'an, Confucius mentions four characteristics of the *Tao* of the Gentleman that he exemplified: courtesy, decorum, generous provision for the needs of others, and justice in exacting

13. 論衡 (in 子書百家) 問孔篇, (Wuch'ang, 1875) IX/1. See FORKE, *Lun-Hêng* (Leipzig, 1907), 1/393.

14. IV:15 吾道一以貫之

15. XV:23 子曰其恕乎己所不欲勿施於人

service from the people.¹⁶ In speaking of his own failure to attain three characteristics of the *Tao* of the Gentleman he says, 'he who is truly good is never unhappy, he who is truly wise is never perplexed, he who is truly brave is never afraid.'¹⁷ Tzū-kung's comment on this statement of his Master, 'that, Master, is your own *Tao*,' shows that for him the Master's *Tao* and the *Tao* of the Gentleman were identical.

If we accept this identification and count the *Tao* of the Gentleman as the ideal way of life toward which Confucius directed his lifelong effort, we can carry over into the interpretation of his *Tao* all that he says in the *Lun yü* regarding the qualities of character of the Gentleman, thus greatly enriching the content of the term *Tao*. For, the habitual way of life of the man of ideal morality includes all that the book tells us of *jên* 仁 and *i* 義, human-heartedness and mutuality, and righteousness or justice, the focal virtues to which more attention is given than to any other items in the spectrum of character therein presented. These terms should themselves be interpreted in the light of their actual use in the book. But that study need not be introduced at this point. It should form a separate study.

In a third descriptive passage we find confirmation of part of the interpretation already reached. Tzū-yu reminds Confucius that he had once said that the 'Gentleman who has studied *Tao* will be tenderer towards his fellowmen.'¹⁸ And this saying is matched by one which is the only passage connecting the 'Common People' 小人 with *Tao*, in which it is stated that 'when the Common People have studied *Tao* it is easier to employ them.' It is a pity that we cannot learn more of the relation of the Common People to *Tao*.

16. V:15 子謂子產有君子之道四焉其行己也恭其事上也敬其養民也惠其使民也義

17. XIV:30 子曰君子道者三我無能焉仁者不憂知者不惑勇者不懼子貢曰夫子自道也

18. XVII:4 子游對曰昔者偃也聞諸夫子曰君子學道則愛人小人學道則易使也子曰二三子偃之言是也

These more extensive characterizations of *Tao* by Confucius himself are supplemented by a saying of Tsêng Tzū on three qualities of the *Tao* that the Gentleman values above all else, namely, entire freedom from arrogance, good faith in all his appearance, and absence of any trace of coarseness in voice or word.¹⁹ Is it a mistake to find in such a passage a lowering of the highest moral standard of Confucius himself and a tendency toward ceremonial formality?

As additional characteristics of *Tao* we find determination,²⁰ unwavering steadfastness and endurance until death,²¹ and willingness to die for the 'Good *Tao*.'²²

Tao that differ from those of Confucius and of the Gentleman are mentioned. It is useless, Confucius says, to take counsel with such.²³ Tzū-chang asks about the '*Tao* of the Good People'²⁴ which seems to have been one of these differing ways, for Confucius describes it as farther advanced along the track but still unable to enter the inner room.

When we turn to the group of passages that imply a relation between *Tao* and social conditions in a state or within the empire, we find it difficult to carry over the meaning established for the term, namely, a personal moral code of life. What is meant when it is said that *Tao* prevails or does not prevail? The condition of the people and the character of government are involved. We should like to find out more exactly how these are involved. Since Confucius himself, after hearing Tzū-lu's report on two hermits, states that 'if *Tao* prevailed under Heaven he should not

19. VIII:4 曾子言曰…君子所貴乎道者三動容貌斯遠暴慢矣正顏色斯近信矣出辭氣斯遠鄙倍矣

20. VII:6 子曰志於道據於德依於仁游於藝

21. VIII:7 曾子曰士不可以不弘毅任重而道遠仁以為己任不亦重乎死而後已不亦遠乎

22. VIII:13 子曰篤信好學守死善道危邦不入亂邦不居天下有道則見無道則隱

23. XV:39 子曰道不同不相為謀

24. XI:19 子張問善人之道子曰不踐迹亦不入於室

be trying to change conditions'²⁵ we can interpret *wu Tao* 無道 as opposite to the conditions he wished to establish. But to state that does not tell how a personal moral code will affect society. Perhaps we should take *Tao* as the teaching or principles of Confucius. But we are still left with the problem of how they are to prevail, except as one individual influences and inspires another. The guardian at the frontier at I 儀封人 remarks on the long absence of *Tao* in the empire and prophesies that Confucius is to be used by Heaven as a wooden bell (tocsin) to rouse the nation again to follow *Tao*.²⁶ It has been usual to assume that *Tao* would prevail when a ruler is himself a follower of *Tao*—the *Tao* of the Gentleman and of Confucius—governing his own conduct and the administration of the state according to the *Tao* of human-heartedness and righteousness. And, it is definitely stated that a great and good minister will resign unless he can serve his prince according to *Tao*.²⁷ One passage distinctly defines the condition of prevalence of *Tao* in the empire as that in which 'all rules concerning ritual, music and punitive expeditions proceed from the Son of Heaven.'²⁸ The passage continues with a description of the successive degeneration that ensues when first feudal princes and then state ministers issue such orders. Here, there is no reference to the character of the ruler, though that may be assumed as good. However, one wonders about this point when one reads that although Duke Ling of Wei was 'without *Tao*,' nevertheless the state did not come to grief, since ceremonial and military affairs were administered by three able statesmen.²⁹ If these were men with *Tao*, how could they serve a duke who was without *Tao*? If they were not followers of *Tao*, how could they uphold

25. XVIII:6 夫子慨然曰……天下有道丘不與易也

26. III:24 儀封人請見……天下之無道也久矣天將以夫子為木鐸

27. XI:23 子曰……所謂大臣者以道事君不可則止

28. XVI:2 孔子曰天下有道則禮樂征伐自天子出天下無道則禮樂征伐自諸侯出……天下有道則政不在大夫天下無道則庶人不議

29. XIV:20 子言衛靈公之無道也康子曰夫如是奚而不喪孔子曰仲叔圍治賓客祝鮀治宗廟王孫賈治軍旅夫如是奚其喪

order in the state? A saying of Tsêng Tzū also laments the fact that 'those above have lost *Tao* and the Common People have been dispersed for a long time.'³⁰ Perhaps more light is thrown on this problem by Confucius' answer to a question by Chi K'ang-tzū, the Dictator of Lu.³¹ Chi K'ang-tzū, like many another dictator, felt that methods of violence and force might be used to hasten the processes by which law and order in a state is secured. He wished to know what Confucius thought about 'killing those without *Tao* for the good of those who have *Tao*.' To this question Confucius replies, 'You are there to rule; why use killing at all? If you yourself desire good the people will be good.' Confucius concludes his statement with an illustration that vividly epitomizes his principle of government by moral influence through the personal example of the ruler. He says, 'The virtue of the Gentleman is that of wind, the virtue of the Common People is that of grass. When wind blows upon it grass must bend.'

Chi K'ang-tzū's question about government is one of several instances recorded in the *Lun yü* in which this dictator questioned the sage about subjects related to government. The word *Tao* appears in these cases only once.³²

30. XIX:19 曾子曰上失其道民散久矣

31. XII:19 季康子問政於孔子曰如殺無道以就有道何如孔子對曰子為政焉用殺子欲善而民善矣君子之德風小人之德草草上之風必偃

32. Confucius' intercourse with Chi K'ang-tzū and with other leaders of the Chi clan is of special significance since this family had usurped the power of the legitimate Dukes of Lu and was assuming in some cases even royal prerogatives; his responses to the questions asked by these illegitimate rulers enable him to express his judgment of them and their violent way of seizing power, as well as to suggest his own principles of righteous rule. More important instances of relations between Confucius and the Chi clan, especially Chi K'ang-tzū are the following:

Tzū-kung describes a superlatively good ruler who 'not only conferred wide benefits on the people, but also compressed the salvation of the whole state' (VI:28). He asks Confucius if such a ruler could be called human-hearted. Confucius' reply is a noble statement of the meaning of human-heartedness and of the means by which to strive towards attaining that quality of character. He says, 'He who is human-hearted, wishing himself to be enlightened, will enlighten others. He who can take his own intimate interests

A. On government.

XII:17 'To govern is to be correct. If you lead *the people* with correctness who will dare to be incorrect?'

XII:18 'Chi K'ang-tzū was distressed by thieves and appealed to Confucius. Confucius said, "If you, Sir, were not covetous, though paid for it, they would not steal." Special point is given to this advice when we know that Chi K'ang-tzū, himself the son of a concubine, had usurped his infant nephew's rights and was suspected of having murdered the child.

XIV:20 Chi K'ang-tzū asks of Confucius why Duke Ling of Wei, who was characterized as without *Tao*, had not lost his kingdom. Confucius points out that the evil character of the duke was offset by the high moral character of three able administrators.

III:1 Confucius denounces the usurpation by the Chi clan of prerogatives which he considered as belonging to the legitimate ruler of Lu. The use of eight teams of dancers and of a dynastic song during the removal of ritual vessels were actions condemned by Confucius and regarded by him as appropriate only in the case of royal celebrations. Dr. J. C. FERGUSON in a comment on this passage (See "The Analects of Confucius, A Review," *Tien Hsia Monthly*, November, 1939, 424-427.) points out that the relation of Confucius to the Three Families who usurped powers in the State of Lu, is the basis for a better understanding of Confucius by European students. Mr. WALEY, in the introduction to his new translation of the *Analects*, shows that the *Analects* consists of two parts, and that Books III to IX 'form a perfectly consistent whole and apparently belong together.' Dr. Ferguson recommends that the suggested separation of the *Analects* should be made by Mr. Waley in a second edition starting with Book III. The proposed change would undoubtedly give an added emphasis to the significance of Confucius' views on government and their place in his teaching.

as a basis of comparison for understanding others may be called the model of humanity.' The ideal so described is presented as the

B. On qualities of character necessary in rulers and ministers of state.

II:20 Chi K'ang-tzū asked about forms of encouragement by which to cause the people to reverence a ruler and to be loyal to him. The Master says, 'Lead them with dignity and they will be respectful. Be filial and kind and they will be loyal. Promote those who excel and teach the incompetent. These are the forms of encouragement.'

This instance emphasizes still further the effect which the moral character and example of the ruler will have in winning his people to proper conduct and order.

VI:6 On Chi K'ang-tzū's questioning Confucius about the qualifications of three disciples for government, the latter replies, 'Yu (Tzū-lu) has decision; Tz'ū (Tzū-kung) has penetration; Ch'iu (Tzū-yu) has all-roundness. What difficulty would he (they) have in administration?'

XI:16 Confucius says of Ch'iu 'He is no follower of mine. Beat the drum and set upon him, I give you leave.' He (Ch'iu) had increased the imposts collected for the Chi family, which gives cause for Confucius' vigorous condemnation both of the Chi family for their conduct of government, and of his disciple who failed to criticize for evident injustice the ruler he served.

XVI:1 This long passage describes an interview between Confucius and two disciples in the service of the Chi family, Jan Ch'iu (Tzū-yu) and Yu (Tzū-lu), regarding a proposed attack on Chuan-yü, a small state between the borders of Lu, that held certain special prerogatives by direct royal appointment. Although the disciples claimed that they did not approve of the desire of their chief to attack Chuan-yü, Confucius lays on them the responsibility for having failed to keep guard over him and counsel him rightly for, 'the people of far lands do not submit to him and he is not able to attract them. The state itself is divided and tottering, disrupted and cleft, but he can do nothing to save it, and has no plan but to wield buckler and axe within the borders of his own land. I am afraid the troubles of the Chi family are not due to Chuan-yü, but to what is happening behind the screen of their own gate.'

XI:23 Asked whether Yu and Jan Ch'iu could be called great ministers, Confucius says, 'What is called a great minister is one who serves his prince in accord with *Tao* and when unable to do so, resigns.' But though assigned to the class of ordinary ministers, Confucius believed these two men would not follow their prince in an act of parricide or regicide.

ideal after which Yao and Shun had yearned. It would seem that the personal character of a ruler devoted to human-heartedness irradiates the society over which he presides through his effort to share with others all the high values he seeks for himself. *Tao* is to be established in society through unselfish service to others and steadfast loyalty to principles. Reference to the Sage Rulers leads to the question of the relationship between Confucius' *Tao* and the *Tao* of the Ancients, or of the Former Kings, or, in a different wording, the question as to the source of Confucius' teaching. Did he learn from predecessors or originate and discover for himself? This very question is asked Tzū-kung by Kung-sun Ch'ao of Wei.³³ The answer of the former is curious. He claims that 'the *Tao* of kings Wên and Wu has never utterly fallen to the ground,' and, therefore, Confucius could have learned from many, in fact, 'from whom could our Master *not* have learned?' Yet, he goes on to say that Confucius had no need of any regular teacher, implying that his original and creative nature was adequate to the discovery and development of his *Tao*. The *Tao* of the Former Kings is mentioned by Yu Tzū³⁴ but is associated only with the usage of ritual 禮之用 and the importance of harmony 和 and not with any of the ideal moral qualities so much stressed by Confucius as essential to his own *Tao* or that of the Gentleman. It does not seem possible on the basis of material in the *Lun yü* alone to identify the *Tao* of the Former Kings with the *Tao* of Confucius. It is possible that the phrase 'He who is farther advanced along the track'³⁵ may refer to the *Tao* of the Ancients, and the passage 'those courses are different'³⁶ may have the same reference. Waley so

33. XIX:22 衛公孫朝問於子貢曰仲尼焉學子貢曰文武之道未墜於地在人賢者識其大者不賢者識其小者莫不有文武之道焉夫子焉不學而亦何常師之有

34. I:12 有子曰禮之用和爲貴先王之道斯爲美小大由之

35. XI:19 子張問善人之道子曰不踐迹亦不於入室

36. XV:39 子曰道不同不相爲謀

interprets XI:19³⁷ and claims that Confucius advocated a strict following of the ancient *Tao* laid down by past exemplars.³⁸ If Confucius was a mere transmitter of an earlier *Tao*, why does he not more definitely connect the ideal moral qualities so stressed in connection with his own *Tao* and the *Tao* of the Gentleman with the characteristics of the Former Kings and their *Tao*?

The few references made by Confucius to Yao and Shun of which the following are representative, VI:28, VIII:19, and XIV:45, indicate that the ideal of government which Confucius himself advocated was regarded by himself as an ideal towards which the traditional Sage Rulers had striven, but had not attained.

37. It is difficult to discover where within the limits of the *Lun yü* material Mr. Waley finds evidence for his conclusion in the *Analects*, 157, note 10, 'Of the Ancients.' Also *ibid.*, 14, 'It is clear, however, that he was not content with this position and longed for a more public one... which would give him the opportunity to put into practice the Way which he regarded as that of the Former Kings, the Way of Goodness, long ago discarded by the rulers of the world in favour of a Way of violence and aggression.'

38. WALEY, *op. cit.*, 16-17, 'What he regarded as exceptional in himself [Confucius] was his love of "learning," that is to say, of self-improvement, and his unflagging patience in insisting upon the moral principles that had (in his view) guided the godlike rulers of the remote past.' Waley meant to use only evidence from the *Lun yü*, for he states in his Introduction (p. 14) that he intends to act 'on the principle recently advocated by that great scholar Ku Chieh-kang, the principle of "one Confucius at a time."'

Reference to Former Kings occurs in the *Lun yü* only twice, I:12 and XVI:1(4); the first case is a saying of Yu Tzū and not of Confucius, and the second refers to the prerogatives granted to Chuan-yü by the Former Kings, namely, the Chou rulers, and does not imply any special characteristics of their *Tao*. It would seem as though Mr. Waley in accord with his own principle of 'one Confucius at a time' should support with more evidence from the *Lun yü* itself the conclusion that Confucius regarded his *Tao* as merely 'that of the Former Kings.' One suspects that Mr. Waley here has unconsciously used material from his wide knowledge of early Chinese literature to supplement and perhaps modify conclusions gained from the *Lun yü* alone.

The testimony of a contemporary, the gate-keeper of Shih-mên,³⁹ indicates that the work of Confucius was also regarded as a determined effort to attain an impossible ideal. The gate-keeper, when he heard the name of Confucius, said, 'Is not he the one who knows it can't be done yet keeps on striving?' If either Confucius or his contemporaries had regarded his *Tao* as identical with the *Tao* of the Former Kings, would or could they have regarded such an ideal as impossible of attainment?

As already noted, the *Lun yü* contains but one passage in which the phrase 'Tao of Heaven' appears. This is all the more noticeable in contrast to the frequent appearance of that phrase in the *Shu ching*, a book that in some form was known to Confucius and probably used in his teaching. The phrase is frequently found in later Confucian, and of course later Taoist, literature. Moreover, the single reference, in a saying of Tzū-kung, states that the disciples could hear nothing from their Master regarding human nature 性 and the *Tao* of Heaven. So far as we can judge from the book under discussion Confucius' *Tao* dealt only with human behaviour. This limitation of the *Tao* to human behaviour and to human effort is evidenced in another passage in which Confucius says 'A man can enlarge his *Tao* but there is no *Tao* that can enlarge man.'⁴⁰ By strict moral discipline a man can expand his practice of the qualities of human-heartedness and righteousness and make more habitual in his conduct the other qualities of ideal virtue. There is, so this passage would seem to indicate, no mystic, cosmic *Tao* acting upon man.

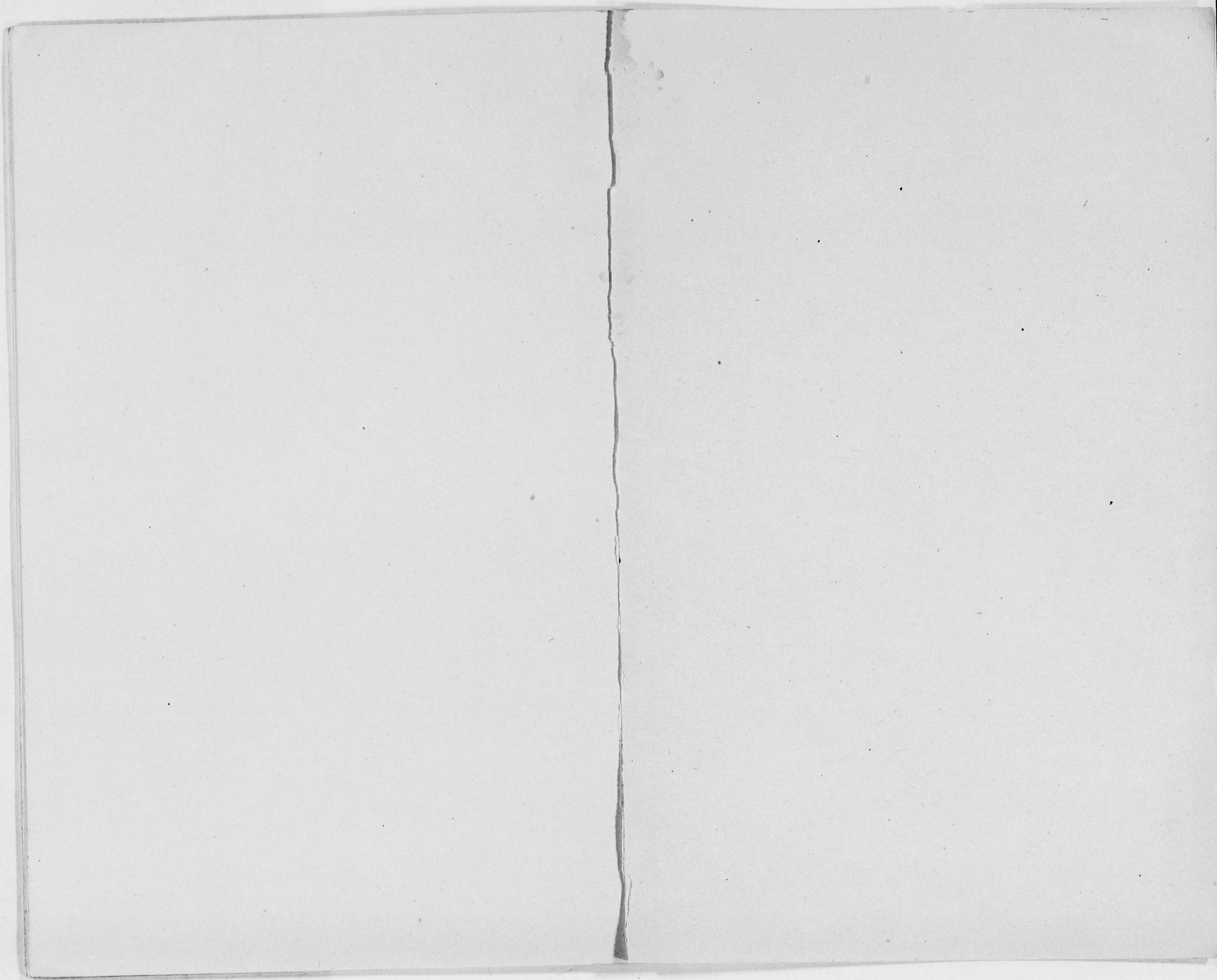
We may conclude, then, that *Tao* in the *Lun yü* is primarily a habitual manner of human living, a code or *Tao* of life guided by ideal moral qualities to be realized in conduct. Specifically this was the *Tao* of life lived by Confucius and the *Tao* of life of his ideal Gentleman. His own career as teacher of the *Tao* of human-heartedness and righteousness 仁義之道 was his answer to the question

39. XIV:41 子路宿於石門晨門曰奚自子路曰自孔氏曰是知其不可而爲之者與

40. XV:28 人能弘道非道弘人

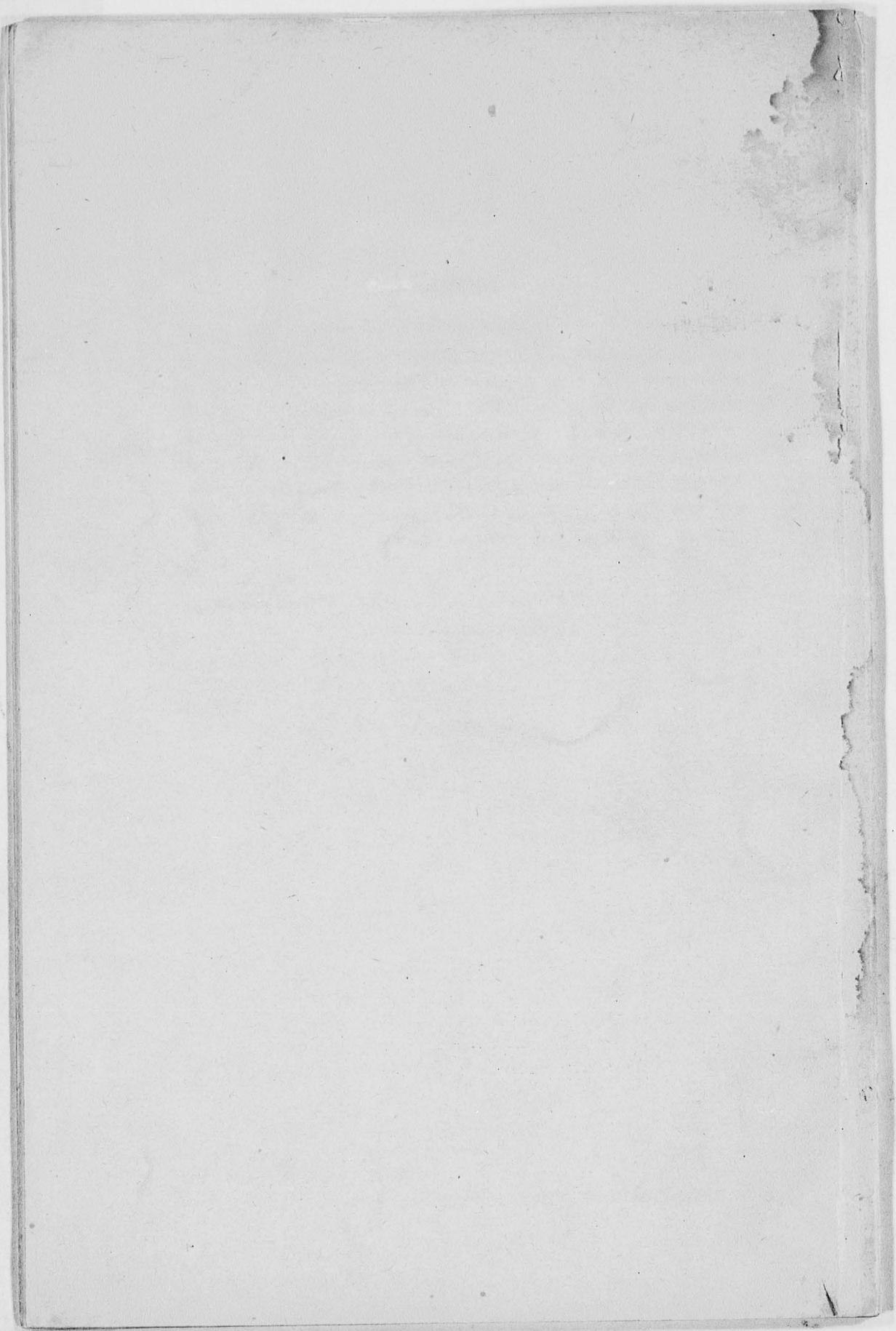
as to what to do in an age that was without *Tao*. He opposed unrighteous rule, sought to inspire rulers with his vision of good government directed toward the welfare of the people, and hoped to win a few loyal disciples through whom this *Tao* of earnest human conduct could be carried forward. Though Confucius did not speak of a cosmic or Heavenly *Tao* he was confident that the *Tao* revealed to his creative moral insight could not be destroyed and must eventually prevail. Though recognizing other *Tao* of personal conduct, he does not describe them.

Lucius Chapin Porter



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