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COLLEGE FILES
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Yenching
Corres
Sharman, H.B. + Abbie
1921 - 1927

0579

April 12, 1921

Mr. H. B. Sharman,
37 Queens Park,
Toronto, Ontario.

My dear Sharman:

I should have answered your letter of January 21st had I not been out of town a good deal of the time.

When I wrote you before I had reference to an edition of the Synoptics which would give a continuous narrative of the life of Christ thrown into the twenty-four chapters which furnish the outlines of your "Jesus in the Records." As I understand it, all you would have to do is to insert some of the material from the earlier part which was omitted. In addition to that, I should think in the back part of the book there might be printed all the references to parallel passages, and perhaps also the Gospel of John, so as to have all the four gospels in the book. I think if we had the life of Christ in twenty-four chapters and could gradually get it used among students, we should find in the course of years that we could locate passages more definitely and quickly, and in that way contribute very much to better Bible study and teaching. I have already taken my copy of "Jesus in the Records" and am trying to throw it into that form.

We are still working away slowly on the building proposition for Peking University. The times, as you know, are not exactly propitious, and it will take some work to bring the people at this end to match in their giving the wonderful opportunity opening there in China. Some of the news that I have had since I saw you is quite astonishing; you may be interested in looking over some of the newer facts on the reverse of this sheet.

I hope you will keep me in touch with your work and your thought, and I should be glad to hear that you are willing to take up definitely the preparation of a continuous narrative of the life of Jesus in the twenty-four chapters which you already have outlined. Indeed, it would seem to me that on the basis of what you have already done, it would be a comparatively simple task for you to do a very great work.

0580

April 12, 1921

Mr. Sherman

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There is one matter of special interest just at the present time. Fosdick, Henry Sloane Coffin, Dr. Kelman and two or three others have it specially in their hearts to help us establish a strong theological seminary for advanced work in Peking. All agree that we can have only one in China, and there is a growing feeling that that one ought to be in Peking. While we do not get up on the housetops and proclaim it, I can say to you confidentially that what all this group have in mind is the establishing of a high grade seminary with a tolerant and progressive spirit. In the three other seminaries in China they are allied with strong conservative elements. At Peking we are much more free from this, both as regards the Boards that are working there (Presbyterian, Methodist, Congregational and L.M.S.) and in the group of men already gathered there in the University. Fosdick goes out to China this summer, and so does Dr. Kelman. I hope when they return we can make a real advance.

With greetings to Mrs. Sherman, believe me

Ever most sincerely,

HWL.W

0581

File

January 9th, 1923.

Professor H.B. Sharman,
67, Queen's Park Crescent,
Toronto,
Ontario.

Dear Sharman:

I am just about to leave New York. We are starting in at Dayton on the 11th, where we fire the first gun in our spring campaign.

Mr. Hung tells me that there is a possibility of your running down to Buffalo to see us during the time we are there. Our present schedule would bring us there and at Erie February 4th - 10th. It would be fine if you could be there with us at that time and I have no doubt but that there would be opportunity for a testimony on your part as to the work we are doing. As I intimated to you the other day, I have never felt that I was having part in a more serious task. During the last two or three years the task seemed urgent, but we have now arrived at the year 1923 when it has become urgent in the extreme.

Our wonderfully fine faculty and the selected body of students have been keeping up their esprit de corps partly on the basis of the thorough foundation on which we rest, and partly because of the great hope which has been held out to them that, in due time, we can leave our cramped and dingy quarters to be housed in buildings worthy of the only Christian University at China's great capital. If we should arrive at December 31st without this hope having been approximately achieved, the consequences will be very serious. The wonderfully fine Chinese who have joined themselves to us will grow discouraged and it will be impossible to secure several others who are considering the matter of coming to us very seriously.

Looking forward in hopes of seeing you in Buffalo,
Everymost sincerely yours,

0582

May 12th, 1923.

My dear Sharman:-

I am starting to-day for China and before doing so want to write you the last development in the case of Mr. Harold Willoughby. He has accepted our invitation to take effect next winter. He will probably finish his studies about Christmas time and wants a month or so for personal affairs before starting to China.

He feels that his acceptance ought to be conditioned by (1) ability to complete his graduate studies, (2) acceptance by the Methodist Board as though he were going out as one of their regular appointees. There is a third complication which will appeal to your sympathy. His fiancée is in a tubercular home, apparently without hope of recovery, but he has written me of developments in her case which may affect the time of his departure. I had been hoping to have more definite word on this aspect of the matter and have delayed writing you for this reason. You will be interested to know that the University of Chicago gave him quite a flattering offer after I first talked up our case with him, and that he has quietly turned it aside. If you ever care to write to him his address is: Mr. Harold Willoughby, 139 South Divinity Hall, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois.

Very sincerely yours,

Professor H. B. Sharman,
67 Queen Park Crescent,
Toronto, Canada.

0583

Ans. Nov. 1923

67 QUEENS PARK CRESCENT
TORONTO ONTARIO

10th November 1923

My dear President Stuart

Some of us were off in the wilds of Northern Ontario for five or six weeks this summer, carrying out a plan to combine a genuine vacation with serious and sustained study. Into that out of the way corner of Canada, your letter of July 6th penetrated finally - much to the delight of Mrs Sharman and myself.

We certainly did appreciate your generous spirit in taking time out of your exceedingly busy life to send us such intimate glimpses of some of your experiences and findings on your return to Peking. We rejoice greatly that our visit to China made it possible for us to enter very completely into an appreciation of the situations which you described. They did not seem like a succession of odd circumstances in a strange land, but rather very much more like a home-coming to us also.

We were most delighted to learn of all the encouraging things that you found had been going on during your enforced absence in the U.S.A. Lately we have learned, both to our dismay and our delight, that they have felt compelled to get you back in America for another winter in the effort to complete the endowment. We can realize with what reluctance you must have consented to the plan; I think that, if I had been one of the faculty over there, I should have put you in chains so that they could not drag you away. But we shall all cherish the hope that your coming will bring the successful, even triumphant, achievement of the effort to reach the full amount of the endowment for Peking University.

That group of us who went off into Northern Ontario for part of the summer all feel that we owe something to Peking University for letting us have Luce with us for a considerable part of the time. Everybody who was there was most appreciative for the contribution made to our common thinking and discussions by the presence of Luce for those weeks, and we are hopeful that, notwithstanding his burning of the midnight lamp while the rest of us were playing, he came through the experience benefited physically and thus equipped with new strength for the strenuous days that surely will be his and yours together during the coming weeks.

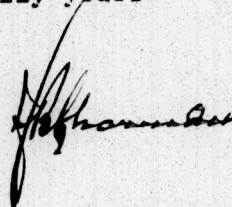
We shall hope that on some occasion or other, during this winter in America, we may be privileged to see something of you. When off to one

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of our study^{nt} conferences in late September, I found at the resort where it was held one of the leading Professors in the University of Chicago. He knew Willoughby quite intimately, and so was able to tell me something about his special qualities and his primary interests.

Ever cordially yours

President J Leighton Stuart
Peking University
156 Fifth Avenue
New York City



0585

November 19, 1923

Mr. H. B. Sharman
67 Queens Park Crescent
Toronto, Canada

Dear Mr. Sharman:

Your good letter came duly to hand and is most interesting reading. Luce had told me something of the summer with you and what it had meant to him.

I am in the city today in attendance on a Methodist Board meeting and so can only take a little time for acknowledging your letter.

I saw Willoughby as I came yesterday, and learned from him that personal reasons may make it more convenient for him not to go to China until after the summer. He is engaged to a consumptive girl, whose condition is hopeless, and he would prefer to be in this country until the end if this is to come in the near future. He is to report later, after hearing more definitely from the physician in charge of the Sanitorium where she is. As our work is fairly well provided for, meeting the necessary classes, and as the later date would reduce the cost to us, I am disposed to encourage his not going out until next autumn. A further reason for this has been our inability to secure anything toward the Theological Endowment, which we have been hoping to have. The effort made has not failed entirely, but we cannot get any immediate relief from it. Meanwhile the younger brother of Dr. Cheng Ching-yi, a most attractive and gifted young man, finishes his work in Union next June and has been planning to come to us. I wonder if the sum you generously undertook could be transferred in part to Andrew Chung if necessary, or used entirely for him if for any reason Willoughby should not come to us. Andrew's field is also that of the New Testament. It may be that R. K. Evans can return to China after all, although this is by no means certain. If our limiting resources do not improve, and we are forced to take either Willoughby or Chung, I incline to prefer the Chinese, because he is one, although I would give up the other man only with the greatest reluctance. We need them both and can

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- 2 -

November 19, 1923

use them to the utmost advantage. This puts the situation before you as it is at present.

It is good to know that you are sympathizing. I wish I could see you and talk about the many things more congenial than the business details which my present duties make necessary, and shall try to at least write on some of these before I leave the country.

Thanking you again for your active interest, believe me

Very sincerely yours

JLS:S

0587

November 27, 1923

Mr. H. B. Sharman
67 Queens Park Crescent
Toronto, Canada

Dear Mr. Sharman:

Luce has turned over to me the letter to him regarding Leonard S. Hsu. As we are looking for an additional teacher in history, provided that our budget can stand it, I feel greatly interested in this case. Later on we want, and can use, a Chinese of his type in economics and another in sociology but we could not finance either one of these for the coming session. Could you take up with Mr. Hsu the question of his teaching history at least temporarily and ask him to fix a decision as to giving his life to a Christian college such as you understand ours to be? As it happens, I am scheduled to be in Buffalo for the day of December 14. How about your bringing him down for a conference on that day? It would be very delightful for me to get this little visit with you thrown in.

Very sincerely yours

JLS:S

January 26, 1924

Mr. H. B. Sherman
67 Queens Park Crescent
Toronto, Canada

My dear Sherman:

You will bear my disappointment in a letter just received from our friend Widdoughby of Chicago, stating that owing to various causes he has decided to reconsider his acceptance of our invitation and continue in his own University. The fact that Dr. Burton has become president created a vacancy which they have been urging him to fill, but the chief consideration perhaps is the condition of his fiancée, which requires his staying in this country.

Meanwhile, I am appalled by the budget, which has come from the field, asking for something over thirty thousand dollars good more than our present income. I am staying in this country several weeks longer in the hope of trying to beg something at least toward this amount. I wonder if you would be willing to continue the generous offer you made and have this transferred to a Chinese, who is preparing himself for New Testament work. I refer to Andrew Cheng, now at Union Seminary, a younger brother of Dr. C. Y. Cheng, and in every way a splendid young man. He wants to continue his studies in this country for one more year, and with the return of R. K. this seems to me, all things considered, the wisest course. He should have help this spring and next session but would not need all of the thousand dollars, which you undertook to raise. He has been doing outside teaching to help himself through this spring, but has suffered physically and in his studies from over work and I have told him that I would try to find two hundred dollars to make this unnecessary. He would need help next session, probably four or five hundred dollars, to enable him to stay as he wants to in Union and give his whole time to study.

Professor Porter of Yale is to be with us for the autumn semester, helping in New Testament teaching, and we shall keep Barker for part time in that department. Whatever you feel of the amount mentioned could be turned over to us will be used for the New Testament Department. I am trying to put the problem before you and shall await your reply.

Very cordially yours

0589

67 QUEENS PARK CRESCENT
TORONTO ONTARIO

5th February 1924

Dear President Stuart

My time has been much absorbed in recent months in looking after business interests that have become my responsibility through the sickness of others. My principal associate in the business enterprise upon which I am dependent was taken down in August with serious physical troubles. He recovered for a while but took to the sick room during the first week of October and is still there. After several months of fluctuating sickness, he had to undergo a major operation a few days ago. All of this means that for some months ahead I shall have to devote very considerable time to those business affairs from which I had largely withdrawn. However, I am so laying plans that my bondage to these affairs will not be permanent but that release will come, even in a more complete form than ever before, before we reach another Autumn.

The physical condition of my associate, which culminated finally in his complete withdrawal for a time, had been accumulating through many months. And they had affected the vigor and capacity with which he was able to handle our affairs. So it has all worked out with a highly unfavorable result. We came through 1923 with very heavy financial losses. These have so crippled the source of my income that at many points it is not going to be possible for me to do all that I had hoped and planned. For these reasons, it does not seem advisable or practicable for me to undertake that most stimulating form of proposal that you set forth so invitingly in your letter of January 26th. You can hardly know how strong an appeal it makes to me. In nearly every phase of it that opportunity is of precisely the kind to which I should most wish to respond under normal conditions. But these turns that come in financial affairs are things that cannot be foreseen and that do upset all calculations. I am feeling quite confident that, by devoting myself energetically to the situation during the months of the near future, we shall presently be able to look with confidence to the more distant future. But in the meantime one feels under constraint to turn aside from even the most inviting opportunities for the distribution of funds.

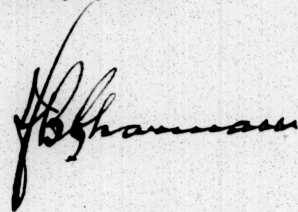
You can hardly know how seriously disappointing it is to me to be compelled to report as I do on the situation. My interest in Peking University is so deep and abiding, my conviction about the possibilities through the New Testament Department is so strong, my confidence in the men that you are gathering about you is so steady, that I am keenly desirous of having some genuine share in forwarding the work. Most especially do I feel that these are just the years when anything that one might do would count most - because you are climbing toward the crest under such difficulties. And yet I know that elements of encouragement also are entering into your additional year of effort in America.

Be assured that, though circumstances just at this stage are so unfavorable with me, my interest and my hopes are still in Peking University.

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And when I am able to draw away from the disconcerting and engrossing conditions that obtain at present, in my business affairs, I shall hope to find it practicable to carry through something related to my original intention.

Ever cordially yours



President J Leighton Stuart
Peking University
156 Fifth Avenue
New York City
N Y

0591

67 QUEENS PARK CRESCENT

TORONTO ONTARIO

2nd October 1924

Dear Mr. Lewis:

We have before us your stirring letter of September 15th with reference to the need for \$300,000 to put Peking University squarely on its feet and to make possible the equipment of the University for the larger service which surely awaits it when the new site is ready.

(In response to your letter, let us say that we should like to be one of the three thousand persons to contribute \$100 to the University between now and June 1st, 1925.)

And we do hope most earnestly that the response to this definite proposal of yours may be quite general, so that the whole \$300,000 that is needed, and even more, may be received in the near future.

Most truly yours,

H. B. Shaw

Mr. James H. Lewis, Executive Secretary
Peking University
156 - 5th Avenue
New York N.Y.

0592

Replied to Lion Letter of
September 15. -Gave-

October 4, 1924.

Dr H B Sharman
67 Queens Park Crescent
Toronto Ontario Canada

Dear Dr. Sharman:

Thank you for your encouraging note of the 2d, with your enlistment as one of the three thousand to contribute \$100. to the University between now and June 1, 1925. I am happy to be able to record that the response has been exceedingly encouraging thus far and if it continues, we shall be able to report complete success.

In the meantime, you will have received the letter concerning the lion. Of course you will disregard that now, but your own lion will be put in the mail within a few days and I am quite sure you will enjoy it. It is really a very delightful piece of artistic work and the reproduction was made here by an artist whose plaques received most flattering comment upon the part of Augustus John.

With very sincere appreciation,

Faithfully yours,

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Received *payment on L 7*

Entered	☒
Cash receipt made	☒
Pledge card	☒
Follow up card	☒
Checked on list	☒
" " Station	☐
Answered	☐
(Lion sent)	☐
Filed	☐
	☐
	☐

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June 8, 1925

Mr. H. B. Sherman
67 Queens Park Crescent
Toronto, Canada

Dear Dr. Sherman:

Thank you very sincerely for your check for \$100 for the Mechanical Equipment and Expense Fund. There has been a fair response to this need in which you so generously shared.

The building construction is going right ahead despite the reports of some unsettled state of affairs. It is not nearly so anti-foreign as reported.

Sincerely yours

0596

67 QUEENS PARK CRESCENT
TORONTO ONTARIO

20th April 1926

Mr James H Lewis
Peking University
150 - Fifth Avenue
New York City

Dear Mr Lewis

I am just wondering whether you have discontinued the sending out of those occasional bulletins, under the title, as I recall it, of "Peking News," which told about developments as they came for Peking University.

Perhaps you would be willing to restore me to your lists if they are still being issued. And if you have ceased publishing them but have substituted something else, I should be very glad to have whatever means you are using to keep us informed of how things go with Peking University.

Most truly yours

H. S. Hamman

0597

April 22, 1923

Mr. H. B. Sharnan
67 Queens Park Crescent
Toronto, Ontario, Canada

Dear Mr. Sharnan:

We discontinued the Peking News last fall. The expense of printing it and the lack of any general response of interest as shown by communications which we sent to the readers, made it seem wiser to us to conserve a bit there.

We have done quite a good deal of personal solicitation during the year and there have been many responses. Just now we have completed a new bulletin - two copies of which I am sending you under separate cover. At the present moment our difficulty is that the costs of construction in Peking are mounting so terrifically that we are continually put up against it to get the money to care for these requirements. As a consequence some of our general publicity work is neglected.

Cables from Peking indicate that though they have had rather a messy time of it, nevertheless our buildings, workers and students are all perfectly safe and we are not greatly worried about them.

Dr. Luce is back here on the job though I am not sure as to how much of his strength he has regained.

With cordial personal appreciation,

Very sincerely yours

0598

67 QUEENS PARK CRESCENT
TORONTO ONTARIO

28th April 1926

Dear Mr. Lewis:

Thanks ever so much for your letter 22nd April. We shall certainly be glad to have the bulletin when it comes, for we are eager to keep in steady touch with what is going on in the life of Peking University.

It comes to us rather as a surprise to hear about the increasing costs of ~~con~~struction in Peking. We can readily realize how serious this must prove as touching your estimates.

We rejoice to hear that, notwithstanding the highly disturbed condition of affairs in Peking, developments are moving along satisfactorily for all of the interests there.

Most truly yours

Mr James H Lewis, Secretary
Peking University
150 - 5th Avenue
New York City USA

H. H. Hamman

Pl Be sure to put us on the mailing list for anything which comes out

H. H.

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MAY 8 1926

67 QUEENS PARK CRESCENT
TORONTO ONTARIO

6th May 1926

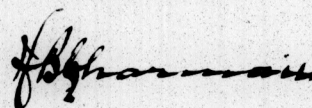
Dear Mr. Lewis:

Now that the new bulletin of Peking University has come, which you sent us with your letter of 22nd April, we have had the time to go through it carefully and to gather from it the inspiration which it assuredly conveys as to Yenching and its future.

Thanks ever so much for your thoughtfulness in sending us this bulletin.

Now that the "Peking News" has been discontinued, we shall be glad if you will remember us, from time to time, with whatever printed matter is put out ~~at~~ ^{for} Yenching University.

Most sincerely yours



Mr. James H. Lewis, Secretary
Peking University
150 Fifth Avenue
New York City NY USA

0600

67 QUEENS PARK CRESCENT
TORONTO ONTARIO

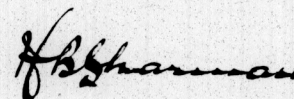
26th May 1926

Dear Mr. Lewis:

Will you kindly inform me as to what are the opening dates for the Peking University, Autumn term of 1926. Probably you have a Calendar of the year at New York.

But if you should not be sure as to the exact date, you will in any event be able to give me the opening dates of other years, and these would serve my purpose because they would let me know approximately the time.

Most truly yours



Mr. James H. Lewis
Peking University
150 - 5th Avenue
New York City USA

0601

June 8, 1926.

Dr. H. B. Sharman,
67 Queens Park Crescent,
Toronto, Canada.

My dear Dr. Sharman:

In reply to your inquiry of May 26th as to the opening dates of the autumn term of Peking University, may I quote the following from the Academic Calendar of 1924 and 1925.

You are undoubtedly aware of the many unforeseen events which have prevented the completion of the new site of the University. In view of this fact the dates quoted below are subject to change but so far as we know will pertain for this Autumn.

1925-26

Last Day for Returning Application Blanks ... Aug. 27, 1925.
Entrance Examinations.....Aug. 29, 31 & Sept. 12, 1925.
Faculty Professional Conference ...Sept. 11, 12, 13, 1925.
Fall Semester OpensSept. 15, 1925
RegistrationSept. 15, 16, 17, 18, 1925.
Class Work Begins.....Monday, 1:30 P.M., Sept 21, 1925

Yours very truly,

(Mrs) R. Doan,
Secretary to James H. Lewis.

RD

0602

W

July 14, 1926.

Mr. H. B. Sharman,
67 Queens Park Crescent,
Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

My dear Sharman:

We have letters both from Leighton Stuart and William Hung relative to the possibility of you and Mrs. Sharman going out to Peking. Needless to say, we three men would favor it heartily, but I think it would be difficult to get our Board of Trustees to give a formal sanction at this time, not because all of them would oppose it on theological grounds but because of the very exceptional strain and criticism to which they are subjected at the present time. During the period I have known our Presbyterian Board I have never seen the Secretaries so anxious about the theological situation as they were just preceding the General Assembly. Since the meeting of the latter body the matter has been eased off somewhat here, but they are still fearful that our very conservative Presbyterian Mission at Peking, who think the Trustees have gone already too far in agreeing to registration etc., etc., may still urge action that would be difficult to handle.

I was talking with Fahs the other day and we seemed to be in perfect agreement on several points:

- (1) That the interests of all concerned would be best served by your going out independently to Peking.
- (2) Arriving there no doubt arrangements could be made whereby Mrs. Sharman's services (very greatly needed) would be eagerly accepted by the University.
- (3) That your own work could probably best be begun with government students and gradually be related to our students as time and circumstance permitted

We thought that in this way your own objective could be better attained and ~~probably~~ ^{possibly} ~~in the end~~ ^{in the end} ~~the same~~ ^{the same} ~~as you would do it then with any~~ ^{as you would do it then with any} ~~other view of the matter.~~ You could fully count on the sympathetic understanding of Dr. Stuart, William Hung, T. T. Lew and others. T. T. Low, however, will be coming to this country in October or November. It seems to be the only way that they can have any hope of getting him to slow down.

0603

HBS

-2-

7/14/26

Plans for my Summer have been greatly changed. I had been hoping that Mrs. Luce would reach the Pacific Coast the latter part of August or early September. She cables that owing to the serious illness of Emmavill she will not be able to start before the middle of September. It may be possible that in the Fall she will come on to the Pacific Coast and I will go out there and join her for Christmas.

Matters have kept me busy here during the first two weeks of July and now, in order to meet a special situation, it looks as if I would have to start this week and spend some three weeks in the Kansas City section and southward of the Middle West. I shall have to be back in Massachusetts by August 5th to attend a small conference of prominent Yale men. I can tell you, confidentially, that the matter is up informally of Yale being related to Yenching

I am hoping that it may be possible for me to go out to China next Summer and be there for the formal Dedicatory Exercises of the University buildings in early October. In case the above suggestions appeal to you would there be any likelihood of you and Mrs. Sharman going out this Fall?

With best greetings to you both,

Ever most truly,

HWL:D

0604

RIDING THE CHINA STORM WITH A UNIVERSITY

By

Lyon Sharman

I. The Students Educate the Professor	about	2300	words
II. The Outer Ripples of the Whirlpool	"	1900	"
III. Spirited Normality	"	1100	"
IV. The Stalling of the Revolution	"	<u>800</u>	"
Total		6100	"

19 Lang Jun Yuan

Yenching University

Peking

July 19, 1927.

0605

RIDING THE CHINA STORM WITH A UNIVERSITY
Lyon Sharman

1.

The Students Educate the Professor

One of the few universities in China, either government or private, that finished this academic year, gave examinations, had its commencement and granted degrees was Yenching University, now located a little to the northwest of Peking on the main road toward the Summer Palace. My husband and I were fortunate enough to be taken in as long-staying guests at Yenching, when it opened for the first time on the finely located new campus in September, 1926. How we happened to be its guests; how skilfully we were made to feel an integral part of its life; how a little Chinese house was given us for our home, charmingly located in a well-preserved princely garden: these are parts of the story that can be passed over. It is enough to say that we missed not one day of the academic year, either by late arrival or early departure. Through the friendship and candor of the President we were kept intimately in touch with the problems of the University and with the larger political and social issues that forced themselves upon us. Having suggested our point of vantage in this way, I want to tell, as simply as possible, how the currents of thinking and happening flowed through my life, until now I am so engulfed that I feel as if I were drowning in a too great depth of significant experience.

We knew vaguely, when we came to China early in September 1926, that the Cantonese were actively revolutionary within comparatively narrow areas of South China. Shortly after our arrival, they took Hankow, and the Yangtse Valley became the storm-center of China.

In Peking we found the scars, not of revolution, but of the older tuchun wars. Feng Yu-hsiang's troops had recently completed an orderly but mysteriously motivated withdrawal through Nankow Pass, and Peking was left to a government that knew Chang Tso-lin was its master. But at Yenching University one of the first sense-impressions to fascinate us was the bugle concert at dawn. A great barracks was not far away, and every morning with the first human murmur of early activity, so characteristic of China, the bugles began answering musically at suitable distances. Every day soldiers were swarming up and down the main highways to the northwest, taking away from the villages what little they had left after many plunderings. We heard stories about the extreme difficulty of erecting a university plant of about fifty buildings, while military movements kept interfering with transport and the soldiers did not hesitate to help themselves to horses and carts. There were stories that came out confidentially after a while of anxious days in preceding years, when ^{warlords} ~~tuchuns~~ were fighting and governments were changing, not always for the better. The President told us that one of the most important generalizations to be made about the last twelve months was that war was now no longer a game in China, but the deadly modern business that Europe had demonstrated it could be. I can't forget too, that the aimless wandering of many soldiers off duty in the neighborhood gave concern to some of the Yenching people whose residence compounds had not yet acquired the privacy of oriental walls. When appealed to for protection, the military authorities picketed a special night-guard at points about us, and we had the novel experience of being challenged after dark, when we went about our business or to our dinner parties. The pickets could occasionally

be heard in the dead of night yawning drowsily on faculty doorsteps. But such details were outward things, a superficial febrility that meant nothing except that there had recently been war in these regions; ^{war} was ~~was~~ over for the present; and the present was enjoyable. It was generally felt that a lull was due Peking, and a *swinging* long lull we had.

Yenching University opened on its new campus with a record Freshman class of about 140 men and 35 women. Because much of the college instruction is done through the English language, Freshman English is even more than ordinarily important at this college, and to the English staff more than ordinarily exacting. With so large a class to be taught I was asked to help. I found myself a little shy before a group of twenty young men who came day after day with terrifying regularity to watch and listen with an intentness unparalleled in my experience. If all I knew about English was at their services, in return I expected them to teach me much about China.

I soon found that my students were not abnormal either in brilliancy or stupidity. They obliged me by writing frank essays on "Everyday life in my Father's Occupation". The variety of their circumstances interested me. Only one seemed to be of very poor family. Four were sons of middle-school teachers. One wrote that his father had been a Christian minister for thirty years, and had suffered in the Boxer persecutions. The fathers of two were inspecting railway engineers; another's was inspector for an oil company. Two of my students were farmer's sons. One had grown up with an uncle who was a highly skilled wood-carver. Another gave an account of his brother-guardian, a modern literary craftsman, both translator and writer; his family

he said, "in ~~my~~^{every} generation had been engaged in reading". Another student, because he was an orphan at four, described his elder brother's life as one of the land-owning gentry of a smaller town. The father of another was the manager of a provincial bank and a member of the government of his province. ~~In contrast~~ was a father, ~~who~~^{as} the owner of a flax-store, ~~who~~ practiced a socialistic policy in sharing with his apprentices. One father, who was dutifully but vaguely described, seemed to substitute for any visible means of support an enthusiastic preoccupation with Chinese music ancient and modern. Still another student was the son of a judge, but what he wrote about was the routine and concentration of a studiously devout Buddhist layman's life. Only one described his father as a man of large means retired from active life and devoted to war-relief and educational philanthropies. The twentieth student was the product of an ultra-modern educational environment; his father and mother had, shortly before his birth, pioneered in the establishment of a high-grade private school for girls; in the atmosphere of this radical venture the boy had grown to manhood. Although ~~over~~^{half} my students were northerners, there were also students from the Yangtse Valley, Fukien, Hunan and Canton. I felt that I had a representative body of young men, and I set about to discover what they were thinking. The fact that they had come to Yenching largely by way of Christian middle schools is significant of education in China today. As far as it influenced their opinions, its tendency would be to temper radicalism and to balance judgment; the reader may judge how far it did either.

Week after week I had the ~~students~~^{students} write on subjects such as these: "Is China becoming Bolshevik?" "What is wrong with the status of foreigners in China?" "The military power of China's provincial governments," "The importance of the revision of ~~the~~ treaties",

"The movement for mass education," "The responsibility of Chinese young people in the present generation." Of course, I gave them some themes on athletics, social life, rival colleges and other subjects for variety, but there were few among them who did not write their best on patriotic themes. Their frankness was a perpetual revelation, and it was their willingness to speak out that educated me. Their knowledge of history and economics did not always equal their fluent voicing of current protests; but I reminded myself that they were only Freshmen. What I wanted most to observe was the flow of currents of thought and feeling through them.

They were agreed about a number of things. Everyone of them ~~deplored the weakness of the central government;~~ ^{all} seemed to feel it as a personal sorrow and humiliation. They saw clearly the failure of democracy in China, but never for a moment suggested any substitute for democracy. They explained the urgent necessity of mass education, that democracy might go forward. Some of them had given vacations to helping in this stupendous educational venture and could tell me the methods used. To a man my students were radically opposed to the tuchun system which saddles each province with a military governor of almost unlimited power to build up armies and make war. But about war itself the general opinion was that military power was China's only possible weapon, because force was the one argument the rest of the world would listen to.

I must say that as Chinese, my students took upon themselves with very creditable fairness the blame for the failures of their country. They did not consider China's deplorable state to be wholly due to the foreign powers. They were, however, unanimously convinced that the foreign relations of China were radically wrong and a very serious handicap to progress. Their position was that China had gradually become the victim of a ring of foreign powers,

More deadly than the oppression of a single political overlord; and that these powers now had "a strangle-hold" on China economically by reason of investments in railways, the administration of the customs, the development of commerce under privileges secured by unjust treaties and extra-territorial rights, and by other forms of exploitation and coercion. They felt that the tuchun evil was being prolonged by the insidious strategy of foreign diplomats who played the warlords against one another for ends of their own, supplying munitions to their favorites.

As I look back on those Freshman essays, I can hardly realize that they were written only six or eight months ago--so rapidly has the public opinion of the world advanced on some of these issues. The papers my students wrote on unequal treaties, for example, are significant of the strength of the public opinion which made it possible for Wellington Koo to announce on November 6 the abrogation of the already over-expired treaty with Belgium. I quote passages from three students, purposely omitting their exposition of the facts, because, I take it, the facts are better understood outside of China than the states of feeling.

"The unequal treaties are the cause of all the hatred against foreigners, and the root of the disturbances within and without. These treaties were established under special circumstances and were concluded by a few officials whom the people hated terribly. In the control of the Chinese tariff by foreigners and in the exercise of extraterritoriality the evil effect of these treaties reaches its climax. Whenever we are in trouble, we think of these treaties, and when we think of these treaties we usually condemn the makers of them--largely the foreigners."

"From the national point of view the revision of unequal treaties is so important a matter that the life of our nation is at their mercy. While they remain in effect, our national progress and social reform are absolutely impossible, and all our national career will be retarded....It is not an exaggeration to say that the unequal treaties mean iron fetters to China restraining her from all national movements. And the revision of them means the removing of these iron fetters. To put it plainly, it means freedom, liberty, justice and salvation to China. But if China were to remain in the prison of the unequal treaties, she would become a madman on account of the cruel torture."

"The so-called unequal treaties are extremely terrible and unreasonable. They are the unlawful compacts made by the strong powers with the weak...They can kill people without violence, that is, they have the power to deprive people of freedom to live...On account of the unequal treaties in China many people have been deprived of freedom to work and even to live...We know our government cannot be well organized, our civil wars cannot be stopped, and our country can never become rich, if the unequal treaties remain effective. So now we are living one day longer, we will have one more day against the unequal treaties. If, unfortunately we cannot succeed, we will dedicate ourselves in a great battlefield for our final place."

Is it any wonder that with feeling such as this supporting them the Nationalists pushed rapidly forward? As one student put it: "It is as if a great force drives China and compels her to advance straight forward to the place where she can find success and victory."

What I now see clearly, after eight months of learning, is that those subjects which I was writing on the blackboard for my class to develop were mostly related to the first of the "Three Principles of the People", in which the Nationalist movement finds its ends idealistically stated. When the Chinese translate the first principle into English, they call it "The People's Nationalism". It is in this first objective that we foreigners are implicated. Patriotic China wants, first of all, national liberation from the fettering interferences of other nations, and the realization of complete political and economic self-determination. We foreigners are the stumbling blocks in the way of this ideal:—we, who patrol their inland waters with our gunboats; who flood their markets with our commodities, dictating low import duties that we may do so; who insist that when we choose to live among them we must have immunities and special privileges including sovereign rights in certain territories; who maintain our diplomatic representatives in an isolated zone defended by fortifications and guards; who ^{conduct} propagand~~ize~~ for our religion and under its name introduce strange institutions and corrosive customs; we foreigners are the problem. We have got our trading and our missions and our diplomacy

all tangled together, and China tangled sadly in the disorderly mesh. In assigning the subject, "What is wrong with the status of foreigners in China?" I remarked: "Don't be afraid to say what you think! You can't hurt my feelings". This is what I got back from a genteel, mild-mannered young man who looked up at me regularly from the front row:

"When I was young, I thought that foreigners were our good friends—the friends who would play with us, and tell us many strange things about abroad. Later on, I was still thinking about their good and recognized that they were not only our good friends but also our good teachers from whom we could get plenty of new knowledge of the material world. Year after year, as I got into Senior Middle School, I began to know the reality of the foreigners. At first, I think that foreigners are simply travellers to our native land to enjoy the natural beauty; and believe that they are right in every respect, and they shall do us no harm. But as the matter of fact, this is quite ~~contrary~~! Now everyone of us knows that foreigners are not our friends. They are simply our traitors or our enemies."

That was only the beginning of a simply worded and straightforward confession of youthful disillusionment and change of mind. As I read the paper to the class, I praised the sincerity and vividness of the account and my only comment on its subject-matter was that it made me sad to think that this could be the experience of any young man in China. I could not at the time believe what is likely true, that it represents the experience of hundreds of young men who are in the colleges of China today or have lately gone out from them. Mission colleges are particularly full of them. Another student gave evidence of the same inward conflict:

"It is always pleasant to make friends, but more pleasant still to make friends with foreign people. We live among friends and exist because of their help. The world in which we live is a world of friends. When I think of this, I always feel myself fortunate, happy and encouraged. Pitted against this ~~there~~ there is another world, in which every bit is the opposite—a world of dark clouds and threatening storm, a world in which we live also. It is a world of "might is right." Nothing short of arms can achieve anything thoroughly. It is a world of private covenants and selfish leagues. People frustrate one another by mutual exploitations. One nation is empowered at the expense of the other, and the

rights of the latter are trodden down under foot and their lives are cast into the dust! These two worlds—one in which every person is smiling and dancing and the other in which people are always enemies—cope with each other to see which is to survive."

Dear lad! No wonder he must philosophize at an age so young! One cannot save one's soul in China without some such philosophy!

Please understand that while I was encouraging my students to express themselves for the sake of their English, I believe they were entirely innocent of any design to propagandize me. They were simply generous-hearted boys, intensely patriotic, who had found a teacher who seemed to read sympathetically while correcting their sentences. I contrast with this an experience of my husband's, who early in the academic year discovered that he had among his students one indubitable propagandist for the Southern Cause. The course for which he registered was an advanced and out-of-the-ordinary elective, and it is just possible that it was chosen as a kind of smoke-screen. This student lost no time in making an occasion for a private talk with his teacher, and later took advantage of every opportunity to educate him further. He furnished gruesome printed matter concerning certain notorious clashes between students and foreigners in 1925. He supplied texts of the "People's Three Principles" and of "Sun Yat-sen's Will." He loaned a biographical sketch of Chiang Kai-shih, and pictures of the proposed Sun Yat-sen Memorial. From time to time he sent marked copies of The People's Tribune or clippings from it. This is an outright Cantonese organ, which at that time was published in Peking. He influenced my husband to subscribe for it—just about a week before Chang Tso-lin had it suppressed. When it began republishing in Hankow, only a few copies got through the mails to us. But the

student-agent was not suppressed. He went through the year at Yenching, as doubtless some others did who were as deeply interested in organized propaganda. Even later in the Spring we read several articles that this same student had landed in one of the leading newspapers of Peking.

Students were not the only ones who had a hand in our education. We had illuminating talks with Chinese members of the staff. One evening after dinner we sat for several hours, deeply absorbed, while a physically diminutive but intellectually big Chinese professor expounded in conversation the relations of the parties in China.

Kuomintang must be understood first of all, the national democratic party, ^(- the only organized political party) in China today. It has a platform, conditions of membership, a membership roll, and many local organizations. Although it was originally a secret revolutionary society that overthrew the Manchus in 1911, it came out into the open and became the Kuomintang party immediately afterward. It took on its present form and had a rebirth of energy when Sun Yat-sen reorganized it in 1924. Its platform is an exposition of the "Three Principles of the People" together with a definite program of activity which will require a good many years to complete.

The professor explained to us that China has also a ~~larger~~ vaguer group of patriots who call themselves Nationalists. This is a movement rather than a political party. Nationalists may or may not be members of Kuomintang. A particularly active small group of Nationalists in Shanghai edits a journal called The Awakening Lion. They are violently opposed to the Communists, and consequently to the policy of Kuomintang in admitting Communists to membership, and also to the practice of the Cantonese in entertaining Russian communistic advisers. The sentiment of this Nationalist group and that of the Communists the

professor emphatically stated to be utterly irreconcilable.

The third group to be reckoned with is the "Communist Party", so called,—not a political party in itself, but a secretly propagated organization patterned after Russian models. It is organized in secret linked units of ^(let us suppose) five members each, of which only the organizer and leader knows the personnel of the group out of which he came. ^{Each of} the other four members of a group may ~~each~~ gather four about himself and thus create ^{an} other nucleus. So the organization may go on multiplying groups--each group having a possible progeny of four groups.

It was Sun Yat-sen himself, who three years ago allowed Communists to become members of Kuomintang, not as Communists, but just as any other members might join—by declaring for the principles of Kuomintang. Not all Communists have sought membership in Kuomintang, but those who have been admitted have tended to form a divisively radical left wing. There are "lefts" who are not so "left" as the Communists but they are constantly being classified with them.

How much this orientation helped us in understanding the events that followed, the professor himself does not know.

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II

The Outer Ripples of the Whirlpool

The revolution was making sensational gains south of the Yangtse. The Communists were having their way in Hunan and Hankow. Letters from Yale-in-China were disconcerting to friends of higher education. Shanghai was very much in our minds; after comfortable dinners we debated whether the Southerners would circle around Shanghai, and let it alone as a prickly international problem; or whether its rich financial possibilities would prove too tempting to a movement that needed money. Visitors who came up to Peking from the Yangtse Valley were immediately surrounded by audiences and interrogated—just as if they had dropped down from Mars. Some of them were too discreet to say anything, and we went away disappointed. We counted ourselves fortunate, if we happened to be on hand when any such guest broke over prudential considerations and told us what he knew and what he felt.

And all the while our community at Yenching was as quiet as a lotus pond. The first semester did not even have the usual number of student-instigated holidays, and it had been made longer than usual as a precautionary allowance for such breaks. From September 20 to January 26 we had only three scattered holidays. Christmas fell on Saturday and our one precious holiday was the day before. The busy faculty, however, made full use of Christmas in entertaining students in a great variety of ways. My always lively visual sense was tremendously pleased with my Freshmen, when they came to our little party for them on Christmas Eve. They were not the students in blue cotton clothes that I had looked upon day after day. They paid us the compliment of punctilious dress. The man's dress-suit in China is a stunning costume with its glossy short-coat of heavy satin worn over a supple gray or tan silk robe.

It was shortly before Christmas that the dropping-out of some of my students reminded me of forces that were working yeastily outside our self-contained academic community. As I noted

accumulating absences on my roll, I made inquiries, but got information slowly. I learned ultimately that a certain student had left to join one of the armies. Another had got away to Japan for more specialized study. A brilliant lad, he whose parents had during all his life-time been engaged in educational work for girls, disappeared, and I could learn nothing except that he had reported to the Dean's office a summons to return home. He was a Hunanese and his home was Changsha, then the center of exuberant nationalism. From his "themes" I knew the boy was sympathetic with the Southern cause; so I suspected he was off enthusiastically for patriotic work. Some day I hope I shall meet him again and know his story.

A different case was that of the gentle boy who wrote the vivid essay about foreigners being enemies and traitors. At this time I had been discussing briefly in class the sounds of English vowels. One Monday, as this student took his seat in the front row, he laid a little note on my desk; it read:

"I am very interested in the pronunciation of those English vowels. But I find that some of them I do not know how to pronounce. Will you please help me to pronounce them accurately.

"I would be very glad if you will teach me before Wednesday. I am free from lessons at every afternoon.

Your obedient student," "

As I went on with my class-work that morning, I could not help wondering why "those vowels" had become so urgent as to require explanation within two days! But I could only assume that they were; so I told the student he could come to see me the next afternoon. I became interested in "those vowels" myself before I had gone far, because he produced from some Chinese text-book a list of English

Phonetic!
Narrow
space
thin.
dense!

vowel sounds longer and more discriminating than any I have ever seen in our English dictionaries. Yet even vowels exhausted their possibilities after a while; then the real errand came out. The student told me quietly but wistfully that he was obliged to give up Yenching and go home. His father, who had been a banker and a member of the government of his province, had lost heavily in the movement of the armies back and forth over his city, which had to be twice taken before it was held by the Southerners. All his fortune—a very ^{comfortable} ~~considerable~~ one—had gone. He had also lost his home and had been forced to retire to a country village. Now he could no longer afford to give his son the four hundred dollars a year which kept him in comfort in Peking. A daughter who was studying away from home was also being recalled. It was hoped that by doing this, the family might be able to go on helping the elder brother who was studying at far greater expense in America.

Some say we begin to know China only when we can think of her in terms of families. The cost of the revolution to this one family gave me a unit of computation by which I could make real to myself something of the price that the Chinese themselves are paying for national reconstruction. It gave me, too, a much needed counter-balance, that, in the month's following, kept jerking me mentally when I found myself thinking of the Nationalist movement in terms of foreign loss and the salvage of foreign institutions. In fairness to Yenching University I should say that students did not drop out generally in any such proportion as my section happened to show. In this ^spect my freshmen were more representative of the nation than of the University.

It was early in January that the very large military conference of the Nationalists held at Nanchang again patched things up with the Communists in the hope of accomplishing the military revolution before taking up seriously the widening ^dvision within the Kuomintang party

itself. It was also in January that Chang Tso-lin, who had come to Peking about the turn of the year, made the statement that he has been repeating ever since—that he would "fight Bolshevism to the end." It was in January and February that we, like many other English-speaking people, were chuckling over the cleverness of the pronunciamentos Eugene Chen was flinging over the world from Hankow. The first two months of 1927 saw also the massing of troops from many ^(nations at Shanghai, until the foreign concession became) an armed camp with thirty miles of wire entanglements and multitudes of sand-bag barricades. Any of us who had relatives there were much concerned; we felt as if they were living over tunnelled mines thoroughly loaded with T.N.T.

When the Chinese New Year came, about February 1, we at last had the vacation which the staff had so thoroughly earned. My husband and I chose to spend a good deal of it in the city. Although Peking, both in its foreign and Chinese elements, is a city preeminently ductile to rumors, there were none to disturb us. As I look back on that city visit, I can think of four public addresses, which we happened to hear, that were indicative of the currents flowing at the time. One was a lecture by Juliet Bredon on certain unopened and little known areas of the Forbidden City; this was typical of the aesthetic attraction which Peking always has had, and will continue to have for foreigners. A second lecture was by an Englishman on the early days of foreign trade in Canton; it took us back to the beginnings of certain practices which have in time developed into resented institutions: the foreign concessions, for instance, which were only officially segregated trading-posts to begin with. The third address was by a Chinese on the meaning of the present revolution to Christians—a matter of intense concern, because of the anti-religious aspects of much of the revolutionary propaganda. The fourth lecture was also by a Chinese, a professor in one of the government institutions, who spoke directly and pointedly about the Nationalist revolution itself. He was lecturing

at the Language School to an audience made up largely of young missionaries, but he minced no words in his exposition of what the revolutionists object to as "cultural imperialism." By "imperialism" they mean the economic and political "strangle-hold" on China, which I have already described. By "cultural imperialism" they mean something far more subtle but also intensely real—the foreign cultural forces that are more or less purposely working upon China to disrupt her racial culture. In this iconoclasm missions are held to be the chief offenders, especially educational institutions, which take advantage of youth to heedlessly root out traditions that have enormous social value for China. This is an indictment of missions that has to be reckoned with. These four addresses suggest the currents in Peking up to March 1.

Our anxieties had been focused upon Shanghai because we knew the terrific combination of inflammable antipathies and resentments concentrated there. When the explosion came, we were immensely surprised to have it occur at Nanking. Anything but a congested city, Nanking is a huge imperial enclosure with a shrunken Chinese city at one end of it. Inside its walls at the other end are enormous open spaces where agriculture is carried on, and where land was easily purchasable for mission institutions. I suppose no city in China has so large or impressive an educational quarter. It may be, however, that it was just these several square miles of foreign institutions that proved too tempting to the radically minded army of occupation.

We were at a ~~most~~ interesting party when we got the first word about Nanking. One of the Chinese professors had planned an evening with Chinese paintings, enlisting the help of a friend who has a large private collection. This gentleman brought and exhibited for our benefit about thirty paintings both contemporary and old. His comments on these were ~~interrupted~~ interpreted into English by our host. Right into the

midst of the lovely art came the news from Nanking. The President was one of the guests, and word had just come to him by telephone from the American Legation. The first news was so exaggerated as to be incredible to us; but that something very serious had occurred, we could not doubt. The newspapers of the next morning had huge headlines—too huge.

It goes without saying that if the Nanking incident had not occurred, the exodus of missionaries from China, although considerable, would have been very much smaller. After Nanking, those in responsible diplomatic positions felt it to be their duty to get their nationals out. Now (in July) we begin to have statistics of the large numbers of refugee missionaries harbored in the coast cities or in Japan or Korea, of the extraordinary number furloughed home, and of the few who are still at the stations in interior China.

Of course, the alarm hit Peking too. The crest of the excitement came when the full truth about Nanking began to come through in letters. The President of Yenching was called up on the phone day and night by people who were perplexed and concerned. The Nanking trouble had occurred on March 24. Yenching's short Spring holidays came over the weekend of April 1. The weather was favorable for a short camping excursion into the Western Hills, and those who were planning it persuaded President Stuart to go too. He was very doubtful about the wisdom of his being away from the institution just at that moment, but the strain of being accessible to all kinds of inquiries day and night was telling on him. With the prospect of heavier strain to come, he yielded and went; his capable Chinese assistant knew his whereabouts.

It was very early Spring, and we had a glorious trip, running to the base of the hills in an automobile, then climbing the ranges on foot, taking donkeys to carry food and bedding. By making an early start we arrived before night at an ancient monastery secluded among high close-set hills, and bounded on two of its triangular sides by deep gullies. We had one transcendent day there exploring all the courts

of the monastery to the topmost terrace. The President and the Dean of the Men's College, who was also of the party, took special delight in translating for me Chinese poems that were scattered everywhere—in our sleeping rooms as well as in more public places; many of them were autograph poems left by distinguished guests. One read:

"To the mountains! There we shall find gladness,
Freed from care, like gods who once were human."

The President seemed to feel like that: he was in the best of spirits. The next day we went on a long tramp to another monastery, whose buildings—of imperial size and dignity—have a commanding view over the Peking plain. I was a little inclined to resent that plain; had we not tramped to get away from it? In the other monastery I could forget the city and the populous country around it. But it was a fine old monastery, for all that, with venerable pines in the court-yards, and bells tinkling at the roof-corners. We had spread out our picnic lunch on a high terrace in front of a noble building, and had begun to eat, when one of the priests brought in a letter for the President. It was a call back to the University. The feeling among foreigners in and around Peking was so wrought upon, that Dr. Stuart's presence was felt to be necessary. While he ate a little food, he opened up his heart and talked of some of the emergency plans he had been cogitating for the safety of the Yenching families, if this should turn out to be a period of anti-foreign agitation. As the President and the Dean went off together down the hill for a walk of perhaps five miles to a point where an automobile was waiting for them, we, who were left, turned back to our camping place in the other monastery. And all the way we talked of little else than the situation in China and the serious implications of the turn it had taken.

When we got back to Yenching the next evening, my husband and I were fortunate enough to dine quietly with the President, from whom we

got much news. We were startled to hear that certain of our friends in Peking had already fled, and also a few women and children of our Yenching community. The question was,—what should our university do? Much was being urged for closing and a general evacuation of all the foreigners. The President was very clear in his own personal decision: having no family to think of, he would stay where he was. Even a direct order from the Legation would not move him; nor would he take refuge in the Legation Quarter—about that he has convictions. But our President has a quality or group of qualities much more important to Yenching than his personal courage. The fact that he was born in China is often thought to be at the root of it; but he himself does not thereby lay claim to any superior knowledge of the Chinese. Yet the Chinese universally feel that he understands them in a peculiar degree. He himself points out that this feeling on the part of the Chinese tends to make them talk more freely with him, and, because of this, he should be able to understand them better than those not so favored. In other words, it is the Chinese faith that one understands ^{which} ~~that~~ makes for understanding. Whatever the true psychology may be, the fact is that President Stuart in a degree beyond what is possible to any except a few is able to get at currents of Chinese feeling and ~~to estimate~~ their force and trend. In this very critical time he had many Chinese friends both in and outside of Yenching who came to him and turned their minds inside out.

Before the day set for resuming lectures, the President called a meeting of the foreign staff to talk over by itself the whole situation. It was a tense, tense meeting. There were those who were obviously restive and wanted to get out. There were others who wanted their wives and children out of harm's way. Still others declared that they must heed the advise of their diplomatic representatives, and, if a recommendation for evacuation came, they would evacuate. One question that was

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generally asked was--what would our Chinese fellow-members of the staff like us foreigners to do? (Fully half of the Yenching staff is Chinese) ^{President} Dr. Stuart spoke from knowledge informally acquired, that, as far as he knew, the Chinese staff desired the foreigners to stay. The President pointed out that evacuation would inevitably be unfavorably interpreted by the public, and that the moral gain to the University would be tremendous, if it could go right on with its work, and, events permitting, finish the year. He faced squarely the possibility that we might have to pay for such a policy in human lives. After much discussion, and in the full realization that Yenching would be open to criticism, if it took an independent course differing from that of the missions represented, it was decided to go on with the University's work as if nothing had happened. At the same time the President offered to facilitate in every possible way the withdrawal of wives and children to zones that were felt to be safe.

There were times afterward when we wondered whether we had been foolhardy rather than brave. Perhaps I imagined it, but as I walked down the street of our nearby village, people seemed to be staring at me in blank amazement that women should be still around. My Chinese teacher asked me pointedly: "Are you not frightened?" There were also many grilling things to read in those days--personal letters as well as newspaper accounts: the stories of man and women who had spent many years in China only to be now on their way home crushed in spirit and planning never to return.

Spirited Normality

No students could have been finer in spirit than ours were after the Nanking incident. Although there was nothing in the immediate situation to cause alarm for themselves, they were well aware of the feeling among foreigners and solicitous for us. In a hundred ways they tried to show their kindness. Students I did not know personally would lift their hats and speak pleasantly. My former Freshman section promptly projected a party, to which they invited my husband and me, as well as the teacher by whom, at my own request, I had been relieved after the first semester. Emergencies delayed the party for a week or two, but when it came, it was most enjoyable. The students planned everything:—interesting Chinese music on the two-stringed violin and the flute; vocal music from their ancient operas; games and refreshments. The student body as a whole organized a Vigilance Committee, the object of which was to have an understanding about a plan of action in case of any disturbances. Their messages to us of the faculty, couched as they were in unstable English, were quite touching in their assurances of loyalty and readiness to stand by in any difficulty. Their first, and, as events turned out, their most important recommendation was the immediate building of a wall around the Yenching campus. Walls are so thoroughly taken for granted in China that a campus open to the roads and villages seems to the Chinese undignified and, as President Stuart says, "almost indecent"; in this crisis it seemed also unnecessarily risky. Since the Yenching campus is large, ~~as well~~ a wall was something of an undertaking both in money and in labor. The President got the money from Chinese friends of the institution, and our own Construction Bureau put on a large force of laborers. Now (in July) Yenching has a staunch encircling wall finished except for the gates. As a concession to foreign traditions ampelopsis has been liberally planted to scramble over it. ~~Another thing that the students did as a body was to leave what they~~

Another thing that the students did as a body was to issue what they called "A Manifesto to American Citizens." I hope this has had some circulation in America, so I shall not repeat its appeals.

As the weeks passed, the soundness of the President's judgment became more and more evident, and in the life of the university all tremors died away. We became normal—even gaily normal. The Spring was a period of many general gatherings and public entertainments. There was a brick-and-mortar explanation of this in the fact that up to March the university had no audience-hall large enough to accommodate its student-body. About that time it became possible to use the yet unfinished but commodious auditorium in the large Administration Building. With March 11 there began weekly assemblies of all the students and faculty. Moving pictures and dramatic entertainments followed one another a little too rapidly. The faculty played Bernard Shaw and students played Shakespeare. The freshmen struck out on a new path and gave an entertainment to the community. "We give this entertainment," their letter to the faculty said, "in order to show our friendship and goodwill toward all the members of the university. Admission free." An excellent entertainment it was, with music, both foreign and Chinese, and two short plays:--Barrie's Pantaloon given by women students in English, and a modern play in the Chinese language, "A Night in a Coffee-House" given by men students. There were also several patriotic meetings on a large scale that were full of sentiment to the students.

Everything was so pleasantly normal at Yenching that we had to go to Peking to realize how hard-hit the foreign elements in China were. There the huge Language School, depleted of most of its students, was planning an earlier closing and no summer term. Its hostels had become a caravansery for evacuating missionaries, hundreds of whom stopped

there for short periods during the Spring months. The Chinese shops that ordinarily did large business with foreigners were deploring the decrease of patronage. The periodic fairs, which are such a picturesque feature of Peking, were showing an extraordinary willingness to sell curios cheaply; in fact, it was dangerous to make a low bid on an article you did not really want; ten to one it would be thrust upon you at your price.

Just when Yenching was within sight of the year's peaceful end, a flare-up came, a threatening one too. About the middle of May the Nationalists began what looked like a determined drive toward the North; in fact, three armies were simultaneously advancing upon Peking, one from Hankow, one from Nanking, and one by way of Shensi under Feng Yu-hsiang. For a while it was impossible to know whether these three had reached an agreement and were making a concerted drive on Peking, or whether they were racing one another, each hoping to get here first and win the prize. Anyway, they made sensational gains; in a week's time they took over a great belt 300 miles wide. This rapid movement caused much excitement among Chinese of all classes. Oddly enough, the foreigners were not flurried—perhaps because the most excitable of them were already out of the country. Our students were thoroughly alarmed lest communications should be cut off, and they would not be able to get home. Besides this, agitators were undoubtedly at work among them. In this revolution agitation among students has a "technique" just as agitation among laborers has. One of the methods used in educational institutions is to rouse mass-movements by appeals to student prejudices in the hope of causing ruptures which might be taken advantage of. At this time tactics of disturbance were used at nearby universities under Chinese management and were successful in bringing about premature closing of the institutions. Nankai, the

great privately founded university at Tientsin, was forced to close. Our near neighbor, Tsinghua, the Boxer Indemnity College, was the next to close under agitation. One of its notable professors, a despondent monarchist, drowned himself in the Summer Palace lake; another, internationally known, fled.

The form in which trouble broke out at Yenching was a sudden student demand for exemption from examinations—a notorious student prejudice! President Stuart, a model of reasonableness, dealt with a mass-meeting of students, offering alternatives. He was also constantly in touch with the student leaders privately. There were counter-currents and tangles and some misunderstanding due to the bi-lingualism of the university. A memorable meeting of the whole faculty on June 6 faced the possibilities: to close the university with the year uncompleted, no graduates, and a sense of defeat; or to break up the mass psychology by throwing upon individual instructors (in a few cases only, on departments) the decision as to where examinations were necessary and where other tests might be substituted. Each instructor would, in this case, carry his share of the responsibility for maintaining standards and for winning the students over. It was interesting to see the faculty working toward a decision. We recognized some tendency to mass psychology among ourselves. Sentiments swayed backward and forward. It happened that the one who did the clearest thinking for the meeting, and the one who seemed to be most confident of knowing the underlying student feeling, was a Chinese professor, whose voice is not often enough heard in councils because he underestimates his command of English. That night the emergency overcame his language-reticence and he did a great service in clarifying minds and steadying nerves that were not any too steady after a year of reports of colleges disrupted by tactics that began just like this. The plan to have

individual instructors deal with their own classes was adopted. To advance the closing by one week and to compress the examinations within three days was felt to be a reasonable concession to the distraught students.

After that, Yenching went on to a quiet triumph. Many examinations were given; grades were reported. One evening there was a very pretty wedding of two Chinese professors in the President's courtyard. On Sunday the President preached a Baccalaureate sermon on the analogy between the "Three Principles of the People" and the University's motto—"Freedom through Truth for Service". At the Commencement Exercises the next day, in full panoply of gowns and hoods, 138 graduates were given diplomas. Thus came to an end one of the quietest most studious years in Yenching's history.

The President has a happy custom of circularizing among the faculty any communications which he feels to be of general interest. It was only a few weeks before the university closed that we received a document signed "Yenchingites in the National Revolution". It announced confidently that the Southern Armies would be in Peking in six weeks, and rehearsed in bad English the most fatuous doctrinarism of the extreme left. Shortly after Commencement we received another communication, which appealed a great deal more to me. I think I may quote from it, although it was written as a personal letter to President Stuart by a former Yenching student.

"This revolution which we are carrying on now is a revolution by all classes of Chinese citizens and for the welfare of the whole nation. It is by no means a proletarian revolution, though they are taking a very active part in it because they have suffered most. Our aim is to build a new democratic government by the people and for the people.

"We do make mistakes because we are not masters of revolution. Everyone in the government is learning. Mr. Eugene Chen and

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several others are advanced students while we are freshmen. None of us should claim to be wise and make no mistakes. Every real revolutionist knows his own slips and tries hard to correct them.

9 Chinese revolution is bound to succeed. But thousands of life have to be sacrificed and millions of people will suffer from it. Only those people who have great visions and high ideals will live and die with it....

9 Dear President! I am young and inexperienced in life. In ordinary case and circumstance I have to continue my study in college. But national affair compels me to go out to take a part in the gigantic movement of revolution. I hope you write me often and give me some advice."

There is the Chinese student at his best, committed to a revolution which he knows is making mistakes.

The Stalling of the Revolution

This revolution is no simple matter; it is a compound movement. Some observers find a fundamental dualism in it. To me it seems more and more a triple thing. The threeness that I feel, if followed to its roots, corresponds approximately with the Nationalist interpretations of the "Three Principles of the People," formulated by Sun Yat-sen. The first principle I have already explained—the People's Nationalism, which at the present moment means revolt against fettering foreign influences, diplomatic and economic. That China has been united on this issue is beyond doubt; ~~Lefts~~ and ~~Right~~s, warlords and people have only one opinion on this point. The unity of sentiment against what is called "foreign imperialism" has given the revolution immense driving power. To us foreigners it now seems that this phase of the revolution has been won, morally at least. The sentiment of the world surely has been revolutionized within the last six or seven months. The powers seem now prepared to alter treaties, make concessions; and deal with the Chinese on an altogether new basis. But the agitation still goes on in China against "foreign imperialism"; partly because it is too effective a battlecry to give up, but also because there can be many a slip betwixt a new resolve to be just and the documentation of justice. Whatever may be the optimistic report of world-opinion, the obnoxious treaties, foreign concessions, and foreign customs-control are still with us.

The second phase of the revolution, followed back to the principles, is the People's Sovereignty. This is sometimes spoken of as the "fight against feudalism". It aims at the ousting of an antiquated and corrupt political status quo. This phase of the revolution is not by any means accomplished. In the North there is at the present

moment a formidable alliance of warlords *flourishingly* calling themselves An-kuo-chun--"the Army for Perfecting the Country's Peace." This combination has yet to be subdued. Only when Peking is taken, can the revolution be considered to have acquired the sovereignty. The more difficult process of making it really the people's sovereignty can then begin. The revolutionists think of this as necessarily a slow development.

The third purpose of the revolution is the one which has been causing the serious split in the ranks of the Nationalists. The principles at the back of it is variously translated the People's Livelihood, or the People's Socialism. The object is the betterment of conditions of life for laborers and peasants. Because it involves the most difficult problems of all, and aims at social reforms that are bristling with difficulty, this phase of the revolution has been the area of much serious blundering. The radical left wing has taken the problems far too lightly; it has been naïve in its belief that it knew just what to do and how fast to do it. Believing that Soviet Russia had "mastered a technique" (that odious phrase!) "of social revolution", China's hot blooded radicals followed her leading. One thing is certain, Soviet Russia does not know ~~the~~ "technique" for China. Whatever brilliancy Russian "technique" may have appears to better advantage at Moscow than at Hankow. A sad mess has been made in China, and the now necessary "show-down" between the radicals and the common-sense Nationalists has stalled the revolution.

There is no question that the Nationalist movement had hoped to hold together in spite of differences on ~~this~~ point, until the other two phases of the revolution could become accomplished facts. Up to the taking of Shanghai and the Nanking incident compromises had been possible; they may indeed have been necessary if progress was to be

made at all. Now compromise is not only undesirable but impossible. The irreconcilability of the two programs is being discovered. (Our professor friend saw it months ago.) One party must oust the other. Many believe that the underlying moderation of the Chinese temper will turn the victory to the rights. But even if the moderates vanquish the radicals, there will be arrears to pay the piper. Communism, as I have explained, is secretly propagated, and it will not be rooted out by executions, nor by military or political defeat. For many years to come China will be reckoning with Communism.

My worst misgiving about the socialistic phase of the revolution is that it was taken on as a driving force for the revolution, rather than as a considered program of reform urgent for its own sake. My judgment may be slightly askew, but from what I am able to learn, the Kuomintang party deliberately let the Communists loose, because it was known that the Communists made promises that would appeal to poor people, and it was greatly desired to enlist the masses against the overlords. An economic millenium was preached which it was not in human power to realize. The people joined an exodus to a promised land and their mass movement temporarily carried the revolution with it. A pitifully disillusioned and disjointed society is the problem now in the areas where the Communists have had their fling.

Worse than this, there was in many places a designing appeal (a point of supposedly clever "technique") to disgruntled and even vicious elements in society in the hope that their passions would do some of the dirty work of the revolution against the established order. I cannot find words strong enough to express my revulsion against such methods. If Russia taught the revolutionists these tactics, Russia must stand up—or crawl away—and take the blame. Only when the revolutionists return to sincere dealing with the people, honestly

facing past blunders, and future difficulties, resolving to be done with deceptive promises, revolutionary demagoguism, and low-down trick-work, can it hope to recover the moral impetus it had eight months ago. I take it, some such thoughts as these, are in the minds of Chinese who are working now for what they call "the purification of the party."

Thinking again of my students, I sorrow over the check that has come to so much generous and hopeful idealism. If I may judge by my students, it would seem that there was motivation enough for a revolution in the unanimous feeling against "foreign imperialism". By looking about for more motivation, the revolution seems to me to have overreached itself. It has been like an electrical system, which with a proper charge of electricity can propel trains, but with a too heavy current only blows out fuses, burns out connections, stalls dynamos and wrecks itself generally; costly repairing of the system is needed after that.

Lyon Sharman

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