Mission to Modernize Higher Education in China:
Lincoln Zhang and the West China Union University, 1890-1955

by

Kefen Zhou

B.A., Hubei University, China, 1983
M.A., University of Victoria, Canada, 2007

A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
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Supervisory Committee

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Abstract

This biographical case study examines the life and career of a prominent Chinese Christian, Lincoln Zhang, from late Qing times to the early 1950s. It documents his determination and actions to secularize, indigenize, and sinicize a Chinese Christian higher-educational institution and thereby contribute to the nation's modernization. It contributes to the broader argument that it was Chinese Christian educators, not solely Christian missionaries, who played the decisive role in the creation of modern Christian institutions of higher learning in China in the early 20th century. The efforts of such Chinese Christians brought about the transformation in Christian colleges from prioritizing religious teaching to promoting wide-ranging academic learning, from accepting foreign domination to promoting Chinese ascendancy in decision-making and teaching, and from simply applying Western methods to reinterpreting Chinese culture and history in terms of world civilization.

Applying a historiography that stresses agency, this study explores Lincoln Zhang's intentions and actions to illustrate the motivations behind his educational initiatives. Through the lens of cross-cultural studies, it demonstrates that cultural encounters between China and the West in the first half of the 20th century resulted not only in conflicts but also in cultural stimulation and infusion, even in a rapidly changing society caught up in a vortex of international tensions. The dissertation investigates one particular Chinese intellectual's efforts and contribution to China's educational modernization in a way, which illuminates the political and cultural conditions of his times.

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Note on the Romanization of Chinese Names

The pinyin system of romanizing Chinese words has been used throughout this text. In cases of very well-known names, the original romanization appears first, and the pinyin name and characters follow. The only exception is the name Chiang Kai-shek, the pinyin form of which, Jiang Jieshi, is not in common usage.

Western missionaries sometimes or even often used non-standard spellings for the names of places and persons. In West China, their pronunciation and the spellings of Chinese words in the missionary writings and records mostly reflected Sichuan dialect. This dissertation keeps the original missionary spelling, but adds pinyin and Chinese characters.

There are several uncertainties about the correct pronunciations for some individual words; in cases like that, the original spellings are retained.

Abbreviations in Text

CCP: Chinese Communist Party

N. C: China National Currency (Also New Currency, xinbi 新币)

GMD: Guomindang, The Chinese Nationalist Party

HYI: The Harvard-Yenching Institute

HYIOA: The Harvard-Yenching Institute Office Archives

M.E.M: The American Methodist Episcopal Missions

NSP: National Socialist Party of China

SDP: Social Democratic Party of China

UB: United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia

UBCHEA: Yale University Library Divinity Archives Digital Collections of the United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia

UCCA: The United Church of Canada Archives

UCCWCM: United Church of Canada West China Mission

WCUU: West China Union University

WMS: Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada

Chronology of Major Events

1890, February: birth of Lincoln Zhang.

1894-5: The first Sino-Japanese War.

1899: 31 mission elementary schools are in existence in Sichuan province, with a total of 806 students.

1899-1901: The Boxer Uprising.

1907: Sichuan province has some 173 mission schools, with a total of 3316 students.

1908: Lincoln Zhang goes to Chongqing to study at Qinjing Boys High School.

1910, March: The West China Union University starts accepting students.

1911: The fall of the Qing dynasty;
Lincoln Zhang graduates from high school and is assigned a job as the principal for a mission Boys School in Yongchuan.

1912: The Republic of China is established;
Lincoln Zhang teaches at Qinjing Boys High School in Chongqing.

1914: Establishment of the WCUU Medical School.

1914-1918: The First World War.

1914-1919: Lincoln Zhang studies at WCUU.

1919: Treaty of Versailles signed, granting Japan rights over Chinese territory;
The May Fourth Movement erupts in Beijing and sweeps across the whole of China;
Lincoln Zhang graduates from WCUU and works as a deputy pastor in Zizhong.

1920-1922: Lincoln Zhang studying at Northwestern University, USA.

1921, July: The founding of the Chinese Communist Party in Shanghai.

1922: Lincoln Zhang obtains a Master's degree from Northwestern University;
The Board of Regents of the University of the State of New York grants "A Provisional Charter" to WCUU.

1922-1927: Lincoln Zhang works in Zizhong as a mission administrator and school principal.

1924: WCUU accepts its first eight female students.

1925, March: The death of Sun Yat-sen, the founding father of the Republic of China;

May 30th Movement and anti-imperialist campaign;

Duan Qirui's Republican government requests all foreign schools to register with the government;

The ten American, Canadian and British boards of Protestant Christian colleges in China set up the Permanent Committee of Christian Higher Education in China.

1926: The new Nationalist Party leader, Chiang Kai-shek, starts the Northern Expedition;

The Wanxian Massacre, in which the British navy heavily bombards Wanxian, Sichuan;

Eruption of the mass anti-foreign movement in various big Chinese cities;

Evacuation of Western missionaries from West China.

1927, February: Lincoln Zhang takes the Vice-president position at WCUU;

WCUU registered with the Beiyang Government;

In September, WCUU accepting 30 female students;

October: completion of the University library and museum.

1928: Chiang Kai-shek reunifies China under the GMD Nationalist government

Some missionaries start returning to West China;

Lincoln Zhang writes his first Vice-presidential Report to the Board of Governors in New York;

Completion of the dormitory for female students;

Completion of the Cadbury Educational Building.

1929, October: The Wall Street Stock Market crashes, with implications for college funding;

Only 50 percent of missionaries return to West China;

The first five female students graduate from WCUU;

The establishment of the College of Medicine and Dentistry.

1930: The Associated Boards cutting financial support to WCUU;

Confrontations between WCUU and the local community hostile to foreign influence;

Dr. Stubbs stabbed to death;

WCUU students participate in the Far East Olympic Games held in Shanghai.

1930-1932: The Associated Boards facing serious financial problem.

1931: Japanese military expansion in Manchuria (starting with the Mukden Incident);
Establishment of the Board of Directors overseeing WCUU from within China;
Lincoln Zhang is appointed as the President of WCUU;
Dr. Beech becomes the Chancellor of WCUU;
The establishment of the College of Liberal Arts;
WCUU formally applies to register with the Nationalist Government;
Opening of the WCUU Museum to the public.

1932, Dr. Beech and the Board of Governors decide to invest in "Raven Interests";
June: Lincoln Zhang starts his Ph.D. program at Drew University in New Jersey;
October: Lincoln Zhang gives a lecture tour in The United States and Canada;
The graduation of WCUU first female medical student, Dr. Le Yicheng;
The establishment of the College of Science at WCUU;
The Permanent Committee of Christian Higher Education in China changes its name to the Associated Boards for Christian Colleges in China.

1933, June: Lincoln Zhang gains his doctoral degree in Sociology;
The completion of WCUU's registration with the Nanjing government;
WCUU faculty leads the first excavation of the Three Stars Cultural Ruins in Guanghan, Sichuan.

1934: Beginning of Chiang Kai-shek's New Life Movement;
The Board of Regents of the University of the State of New York grants an "Absolute Charter" to WCUU.

1935: Chiang Kai-shek and his wife visit WCUU;
Lincoln Zhang prepares his second university development plans;
Zhang Jia'ao takes the Deputy Director position of the Bank of Communications of China;
The completion of WCUU's leprosarium;
More missionaries depart from China.

1935-1937: Financial support from Chinese sources increases from a third of the university budget to over one half.

1936: Lincoln Zhang starts domestic fundraising campaign;
Zhang Jia'ao takes the Minister of Railway of China position;

Zhang Jia'ao becomes the Chairman of the Board of Directors of WCUU;
The establishment of WCUU Medical Museum.

1937, July: Lincoln Zhang attends Lushan summer conference on higher education;
July: the Marco Polo Bridge Incident, beginning full-scale Japanese invasion of China proper;
December: Japanese captures Beijing, Shanghai and Nanjing.

1938: The move of the GMD government from Nanjing to Chongqing;
Four Christian Colleges move into the WCUU campus in Chengdu.

1939, September: outbreak of World War II in Europe;
The completion of the Sanatorium for Pulmonary Disease at WCUU;
The female students enrolment rises to 38 percent of WCUU student population.

1940: The establishment of Chinese Cultural Studies Institute at WCUU;
Publication of the first issue of the *Journal of the Chinese Cultural Studies Research Institute*;
The retirement of Dr. Beech; The GMD government awards him the Fourth Class Jade Medal;
Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek gives a farewell address to Dr. Beech;
Female student enrolment rises to 42 percent of WCUU student population.

1941: Completion of the Memorial Chemistry Building;
College of Liberal Arts holds Cultural Workshop Series;
Agricultural Study Institute founded;
In December, the U. S. enters war after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor;
Dr. Garside leaves the Associated Boards to be the President of United China Relief.

1941-1945: The United China Relief provides over six million dollars for China's colleges.

1942: Completion of the pharmaceutical building;
Completion of the United University Hospital;
The Frontier Study Institute founded, with Lincoln Zhang as director;
Establishment of the WCUU Institute of Economic Studies;
WCUU's Center of Historical Studies founded, with Qian Mu as director;

Founding of WCUU's East-West Cultural Society, with Luo Zhongshu as director;
The completion of Zhang Jia'ao's book, *China's Struggle for Railroad Development,* in October;
Zhang Jia'ao quits Minister of Communication position in December;
Inflation in China spirals out of control, with prices up 4200 percent.

1943, January: Lincoln Zhang proposes the Associated Boards to make a postwar plan;
WCUU holds Biology and Philosophy Workshop;
Shiyangchang Station for the Study of Social Experimentation setting up;
Founding of Education Study Institute at WCUU;
May: Dr. Joseph Needham gives 12 lectures at WCUU;
Lincoln Zhang begins an alumni fundraising campaign for WCUU;
WCUU grants Mrs. Lan Wenbin an honorary degree in Home Economics.

1944, May: The first draft of the Associated Boards' Postwar Planning document was sent to the Christian Colleges in China;
The Associated Boards changes its name to the United Board for Christian Colleges in China.

1945, May: The second draft of the Postwar Planning document is sent to Christian Colleges in China;
June: WCUU issues its own postwar development plan;
The Nationalist government appoints Zhang Jia'ao Chairman of the Economic Council for Manchuria;
October: Lincoln Zhang writes to United Board to criticize its Postwar Planning;
November: Lincoln Zhang on sick leave;
December: The third draft of the Postwar Planning document is sent to Christian Colleges in China.

1945-1949: Civil War between Nationalists and Communists.

1946, January: Most university administrators write to oppose the Postwar Planning;
March: The United Board finalizes its Postwar Planning;
Establishment of the Museum of Natural History at WCUU;
The West China Union University Hospital opens to public;
Lincoln Zhang decides to quit his job as the University President.

1947: In fall, Lincoln Zhang meets with Carsun Zhang in Shanghai.

1948: Lincoln Zhang takes the Chairman position of the Sichuan Provincial Branch of the Social Democratic Party (SDP).

1949, June: Lincoln Zhang gives a speech at the WCUU graduation ceremony;

October: Official establishment of the People's Republic of China.

1950, January: Chengdu Military Control Commission of PRC takes over the administration of WCUU;

June: China enters the Korean War;

Missionaries leave China;

October: Zhang Jia'ao leaves China for Sidney, Australia.

1951, January: The Military Control Commission places WCUU under military management;

October: The PRC government officially takes over WCUU and changes its name West China University.

1952, May: Imprisonment of Lincoln Zhang;

May: Zhang Jia'ao starts teaching Asian Economy at Loyola University, USA.

1953: Lincoln Zhang remaining in prison;

October: WCUU dismantled, with some of its colleges merged with other institutions in Sichuan;

Changing of the name of WCUU Medical College to Sichuan Medical University.

1954, December: Lincoln Zhang sentenced to life imprisonment.

1955, March 5th: Lincoln Zhang dies in prison.

List of Major Characters

Agnew, Dr. R. G., a Canadian dental missionary, served at WCUU from 1924 to 1951. He was one of the personal dentists of Chiang Kai-Shek.

Anderson, Dr. Frank, the Secretary of the Board of Governors of the West China Union University. He was also the Secretary of the United Church of Canada's West China Mission and the representative of the Canada West China Mission to the Board of Governors.

Arnup, Dr. Jesse H. (1880-1965), a religious minister and Moderator of the United Church of Canada. He was Secretary of the Layman's Missionary Movement of the Methodist Church from 1910 to 1912, Assistant Secretary of Overseas Missions from 1913 to 1925, and Secretary of the United Church of Canada Foreign Missions from 1925 to 1952. He served again as Moderator from 1944 to 1946.

Ballou, Dr. Earle H. (May 17, 1892-March 1987), was an American missionary who spent 32 years in China. He was elected Executive Secretary of the Congregational Christian Service Committee and of the Special Council of the Department of International Affairs. He served as Executive Director of the Associated Board and its successor United Board from 1944.

Beech, Dr. Joseph (October 3, 1867-Feburary 25, 1954), was a missionary from the American Methodist Episcopal Church. He was born in England and graduated from Wesleyan University, in the USA, in 1899 with a Bachelor of Philosophy degree. Beech traveled to China after his graduation. From 1901 to 1904, he was the principal of a high school in Chongqing. From 1905 to 1913, he was the President of Chengdu College. In 1911 he received an Honorary Doctorate of Divinity from Wesleyan University. In 1913, he became one of the founders of the West China Union University, and he served as President from 1914 to 1931, and then as Chancellor until 1940. In March 1940 Dr. Beech was awarded the Fourth Class Jade Medal by the Chinese Nationalist Government.

Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek gave a farewell address or Dr. Beech when he retired from his post at WCUU in 1940.

Bell, Dr. Gerald S., was the General Secretary of the West China Mission of Canada. He and his wife served in West China from 1915 to 1945.

Chen, Lifu, 陈立夫(August 21, 1900-Feburary 8, 2001), was a Chinese politician, who, after serving as Chiang Kai-shek's personal secretary, became head of one of the GMD's criminal investigative branches. Chen Lifu was a key figure in the New Life Movement and then was minister of education from 1938 to 1944.

Chen, Dr. Yuguan 陈裕光 (March 7, 1893-April 7, 1989) studied Organic Chemistry at Columbia University and gained his PhD in 1922. He taught at Beijing Normal University from 1923. He was appointed President at Jinling University in October 1927 and held the position until 1950. He established the Chinese Chemistry Association in 1932. He was granted a Honorary Doctorate in Education by the University of California in 1945.

Collier, Dr. Bruce H., was a Canadian educational missionary who taught at WCUU during 1932-1937. He served as Head of the Department of Biochemistry at WCUU.

Corbett, Charles H., (Unknown-June 25, 1963) was an American educational missionary teaching Physics at Yenching University in Beijing for many years. He was a member of the Executive Committee of the Associated Boards, in charge of fundraising.

Cressy, Dr. Earl H., (June 15, 1883-1979) was an Associate General Secretary of the National Christian Council of China, representing the Foreign Missions Conference of North America. He was one of two drafters for of the Associated Boards' Postwar Planning document.

Dai, Dr. David, also Dai Shugu 戴述古 graduated from the WCUU Dentistry Department in 1934. Afterward he studied Preventive Dentistry in the United States. After returning to WCUU in 1942, he focused on establishing and developing the study of preventive dentistry and public health in dentistry. He was the founder of the field of preventive dentistry in China.

Dickinson, Dr. Frank, was a Canadian educational missionary. Though not a trained agriculturist, Dickinson was passionate about farming and stockbreeding. In early 1920, he started introducing fine-breed British dairy cattle, American apples and other improved varieties of fruits to Sichuan. In the late 1930's during a furlough in Canada, Dickinson obtained his Ph.D. degree in Agriculture Studies. Dickinson and his wife worked in West China from 1913 until their retirement in 1947.

Elisséeff, Dr. Serge (January 13, 1889-April 13, 1975) was a Russian-French scholar, Japanologist, and professor at Harvard University. In 1932, Elisséeff was hired by Harvard as a lecturer in Japanese and Chinese Studies. He was the first Director of the Harvard–Yenching Institute (HYI) and held the Director position of HYI from 1936 to 1956.

Endicott, Dr. James (1865-1954) was one of the earliest Canadian missionaries in Sichuan. Five of his children were born in China. After returning to Canada in 1910, he served as the General Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Church of Canada, and was elected the second Moderator of the United Church of Canada, serving from 1926 to 1928. His third son, James Gareth Endicott (1898-1993), was also a missionary and an English teacher at WCUU.

Evans, Dr. Carl A. was an assistant secretary and treasurer of the Associated Boards. In January 1942 when Dr. Garside left the Chief Executive Secretary position, Evans was appointed as Acting Executive Secretary and Associate Treasurer until the Boards elected Earle H. Ballou as the Executive Secretary on May 1st, 1944.

Fang, Shuxuan 方叔轩 graduated from WCUU in 1919. He became the Dean of Studies in 1927 and was Vice-president from 1931 serving as the Acting-president when Lincoln Zhang was away or on leave. He was President of WCUU from 1947 to 1952.

Felton, Dr. Ralph (1882-1974), a professor at Drew University, was Lincoln Zhang's doctoral supervisor. He worked with others to form the Interdenominational Theological Center in Atlanta in an effort to provide a strong education for African-American pastors and ministers in the South. He served as professor of Rural Sociology at Drew Theological School from 1930 to 1952, and as Director of the Department of the Rural Church.

Fenn, Dr. William Purviance (1902-1993) was an American educational missionary teaching at the University of Nanjing. During the anti-Japanese War, he was the representative of the Associated Boards for Christian Colleges in China. From 1951 to 1970 he was General Secretary of the United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia. He was one of the drafters of the Postwar Planning scheme.

Flavelle, Sir Joseph Wesley (February 15, 1858-March 7, 1939) was a businessman, philanthropist, and public servant of Canada. As a lifelong supporter of Christian missions, he represented the Methodist church on the Board of Governors of the West China Union University and served as its Chairman from 1923 to 1935. Sir Joseph Flavelle held the position of Honorary Chairman of the Board of Governors after 1935 until his passing in 1939.

Garside, Dr. Bettis A. (November 22, 1894-August 1, 1989) was an American educational missionary under the direction of the Presbyterian Church who worked in Qilu University in Jinan city, Shandong province. From 1927 to 1941 he was the General Secretary of the Associated Boards. Garside received an Honorary Doctor of Humane Letters degree from the College of the Ozarks in 1935. From 1941 to 1951, he was the Executive Director of United China Relief, which mounted the largest humanitarian effort in the United States to aid the Chinese people up to that time. Garside was

appointed as the Executive Director of the American Bureau for Medical Aid to China (ABMAC) in 1951, and remained in that post until his retirement in 1979.

Graham, Dr. David C. (March 21, 1884-September 15, 1961) was an American missionary, an archaeologist, anthropologist, and author who worked in West China from 1911 to 1950. He was appointed the Director of the WCUU Museum and organized the first archaeological excavation of Three Star Mound. He was considered the most important contributor to the establishment of the WCUU Museum.

Huang, Dr. Tianqi 黄天启 (1891-1985) was the first Chinese person to gain a Ph.D. in dentistry from WCUU in 1921. He studied at the University of Toronto from 1926 to 1928 and taught at the Dental College of WCUU from the 1920s to 1950. He was the Director of the Dental Hospital of the Union Hospital during the wartime. He was the Director of the Dental Department of Sichuan's People Hospital after 1951.

Jiang, Dr. Gaodi 蒋高弟 (February 2, 1906-March 12, 2005) was originally a student of Lincoln Zhang who later became a long-term close friend. She graduated from Qilu University medical school in 1932. She was the Head of the Internal Medicine Department of Chengdu Second People's Hospital from 1950 to 1984.

Jiang, Dr. Menglin 蒋梦麟 (January 20, 1886-June 19, 1964) also known as Chiang Monlin, and Tsiang Moling. Jiang obtained his Ph.D. from Columbia University under Dr. John Dewey's guidance. Between 1919 and 1927, he was the President of Peking University and was the Minister of Education of the Nationalist government from 1928 to 1930. He was also the Chairman of the Sino-American Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction in the late 1940s and 1950s.

Jiang, Wengang 姜蘊刚(1900-1982) was a sociologist who taught at WCUU from the early 1930 to 1950. He was the Director of the Institute of Chinese Social History of WCUU and a close friend of Lincoln Zhang.

Kilborn, Dr. Leslie G. (April 7, 1895-June 23, 1967), a Canadian medical missionary, was the Secretary of the Medical Services Committee Council in West China. He was born in China and served in West China from 1922 to 1952. Three generations of the Kilborn family worked in China for more than 70 years.

Li, Dr. Hang 李珩 (December 22, 1898-August 19, 1989), also known as Li Xiaofang 李晓舫 graduated from WCUU in 1923. From 1925 to 1933 he studied astronomy at a university in Paris and earned his Ph.D. He taught at West China Union University from 1937 to 1948. He was appointed as a leading researcher at the Purple Mountain Observatory, Chinese Academy of Sciences, in the early 1950s. In 1962, he was appointed first Director of the Shanghai Astronomical Observatory and served in that capacity until 1982. He was a highly regarded astronomer and one of the leading scholars in the field of modern astronomy in China. He was the younger brother of Li Huang 李璜, a Chinese politician and scholar.

Lindsay, Dr. Ashley W. (1884-1968) was a Canadian medical missionary, Dean of the College of Dentistry, Acting-chancellor and then Chancellor of the University from 1934 to 1950. Along with his wife, he worked at WCUU from 1911 to 1950.

Luo Zhongshu 罗忠恕 (March 1903-April 1985), a Chinese philosopher and Dean of the College of Liberal Arts from 1934 to 1950, graduated from Oxford University with a Master's degree. He was the founder of the East-West Cultural Society 东西文化学社.

Meuser, Dr. Edwin N. (June 24, 1880- February 9, 1970) was a Canadian medical missionary. He was the founder of the College of Pharmacy and established the first Department of Pharmacology in China. He and his wife served in China from 1915 to 1951.

Morse, Dr. W.R. was an American medical missionary who worked at WCUU with his wife from 1922 to 1937.

Mullett, Dr. H. J. was a Canadian medical missionary who worked at WCUU with his wife from 1919 to 1951. He was the personal dentist to Chiang Kai-shek and his wife.

Qian Mu, also Ch'ien Mu 钱穆 (July 30, 1895-August 30, 1990), was one of the major historians of modern China. Though he did not receive any formal education, from 1930 he began teaching at Yenching University. He left mainland China in 1949 and then taught at the Chinese University of Hong Kong before relocating to Taiwan in 1967. Qian was a prolific scholar who published more than 70 works. Representative works of his are: *A General History of China, A New Biography of Zhu Xi's Academic Life,* and *A History of Scholarship in China in the Last 300 Years*.

Raven, Frank Jay was an American banking & real estate tycoon, founder of the famed "Raven Interests", and councilor of Shanghai Municipality. On June 17th, 1936, he was convicted of embezzlement on seven counts and sentenced to five years in prison at McNeil Island Corrections Center, Washington State.

Robertson, H. D., a Canadian missionary, worked at WCUU from 1911 to 1945. He was a Vice-chancellor of WCUU in 1940s.

Service, Dr. Charles W., (1872-1930) was a Canadian medical missionary. He passed away in Chengdu in March 1930. His son G. W. Service, also a medical missionary, worked in Chengdu from 1942 to 1948.

Silcock, Harry T., (1882-1969) was a British missionary and executive member of the Associated Boards. He worked in West China from 1910 to 1938.

Small, Walter, was a Canadian missionary who served in West China with his wife from 1925 to 1950. Walter Small was the builder and inspector of almost all the WCUU buildings. The Chinese gave him the name, Carpenter Su. His son, William Small, was born in Chengdu and worked at WCUU from 1941 to 1952. The Small family was very close to the Lincoln Zhang family.

Sparling, Dr. George W., was a Canadian missionary, who was the Vice-president of WCUU from 1926-1931 and Dean of the WCUU Theology College. He worked at WCUU from 1925 to 1950.

Stubbs, Dr. C. M., was a British education missionary West China. He was appointed Acting-vice-president from late 1927 to early 1929. He was stabbed to death inside the University on May 31st, 1930.

Tang, Dr. Tenghan 汤腾汉 (May 2, 1900-June 23, 1988) studied pharmaceutics in Berlin University and gained his Ph.D. there in Pharmacy in 1929. He started teaching at West China Union University in 1939 and then became Dean of the College of Pharmaceutics. He was one of the founders of the national pharmaceutical factory in Chongqing, which worked to support the anti-Japanese War. In October of 1951, he participated in national defense medical studies at China's Academy of Military Medical Sciences. From 1963 to 1969 he was the Deputy Director of the Academy. He was a pioneer of Chinese pharmaceutics in the study of military chemical agents.

Wang, Dr. Shijie 王世杰 (March 10, 1891-April 21, 1981), also Wang Shih-chieh, was a Chinese politician and scholar. He was the Minister of Education from 1933 to 1938, Minister of Propaganda from 1938 to 1942, and Minister of Foreign Affairs from 1945 to 1948.

Wei, Dr. Francis C. M.韦卓民 (December 7, 1888- 1976) was a Chinese Christian educator. He studied Philosophy in Harvard University from 1918 to 1920. In 1927 he

received an Honorary Doctorate in Civil Law from the Southern University of the United States; in 1929, he received a doctoral degree in philosophy from the University of London. He was appointed the Acting president of the Huachuang University, today's Central China Normal University in Wuhan, Hubei province. It developed from Boone College, a Christian institution founded in 1903.

Wilford, Dr. E. C. was a Canadian medical missionary who served in China from 1919 to 1950 with his wife.

Wu, Dr. Yifang 吴贻芳 (January 26, 1893-November 10, 1985) was the first female president of a Chinese Christian college, Jinling Women's College in Nanjing, from 1928 to 1951.

Yang, Dr. Stephen, also Yang Zhenhua 杨振华 (January 4, 1911-April 19, 2007), was the husband of Dr. Ruth Zhang and son-in-law of Lincoln Zhang. He graduated from medical school at WCUU in 1938. He went on to study at the University of Michigan Medical School from 1946 to 1949, specializing in thoracic surgery.

Le, Dr. Yicheng 乐以成 (1904-2001), also known as Helen Yoh, she was a gynecologist who had been one of the first eight female students accepted by WCUU in 1924. She was also the first woman to earn a medical degree in Sichuan province.

Zhang Jia'ao 张嘉璈, also Chang Kia-ngau, and Zhang Gongquan 张公权 (November 13, 1889-October 13, 1979), was a Chinese banker, politician, and scholar. He was an influential figure in the history of modern Chinese central banking. He became the Chairman of the Board of Directors of WCUU from 1934 to 1945. In 1935 he was appointed as the Minister of Railways by Chiang Kai-shek and later, Minister of Communication until 1943. He was the younger brother of Zhang Junmai.

Zhang Junmai 张君勱, also Carsun Chang (January 18, 1887-Feburay 23, 1969), was a prominent Chinese philosopher, public intellectual and political figure. Zhang Junmai was the leader of China's Social Democratic Party. He was the older brother of Zhang Jia'ao.

Zhang, Dr. Ruth, also Zhang Junrun 张君儒 (October 28, 1911-1997) was the eldest daughter of Lincoln Zhang. She graduated from WCUU medical school in 1937. She studied at the University of Toronto medical school from 1947 to 1950. She was a paediatrician who taught and practiced at Sichuan Medical School and hospital from 1950 to 1990.

Zhang, Xiaoli 张孝礼 graduated from WCUU in 1927. He was the Dean of College of Science of WCUU from the early 1930s to early 1950s.

Zheng, Dr. Dekun 郑德坤, also Cheng Te-k'un (May 6, 1907-2001), was a Chinese archaeologist. He worked at WCUU from 1936 to 1946. He gained his Ph.D. from Harvard University in 1941 and took on the role of Museum Curator at WCUU from 1941 to 1946. He went on to teach at the University of Cambridge, UK in 1951. He published many books on Chinese archaeology.

Introduction: The Chinese Christian Educator's Role in China's Modern Education System

This dissertation is a biographical study of Dr. Lincoln Zhang,[1] the first Chinese President of the West China Union University (WCUU), and the premier Christian college in Sichuan province in the first half of the 20th century; it also provides a profile of the University. It examines Lincoln Zhang's efforts to build the college as a modern educational institution. So far Christian missionaries' educational initiatives and contributions in China have been studied for the most part by Western scholars, and missionaries have tended to defend their original aims, methods, challenges, and accomplishments. However, an essential part of the China educational undertaking has been largely overlooked, deliberately or unconsciously; and that is the Chinese Christian educators' role in the transformation of Christian educational institutions. This study also examines how these educational institutions shifted from religious teaching schools to scientifically and academically focused universities; from Western missionary-dominated teaching and administration to the ascendancy of Chinese faculty and staff; and from the training of Chinese Christian leaders and high-quality Church members to producing the modern, educated Chinese youth needed for the nation's modernization.

In short, this work argues that the Chinese Christian educators were the major force behind the modernization of the Christian colleges in China and were central to the role these colleges/universities were then able to play in the modernization of China.

Through examining Lincoln Zhang's life and educational efforts, this study intends to treat Lincoln Zhang as an agent in the creation of a generation of modern Chinese intellectuals who equipped themselves with Western and Chinese learning, desired to build a strong China, and worked persistently and dauntlessly to achieve their goals. It also aims to explore the interconnections between his agency and the social structure of his time, from 1890 to 1955.

[1] It is important to note that the spelling of Dr. Lincoln Zhang's name varies due to changes in English transliteration.

A brief review of the criteria of agency as it relates to my approach to history writing might be helpful to the further discussion. The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy observes, "in very general terms, an agent is a being with the capacity to act, and 'agency' denotes the exercise or manifestation of this capacity."[2] In terms of this particular study, the discussion of the intentions of the agent Lincoln Zhang, the actions he took, and the constraints on the effectiveness of his actions, will provide a crucial example of the relationship between agency and the social structure of China in the early 20th century.

Lincoln Zhang's intention to build a modern Chinese educational institution originated from his desire to build a strong China, a dream he shared with the broader May Fourth generation. The actions he took in transforming the University where he had been trained were driven by the aspiration for making a modernized China a peer of the Western countries. Zhang's accomplishments in the educational field from the 1920s to the 1940s resulted from his personal inclination towards learning and action, educational opportunities promoted by Christian mission teaching, and the unification of the country carried out by the Chinese National Government of the Guomindang. The tragedy of Lincoln Zhang's incarceration and death in the 1950s illustrates how his desire and his actions were constrained by his own circumstances and by the social conditions in which he lived. This study examples that when structures change, agential power changes with them.

Treating Lincoln Zhang as an agent explains how his intention and actions that often revolves around different forces and changing circumstances. Into the mid-1920s Zhang was a person subject to western missionary educational domination, before the mass missionary evacuation at the end of 1926 and the establishment of the Nationalist government in Nanjing in 1927. He then became the peer of the western missionary administrators after becoming Vice-president of WCUU in 1927, and then President in 1931. Thereafter, with the development and establishment of the University, he served as the top administrator of the school for a decade and a half. He quit his position when he became disappointed with the Christian educational mission boards' intention to

[2] Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy: https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/agency/

reprioritize Christian teaching and downgrade academic research, and with the corruption of the Nationalist Government after World War II. He then took the top leadership position of the Sichuan provincial branch of the Social Democratic Party in 1947. In 1950 he was declared an enemy of the new Communist government, and he remained imprisoned until his death in 1955.

Historian Christopher Lloyd argues, "persons have agential power, structures have conditional power."[3] Lincoln Zhang, as an individual in a specific social structure, a part of a larger historical trend, demonstrated his agential power; however, the intentions and the results of his actions were shaped and reshaped by the changing political, social, and cultural space in which he lived.

Lincoln Zhang's life illustrates that courageous and responsible individuals can encounter difficulties to bring substantial changes to a society, particularly in a society in which established legal institutions are absent.

Historical Background

China's history in the 19th and 20th centuries was tightly interwoven with the history and actions of Western powers and their promulgation of Christianity. The complications of the Western Christian missions and missionaries' efforts to Christianize China have raised tremendous debates since the 1950s when the missionaries were driven out of China. Many missionaries recorded their Chinese experiences in writing, focusing mostly on their personal lives as mission workers in an unstable society, rarely touching on the society outside their mission compounds. Scholars' views about the Christian Chinese missions are widely divided. Some scholars argue that Christian missions in China were a total failure; some justify the motives of these missionaries as having been based on selfless commitment; and others admit that missionaries failed to Christianize China but believe that their educational efforts built a solid foundation for China's modernization. More recently, scholars have approached this topic from broader points of view. Their studies have shed light on the relations and complications of the Christian missions' experiences, influences and legacies in China.

[3] Christopher Lloyd, *The Structures of History* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, UK, 1993), 46.

Generations of historians have examined the Christian Chinese missions from various contrasting perspectives. K.S. Latourette's 1927 classic study was strongly positive about missionaries' contributions to China. Latourette suggests that the primary motives of the missionary movement were altruistic and that the Christian missionaries initiated a cross-fertilization of cultures, since most great early sinologists had been missionaries. He also argues that the missionaries prepared China for impending changes in several ways: by introducing Western education and concepts to China, by advocating for women's education and improvement in their social status, by promoting modern technologies, by helping Chinese leaders to reshape Chinese society and social structures, by establishing modern educational institutions, and by fostering commercial and diplomatic intercourse.[4] The roles of Chinese Christians were not included in Latourette's study. Chinese Christians are treated as passive accepters of Western culture, just being impacted and reacting. His unconscious omission of Chinese Christians' active learning and initiatives to bring about changes seems to imply a belief that the Chinese were insignificant in the Christian missions in China.

Studying Chinese politicians' and elites' response to the Western imperial invasion, John Fairbank, the leading American scholar of China in the 1950s-70s, believes that Chinese society had long been caught in a basically stagnant circle, without internal motivation to break through the traditional Chinese framework, and that only under the impact of the West in the mid-19th century could it change into a modern society.[5] His Western-impact and Chinese-response theory, which characterized Chinese response to Western impact as passive and to some extent even justified the imperialist invasion, dominated Chinese studies for decades and influenced generations of sinologists. Fairbank might be correct that the Qing government's response to Western technology and ideology was largely passive, but my research shows that significant numbers of Chinese Christians and other intellectuals responded actively. Certain very well-to-do families sent their children to study overseas; the wealthy and powerful established public and private schools at all levels, and mission-educated Chinese like Lincoln Zhang took the nation's modernization as their personal mission.

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[4] Kenneth Scott Latourtte, *A History of Christian Missions in China* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1967).

[5] Ssu-yu Teng and John Fairbank, ed., *China's Response to the West: A documentary Survey, 1839-1923* (MA: Harvard University Press 1954).

Chinese Christians and the broader May 4th generation were a decisive force for China's modernization efforts.

As a strong believer in a cultural approach to modernization, Fairbank's contemporary Joseph Levenson treated the Christian missions to China as a miserable failure. He suggested in the 1950s that Chinese were basically unable to absorb and understand the essential concepts of Christianity and modernization, because of an incompatibility between Confucianism and modernity.[6] He strongly believed that the Chinese traditional cultural order had to be torn down before a modern one could be built up.[7] I would argue to the contrary that educated Chinese Christians and scholars successfully applied Western methodology to traditional Chinese cultural practices; their new approaches to Chinese cultural learning brought fruitful results that made traditional Chinese culture to be more integrated into other world civilizations.

In the 1960s-80s, Paul Cohen's studies directly opposed earlier historians' opinions and opened up a new China-centered historiography.[8] Cohen argues that much of the significance of the 1860s-1870s in China lay in the clause in the Convention of Peking that forced China to open its interior to foreign missionaries. In turn, the missionary intrusion into China's interior was a major cause of China's xenophobia, for it "played a decisive part both in popularizing and in activating this force [anti-foreignism]."[9] Cohen argues that missionaries were primary contributors to the declining political influence of the Qing court. He reasons that behind the anti-missionary sentiment of Chinese officials, gentry and the general population lay "the intangible of deep-seated resentment,"[10] which itself resulted from the fact that the missionaries entering China and penetrating into its interior were strongly tied to the gunboats of the foreign imperialist powers. He suggests that the abuse of power by missionaries and their disruption of China's political and judicial authorities ignited waves of anti-missionary activities and uprisings. Cohen thus connects missionary

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6 Joseph Levenson, *Confucian China and Its Modern Fate* (University of California Press, 1958).

7 Joseph Levenson, *Liang Ch'i-chao and the Mind of Modern China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954).

8 Paul Cohen, *Discovering History in China: American Historical Writing on the Recent Chinese Past* (Columbia University Press, 1985).

9 Paul Cohen, *China and Christianity: The Missionary Movement and the Growth of Chinese Anti-foreignism, 1860-1870* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963), 270.

10 Ibid. , 268.

activities with Western imperial expansion and concludes that the Christian missions in China were to a large extent a failure for this reason. Paul Cohen's China-centered historiography from the 1970s onward goes one step further to explain how corrupt missionary activities stirred up Chinese's anti-foreignism. He portrays negative images of both missionaries and the Chinese general population for their xenophobia; but he fails to point out the Chinese Christians' positive impact on educational modernization.

While Western scholars have examined the influence of Christian missionaries on China, Chinese education, and Chinese people's lives, many of their studies are one-sided, focusing favourably on the missionaries' contributions in specific areas, especially in education. Some portray the Chinese educators as either passively responding to Western impacts or unable to escape the constraints of Chinese culture, while others tend to gloss over educational initiatives. One way or another, the efforts of those Western educated Chinese who studied overseas or at Christian mission schools, and their significant role in Christian China education, have been too often overlooked or dismissed.

After 1949, the approaches of scholars of China to the topic of Christian education there demonstrate the changes of the country's political views about the Western powers. From the 1950s to the late 1970s, studies about Christian China missions were scarce, and they focused on such points as that the Western powers used Christian education as "spiritual opium" to further their cultural invasion and establish an ideological slavery to imperialism.[11] In late 1980s scholars began to approach the topic more objectively. In June 1989 the first International Conference of Christian Education in China was held in Wuhan.[12] It proposed to examine the history of

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[11] Jiang Wengang, "My Reminiscence of West China Union University", *Selected Collections of Chengdu Literature and History*, Series 3, Sichuan People's Publishing House, China, 1982. 姜蕴刚:"我对华西大学的回忆",[成都文史资料选辑],第三辑,四川人民出版社,1982. Shu Ling, "West China Union University: The Cultural Invasion fortress of the imperial American and British", *The Collections of Sichuan Literature and History*, ed., (Sichuan People's Political Consultative Conference, China, 1979). 叔菱:"美英帝国主义对我进行文化侵略的堡垒——华西大学", 四川省政治协商会,省志编辑委员会, 1979. Jiang Wengang was a Chinese historian who taught at the West China Union University from the 1930s to the early 1950s. Shu Ling was a pen-name of Fang Shuxuan, the vice-president of WCUU from the 1930s to 1947, and president from June 1947 to 1951.

[12] This conference was initiated and organized by historian and the President of Central China Normal University Dr. Zhang Kaiyuan 章开沅. It resulted in a first book about Christian Colleges in China after the end of the Cultural Revolution, *Chinese and Western Cultures and Christian Universities: Collections of the Frist Chinese Christian Universities Historiography Technology Research Conference*. The book was edited by Dr. Zhang Kaiyuan and Arthur Waldron and published by Hubei Educational Publishing House in 1991. Zhang Kaiyuan and Arthur Waldron, ed.

Christian education in China based on facts not ideology, and also suggested that scholars should distinguish the educational functions of missionaries from their religious purposes.[13] In a pioneering study of "*The History of Christian Colleges in China*", written after the Cultural Revolution, Professor Gao Shiliang of Xiamen University pointed out that the Christian universities in China could be seen as a product of west-to-east cultural infusion.[14] That study marks the beginning of the objective study of Christian education in China after the end of the Cultural Revolution.

From the 1980s to the early 2010s the study of Christian education in China has experienced three notable stages: condemning the overall missionary education, giving it a basic affirmation, and then re-interpreting its contributions. Universities with early Christian educational backgrounds now approach their pasts with more objectives, open and positive attitudes. For example, *The History of Sichuan University* devotes its fourth volume to the history and accomplishment of the West China Union University, one of its predecessor institutions, from 1910 to 1949.[15]

Significant historical sources now show that Christian missionaries introduced Western education to Chinese society from the mid-ninetieth century for the purpose of training evangelistic assistants and Chinese church leaders. As I shall argue, it was the Chinese Christians' active participation, determination, and dedication from the late 1920s that made the Christian educational efforts as successful as they were in China during the Republican era. Taking full advantage of the missions' educational purpose, those Chinese educators used the Christian colleges as training bases to cultivate modern Chinese citizens for the nation's reconstruction. Working with liberal-minded

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Chinese and Western Cultures and Christian Universities: Collections of the Frist Chinese Christian Universities Historiography Technology Research Conference (Wuhan: Hubei Education Publishing House, 1991). 章开沅 & Arthur Waldron, 主编; [**中西文化与教会大学:** 首届中国教会大学史学术研讨会论文集]. 武汉: 湖北教育出版社, 1991.

[13] Wu Ziming, "The Preface," *The Studies of Chinese Presidents of Christian Colleges in China* (Fuzhou: Fujian Education Publishing House, 2001), 3-4. 吴梓明:"总序", [基督教大学华人校长研究], 福建教育出版社, 2001.

[14] Gao Shiliang, *The History of Christian Colleges in China* (Wuhan: Hubei Education Publishing House, China, 1994). 高时良, [中国教会学校史], 湖北教育出版社, 1994. Professor Gao Shiliang 高时良 was born in 1911 and passed away on Dec. 27, 2015; he was 104 years old. He was a history professor who had taught at Fujian and Xiamen Universities.

[15] Sichuan University History Editing Committee, ed. *History of Sichuan University-West China Union University: 1910-1949,* (Chengdu: Sichuan University Press, 2006). 四川大学史稿－华西协合大学, 1910-1949, 第四卷, 四川大学史稿编审委员会, 四川大学出版社, 2006.

missionaries, they transformed the Christian universities from hubs of evangelical education into academic institutions; they indigenized, secularised, and sinicized the Christian schools once dominated by Christian missionaries and Western curricula; and they eased cultural confrontations and conflicts, making western knowledge and missionary teaching part of China's modern educational undertaking.

Although Chinese educators' lives and educational contributions during the late Qing and Republican era haven't yet been sufficiently studied, this is a topic that merits serious attention. My study of Dr. Lincoln Zhang's life and work is intended to throw new light on this important topic.

Lincoln Zhang: A Brief Biography

Around the turn of the twentieth century, two major events, the first Sino-Japanese War in 1894-95 and the Boxer Uprising of 1900-01, shocked China and the world, brought the Qing Dynasty to the verge of collapse, and awakened China's elite and educated youth.

Awareness of the power of Western countries and of modernization became ascendant in China among the most informed people, triggering a reform movement that attempted to reform the government, and resulted in the beginnings of various revolutionary attempts to overthrow the Qing dynasty.

In 1903, Zhang Linggao, after several years of classical Chinese studies, started studying at a mission elementary school at the age of 11; in 1908 he went to Chongqing to study at the Qiujing High School 求精高中 that had been established by Christian missionaries.

In 1919 Zhang Linggao gained his Bachelor's degree in education from the West China Union University (WCUU), a Christian College established in 1910 by a group of Christian missionaries from Canada, the United States, and Great Britain who aimed to train local Chinese Christian clergy. After graduation Zhang was send to Zizhong County 资中 to work as a pastor for the American Methodist Episcopal Mission (M.E.M.). In 1921 he was sent to attend the American M.E.M. Conference in Chicago and the next year he gained his Master's degree in Theology from

Northwestern University. Having returned to Zizhong in late 1922, Zhang continued working as a pastor and prioritized managing mission education. He was a dutiful Chinese Christian leader in the eyes of the missionaries, a devoted teacher to his students, and a liaison between the missionaries and local officials.

The Wanxian Incident in September 1926 stimulated strong nationalist sentiment and anti-foreign movements across China.[16] Fearing a recurrence of the Boxer Rebellion, the Christian missionaries evacuated from Sichuan, and Zhang was appointed the Vice-president of WCUU, in the hope that he would carry on their mission to continue training the Chinese Christian leaders in Sichuan. His appointment to that position was not the original intention of the missionary society, but a provisional measure taken in tense circumstances.

To be the vice-president at a Christian university at the height of anti-foreign, anti-imperialist, and anti-Christian movements meant making himself a public enemy in the eyes of some. Zhang viewed his role differently. During the absence of the missionaries he took the initiative to register the University with the Chinese government, a move the missionaries had been hesitating to make. He hired WCUU graduates to teach at the college, a step which was decisive to indigenizing the faculty of the University, and he made the dissemination of secular learning, not just Christianity, a priority. He also admitted a large number of female students, a step that eventually made WCUU an educational institution where women's academic advancement, pursuit, and career development were greatly encouraged and appreciated.

Zhang was elected the President of the University in 1931, the first Chinese to hold the top position at West China Union University. Working with his Chinese and Western colleagues, he waded through long turbulent years with many challenges over the following decade and a half. Budgets were deeply cut because of the Great

[16] The Wanxian incident (also Wanhsien Incident) of 1926 included a series of maritime conflicts on the Yangtze River, involving British merchant shipping and regional Chinese military leaders, and culminating in a battle in which Royal Navy gunboats fired cannons into the city of Wanxian. On August 29, 1926, the British commercial ship Cockchater sank General Yang Sen's boats causing the death of 64 soldiers and the loss of 85 thousand dollars worth of silver. Yang Sen seized British commercial boats and demanded compensation. With failed negotiations, on September 5th, 1926, the British Consul in Chongqing decided to send troops and HMS gunboats to Wanxian where they opened fire on Chinese troops and civilians indiscriminately. The massacre killed thousands of Chinese and destroyed about 2000 shops and buildings, thereby devastating the county. The exact number of casualties of the Wanxian Massacre is unclear. The British believed the civilian death number in Wanxian was about 1000; the Chinese statistics indicated more than 3000 people died in the British attack. For a very long time, another name for Wanxian was Ghost City.

Depression, and major educational funds were lost after a missionary leader mishandled the University finances; building a wall around the University triggered mass anti-WCUU protests; and the administrative control retained by the missionaries tied his hands in various ways and kept him from working more effectively.

In 1934 Zhang gained his Ph.D. in Sociology at Drew University. The title of his dissertation, *To Adopt the American Welfare System in West China,* spoke directly to his pedagogical and political aims. To build a modern, strong, and democratic nation was the purpose of his educational undertaking.

Zhang returned to China with a reformist passion and determination to make WCUU a modern University for better teaching and research. Armed with his new Ph.D., he himself taught a Social Survey course to encourage students to understand ordinary people's social and living conditions, to make serving the people and the community their goal instead of looking after their own individual interests, and to become the future leaders of the nation.

The Marco Polo Bridge incident on July 7th, 1937, which began the Second Sino-Japanese War, dragged China into a deep new crisis.[17] Lincoln Zhang led the University to survive the extremely challenging times during the Japan invasion and develop into a modern educational institution. With four other Christian Colleges fleeing eastern China and moving onto the WCUU campus, Zhang guided the University to provide the best possible support to the refugee colleges and accepted students who came from poor families and from Japanese-occupied areas. Taking advantage of the unexpected presence of established scholars and professors from other universities, Zhang prioritized war-related programs and expanded other programs that WCUU wished to develop. With the Japanese occupying most of China's industrial cities, the GMD government got into deep financial trouble that fed an out-of-control inflationary spiral. Consequently, the University faculty and staff had difficult making ends meet. Zhang pushed the missionary educational board hard to secure funding for

[17] Marco Polo Bridge Incident: on the night of July 7, 1937, a small Japanese force on manoeuvres near the Marco Polo Bridge (Lugouqiao) outside Beijing demanded entry to the small walled town of Wanping in order to search for one of their soldiers. The Chinese garrison in the town refused the Japanese entry; a shot was heard, and the two sides began firing. The Chinese government, under strong anti-Japanese pressure, refused to make any concessions in the negotiations over the dispute. The Japanese then decided to take more territories in China. The Japanese invasion led to the full-blown invasion of China proper and the subsequent warfare between China and Japan that was the prelude to the Pacific side of WWII.

university development, spent countless hours on fundraising through social and political networks, and fought hard for staff to gain and maintain access to government subsidies.

Even while struggling for his school's survival, Zhang still engaged in planning for the University's development. From 1935 to 1946, through the wartime years, he carried on with the University's ambitious ten-year development plan, which he had established in 1936, and he improved the quality of faculty so that by 1945 most professors held Ph.D. degrees. He expanded the University from three departments into a comprehensive university with five colleges, more than 20 research institutes, six hospitals and much more. His efforts to indigenize both faculty and staff were fruitful: instead of 95 percent being foreigners, as was the case in 1927, by 1944 90 percent of the faculty and staff were Chinese. By the end of WWII, Chinese individuals held all the leading positions in each college, department and research institute, except for the medical college.

To make the University a well-rounded educational institution, Zhang strove to develop the research capacities of the University. In late 1937, he decided to set up Chinese Cultural Study Institute at WCUU, and he pleaded with the Harvard-Yenching Foundation for support. The Foundation criticized Zhang's plan with considerable arrogance and a sense of superiority, but Zhang was determined. His persistence brought fruitful results to the institute. His insistence on support for Chinese Cultural Studies reflected his understanding of the value of Chinese culture and history among the world's civilizations.

In the war's final years, the incompetence and corruption of the Nationalist Government disappointed Zhang deeply enough that he encouraged students to join the army and government on the grounds that it was their duty and responsibility to change the corrupted bureaucratic culture. He believed that the system needed fresh blood to bring democracy and openness, modern culture and knowledge into the army and the government administration. He had faith that this younger and educated generation would be able to bring modernization to China. His idea of modernity comprised advanced science and democratic ideology.

Foreseeing victory in the Anti-Japanese War, Lincoln Zhang encouraged the Associated Boards to make plans for the advancement of the Christian colleges in China in order to serve China's reconstruction and modernization. After realizing the purpose of the Associated Boards' Post-war Planning was instead to reinforce the teaching of Christianity and Christianize the training of Chinese leaders, Lincoln Zhang decided to leave his post. The goals he set up for the University and the aims of the mission boards became incompatible.

Having been friends with the brothers Zhang Jia'ao[18] and Zhang Junmai[19] for decades, in 1947 Lincoln Zhang took the Chairman position of the Sichuan branch of the Social Democratic Party of China (SDP). This decision spoke volumes of his political stance. He believed that the governance of the country should be based on constitutional law, democracy and liberalism in general. Specifically, he wanted it to embrace such concepts as liberty, equality, progress, justice, welfare, and limited governmental power.

In February 1951, about 18 months after taking power, the Communist Party accused Zhang Junmai of being a war criminal, and Lincoln Zhang was arrested soon afterward as an anti-revolutionary element. He died in prison in 1955 at age 64.

The West China Union University where Zhang held the Presidency for fifteen years was merged into Sichuan University in the early 1950s. Its affiliated Medical, Dental and Pharmaceutical Colleges and hospital are still ranked the best teaching and clinical colleges and hospitals in China.[20] Lincoln Zhang's name is heroic and legendary for people who are familiar with the history of the University, but for people who have no idea about its past, his name bears no meaning.

Lincoln Zhang lived his entire life in a drastically changing society: the collapse of the Qing dynasty, the warlord conflicts, the never-ending wars of the Nationalist

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[18] Zhang Jia'ao, also known as Zhang Gongquan and Chang Kia-ngau, 1889-1979, was the Chairman of the Board of Director of WCUU, the president of Bank of China, the minister of Railroads of China and the Chinese minister of communications from 1934 to 1948. After leaving China, he became a professor of Loyola University, and a senior researcher of the Hoover Institution at Stanford University. He was also the author of two influential books, *China's Struggle for Railroad Development* (1943), and *The Inflationary Spiral: The Experience in China, 1939-1950* (1958).

[19] Zhang Junmai, also known as Carsun Chang, 1887-1969, was a political activist, a political science scholar, philosopher, an educator, and the builder and leader of China's Democratic Socialist Party. He was an author of many books. The core ideology of his political proposals was China should be a nation based on Constitutional Law.

[20] In a survey by the Institute of the Chinese Medical Academy in 2020, the West China Medical University and hospital gained the full score of 100 to be number one among the best medical schools in China. Beijing Union Medical School and Hospital scored 69.50 in the second place.

government with the Communists and the Japanese. Those constant upheavals resulted in tremendous uncertainty for every Chinese person. On a personal level, as a mission-trained Chinese Christian, a Chinese citizen, and a President of a Christian university, the predicaments Zhang faced were multiple. He needed to balance his Christian beliefs with traditional Chinese values, be dutiful to his job as a President of a Christian school, provide service to Chinese society, and train students who met the needs of the government and were equipped to serve the people and society.

During his almost twenty years as Vice-president and president of WCUU, Zhang transformed the University from a local school to a reputable national educational institution. He successfully turned a Christian college into a science-oriented and academic-centered modern research university. By dedicating himself to indigenizing the University, he was able to transform it from a missionary school specializing in the studies of theology and medicine into a comprehensive university with a complete range of disciplines in liberal arts, science, agriculture and medicine. Being loyal to his religious beliefs and valuing the traditional duties of the educated elites, he emphasized that serving the people and the nation should be the duty and responsibility of students. He devoted himself to building a modern educational institution, cultivating modern Chinese citizens, and reconstructing China as an equal peer of foreign powers in the modern world. He might not have been able to completely realize his ambitions, but his attempts and efforts were far-reaching.

A Sketch of the West China Union University and its Associated Mission Boards

Canadian missionary C. R. Carscallen believed that the establishment of West China Union University was because "Methodism has always been the friend of education."[21] It was true that education was emphasized in its Wesleyan tradition. In the case of WCUU, it was the fact that after decades of disappointing results with their evangelizing mission, missionaries finally realized that education was a more effective means to convert the Chinese to Christianity.

[21] C. R. Carscallen, "West China Union University" in *Our West China Mission*, ed. Stephenson, Frederick Clarke, Secretary of The Missionary Society of the Methodist Church and the Young People's Forward Movement (Toronto, 1920).

In the late 1890s missionaries in Sichuan started their educational efforts. By 1899, there were 31 elementary schools with 806 students; in 1907 the elementary schools increased to 173 with student numbers up to 3316.[22]

In November 1905, the Committee of the Christian Educational Union of West China met in Chengdu.[23] It passed various resolutions including one item that requested to recommend to their boards the participation in a Christian Union University for West China. The committee members expressed the belief that "education in the highest sense cannot exist apart from Christianity."[24]

Between the years of 1907 and 1909, the Canadian Methodist, the American Baptist, the American Methodist Episcopal, and the English Friends Foreign Mission Boards and their West China Missions, committing themselves to cooperation, purchased land and assembled staff from Canada, the United States and the UK for the West China Union University (WCUU) project. On March 11, 1910 the University opened its doors to eleven students, all Christian and all male. The WCUU Senate, which was to act the management team of the University, would be composed of representatives from each cooperating mission as well as members of the University staff as approved by the Board of Governors. Each participating mission board sent three representatives to the Board of Governors, which was in charge of policy and general administration.

In 1914, the University set up the Medical College and the year next WCUU had its first two graduates: one gained a degree in Arts and another one in Education.[25] In 1915 Dentistry became a Department of the College of Medicine; two years later in December the Dental College was recognized. In 1920 the University had its first four

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[22] Sichuan Religious History Office, ed. *Christianity in Sichuan* (Chengdu: Bashu Publishing House, 1992), 341. 四川宗教志办公室主编, [四川基督教], 巴蜀书社, 1992.

[23] The members of the Educational Union of West China were: American Baptist Missionary Union, Canadian Methodist Mission, Canadian Methodist Mission Women's Board, Church Missionary Society, Friends Foreign Mission Association, London Missionary Society, Methodist Episcopal Mission, and Missionaries of the China Inland Mission in Sichuan.

[24] "The Christian Education Union of West China Minutes of the First Meeting of the Committee on Primary and Secondary Education." October 15-19, 1906, United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia Records (UBCHEA), RG 011-277-4388, Yale University Library Divinity Library.

[25] The first two graduates of WCUU in 1915 were Hu Haiyun 胡海云 (Fu Hai-yuin) and Wu Shucheng 吴树成 (Wu Su-chen). They both passed away not long after their graduation.

men graduate in Medicine;[26] in 1921, Huang Tianqi 黄天启 graduated from the Dental College. He was the first Chinese to gain a Ph.D. degree in Dentistry. In 1926 WCUU admitted eight female students "as a carefully conducted experiment"; in 1929 four women were graduated in Education and one in Chinese Studies. In early 1927 due to the Wanxian Massacre, which induced mass missionary evacuation, Chinese members became the majority of the University Senate[27] and Lincoln Zhang was appointed as Vice-President. In April 1931 when the University was ready to register with the Chinese Nationalist Government, the Senate changed its name to the Board of Directors; and on April 16th, the first meeting of the Board of Directors was held and Lincoln Zhang was appointed as the President of the University. On September 23rd, 1933 WCUU completed its registration with the GMD government.

In early 1938 when Japan occupied the most important parts of eastern China, four Christian colleges moved to the WCUU campus: Jinling (Ginling) College, the University of Nanjing, Qilu (Cheloo) Medical College, and National Central University. Later the Biology Department of Suzhou University, and in 1942 Yenching University, also came to Chengdu. A Joint Administrative Committee of the universities was formed; the presidents of the five universities worked together to make sure "all staff members and expenditures were placed on an equal basis,"[28] an arrangement that lasted until 1946 when the eastern universities moved back to their own campuses.

Not long after the establishment of the University, the Board of Governors was actively working to affiliate WCUU with some outstanding educational institutions in North America, in order to "stimulate confidence in the University."[29] In 1922 the Board of Regents of the University of the State of New York granted "A Provisional Charter" to WCUU, which allowed WCUU graduates with a BA in Arts and Sciences and a Ph.D. in Dentistry to enjoy the equivalent credential as the University of the State of New York, after all students' records were audited. On June 25, 1934, after many

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[26] The first four medical graduates were Liu Yueting 刘月亭, Hu Chengxian 胡承先, Li Yiming 李义铭 and Yan Xianghe 颜相和.

[27] In 1921 the Senate created a Cabinet, composed of the President, the Vice-President, and a member of the Senate. It handled routine university business, dealing with many minor issues without getting the Senate more involved, and making recommendations on important issues to the Senate.

[28] Lewis C. Walmsley, *West China Union University* (United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia, New York: 1974).

[29] Ibid. , 45.

years of negotiations, the Board of Regents of the University of the State of New York granted an "Absolute Charter" to WCUU. The new Charter gave WCUU the right to confer all of the degrees to its graduates without auditing by the State University of New York.[30]

Compared to other Christian Colleges in China, according to Lincoln Zhang, WCUU had a significant geographical uniqueness; being located in Chengdu "the remotest provincial capital from the coast and near the border of Tibet."[31] In 1910 when the University was founded, WCUU was the only Christian university in an area with a population of one hundred and fifty million people: there was no other university between Hankou in central China and Tibet. The "Medical College of the University was the only one in the vast area and the Dental College was the only one in the entire China."[32]

Another point of uniqueness lay in the funding of the University. It had no fixed source of financial support, but its income was based on a "gentleman's agreement" that mostly depended on "annual grants and contributions from the various cooperating missions and the gifts of individuals. Its organization is correspondingly loose."[33] It furthermore adapted the British college system, in which each denomination was in charge of its own college for setting up a student dormitory, building classrooms and library, and managing its own budget. For example, the United Church of Canada West China Missions[34] were responsible for all Canadian medical, educational and evangelical missionaries to West China and paid for all their salaries, transportation and other expenditure and allowances for their children's education. These resources came from general fundraising, as well as pledges and gifts from church members and from other organizations and individuals for some special projects.

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[30] Correspondences between the Board of Governors and The University of the State Of New York and the State Education Department from Dec. 1930 to June 1937. UBCHEA RG 011-289-4550.

[31] Lincoln Zhang, "West China Union University: The President's Foreword, 1910-1939." UBCHEA RG 011-297-4625

[32] Ibid.

[33] Ibid.

[34] When the United Church of Canada was founded, the Canadian Methodist Church merged with three other Protestant denominations, namely, the Congregational Union of Ontario and Quebec, the Presbyterian Church in Canada (or more precisely two-thirds of its members), and the Association of local Union Churches. The Canadian Conference of the Evangelical United Brethren Church joined the United Church of Canada in 1968.

Before the middle 1930s the major financial source of the University came from the Board of Governors of West China Union University, which contributed about $50,000 dollars N.C.(New Currency, also China National Currency, xinbi 新币),[35] and from the Harvard Yenching Institute.[36] However, the funds from the Board of Governors covered only "the salaries of about sixty Chinese members of the staff, the expense of maintenance of the library, and of supplies and equipment for medical and science laboratories."[37] The University had to find other sources to make ends meet.

The 1930s brought great changes in both China and North America. Two events altered the functions of the founders, of the trustees and of the boards of these Christian universities considerably: the Great Depression and Christian colleges' registration with the Chinese Government. The Board of Governors of WCUU was convened as part of the North American Boards and had its offices in New York City. "These boards consisted largely of representatives of supporting mission bodies. Fifteen American, two Canadian, and nine British boards, and one European board, were related to sixteen colleges and universities [in China]. Individual boards sponsored as many as seven institutions, while individual universities had connections with as many as eleven boards,"[38] according to Dr. William Fenn.[39]

In the early years, the founders of those Christian colleges were Christian mission bodies, and Chinese financial support was generally absent from that educational undertaking; the universities were heavily dependent on the mission

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[35] According to economist Zhang Jia'ao (Chang Kai-Ngau), the $50,000 (N. C.) the Board of Governors gave to WCUU was converted from US$14,662.75 in 1937, US$2659.57 in 1941 and US$2500 in 1944 respectively. From 1938 the Chinese National Currency inflation spiralled upwards. To know more about the general trend of average conversion rates between Chinese National Currency and the U.S. dollar between 1935 and 1941, see Chang Kai-Ngau, *The Inflationary Spiral: the Experience in China, 1939-1950* (The Technology Press of Massachusetts Institute of Technology and John Wiley & Sons, Inc., New York, and Chapman & Hall, London 1958), 382-386.

[36] From 1929 to 1942, the Harvard Yenching Institute gave WCUU about $11,000 annually, but about two thirds of these funds were retained by the Board of Governors. To know about it, please see chapter 7.

[37] Lincoln Zhang, "The President's Foreword: West China Union University, 1910-1939." UBCHEA RG 011-297-4525

[38] William P. Fenn, *Ever New Horizons: The Story of The United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia, 1922-1975* (Newton, Kansas: Mennonite Press, Inc., 1980).

[39] Dr. William Purviance Fenn was born in China to missionary parents. He taught at the University of Nanjing. During the Sino-Japanese War, he was a representative of the Associated Boards (later the United Board) for Christian Colleges in China. He was the drafter of the Post-War Planning for Christian Colleges in China. He authored two books, *Christian Higher Education in Changing China, 1880-1950* in 1976 and *Ever New Horizons: The Story of The United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia, 1922-1975* in 1980.

boards.[40] Since operating educational projects in a foreign country was a new enterprise, the mission boards were not well prepared for the colleges' operational and development needs, especially in finance. In their search for funds, most mission educational boards in North America, like the Board of Governors of WCUU, set up a committee for the purpose of fundraising and encouraged each individual missionary to make personal efforts whenever they could. But the results were not satisfactory.

With the aim of solving their financial difficulties, some board representatives of Christian colleges in China got together in May 1920 to discuss the possibility of cooperation. Soon the Trustees/founders and governors of the Boards of Nanjing, Qilu, Fujian, WCUU and several other Colleges agreed to set up a "co-operative board"; consequently the "Central Office of the China Union Universities" came into being. During this time, the major accomplishment of the Central Office was connecting with the Estate of Charles Martin Hall.[41] In 1925 the representatives of ten boards of colleges set up the Permanent Committee for the Coordination and Promotion of Christian Higher Education in China. This Permanent Committee had two purposes, first, to coordinate "the activities and development of all the Christian Colleges and Universities in China,"[42] and second, to coordinate the "efforts in the West to secure additional support for these institutions."[43]

In 1928 these two mission educational organizations, the Central Office and the Permanent Committee, started working together for the coordination of educational programs in China. In late 1931, a proposal was made to set up a "North American Board for Christian Colleges in China", which would cover all Christian Colleges in China. The goals for this organization, according to Dr. Fenn, were to secure greater educational efficiency, to increase financial support, to strengthen appeals to Western donors, to facilitate cooperative study, and to secure cooperation in the care and

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[40] Although the mission boards financially sponsored most Christian colleges in China, some individual universities were self-financed, for example, Lingnan University, according to Dong Wang. To know more about Lingnan University and its financial independence, please refer to Dong Wang, *Managing God's Higher Learning: U.S.-China Cultural Encounter and Canton Christian College (Lingnan University), 1888-1952* (Lanham, Boulder, New York, Toronto, Plymouth: Lexington Books, Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, INC. 2007).

[41] The Estate of Charles Martin Hall gave the Central Office (which later changed its name to the Associated Boards), about $US60, 000 to 80,000 annually from 1929 through the Harvard-Yenching Institute.

[42] William P. Fenn: *Ever New Horizons.*

[43] Ibid.

supervision of investments…[44] On October 27, 1932, forty-eight representatives of the Boards of Directors, Founders and Trustees of ten Christian educational institutions in New York participated in an "Organization Meeting of the Associated Boards for Christian Colleges in China."[45] The Associated Boards thus came into being. Bettis A. Garside served as the Chief Executive Secretary of the Associated Boards until January 31, 1942.[46] Dr. Carl A. Evans then took over as the Acting Executive Secretary of the Associated Boards for two years. On May 1st, 1944, the Boards elected Earle H. Ballou as the new Executive Secretary.

On June 30th, 1944 the Associated Boards changed its name to the United Board for Christian Colleges in China. Why did this happen? William Fenn tells us, "Unlike the Associated Boards, which had consisted of the members of thirteen separated corporations each related to one of the colleges on China, the United Board was a single corporation serving the interests of all. The simpler corporate structure offered promise of more economical and effective ways of dealing with specific problems and common interests."[47]

In the case of WCUU, its main founders were the Board of Governors (1910-1950), and it was answerable to the Associated Boards of Christian Colleges in China (1932-1945), renamed the United Board of Christian Colleges in China (1945-1950).

Literature Review on the History of Modern Christian Higher Education in China

From the early 1950s until the 1970s, Christian missionary education and institution building efforts in China were written about mostly by missionaries who had Christian College teaching and administrative experience there.[48] Based on personal

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[44] Ibid. , 27-9.

[45] Ibid. , 29.

[46] B. A. Garside received an honorary Doctor of Humane Letters degree from College of the Ozarks in 1935. In February 1942, Garside took the position of President and Secretary of United China Relief.

[47] William P. Fenn, *Ever New Horizons,* 51.

[48] Charles H. Corbett, *Shantung Christian University (Cheeloo)* (New York: United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia, 1955). Charles H. Corbett, *Lingnan University* (New York: United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia, 1963). Mary Lamberton, *St. John's University, Shanghai, 1879-1951* (New York: United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia, 1955). Clarence B. Day, *Hangchow University: A Brief History* (New York: United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia, 1955). Ethel L. Wallace, *Hwa Nan College* (New York: United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia, 1956). W. B. Nance, *Soochow University* (New York: United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia, 1956). Dwight W. Edwards, *Yenching University* (New York: United Board for

experiences, their works recorded how the Christian missionaries overcame cultural challenges to bring Christianity, modern science and technology, and financial support to China, and how they defeated the obstacles they encountered in China; what they were able to accomplish are front and center in their accounts. They saw historical events from a Western and missionary-centered perspective, deliberately or subconsciously omitting the participation and contributions of Chinese Christian leaders and members. Although those educational and medical missionaries helped to lay the cornerstone of China's modern science and education, and trained a large group of the first generation of modern Chinese intellectuals, their writings emphasize their own evangelistic efforts rather than their academic initiatives as such.

Dr. E-Tu Zen Sun's 任以都 account of "The Growth of the Academic Community 1912-1949" is the most concise and intimate study of the emergence of the first generation of Chinese intellectuals and their attempts at building modern Chinese educational institutions in the first half of the twentieth century. She calls the educational elites "a truly extraordinary group of people who responded to the needs of an extraordinary time…[I]n setting up new institutions they felt themselves to be creators of a new world."[49] She attributes their sense of responsibility to inherited Chinese traditional values; she also emphasizes that studying overseas equipped such individuals with a liberal mindset and bicultural perspective that confirmed their patriotic devotion to rebuilding China. Zen believes their efforts on behalf of educational modernization were built on the premises that "the old order had been irrevocably disabled with the collapse of the imperial system," and that "China must establish a new system of its own," rather than simply imitating the West.[50] Using Beijing University and its first President, Cai Yuanpei (Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei 蔡元培), as an example, Zen suggests that Cai and his contemporaries set up goals for new educational institutions as training grounds for future leaders undertaking China's reconstruction. The May Fourth Movement of 1919 reaffirmed the link between young academics and

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Christian Higher Education in Asia, 1959). Reuben Holden, *Yale in China: The Mainland, 1901-1951* (New Haven, 1964). Lewis C. Walmsley, *West China Union University* (New York: United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia, 1974). The above-mentioned authors all had missionary work experience in China.

[49] E-Tu Zen Sun, "The Growth of the Academic Community 1912-1949" in *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 12, part (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 361-420.

[50] Ibid. , 368.

the fate of the nation. In terms of the new academic community, she believes that they shared the same basic characteristics: they all had both Chinese and foreign study backgrounds, brought Western methodologies to traditional Chinese studies, and were devoted to promoting Western learning and research.

Regarding the experiences of Christian education in China during this time, Zen implies that Christian colleges made major contributions in liberal arts, science and language training. In discussing the growth of the academic community and its impact on higher education and the nation, Zen focuses on the cohort of highly accomplished modern intellectuals. She points out their bi-cultural learning and experiences were essential for both education and nation building, but she largely ignores the group of Chinese intellectuals who worked closely with the educational missionaries in support of higher education and the national reconstruction efforts. Though they were not large in number, they constituted a special academic community, and--as this study suggests--their accomplishments and contributions to higher education are remarkable and in need of analysis.

During the time when the May Fourth movement was ascendant in big cities, some insightful intellectuals questioned which was more important to develop the individual mind through the pursuit of knowledge, or to apply useful knowledge for a collective national purpose? One of the reasons for the failure of China's modernization in the Republican era was arguably that the May Fourth spirit and modern education were promoted only in big cities. Zen's study pays attention only to the major cities, especially the 1920s' political center, Peiping (Beijing), and to those comparatively well-funded universities like Yenching (later Beijing University) and Tsinghua (Qinghua University). The importance of more remote academic communities escapes Zen's attention. This was the case for WCUU, which not only was the leading academic institution in Sichuan, but which also had wide influence in West China, through the training it offered, to more remote areas such as Yunnan, Guizhou and Tibet. The educational contribution in a place like Chengdu shouldn't be overlooked.

Jessie Gregory Lutz's *China and the Christian Colleges, 1850-1950*,[51] published in 1971, is probably the best-known comprehensive study of Protestant colleges in China. It traces the origins and development of 13 such colleges and the challenges they experienced from 1860 to 1950. Lutz explores the missionaries' educational adventures in China and examines how an alien religion, culture, and educational system were received in the ever-changing Chinese society. Lutz argues that they laid a cornerstone for China's modernization in the fields of education, science, medicine, agriculture, and women's liberation. Lutz's study emphasizes the missionaries' persistence, the Chinese resistance, the dynamics of Chinese student movements, and how cultural conflicts changed both Chinese people and Christian missionaries. For instance, the missionaries, or at least some of them, adjusted their aims from training missionary helpers and intelligent church members to building the best possible modern educational institutions in China. The Chinese changed from resisting Western religion and ideologies to allowing women to attend university; the younger generation changed to embrace modern Western technology, especially medicine.

Lutz depicts the students' movements and their nationalist sentiments as threats to the Christian missionaries' undertaking. She misses the point, however, that at least partly because of Western education, the ideas of science and democracy were disseminated to the new generation, who were therefore able to use Western methods, such as protest, to express their opinions. Those mission schools, in other words, helped sow the seeds of freedom and patriotism for the Chinese youth, despite the fact that most mission schools enforced harsh regulations on students' participations in protests.[52]

Lutz's view of the Christian impact is also limited to the missionaries' educational efforts only. After the nationalist government requested that foreign private colleges register with the Chinese authority in 1927, 10 out of 13 universities completed the registration before 1932. Under the regulations of the registration, Chinese

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[51] Jessie Gregory Lutz, *China and the Christian Colleges: 1850-1950* (Ithaca and London, Cornell University Press, 1971).

[52] The archives of St. John's University, Jinling College, and The West China Union University have records showing that the missionary administrators at these three colleges treated the students who participated in protests harshly. Some students were expelled from the schools. Of course, some students left as act of their protest. Those records can also be found among the correspondence of missionaries between 1924 and 1935 that are available from Yale University Divinity Library Archives.

Christians, not missionaries, held the presidential position at those universities, and the majority of faculty and staff were Chinese; therefore, the Chinese played a major part in the Christian institutional building. The role of the Chinese in Christian institutional building and development is overlooked in Lutz' study.

Although WCUU was an important Christian college among the 13 Christian universities and was the one that accommodated five other Christian colleges on its campus during the anti-Japanese wartime from 1938 to 1946, Lutz gives very little positive attention to it, let alone to the contributions and accomplishments WCUU made. Lincoln Zhang's name is not mentioned even once, although Lutz emphasizes that dynamic leadership was a decisive element in the development of these universities. Her focus is the Protestant missionaries, not the Chinese Christians and the leadership they came to exercise.

In short, lack of Chinese agency is an unfortunate flaw in Lutz's account of Christian Colleges in China.

Another misunderstanding that Lutz demonstrates is that she suggests the Korean War was part of the reason the Christian colleges left China. In Chapter 12, Lutz concludes "what made the position of Americans untenable and led eventually to the disappearance of the Christian colleges on the mainland was the actual participation of China in the Korean War through its 'volunteers.'"[53] She ignores the fact that, already after the end of the WWI, young people in the West, who previously had been the main source of potential missionaries, also started pursuing non-religious education and careers in greater numbers, and that the tide of students committed to serving God ebbed. Soon American and Canadian churches found it difficult to get financial support for their China missions during the Great Depression. In the early 1940s, missionaries in China suffered greatly during China's war against the Japanese invasion and from the resulting out-of-control inflation. At WCUU, the Mission Educational Board was forced to cut more than 60 per cent its mission budget, and the majority of missionaries either retired or no longer wanted to stay in China. The church then stopped sending new missionaries into the field. Finally, higher standards for Christian college education, and the indigenization of local Chinese churches, university faculty, and staff left limited

[53] Lutz. , 461.

room for the mission to play significant roles in education except in fundraising. Altogether, the numbers of missionaries in China were drastically reduced before 1950 for all of these reasons. In other words, even without the Communists coming to power, the influence of Christianity and Christian education in China were already declining considerably.

China's Christian Colleges: Cross-Cultural Connections, 1900-1950, edited by Daniel Bays and Ellen Widmer,[54] represents a state-of-the-art collection of essays that discuss the characteristics and impact of Christian colleges in China.[55] Topics discussed in this book give "a fresh look at the cross-cultural dynamics" and focus on "the American context of China's Christian Colleges."[56]

In their introduction, Bays and Widmer note that the volume is devoted not to presenting new facts, but rather to representing diverse current approaches to the American missionary experience in China and aspects of cross-cultural communication and related influence. The goal of the volume, as laid down by the Luce Foundation grant, was to explore the specifically American context that supported the colleges and the impact of the colleges on US opinion; so Canadian and British involvement in the colleges are ignored, even though the educational work at China's Christian colleges was a multi-nation and multi-denominational enterprise. In addition, apart from a paragraph on Lincoln Zhang's dissatisfaction with the Boards' postwar planning, the book mentions WCUU only a very few times in passing, and the importance that during WWII, WCUU hosted five other Christian colleges on its campus for eight years was conveniently overlooked.

Part four of the book, titled "Wider Ramification", includes three articles especially relevant to this dissertation.

In "National Salvation: Teaching Civic Duty in China's Christian College",[57] Susan Rigdon suggests that "the Christian educators were not on a collision course with

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[54] Daniel Bays and Ellen Widmer, ed., *China's Christian Colleges: Cross-Cultural Connections, 1900-1950* (Stanford CA: Stanford University Press, 2009).

[55] The essays were the result of a conference held at Wesleyan University and funded by the Henry Luce Foundation.

[56] "Preface: China's Christian Colleges at Cross-Cultural Ventures," Daniel Bays and Ellen Widmer, xv.

[57] Susan Rigdon, "National Salvation: Teaching Civic Duty in China's Christian College," Daniel Bays and Ellen Widmer, ed., *China's Christian Colleges: Cross-Cultural Connections, 1900-1950*. (Stanford CA: Stanford University Press, 2009), 193-217.

the state."[58] Although missionaries tried hard to separate themselves from Chinese politics, being involved in education necessarily carried "political implications," since some of them believed that saving Chinese souls required solving China's major social and political problems. Rigdon concludes that Christian educational missionaries in China became allies with the GMD educational goals and in government services. My research shows a much more complicated relationship between mission education and Chinese politics and politicians.[59] Rigdon perhaps draws on an over-generalized conclusion based on the experience of another college.

When discussing China's Christian colleges and their sinicization efforts, such as the expansion of Chinese Cultural Studies programs, it is essential to consider both the academic and financial impact of the Harvard-Yenching Institute (HYI) on the humanities in China. In their article, "China's Christian Colleges and the Founding of the Harvard-Yenching Institute (HYI)",[60] Paul Daniel Waite and Peichi Tung Waite rightly observe that HYI "trained a whole generation of Western and Asian scholars…across the United States and nurtured some of the most well-known scholars of Chinese culture within China itself."[61] The Waites examine the "similarities in purpose" between the HYI and the Chinese Christian colleges, and explain the disagreements, conflicts, and sensitive issues between the two parties over the role that "the Chinese would play in interpreting their own culture." However, the actions of Christian colleges like WCUU and Yenching taken to stand up to HYI's imperialistic tendencies and micro-management style are largely ignored.

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[58] Ibid.

[59] For example, Dr. Beech, the President of WCUU established deep connections with top Republic and National government leaders. The first Chinese donation Beech had was from Yuan Shikai who personally gave $ 3000 silver to Dr. Beech to support the cause of WCUU. To know more about Dr. Beech's Chinese political connections, please see Chapter Five. To have a better understanding of this issue, please take reference of John Leighton Stuart, *Fifty Years in China-The Memoirs of John Leighton Stuart, Missionary and Ambassador* (Stanford University Press, 2007); Brian L. Evans, *The Remarkable Chester Ronning: Proud Son of China* (Edmonton: The University of Alberta Press, 2013); and Stephen Endicott, *James G. Endicott: Rebel Out of China* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980).

[60] Paul Daniel Waite and Peichi Tung Waite,"China's Christian Colleges and the Founding of the Harvard-Yenching Institute (HYI)," Daniel Bays and Ellen Widmer, ed., *China's Christian Colleges: Cross-Cultural Connections, 1900-1950* (Stanford CA: Stanford University Press, 2009), 241-266.

[61] Ibid.

Jiafeng Liu's article, titled "Same Bed, Different Dreams: The American Postwar Plan for China's Christian Colleges, 1943–1946",[62] examines the "background and aims" of the mission boards' postwar planning in China, the "various responses" from the administrators of Christian colleges, and the "the clash between the agendas of these two different contexts." Liu describes the disagreement between the Associated Boards and China Christian colleges over the Postwar Planning initiative as "a turf battle for control of the colleges and the way forward." He explains that the programs of the plan "were based largely on the experience and lessons of American universities…not the needs in China." Liu and Rigdon are right that the nationalist government aimed to involve missionaries in their plans for developing a more practical education scheme. However, they overlook the contributions and agency of Christian college administrators, including presidents Lincoln Zhang and Wu Yifang, who wanted to expand theoretical research at the level of graduate studies, enhance practical undergraduate teaching and training, and improve the influence of educated Chinese women and their social status.[63]

An important study dedicates to WCUU is by Dr. Lewis C. Walmsley, an educational missionary under the United Church of Canada, who worked as an English teacher on the campus of WCUU from 1921 to 1948. In 1974 he published *West China Union University*, a book that gives a comprehensive introduction of the seventy-five years of the Christian missionaries' higher educational enterprise in West China. He details the initiative, development, and fruitful results of Christian missionaries' educational efforts, their attempts to bring organizational changes and developments to the University, their moves to start academic curriculum expansion, their educational enterprise to be forced to interrupt in 1950. He believes that "the rise and rapid growth of West China Union University marks one of the last major events in an amazing missionary development in China."[64]

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[62] Jiafeng Liu, "Same Bed, Different Dreams: The American Postwar Plan for China's Christian Colleges, 1943–1946," Daniel Bays and Ellen Widmer, ed., *China's Christian Colleges: Cross-Cultural Connections, 1900-1950* (Stanford CA: Stanford University Press, 2009), 218-240.

[63] See Lincoln Zhang and Wu Yifang letters to the Associated Boards about its Postwar Planning. To know more about this point, see Chapter Eight.

[64] Lewis C. Walmsley, *West China Union University* (New York: United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia, 1974.)

The center and focus of Walmsley's account are the dedication of the educational missionaries and their mission boards, but the roles and functions of Chinese administrators and faculty are largely omitted. Despite being the Vice-president and President of the University from 1927 to 1946, Lincoln Zhang is mentioned only five times in the book, and only for switching administrative positions, not for his university development efforts and other contributions. Instead, when Lincoln Zhang's name was first mentioned, the text says, "The fact that the majority of Westerners had had to leave Chengtu in 1927 made it obligatory that Chinese take over many positions of responsibility… the Reverend Lincoln Dsang appeared the man best qualified for this position."[65] Lincoln Zhang's name was briefly mentioned, with one sentence only, on other four occasions: Zhang was appointed as President of WCUU; Zhang supported building a university church; Zhang appointed the heads of several departments; and Zhang resigned in 1947.[66] Giving no credit or agency to the Chinese administrators and faculty for the accomplishment of WCUU is an obvious weakness of Walmsley's account of WCUU history.

One major contribution to the literature that is particularly relevant to this dissertation is *China and the West in A Melting Pot: The West China Union University,*[67] the most thorough and recent study of the history of West China Union University. The author Dr. Zhang Liping 张丽萍, a Chinese historian and a graduate of Sichuan University (WCUU's successor institution), is thoroughly familiar with the archival documents of WCUU. Based on thorough research and rich archival material, Zhang Liping suggests that the development of WCUU was a result of Sino-Western cultural encounters, conflicts and fusion; on this view, the University started with copying the Western educational model as a Christian college in Chengdu. After various cultural confrontations, according to Zhang Liping, the missionary educators and administrators gradually introduced Chinese culture into its teaching and made possible a compromise to adapt to the Chinese and local society. Through its struggle to

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[65] Ibid. , 52.

[66] Ibid. See pages 54, 102, 105, and 146.

[67] Zhang Liping, *China and the West in A Melting Pot: The West China Union University* (Chengdu, Sichuan Publishing Group, China 2013). 张丽萍：中西合冶：华西协合大学， 成都：四川出版集团，2013.

survive the anti-imperialist, anti-foreign and anti-Christian movements and other crises, she argues, this Christian University was transformed into a basically secular institution, which Chinese society could accept and appreciate. In short, the establishment and development of WCUU was a strong example of how an educational institution could preserve diversity in unity.

From a cross-cultural perspective, Zhang Liping argues that the disappearance of WCUU didn't mean the efforts of Christian mission education were in vain. The Western-educated faculty members, the university campus, and its equipment were all essential for the future development of both Sichuan University and the West China Medical University after WCUU was dismantled. According to Zhang Liping, the healthy development of these two universities since 1950 is a living proof that the permanent indigenization of Christian mission education was the right journey to take.

Zhang accurately describes the political, cultural, and social turbulence since the inception of West China Union University, and she does not shy away from examining the difficult interactions between the West and China of the late 19th century and the first half of the 20th century when the University was established and developed. However, her narrative to some extent sugarcoats the WCUU and contradicts her argument that cultural mixing necessarily nurtures educational institution over time. In particular, she fails to make it clear that WCUU suffered various difficulties and setbacks in the period from 1910 to 1950, as WCUU evolved to become a reputable national university. In addition, she glosses over the fact that the cross-cultural communication between China and Western countries stopped between the 1950s and 1980s. The fact is after the 1950s most Westerners were driven out of China and people who had Western educations and any connections with the West became targets of party, state and popular criticism, and suffered severe persecutions; cultural infusion and cross-cultural interaction disappeared from China between the1950s and early 1980s. To portray the cultural mingling at Christian colleges as a continuation in China in the three decades after the 1950s, unfortunately, obscures the cultural and political dynamics that occurred.

In other words, Zhang Liping focuses strongly on cultural infusion at WCUU without being specific about exactly who took the initiative, why and how. From early 1927 when Lincoln Zhang was appointed as the Vice-president of the University and from late 1926 to mid-1928, when only a handful of missionaries were in China, power within the school administration was largely in the hand of Chinese members of the University. Dr. Beech, the President of the University, was in the United States from late 1926 until returning to Chengdu in early 1930, and he soon travelled across China and then Europe for most of 1931. In June 1931, Lincoln Zhang was elected as the President of the University, and except for the 15 months from May 1932 to August 1933 he spent in the United States for his PhD studies, he was the person who led the University. Lincoln Zhang and his Chinese colleagues, not the missionaries, were the major force that lessened the confrontation between the Chinese and the West regarding the University's existence in Chengdu. As this dissertation will show, Lincoln Zhang with his Chinese staff and faculty also initiated, stimulated, and promoted the dissemination of Western ideologies, technologies, and methodologies in their interactions with local society, while still pursuing the indigenization of WCUU in every possible way. Zhang Liping, unfortunately, doesn't give sufficient attention to those efforts.

Sharing the opinion with Zhang Liping about the Christian Chinese colleges cross-cultural interactions, using Lingnan University as a case study, Dong Wang's book, *Managing God's Higher Learning: U.S.- China Cultural Encounter and Canton Christian College (Lingnan University), 1888-1952,* argues that Lingnan's "transplantation of American educational model" was China-centric and its "adaptive nature of U.S.-China cultural interaction" helped with China's nation-building.[68] In this book, she also examines how "these (Christian) educational institutions differed significantly from one another."[69] For example, Lingnan, unlike other Christian colleges in China, had special geographical and societal features, which played a decisive role in its uniqueness. Lingnan is located in Guangzhou (Canton), the capital city of

[68] Dong Wang, *Managing God's Higher Learning: U.S.-China Cultural Encounter and Canton Christian College (Lingnan University), 1888-1952* (Lanham, Boulder, New York, Toronto, Plymouth: Lexington Books, Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, INC. 2007), 5-6.
[69] Ibid. , 5.

Guangdong province, the ancestry home of the largest proportion of the Chinese diaspora. As such 72.2 percent of the University budgets came from overseas Chinese donations, which allowed the University to enjoy great financial independence. The student body was composed of a large number of children of Cantonese emigrants. Although in as early as 1916, Lingnan had the first woman in a dean's position, when it came to women's education, the school "intended to equip women for the domestic sphere, rather than challenging men's role in public and at home."[70] However, by focusing on Lingnan's connection with America, Dong Wang ignores the importance of both British and Canadian connections to Christian education in China. While emphasizing the special characteristics of Lingnan, Dong Wang contributes to a broader understanding of how the Christian colleges distinguish themselves from each other.

Finally, we can end this survey of relevant existing literature with Dr. Zhou Hongyu's 周洪宇. "The President of West China Union University Zhang Linggao," which is the only academic paper available that focuses specifically on Lincoln Zhang's life and educational contributions.[71] In this paper, Zhou, a researcher at the Central China Normal University 华中师范大学 in Wuhan, gives Lincoln Zhang credit for educational accomplishments in five areas. He believes that Lincoln Zhang appropriately balanced the relationships between the Christian missionaries, the Chinese authorities, and the anti-missionary social forces in a way that allowed the survival of the Christian school. Zhou maintains that Zhang's desire to serve Chinese society and the nation's reconstruction made him take the needs of Chinese society as his priority in designing the University's curriculum. Focused on both teaching and research, Zhang emphasized building up liberal arts studies to balance the advanced medical program at the school. Zhou notes that Zhang supported students' patriotic activities and encouraged students to have a strong commitment to serving society and the nation. To solve the WCUU's financial insufficiency, Zhang worked hard to build social networks to raise funds to support students, faculty and the University's development. According

[70] Ibid. , 113.

[71] Zhou Hongyu, "The President of West China Union University Zhang Linggao," in *Study on Christian Chinese University Presidents*, ed. Wu Ziming (Fuzhou: Fujian Education Publishing House. 2001), 169-191. 周洪宇:"华西协合大学校长张凌高". 吴梓明: 编著 ［基督教华人校长研究］福建教育出版社，2001.

to Zhou Hongyu, Lincoln Zhang's dedication and determination made WCUU not only a leading academic institution in Southwest China, but also one of the very best Chinese universities.

While Zhou's article outlines the life and contribution of Lincoln Zhang, it does so only briefly. If anything, it strengthens my case that Zhang's life experience and accomplishments deserve more comprehensive, accurate, and objective study. At the same time, Zhou's analysis is problematic in several regards.

First of all, Dr. Zhou's study trivializes the difficult choices Zhang made. In particular, he ignores the topics of how and why Lincoln Zhang quit his job and what led to his death. Poor health was one reason Zhang decided to leave his post, but the main causes were his frustration with the corruption of the Nationalist government and its increasingly strict ideological control, as well as the fact that he was at cross-purposes with the Associated Boards about the future development of WCUU. Zhang could no longer tolerate the Boards' ignoring the pressing needs of Chinese society and focusing only on Christian teaching. Likewise, Zhou glosses over the fact that the major cause of Zhang's death was that his political ideas ran counter to the Communist government's political agenda. Instead, ignoring his work in the Social Democratic Party, Zhou Hongyu claims "Zhang tried to avoid being political".[72] Actually, Zhang's political stances and status deserve to be recorded more fully and frankly.

Second, Zhou tends to simplify certain historical events. For example, his article credits Lincoln Zhang with all initiatives in the University's curricula and programs. Of course, as the President, Lincoln Zhang's support was important to program expansions, but in some specific situations at WCUU, introducing new disciplines into study resulted from more complicated factors and some specific conditions. For example, the accomplishments in the fields of pharmacy and agriculture were not entirely due to Lincoln Zhang's initiative and promotion, but grew out of the missionaries' specialties and passions, and the support of the Nationalist Government. Dr. Edwin Meuser, the only WCUU missionary who specialized in pharmaceutical study, dedicated his entire life to building up the Pharmacy Department, then the College of Pharmacy, at WCUU. Also, during the war against the Japanese, the GMD government provided WCUU

[72] Ibid. , 191.

sufficient funds for pharmaceutical research and manufacture. Similarly, Frank Dickinson undertook improving the quality of local breeds and crops starting from the first day he landed in Sichuan in 1905. Those missionaries played a pivotal role in the University coming into being and its development. Ignoring their contributions weakens Zhou's narrative.

Third, questions of accuracy and the reliability of sources cast doubt on the validity of some aspects of Dr. Zhou's study, and some primary sources contradict Dr. Zhou's account. For example, to emphasize the conflicts between Lincoln Zhang and the missionaries, the article states that the mission educational board always made excessive demands and harsh judgments on Lincoln Zhang. It states, "no matter what Zhang did, it was impossible to satisfy a hypercritical and arrogant board."[73] There were indeed disagreements between Lincoln Zhang and the board from time to time, and board could be unaccommodating, even arrogant, as we shall see below, for reasons not always related to the board's rigidity and arrogance, but often due to differences of goals, culture, circumstance, and expectation.

To sum up, existing studies of Lincoln Zhang and his contribution are insufficient. Beyond the works just cited, there are only scattered articles telling some anecdotes of Zhang's early life. Several family members' writings provide useful details, but not sufficient for a comprehensive study of Lincoln Zhang's life and educational contribution.

Lincoln Zhang was an important figure in the history of the building of modern Chinese education. What are the reasons for the scarcity of information about Zhang and his contributions? What are the social and political implications regarding the insufficiency of studies of Lincoln Zhang's life? What is the significance of the study of Lincoln Zhang and his contributions? What were the crucial social, political, and inter-cultural events that contributed to Lincoln Zhang's accomplishments?

Lincoln Zhang's life and career reflect the progress of the West China Union University, and in a larger extent, the changes in Chinese society.

This dissertation argues that Lincoln Zhang's personal life, career development, accomplishments, and death were tightly connected with China's social changes and

[73] Ibid. , 173-174.

political circumstances. His upward social mobility, contribution to WCUU development, and dedication to improve modern education resulted from the Western teaching, and especially the Christian missionaries' presence in China, as well as from the rapid social and political changes in Chinese society in the first half of 20th century. These included the fall of the Qing dynasty, the mercurial nature of the Beiyang governments, the repeated conflicts among warlords, and the Nationalist government's wars against the Japanese invasion and the Communists, including the post-WWII civil war. Given these conditions, a natural question is: How was Lincoln Zhang able to make significant educational progress during those turbulent years?

As already noted, since the 1920s the perspectives of Christian missionary and Western scholars have tended to dominate the study of Christian education in China; and PRC scholars since 1950 have largely avoided discussing interactions between the Christian missionaries' educational efforts and Chinese Christians' contributions to modern education. That resulted in two facts: first, historiographically, Western studies have been in the ascendant in this domain; and second, the silence or scarcity of non-polemical studies from China, has effectively left the status quo unchallenged.

There are some Chinese Christians' accounts about their experiences working with Christian missionaries, but these are mostly self-criticisms written under tremendous political pressure after the 1950s.[74] Their authenticity and objectivity are questionable.

Historical sources also suggest that Lincoln Zhang's life experiences and accomplishments were not an exception. Between the 1920s and 1940s, China produced a constellation of great talents and highly accomplished scholars, a remarkable phenomenon in modern Chinese history, and many of those people were involved in China's modern education in both Christian colleges and public universities. They were all part of China's efforts at building educational institutions. As in the case of Lincoln

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[74] For example, Jiang Wengang and Fang Shuxuan's articles about their personal work experiences at WCUU. Shu Ling, "West China Union University: The Cultural fortress of the American and British Imperialists Invasion", *The Collections of Sichuan Literature and History*, ed. Sichuan People's Political Consultative Conference (Chengdu: Sichuan People's Publishing House, 1979). 叔菱: "美英帝国主义对我进行文化侵略的堡垒——华西大学", 四川省政治协商会，省志编辑委员会, 1979. Shu Ling was a pan-name of Fang Shuxuan, the vice-president of WCUU from the 1930s to 1947, and president from June 1947 to 1951. Jiang Wengang was a Chinese historian who taught at the West China Union University from the 1930s to early 1950s. Jiang Wengand, "My Reminiscence of West China Union University", *Selected Collections of Chengdu Literature and History*, Series 3, (Chengdu: Sichuan People's Publishing House, 1982). 姜蕴刚: "我对华西大学的回忆", [成都文史资料选辑], 第三辑, 四川人民出版社, 1982.

Zhang, those prominent Chinese deserve further study. Perhaps this dissertation can help open the door further on their lives.

Major Arguments

This dissertation aims to document Lincoln Zhang's life and work and thereby demonstrate that a Chinese Christian educator could be a major force in building a modern educational institution in China. The patriotic passion of Lincoln Zhang and similar figures motivated their strong desire for China's modernization; they brought about three major transformations of those Christian universities: secularization, indigenization and sinicization. The convergence of the educational aims of the GMD government, certain Christian missionaries and Chinese Christian administrators and faculty played an important role in creating the modern Christian university in China.

At the same time, in terms of secularization, the Chinese Christian educators shifted the Christian schools from focussing overwhelmingly on religious teaching to science and other academic learning and from training young people for Christian leadership to preparing modern Chinese youths to be nation builders. Regarding indigenization, the term refers to the actions of transforming some service or idea to suit local culture, particularly through the utilization of the region's indigenous people in public administration. This study finds that the Chinese Christians transformed the Christian missionary-dominated institution into a place where high-calibre Chinese individuals could take leadership positions in teaching, researching and administration. They greatly improved the quality of teaching and academic learning, moving the Chinese from a socially subordinate position to become the key decision makers, and shifted the missionaries to the function of fundraising. In the service of sinicization, they introduced Chinese cultural, historical and philosophical learning, teaching and researching to balance Western technology studies; they made the needs of Chinese society the University's priority, and most of their research projects were designed to improve the life of Chinese people.

The great accomplishments of Chinese Christian educators benefitted from both China's political conditions and the support of liberal-minded missionaries. The unification of China under the Nationalist government, the relative weakness of central

government control,[75] and the Christian missionaries' educational efforts were important political, social, and cultural conditions for the success of Chinese Christian educational modernization.

The Western powers' entry into China in the1840s provided an opportunity for Christian missionaries to realize their ambition to Christianize the "pagan" nation. However, their aspirations received little interest and tremendous resistance in China. For the purpose of training evangelizing assistants, some missionaries promoted literacy among poor young Chinese men and women. By providing food, employment and other material supports, the mission schools gained some followers and converts in ways that encouraged some liberal-minded missionaries to take their educational idea further to establish primary, middle and high schools in China. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, some higher educational institutions were erected in several coast cities. In 1910, WCUU first came into being in Chengdu, then a remote city in southwest China's Sichuan province. It was the only Christian college in West China.

The early life of Christian educational institutions in China was full of struggle and hardship. Before 1927 the Christian education efforts were constantly affected by China's political and social upheavals: the Taiping Rebellion 1851-1864, the Second Opium War in 1856-1860, the First Sino-Japanese War in 1894-1895, the Boxer Rebellion 1900-1901, the Fall of the Qing Government in 1911, the May 4th movement in 1919, the Wanxian Incident in 1926, and the Shanghai Massacre in 1927, just to name a few, were major upheavals that tended to inflame anti-foreign sentiments among the general population.

In 1900 the Christian schools' student enrolment numbers were very low; not a single Christian school had more than 60 college-level students. By 1925, the enrolment numbers hadn't increased significantly and that greatly limited the influence of the Christian universities. For example, from its inception in 1910 up until 1925, WCUU enrolled 258 students and graduated only 53. The story was the same for other Christian schools as well.

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[75] In her study "The Growth of The Academic Community 1912-149" E-Tu Zen Sun attributes China's modern education opportunity to the weakness of the government. She writes, "after 1911 the Chinese government's prolonged weakness opened an unusual window of opportunity for China's revolutionary educators." Sun, E-Tu Zen, "The Growth of the Academic Community 1912-1949," *The Cambridge History of China* (Cambridge University Press, 1980): 362.

In the early years, most Christian schools had limited numbers of missionary faculty members. WCUU had about 25 instructors and most other colleges had smaller numbers than WCUU. Moreover, the majority of missionary instructors didn't have adequate teaching credentials. The courses those universities offered were limited, mostly to theology, math, and English. The curriculum provisions were varied as well, depending heavily on the specialties of individual missionaries. Textbooks and library books were scarce; the biology and chemistry labs lacked basic equipment, and the teaching quality paled in comparison to their counterparts in North America and Europe. The Chinese instructors, when there were any, were in a position of subordination.

Changes started in 1927 that partly resulted from China's political development. The Wanxian Incident in late 1926 caused nation-wide student movements, and that upheaval made most missionaries flee the country. Like WCUU, most Christian colleges appointed Chinese Christians to take over the top administrative positions to keep the University running. Under pressure from young Chinese advocating for the government to restore the country's educational sovereignty, and with the absence of the missionary administrators, Chinese Christians were put in charge, at least nominally. The Christian educational mission boards in the West started changing their attitudes about registering mission schools with the Chinese government, from reluctance to accepting the regulations. In 1928, Jinling University registered with the Nanking government and Dr. Chen Yuguang 陈裕光 took over as university President. The next year another three universities followed suit, and in 1930 and 1931 six more universities' top administrative positions were in the hands of Chinese. Most Christian colleges then also had a Chinese majority on the board of managers. The registration quieted the students' educational rights campaign and the general population's resistance to the Christian colleges. Although the power transfer from the missionaries to the Chinese didn't happen immediately or smoothly, the majority of Chinese on the boards made sure their voices would be heard and their opinions considered.

The registration of Christian colleges was a catalyst for a modernizing transformation. Those Christian colleges ceased to be foreign educational institutions run by missionaries, designed for Christian teaching, and aiming only to educate

Christians and train church leaders. The Chinese Christian educators would become major decision makers who would steer the University from being predominantly religious institutions to being hubs of science and academic learning, from featuring missionary-dominated administration and teaching to having largely indigenized faculty and leadership contingents. The Chinese Christian educators succeeded in gradually shifting mission bodies and foreign boards alike from decision-making roles to fundraising and supportive functions.

Under the leadership of Chinese Christians, most registered Christian colleges then entered a stage of fast development and transformation. Although some Chinese elites advocated Western science, technology and ideology, they did not necessarily believe at first that the Christian colleges were where Chinese youth should get their education.

After most Christian schools had registered with the Chinese government, and Chinese became major players within them, the Chinese elite – the powerful, the wealthy, and the educated – encouraged by the positions Chinese individuals held at foreign schools. The Nanjing government officials came to believe that the Christian colleges were a good supplement for China's public institutions of higher education, and those colleges' educational efforts would be useful in building the future of China. The Chinese elite started sending their children to Christian colleges. Between 1928 and 1933, in 11 of the 13 Christian colleges registered with the government, Chinese individuals took the presidency at the Christian universities, and the majority of university board members were Chinese. Gradually, Chinese took over leadership positions in some departments and colleges as well, and Christian universities started attracting students, not only from Christian background families, but also from the Chinese elite community. After religious studies became optional rather than required, Chinese youths, who desired to learn Western science and technology but felt uncomfortable with mandatory Bible study and church services, started attending the Christian schools in significantly greater numbers. As a result, student enrolment increased quickly. In Nanjing, Jinling [Ginling] College's student numbers increased from 422 in 1930 to 761 in 1934; Qilu [Cheeloo] College in Shandong province went

from 220 in 1930 to 480 in 1934, more than doubling its enrolment; and WCUU went from 201 to 375, and by 1936 its enrolment was double that of 1926.[76]

Once Chinese Christians were in major administrative positions, Christian schools were no longer a "fortress of imperialism" in the Chinese public view. They communicated better with the general population, and with local and national governments. Consequently, the different levels of government started funding the universities. Between 1929 and 1937, Chinese contributions to the total income of Christian universities increased from 24 percent to 53 percent. In the case of WCUU, since the University's Policy Committee Report in 1936 recommended switching its fundraising focuses from foreign to domestic sources, during the war against the Japanese (1937-45), WCUU was able to expand programs and establish research institutes exponentially due to domestic financial support.

Regarding indigenization, in the case of this study, the definition of indigenization includes three aspects: first, to transform foreign methodology, ideas, and management systems to suit the needs of Chinese society; second, to make sure that the skills of the local Chinese are maximally utilized in the fields of public administration and teaching; and third, to ensure all other services fulfill the needs of China and Chinese society. In the case of WCUU, Lincoln Zhang's indigenization plan was to guarantee that the needs of Chinese society were served by the Chinese and for the Chinese.

Lincoln Zhang's efforts toward the University indigenization were well articulated in his three university development plans.

In 1927-1928, 1936, and 1946, Lincoln Zhang engineered three separate WCUU development plans respectively. Although each plan focused on different aspects of social and political situations at the time, the common aim of the three development plans was to transform WCUU into a university where the Chinese played leading roles in teaching and administration, and to prioritize the needs of Chinese society while developing the University.

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[76] The number comes from the Christian China Associated Education Board, *The Statistics of Christian Colleges in China*. Li Chucai, *The Evidence of the Imperialist Countries' Chinese Educational Invasion—Christian Education* (Beijing: Education and Science Publishing House, 1987). 17. 李楚材, [帝国主义侵华教育史资料——教会教育], 北京: 教育科学出版社, 1987 年.

In 1927, WCUU was essentially a Christian University administrated and staffed by missionaries. At the time, anti-imperialism, anti-foreignism, and anti-Christian sentiment was high in Chinese society. With the University's survival in mind, Lincoln Zhang implemented major reforms by registering the University with the Republic government, hiring Chinese instructors, and increasing program spaces in order to accept a greater number of female students. By 1936, Lincoln Zhang had held the top administrative jobs at WCUU for about nine years. Both the nation and the University had experienced a time of development in relative peace. At this time, Zhang set his sights on executing his second plan for university improvement, which focused on strengthening a Chinese centralized administration, seeking domestic financial resources in order to shed dependence on foreign funds, and increasing the quality of teaching and learning. In 1946, at end of the anti-Japanese war, and after ten years of diligent efforts to transform WCUU into a comprehensive university, Lincoln Zhang had come to believe that WCUU could and should be an essential part of China's reconstruction. This was the aim of his third and final plan for the University's advancement.

Zhang's plans presented a clear and comprehensive picture of the school's indigenization process. First, he had ensured that the University operated under the Chinese government's jurisdiction; second, he prioritized the consolidation of Chinese leadership on campus and the expansion of Chinese society's financial support to the school, and finally, he articulated ways in which the University should play an essential role in the nation's post-war reconstruction.

Lincoln Zhang and his colleagues fought every step of the way to indigenize the school. In his first university development plan as presented in 1928, Lincoln Zhang questioned the Board of Governors about the aims of the University, "Should it exist for the welfare of the young people of West China as a whole, or simply for training our own (church) workers? Should it mould its policy to accord with the present need and situation in China, or simply copy Western institution?"[77] He was implying to the mission boards and missionaries that their educational aims and methods were too narrow-minded. Before coming up with the second university development plan in

[77] Lincoln Zhang, "Vice-President Report for the Year of 1927-1928", July 1928. UBCHEA RG 011-272-4329.

1936, Lincoln Zhang and the Policy Committee made a thorough reflection on and examination of the University administrative system. He pointed out that each denominational mission's "tendencies to independence and individualism" decreased the efficiency of the school's administrative management, which, he argued, "has not kept pace with the growth of the University."[78] Therefore, a Chinese-centered central leadership was necessary for the healthy growth of the University. The third development plan in 1946 resulted from Zhang's direct confrontation with and resistance against the Associated Boards' own Postwar Planning. Zhang fought to free the University, unfetter it from the control of the mission boards and ensure that the school focused on serving the needs of the nation.

Disappointingly, the Board of Governors' and Associated Boards' reactions toward each proposal for university development were of nearly identical indifference. They acknowledged reception of the proposal documents but gave no responses, made no comments, offered no opinions, and provided no recommendations. They guarded their power and privilege tightly and gave no encouragement to Chinese Christians' efforts for indigenization.

The initiatives towards indigenization, in the faculty contingent in particular, nonetheless brought substantial changes at the Christian Colleges. After registration with the government, most universities switched their language of instruction from English to Chinese.[79] With more Chinese taking instructor positions, the universities' operations became more stable because missionary furloughs no longer entailed interruptions to teaching and learning. In 1940, for example, WCUU had 133 total full-time faculty members, and of those 106 were Chinese, and only 27 Westerners. The Chinese held almost 80 per cent of the teaching positions, and their number kept increasing in the following years. In 1944 the number of Chinese faculty became 217, and they occupied more than 90 per cent of the teaching and research positions.[80] In 1949, the University had 263 faculty members (including deans and department chairs),

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[78] "West China Union University Policy Committee Report." 1936. UBCHEA RG 011-277-4380. 511.

[79] Not every university changed their teaching language from English to Chinese. For instance, St. Johns University in Shanghai didn't change its English teaching tradition, and it was the last one to register with the Chinese government in 1947. Its first Chinese president took the position only in 1941, also the very last one.

[80] *History of Sichuan University-West China Union University:1910-1949.* 159-160.

of whom 233 were Chinese and 30 foreigners; with 129 staff, including 123 Chinese and 6 foreigners.[81]

Over the same period, the quality of mission universities improved significantly. Most universities reviewed their standards and started hiring higher-quality faculty. Missionaries without adequate credentials either upgraded their studies or procured their PhD during their furloughs, and in 1948, among about 250 Chinese faculty members at WCUU, more then 100 had either Ph.D. degree or intensive training from overseas universities.[82] In North America and Europe, universities were accepting Chinese students who had graduated from Christian colleges without questioning their quality and standards.

In addition, the Christian colleges expanded their curricula rapidly from the 1930s. For instance, WCUU upgraded from three departments in 1927 to three colleges, offering courses in liberal arts, science, medicine, agriculture, education, philosophy, and public health. In 1946 WCUU had more than 20 research institutes and published more than 40 academic journals. In 1949, the College of Liberal Arts alone had 728 students and eight departments; there were departments of Education, Rural Construction, Sociology, Philosophy, History, Economy, Chinese Language and Literature, and Foreign Language and Literature.[83] With Lincoln Zhang's strong promotion, the Chinese Cultural Study Research Institute brought many ground-breaking results that enriched the field of Chinese Cultural Studies.

All these significant developments followed from Chinese Christian educators taking over leadership positions in the higher education institutions.

From the above we can conclude that the Chinese educators were not only a motivated and extremely active force in the building of Christian educational institutions. They were also an indispensable and decisive part of modernizing China's educational system.

Those Chinese Christian leaders' educational efforts had significant clout on the Chinese society and brought positive social changes. This started with the universities accepting large numbers of female students. In 1909 when Canadian Woman's

[81] *WCUU Journal,* no.1 (1949): 9.
[82] Ibid.
[83] Ibid. , 145.

Missionary Society proposed to have a cooperative educational program with WCUU, members of the Board of Governors "expressed a wish that if a college for women were started, it would be at least a mile away from the University."[84] They didn't want to have anything to do with women and their educational efforts. In 1928, Lincoln Zhang decided to accept 50 female students at WCUU. In 1930, the College of Dentistry had six women and 30 men; in 1948 the female students number increased to 31, and the male students' number was 45. At the Department of Pharmacy there were six female and 13 male students in 1933; in 1948, the student number became 79 female and 96 male.[85]

During his presidency, Lincoln Zhang criticized the traditional Chinese social structure that made women suffer tragically and tried to change the destinies of women as laid down by traditional dogma and social practice. He considered education to be the best way to free women from the social shackles that made women be treated as the inferior gender; he trusted women could accomplish their full potential to bring great contributions to Chinese society. Based on this belief, he was certain that the responsibility of the institution was to help women to become professionals and leaders in a modern Chinese society.[86]

Believing that the aim of women's education was not only "producing professional doctors and teachers," but "leaders and workers in every kind of service for the welfare of the society,"[87] he hoped China would not only usher in the first generation of women scholars, doctors, and teachers, but would also change the traditional concept of women as subservient. The medical and engineering students from mission schools brought substantial support to the war against the Japanese. The contributions of women to Chinese society, especially in fields like education, rural construction, and women's liberation, were beyond the reach of Christian missionaries. As one Canadian educational missionary put it, the efforts at WCUU towards women's

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[84] Walmsley, *West China Union University,* 81.

[85] Dr. Edwin N. Meuser, "General Historical Data Regarding the Work of Edwin N. Meuser as Overseas Missionary-Pharmacist to West China, 1909-1950", Meuser family archives.

[86] Lincoln Zhang, "West China Union University, 1910-1939—the President's Forward". UBCHEA RG 011-297-4625. P. 28-31

[87] Ibid. , 29.

education "contributed inestimably to the enrichment of Chinese womanhood and to society in general."[88]

As it happened, the Chinese Christian educators simply proved better equipped than their missionary counterparts for achieving university development. They were strongly motivated to develop Chinese education and bi-cultural learning, with their Chinese and English language abilities, and they had profound understandings of Chinese cultural and social conditions. Most importantly, their patriotic passions gave them a strong desire to introduce what was urgently needed in China, what was advanced in the broader world, and what was scarce in Chinese society into the University. In terms of their educational enthusiasm, they inherited the traditional Chinese intellectual's sense of social duty and responsibility, as well as their missionary counterparts' passion for the educational enterprise. Harbouring dreams of building a strong China, they steered the Christian colleges in the direction of China's modernization. They were on a mission to establish a modern Chinese educational system. They were determined to make the Christian universities a base for training new generations of Chinese for a modern China.

The strengthening of comprehensive education often came at the cost of weakening evangelization because it promoted independent thinking and criticism in ways that fostered secularization.

Lincoln Zhang in particular worked to shift WCUU's mission from teaching religion to scientific and academic learning. He transformed WCUU from a Protestant Christian College aimed at promoting evangelistic Chinese leaders into a modern, academically oriented educational institution to train the Chinese young people to be the leaders of a modern China. Like a number of his counterparts in other similar institutions, he changed the aim of WCUU from Christianizing China to advancing a mission to meet the needs of China and Chinese society. In this, he and his counterparts were part of the Christian secularization process.

This study results from an intensive archival research, both public and private. The United Church of Canada Archives and the Yale University Library Divinity Archives provide rich primary documents for this study. The descendants of Dr. Lincoln

[88] Walmsley, *West China Union University,* 85.

Zhang and Canadian missionaries in China, and Canadian scholars are generously allowing me to use their private archives. Unfortunately, some Chinese archives, which preserve Lincoln Zhang documents, have denied my request for access.

Summary of Each Chapter

This study is divided into nine chapters. Chapter one details Lincoln Zhang's early life from 1890 to 1926, including his family background, how his desire to learn led him to obtain a Christian education, and how he obtained his Bachelor's and Master's degrees at a Christian college in China and at Northwest University in the United States. When Zhang left his village to study at the Christian school, he also left behind a way of life that had been carried out by ordinary Chinese individuals for centuries. The departure from his village was the first step in altering his social mobility and personal identity. He became a pioneer of a new China, ushering in an era where young Chinese explored new ideas for the nation – ones based on Western learning, science, and a spirit of freedom and democracy, rather than Confucian values focused on centralized governance and strict social hierarchies.

Chapter two describes the drastically changing political and social events that impacted the Christian missionaries' work in West China from 1927 to 1930. The Wanxian Incident triggered a mass missionary evacuation from Sichuan and pushed West China Union University to the brink of closing its doors. Lincoln Zhang was called in to assume the position of Vice-president in order to keep the University open. In such a challenging situation, Lincoln Zhang demonstrated his leadership abilities by hiring WCUU graduates as instructors, proposing to register the University with the Chinese government, and accepting a large number of female students. His Vice-presidential report to the Board of Governors was his first blueprint for WCUU indigenization.

Chapter three explores the motivation behind Lincoln Zhang's determination to face several challenging situations from 1931 to 1933. In the early 1930s, anti-imperialist, anti-foreign and anti-Christian movements swept across China, and Chengdu was no exception. With WCUU weathering the storm in Sichuan, for a time Lincoln Zhang became a major target of nationalist and anti-foreign sentiment. Still, he

chose to not only dutifully perform his job, but also enable WCUU to be an integral part of the community.

Chapter four examines Lincoln Zhang's efforts for self-improvement and his pursuit of increased academic standards at WCUU from 1933 to July 1937. Taking advantage of his sabbatical, Zhang earned his PhD degree in Sociology at Drew University, with a dissertation that represented his ambition to adopt American methods to make changes in West China society. He hoped to encourage students to understand social problems systematically and to transform WCUU into a Chinese institution that was firmly rooted in modern education. During these pivotal years, Zhang's growth enabled him to set forth on a personal mission to serve the Chinese people and society. During this time, he also gathered at WCUU the most capable minds he could find to engineer his second roadmap of the University's advancement for the next ten-year period.

Chapter five reveals how Lincoln Zhang reduced the school's financial dependency on the Associated Boards based in New York, and led the University through the most challenging time in modern Chinese history, from late 1937 to 1945. During this time, the war against the Japanese took an iron hold of the nation, five refugee universities along with their students and staff crowded the halls of WCUU, and out-of-control inflation threatened everyone's lives and livelihoods. In the most difficult of times, while prioritizing fundraising domestically, Zhang pushed the mission educational board into a fundraising role for the University's development. In addition, he worked together with leaders of guest universities to provide innovative and efficient ways to educate Chinese youth despite wartime conditions.

Chapter six details the accomplishments of WCUU under Lincoln Zhang's leadership during the war against the Japanese. With deep funding cuts ordered by the foreign mission boards and university oversight bodies, as well as extremely crowded living conditions on campus, and out of control inflation, Lincoln Zhang exhausted all avenues to improve the living conditions for faculty, promote faculty advancement and indigenization, and expand programs to meet the wartime needs of the nation, and built a solid foundation to make WCUU a comprehensive university.

Chapter seven looks into two causes that Lincoln Zhang spared no effort to support: women's education and Chinese Cultural Studies. He believed that educated women not only could be doctors and university professors, but also were capable of bringing positive social and political changes throughout Chinese society. While he was dedicated to advancing women's education and career development, Lincoln Zhang likewise fought hard to gear up the Chinese Cultural Studies program. Despite limited funds withheld by the Associated Boards members, and severe, unhelpful micromanagement from the Harvard-Yenching Institute, Lincoln Zhang was able to expand the Chinese Cultural Studies program as part of his plan to sinicize the university teaching and curriculums.

Chapter eight explores the causes of irreconcilable disagreements between Lincoln Zhang's postwar university development plan and the Associated Boards' aims to reinforce the school's Christian spirit by regaining administrative and faculty control by missionaries. This chapter exposes the constant battles between the two parties to achieve their opposing educational aims. Where Christian missionaries were determined to build a Christianized China, Chinese educators dreamed of a modernized China.

Chapter nine investigates the last years of Lincoln Zhang's life from 1947 to 1955. Disappointed at the Nationalist Government's impotence and corruption, Zhang quit his post as the President of the University and took on leadership of Carsun Zhang's Social Democratic Party in Sichuan province. This political stance would incite the ire of the Communist government, ultimately leading to Zhang's arrest in 1951 and his death in jail in 1955, at the age of 65. This chapter also explores some of the complexity surrounding Lincoln Zhang's tragic death.

This biographical case study examines the efforts of a prominent individual Chinese Christian, Lincoln Zhang to build a modern Chinese educational institution and thereby contribute to the nation's reconstruction. It contributes to the broader argument that it was Chinese Christian educators, not solely Christian missionaries, who played the decisive role in the modern Christian institution of higher learning in China in the early 20th century. The efforts of such Chinese Christians brought about the transformation in Christian colleges from religious teaching to academic learning, and

from foreign domination to Chinese ascendancy in decision-making and teaching. They also led the way in applying Western methods to serve China's modernization.

Employing primary materials from various archives, this study is the first thorough examination of the first Chinese President of West China Union University, a Christian missionary college. It encompasses Dr. Lincoln Zhang's life, his commitment to build a modern Chinese university, and the impact on him of the times and society in which he lived.

Through applying a historiography stressing on agency, this study explores Lincoln Zhang's intentions and actions to illustrate the motivations behind his educational initiatives. From the perspective of cross-cultural studies, it demonstrates that cultural encounters between China and the West in the first half of the 20th century resulted not only in conflicts but also in cultural stimulation and infusion, even in a rapidly changing society caught up in a vortex of international tensions.

While this study shows the ways in which his life reflects the changes of Chinese society, its main focus is the examination of the life of a single prominent Chinese Christian intellectual and the political and cultural impact of his contribution to China's educational modernization.

Chapter One: Zhang Linggao and the West China Union University Before 1927

Introduction

The turn of the 20th century brought about tremendous change and transformation to China and the world. The Sino-Japanese war in 1894-5 served as a painful reality check to educated and young Chinese about the extreme influence of Western society and thought. The consequences of the Boxer Uprising in 1900 reinforced anguish in the younger generation about the vulnerabilities of the Qing court and elicited mixed feelings toward Western powers. The fall of the Qing dynasty in 1911, the arrival of the First World War in 1914, and the shock of the May Fourth Movement in 1919 changed Chinese society forever.

At the time, Lincoln Zhang had just entered his schooling years, and the Christian missionaries' educational efforts were growing exponentially. In 1899, Sichuan province had established 31 mission elementary schools with 806 students; in 1907, the number of schools increased to 173, and the number of students to 3316.[89]

Lincoln Zhang's exposure to Christian education transformed him from a village boy into a local Chinese Christian leader and a determined educator. When West China Union University was about to be shut down due to a mass missionary evacuation in late 1926, Lincoln Zhang was called to help the institution weather the storm. Thus began his decades-long attempts to indigenize, secularize, and modernize this Christian educational institution.

This chapter details the early life of Lincoln Zhang from 1890 to 1927 and evokes a drastically changing Chinese society.

Early Years and Mission School Studies

89. Sichuan Provincial Office of Religious History, ed., *Christianity in Sichuan* (Chengdu: Bashu Publishing House, 1992). 四川省宗教志办公室，【四川基督教】巴蜀书社，成都，1992.

Zhang Linggao[90] was born on February 21, 1890[91] in Stone Bridge Village 石楜桥乡 in Bishan County 璧山, Sichuan Province to a peasant family. During this time churches and schools had already been erected by the American Methodist Episcopal Mission. The Zhangs were not exactly poor since his father owned a tiny shop for silver and gold crafting and repair. When Linggao was seven years old, the family was able to send him to a private school in the village[92] to study classical Chinese. After he turned 10 his father started making career plans for his only child. The best path he could come up with was to train him to be a skilled silver and gold craftsman to carry on his business, so Zhang Linggao became his father's apprentice. A quick learner, within three years, Linggao had completed his apprenticeship and was able to work as a jewellery craftsman independently. However, Linggao was more attracted to a life of learning and studying. He tried to convince his parents to let him go back to school. Eventually his mother convinced his father to allow him to study at a mission school that offered free tuition.

Information about Linggao's early life is scarce, but surviving records and anecdotes indicate that he was a bright boy and an eloquent and persuasive speaker. According to family records, when Linggao was about 13 years old, a woman who usually went to the Zhang family to fetch food waste and fruit peels died suddenly. The woman's family blamed Linggao's father for her death and sued him in county court. Young Linggao went to the court to defend his father. He was calm, steady and eloquent; his speech was clear, methodical and convincing.[93] He won his father's acquittal.

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[90] It is important to note that the spelling of Dr. Zhang Linggao's name varies due according to the English transliteration system used. He is also referred to as Dsang Lin Gao, Chang Lin Kao, Zhang Lin Gao, Lincoln Chang, Lincoln Djang, Lincoln Dzang, and Lincoln Dsang. Lincoln Dsang was the most common spelling in the missionaries' writing. Dr. Zhang Linggao spelled his own name as Lincoln Dsang. His name in Mandarin is: □凌高, Zhang Linggao in Pinyin.

[91] Almost all documents give Lincoln Zhang's birth date as Feb.21st, 1890. The exception is the Sichuan Supreme Court issued a new criminal verdict (86), Criminal No.219, issued on March 28, 1986, which gives Zhang's birth date as 1889. This dissertation follows Zhang's birth date on the other official documents, including the family records.

[92] The Chinese traditional private school is a kind of folk preschool education institution run by family, clan or village in ancient Chinese society. It centered on Confucianism, and an was important part of private learning.

[93] Dr. Ruth Zhang (Zhang Junru 张君儒) and Dr. Stephen Yang (Yang Zhenhua 杨振华). "The Life of the President of The West China Union University Zhang Linggao"华西协合大学张凌高校长生平. Zhang family archives. Dr. Ruth Zhang is the eldest daughter of Zhang Linggao, and Dr. Stephen Yang his son-in-law. Both Dr. Ruth Zhang and Dr. Zhenhua Yang graduated from and taught at WCUU from the 1930s until their retirement in 1980s. Thanks to Mr. Yang Guangxi, Ms. Yang Guangyu, and Yang Guangli the grandchildren of Zhang Linggao, who kindly provided family documents to support my research.

Linggao's court performance was observed by an American Methodist Episcopal missionary who approached his parents and recommended that he be sent to study at the mission's Boys' Middle School in Bishan. Recognizing his potential, the same missionary, who happened to be the principal of the Boys' Middle School, recommended that Zhang Linggao continue his studies at the American Methodist Episcopal Chongqing Qiujing Boys' High School 重庆求精男子中学.[94]

In August of 1908, Linggao moved to Chongqing, the biggest city in the province, which was 134.6 kilometers away from his hometown. With the passing of his father, the family had lost its primary source of income, but the American Methodist Episcopal Missions (M.E.M.) sponsored Zhang's studies in Bishan and Chongqing as well. He cherished these opportunities and expressed his gratitude by studying hard and becoming devoted to Christianity.[95]

At the mission schools, Zhang learned about Western culture, science, history and Bible studies. The primary language of instruction was English, and the people he associated with were foreigners. As a result, his life became dramatically different from that of his country fellows. He was still in China, but lived 134 kilometers away from home; the lessons he learned were foreign and dramatically different from those that followed the traditional Chinese culture and social practices that he was familiar with. Through studying history, he developed a deep admiration for the 16th American President Abraham Lincoln's leadership and personality. Abraham Lincoln's embrace of the Declaration of Independence, with its emphasis on equality, freedom, tradition, liberty, and uniting the nation through a belief in human equality was drastically alien to the culture that Zhang was familiar with. He was fascinated by Lincoln's life and ideas,

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[94] Information about the early life of Zhang Linggao comes from Mr. Liu Gang: "Zhang Linggao: the First Chinese President of the West China Union University", in *The Biographies of the Outstanding Cultural figures of Modern Sichuan*. Ed. Cultural and Historical Materials Committee of Sichuan Provincial Political Consultative Conference. Chengdu: (Sichuan People's Publishing House, 1995), 453-454. Also Sichuan Provincial Office of Religion. Ed. *Christianity in Sichuan*. (Chengdu: Bashu Books, 1992), 579-580.

[95] Dr. Joseph Beech, a missionary of American Methodist Episcopal Missions (M.E.M), the first President of The West China Union University was the Principal of the Chongqing Qiujing Boys' High School from 1900 to November 1904. Zhang Linggao might have met Dr. Beech when he studied in the high school. If not, their paths crossed 10 years later when Dr. Beech was the President of WCUU and Zhang was a student studying at the same University. Since in 1914 the University admitted only about 10 students, there is a good chance Dr. Beech and Zhang would get to know each other pretty well. Plus, both Zhang and Dr. Beech belonged to M.E.M, which was a small community in Sichuan in the early 1900s. However, Dr. Beech's grandson believed that Beech met Zhang when he was a boy.

which led him to choose Lincoln as his English name. His admiration for Lincoln lasted his lifetime.[96]

For Zhang, living in a big city had its benefits, such as knowledge-sharing and efficient communication. Using these avenues, he absorbed the new information like a sponge. His association with missionaries and growing knowledge of Western culture enabled him to pay close attention to new ideas that entered China, especially in big cities like Beijing and Shanghai. The news of the Wuchang Uprising and the overthrowing of the Qing Dynasty filled him with excitement.[97] He had his queue cut immediately, and became one of the first to do so in Chongqing.

Following his example, all Chinese students and teachers at Qiujing High School had their queues cut.[98]

Zhang believed that China was on a journey toward modernization, and he wanted to be part of it. His biographers wrote that high school learning and teaching

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[96] There is no definite record about when Zhang Linggao adopted Lincoln as his English name. From existing documents, I speculate that Zhang Linggao used Lincoln as his English name when he studied at Northwestern University in Evanston, Illinois, USA in 1920. The very first time his English name appeared on an official or public document was in "*The Chinese Student Monthly*" in October 1921 at Northwestern University. This was a newspaper published by Chinese students who studied at the university. On reporting about the Northwestern Chinese student election, it says, "Now comes the mentioning of the election of officers for the year 1921-1922 and the celebration of our tenth anniversary: of the birthday of the Republic of China on the evening of the Tenth of October. The result of the election came out as follows: President, Daniel C.T. Tung, Vice-President, Miss Anna Lan, Recording Secretary, T. R. Hsleb, Corresponding Secretary, Livingston S. Y. Hu, and Treasurer, Lincoln Dsang." But back home his English name was not used consistently in the early 1920s, even by himself. In *History of the West China Union University: 1910-1935*, Mr. Joseph Taylor wrote, "In 1921, the Senate gave authorization, according to the Constitution, to the Convocation to elect two of its number to membership in the Senate. In 1922, the Convocation held its election in which Rev. Fuh Hai Yuin and Rev. Dsang Lin Gao were appointed to represent it on the Senate." (p. 43). Joseph Taylor addressed him by his Chinese name. In Dec. 3rd, 1926, Dr. Joseph Beech wrote to James Endicott, the General Secretary of Foreign Missions of Canada, to state that on November 4th and 18th, 1926, the Senator Committee of WCUU in Minute 1985 resolved that the committee was "asking for the appointment of the Reverend Lincoln Dsang. He is considered to be the most able Chinese we have in West China and we shall be very happy indeed if we can secure him. There are indications that we can do so." (The United Church Archives of Canada, 83.047C Box16, file1). This is the first time Zhang Linggao was addressed by his English name in China. From 1927 most documents refer to Zhang Linggao as Lincoln Dsang. In a letter to the mission board on March 8th, 1927, Zhang Linggao signed his name as Chang Lin Gao (The United Church Archives of Canada, 83.047C Box16, file 2). In a letter to the Board Members of the West China Union University on October 8th, 1933, Zhang signed his name as Lincoln L. G. Dsang (The United Church Archives of Canada, 83.047C Box16, file27). In most Chinese documents Zhang Linggao simply signed his name in Chinese characters as □凌高 [Zhang Linggao], but when communicating with English-speaking people, he used the name Lincoln Dsang.

[97] The Wuchang Uprising was a local armies' rebellion against the Qing Court between October 10th and December 1st, 1911, in Wuchang, one of the three cities that would be combined to form Wuhan city in 1927. This uprising directly resulted in the overthrow of the Qing government and the establishment of the Republic of China.

[98] Drs. Ruth Zhang and Stephen Yang, "The Life of the President of West China Union University Zhang Linggao". In the Qing dynasty, men had their hair in queue style, which were generally considered a physical sign of loyalty to the Qing Government.

experiences made him think, "Education is essential for building a strong nation. He was determined to make education his career."[99]

In the summer of 1911, Zhang graduated at the top of his class from Qiujing Boys High School.[100] Since the M.E.M paid for his tuition fees, after graduation he was obliged to provide 3 years of service to the mission. He was appointed by the M.E.M. as a Principal for a mission's Boys School in Yongchuan 永川, a county 75 km away from Chongqing. He was devoted to his job and won the respect of his students, their parents and his colleagues. His performance impressed M.E.M. greatly; one year later, he was called back by Qiujing High School in Chongqing for a teaching position.

Zhang's work as a high school teacher and a Christian missionary assistant was appreciated by M.E.M. In August 1914, Zhang was recommended to study theology at the newly established West China Union University (WCUU), sponsored by the American Methodist Episcopal Mission as a promising local Chinese Christian church leader.[101]

Zhang Linggao later expressed his gratitude to the M.E.M. for providing him with the learning opportunity. He especially appreciated that such a well-organized community could do so much to empower powerless individuals. As he put it in 1932,

While I was studying and later teaching in the Chungking high school, the first modern school in West China established by the Methodist Church, I realized that individuals depend largely upon the opportunities presented and that success or failure of each individual is largely the responsibility of society or the community. The

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[99] Drs. Ruth Zhang and Stephen Yang, "The Life of the President of West China Union University Zhang Linggao"

[100] There are different dates about the time of Zhang Linggao's graduation from the M. E. M. Chongqing Qiujing Boys' High School. Mr. Liu Gang in his article "Zhang Linggao: the First Chinese President of the West China Union University" suggests that Zhang graduated in 1909; the book, *Christianity in Sichuan*, by Sichuan Provincial Office of Religion (Bashu Publishing House, 1992) states Zhang graduated in 1912. In "The Life of the President of West China Union University Zhang Linggao" Dr. Ruth Zhang and Dr. Stephen Yang suggested that Zhang Linggao graduated from the Qiujing Boys High School in 1911.

[101] There are two accounts about Zhang Linggao's study at the West China Union University. In his article mentioned above, Liu Gang suggests that Zhang passed the entrance examinations to get into WCUU; but in the book *Christianity in Sichuan* the Sichuan Provincial Office of Religion group argues that Zhang was carefully selected and sent to the University to study. I have not found documents giving information about the entrance examination standards in 1914, but from the statements of the missions and aims of WCUU, Zhang was probably sent to the University to study by M.E.M. Before 1930, most WCUU students were Christians coming from converted Christian families, and the purpose for sending them to the University was to spread Christian ideas and educate qualified Chinese Church leaders. In his book, *History of the West China Union University: 1919-1935*, Taylor emphasized the importance of ideas, "Ideas are like smallpox in that they spread. Ideas are primal. They also are possessed of great force and thus are able to propagate themselves. There is no truer work in Holy Writ…" Then he pointed out the aim of the newly established educational institute, "the object of the University shall be the advancement of the Kingdom of God, by means of higher education in West China under Christian auspices." Taylor, *History of the West China Union University: 1919-1935*, 16.

majority of the graduates of that institution who now occupy important social positions in West China have only attained their present position because of the opportunity offered them by the institution.[102]

At WCUU Zhang Linggao demonstrated his ability as a natural leader. In 1919, the eruption of the May Fourth Movement prompted him to organize WCUU students to boycott classes and participate in street demonstrations to express support for the nation-wide students' movement in major cities like Beijing and Shanghai. The WCUU authorities and instructors were annoyed by the students' strike and tried to stop the demonstrations. Zhang Linggao represented the students in negotiating with school authorities.[103] He compared the May Fourth Movement to the American War of Independence, arguing that when the Chinese could voice their opinions, they were on the way to national self-strengthening and independence. If the Chinese didn't demonstrate their patriotism for their own nation, there wouldn't be any hope for the country. Zhang and the students eventually participated in the anti-Western demonstration.[104]

The program of theological studies was designed for 6 years; Zhang finished his studies in 5 years.[105] In July 1919, he graduated from WCUU[106] and was assigned as a deputy pastor in Zizhong County, 153 km away from Chengdu.

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[102] Lincoln Zhang, *An Adaptation of American Welfare Methods to West China* (Drew. A 211764, Drew University Archives, 1934), 6-7.

[103] Several Chinese articles claim that Zhang Linggao had a confrontation with the University President Dr. Beech. My research indicates that during the May Fourth Movement 1919, Dr. Beech was not in Chengdu or in China. On October 10, 1918, the University Senate Minutes item number 847 wrote, "The President Beech takes leave." On December 4, 1919, the Senate Minutes item number 975 indicated that Dr. Beech worked hard in the States to attract donations for the University. Also the correspondence between Beech and Dr. James Yead clearly states that all letters from Beech to Yead were sent from Beech's U.S. resident (UBCHEA RG 011-275-4361). If Zhang Linggao represented the students in negotiating with the school authorities regarding holding WCUU student demonstrations to support the nation-wide anti-imperialist movement, the University authority would likely have been the Vice- president, Mr. Harry T. Silcock, a missionary from the British Religious Society of Friends. In Mr. Silcock's "Tenth Annual Report of the University to the Board of Governors" dated July 5th, 1919, he mentioned the impact of the student movement on the university. "Another unusual feature that must be reported is the unrest among the student body throughout China with regard to Japan and Tsing Tao question. The spring term ended in storm and cloud, not only in the country as a whole, but in our own institution also. However, here as least the storm would seem to have passed, for the summer conference of the Y.M.C.A. has been held and the summer school of the University has now opened and there has been no further trouble of unrest or ill feeling. To ignore the situation and to over-emphasize it would equally be a mistake." Yale University Library Divinity Archives Digital Collections of the United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia (UBCHEA) GR-11-276-4366.

[104] Ruth Zhang and Stephen Yang, 2-3. I am aware that some times family documents may show a tendency towards self-congratulation, and some documents have been written under political pressures from the Communist government. However, other documents also record Zhang's role in the May Fourth student activities at WCUU. I haven't located any material related to this event from church records. By the same token, sometimes, missionaries also wrote cherry-picking reports.

[105] The reasons Zhang Linggao finished his studies in five instead of six years was probably because he already had work experience at mission stations. Alternatively, since the M. E. M. paid Zhang's tuition fees for his studies, it may

Zhang didn't stay in Zizhong long; the M.E.M. missionaries and board members recognized his great potential soon after he started his evangelical work in the mission station. After Zhang had worked six months in Zizhong, Mr. W. M. Crawford, an American Methodist Episcopal missionary, wrote to Dr. North, "We elected Dr. Beech for our representative to the General Conference. The lay-delegate is Dsang Lin-gao, one of our best Chinese. He speaks poor English."[107]

In late February of 1920, Zhang left Sichuan. On April 1st, Zhang, along with three other Chinese delegates, Dr. Hu Qibing (Hu Chi-ping) 胡其炳[108] a minister-delegate from Jiujiang, Chen Chao-ming, a professor in the Methodist Women's College at Foochow; Lin Li-chuan, a graduate of the Anglo-Chinese College at Foochow, took the S. S. Empress of Japan from Shanghai to Vancouver, and entered the United States at Seattle, Washington in late March. The group of four arrived on April 24th, 1920 to attend the General Conference; they stayed at the Elliott Hotel in Chicago.

Dr. Hu's accompaniment during the trip made Zhang's travels smooth and highly educational. Dr. Hu had studied Theology in Germany and then at Charles City College in Iowa from 1905-1908 in the United States.[109] Later on he became a teacher and headmaster of William Nast College, a Boys School in Jiujiang, Jiangxi province, China. His study and work experiences must have inspired Zhang, motivating and

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have led him to focus on his studies and become a better-equipped priest sooner than other students. On his report on the West China Union University work from 1910 to 1917, the missionary C. R. Carscalien wrote, the total registration figures "do not properly represent the extent of the work of the University, for each year the various Missions take out some of the brightest students and send them out for a year or two to man their schools in their stations and out-stations, so that, in addition to those actually enrolled in the University, there are these men scattered over the province, who have been trained by us and will in many cases come back later to complete their training. Twenty-two of these men are now out serving the Mission as teachers and preachers, or in other forms of Christian services." The Missionary Society of the Methodist Church: *Our West China Mission* (Toronto, 1920), 364. This message also verified the methods of WCUU admissions in the early time that were mainly accepting promising Christian teachers and preachers, whom were recommended to WCUU by each mission. The enterance examination system was introduced later.

106 Most documents indicate Lincoln Zhang earned his Bachelor degree in education; the university Senate Minutes item number 923 on June 5, 1919 records "Djang Lin Gao: Bachelor of Arts in Philosophy." See UBCHEA RG 011-275-4361.

107 W. M. Crawford to Dr. North, Jan. 28th, 1920.

108 Hu Chi-ping 胡其炳 was born in Jiujiang, Jiangxi in1872. He Studied Theology in Germany from1889-93 and graduated with a diploma in 1893. He returned to China and taught at a school in Zhenjiang, from1893-99. From 1899 to 1905, he was a preacher in Jiujiang, Jiangxi province. He arrived in the United States in February1905 to study Theology and Liberal Arts at Charles City College from 1905 to 1908, and gained his B.A. and B.D., in 1908. He was a member of Washingtonian Society. He returned to China in September 1908 and taught at William Nast College, in Jiujiang, from 1908 to 1914, and was acting Headmaster for the Boys School from 1920 until 1927.

109 This Charles City College should not be confused with the private Liberal Arts College that operated from 1967 to 1968 in Charles City, Iowa. The Charles City College that Dr. Hu attended was founded in 1894 by the Methodist Episcopal Church and was absorbed into Morningside College located in Sioux City, Iowa in the 1910s.

encouraging him to seek learning opportunities in the United States after the general conference.

Methodist Episcopal Missionary Society reports spoke highly of Zhang and his work in China. Prior to his arrival, in March 1920, *The Chinese Advocate*, an M.E.M. newspaper, gave an introduction of Zhang with a photo. In the photo, Zhang looked serious and intelligent. The introduction says,

The lay delegate from West China is L.G. Dsang, a graduate of West China Union University and now pastor at Tzechow. Mr. Dsang is claimed as undoubtedly the most brilliant product of the Methodist mission field in West China. He is a rapid-fire speaker and orator of pronounced ability. Anywhere he is placed, he is a leader among his own people.[110]

In the fall of 1920, Zhang enrolled in a Master's program at Northwestern University. Studying at an American university for an advanced degree was not a pre-agreed arrangement between Zhang and the M.E.M, and Mr. Crawford's letter to the Board indicated that his English language ability hadn't properly prepared him for that study.

Zhang probably thought it through and sought advice on this issue from Dr. Hu Chin-ping. Dr. Hu had gone through a three-month intensive language learning experience before he was admitted into a German college. Zhang followed Dr. Hu's experience as a model for his own.

Since Dr. Beech was in the United States and Chicago was his hometown, it is safe to assume that Zhang approached Dr. Beech for support, and that Dr. Beech convinced the Board to provide financial support to Zhang. In any case, M.E.M. members in West China extended Zhang's stay in America. Zhang had to study extremely hard for his English to catch up to that of his peers.

Northwestern University in Evanston, Illinois, 14 miles from Chicago was a private educational institution that had been founded by nine prominent Chicago businessmen, Methodist leaders and attorneys. Although the nine founders, all Methodists, were strongly affiliated with the Methodist Episcopal Church, they

[110] *The Chinese Christian Advocate*, March 1920.

favoured a non-sectarian admissions policy at Northwestern University. The University was open to accepting international students, especially students from China.

In 1921, there were about 40 Chinese students studying at the University. They were mostly mature students with many years of teaching experience in China who were now taking post-graduate studies in their respective fields, such as religion, religious education, law, medicine and dentistry. Most of these students were sent by M.E.M. from China. Of the remainder, "about one-third of the Chinese attendance here is specializing themselves in the following categories of commerce—Foreign Trade, Banking, Business Finance, Business Administration and General Commerce."[111]

In October 1921, the Chinese students at Northwestern celebrated the tenth anniversary of the birth of the Republic of China, and held an election of student officers for the year 1921-1922. The result of the election came out as follows, "President, Daniel C. T. Tung; Vice-president, Miss Anna Lan; Recording Secretary, T. R. Hsieh Corresponding Secretary; Livingston S. Y. Hu; and Treasurer, Lincoln Dsang."[112]

This seems to be the first time Zhang's English name, Lincoln, appeared on a public document. This document clearly indicates that Lincoln Zhang was a natural leader and was always ready to be part of leadership activities, despite the language challenges he faced.

After being away from his home country for two and half years, in the fall of 1922 Zhang returned to China. He was 32 years old and armed with three degrees - one from a foreign school in China, and two from the most powerful country in the world. He had travelled half a world away and worked for and with foreigners; and now he spoke English.

Most of Zhang's contemporaries from his village never had a chance to travel outside their hometown and were barely literate enough to recognize their own names, let alone speak another language. As Zhang later explained, his Christian education

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[111] *The Chinese Students Monthly*, October 1921. Northwestern University Archives.
[112] Ibid.

separated him from his people, also gave him a sense that he had to help and support them.[113]

He was assigned to his old station Zizhong with more responsibility. Zizhong was a geographical location where constant warlords' and bandits' conflicts took place in the 1920s.

As soon as Zhang Linggao arrived there as pastor, his preaching attracted big audiences. People from all walks of life came to hear him, for the way he spoke was accessible, easy-to-understand, and entertaining. The M.E.M. handed over management of the mission property to him, which involved handling the administrative work of running the schools and the hospital.

Lincoln Zhang made education his priority. He allocated most of his time to running school businesses. He took the position of Principal of the Jinde Girls' School 进德女子学校,[114] teaching at two other mission schools, and worked for free at the Panshi Public High School 磐石中学 as an English teacher. He also tried to connect with local people to raise money to expand and improve programs at kindergartens and schools.

Zhang's work in Zizhong was highlighted by his efforts to protect and empower women, which impressed both missionaries and local people.

He established a school for illiterate adult Christian women so they could learn to read and write. He created knitting and embroidery programs to attract illiterate women to come to Bible study. Those women used their newly learned knitting skills to make pocket money. These programs gained support from their conservative family members, especially mothers-in-law and husbands. His methods attracted more than one hundred women to the Bible study classes and school in its heyday.

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[113] Lincoln Zhang, *An Adaptation of American Welfare Methods to West China* (New York: Drew University): 6-7.

[114] The Jinde Girls' School was established by American Methodist Epsicopal Missionary Miss Alice B. Brethorst in 1916. Miss Brethorst was sent by The Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopla Church. She worked in China from 1906 to 1939 until she retired from her mission work. The school registered with the Guomindang national government in 1929. In 1951 it started accepting male students when the national Chinese Communist government took over. In the Zizhong County's journal of education, the principals of the Jinde Girls' School were given as: Ethel Householder, Zhu Jufen 朱菊芬, Liu Huacheng 刘华成, He Tingguang 何廷光, Tan Suyun 谭素云, Luo Guizhi 罗桂芝, Huang Qianmin 黄乾敏, Hong Daying 洪达瑛, Gu Chaoqun 顾超群, Xiao Shijie 肖世杰. For some unknown reason, Zhang Linggao's name was not on the list of the school's principals.

Zhang created opportunities and encouraged women to become educated; his strong efforts to protect women from challenging situation made him a local legend. A striking example is that of Miss Jiang Gaodi 蒋高第.[115] When Zhang Linggao was the Principal at the girls' school, Miss Jiang was studying there. Jiang was a child-bride, bought by a family to be their son's future wife right after she was born. After she went to the girl's school, Jiang demonstrated great interest and ability in learning. Alarmed by the happiness and confidence the girl gained from school, the mother-in-law-to-be tried to force Gaodi to quit the school and marry her son immediately. Powerless to fight against her mother-in-law-to-be, out of desperation, Jiang went to principal Zhang for support.

Lincoln Zhang went to talk to the mother-in-law, but had a hard time convincing her to give up the idea of forcing the girl into the marriage. In the end, Zhang himself raised the three hundred silver dollars needed to buy Jiang Gaodi's freedom.[116] She finished her high school education, and with the continuous support of Lincoln Zhang and the missionary society, Jiang Gaodi gained her medical degree from Qilu University medical school.[117]

The freedom Jiang Gaodi gained encouraged another student at the same school. Miss Luo was a very pretty young woman studying at the Jinde Girls' High School, and a local warlord proposed to take her as his concubine. Miss Luo didn't want to marry this man, but her parents were afraid the warlord might take revenge on the girl and her family. In desperation, Miss Luo asked Lincoln Zhang for help.

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[115] Jiang Gaodi, 蒋高第 1906-2005. After she graduated from Jinde Girls' High School from Zizhong, in the fall of 1929, Jiang enrolled in WCUU for the preparatory program of Medicine. She won the 1929 WCUU top award for the preparatory program. In the next spring, for an unknown reason, she was transferred to Qilu University medical school. After she finished her medical school in Shandong, in 1938 because of the Anti-Japanese War, she came back to Chengdu with the Qilu medical department and worked at the WCUU hospital. 1950 she started working at the Chengdu Second Hospital as the head of the Internal Medicine Department until her retirement in 1984. She never married.

[116] In 1924 the monthly spending for a Chinese family of four in the nation's capital city Beijing was estimated to be about 12 silver dollars. It was significantly less in a small county like Zizhong. At the time most missionaries in Chengdu paid their Chinese servant three silver dollars per month.

[117] Mr. Yang Guangxi, the grandson of Dr. Zhang Linggao, provided helpful information about Dr. Jiang Gaodi and verified my research on her. Text message between Mr. Yang Guanxi and Kefen Zhou took place on Dec. 6, 2019, 11: 27 pm Pacific Time.

That put Zhang between a rock and hard place. After many arrangements, Zhang took money out of his own pocket to send Miss Luo to Nanjing to study. She was able to escape from the clutches of the warlord.[118]

Miss. Huang Duanfang 黄端方[119] was born in Zizhong, Sichuan, to a poor family with two older sisters and one older brother. She converted to Christianity in order to access education for free. After finishing elementary school in Zizhong and Girls' high schools in Chengdu, she was assigned by the M. E. M. to teach at various mission schools. In early 1926, she was sent to Jinde Girls School in Zizhong where Lincoln Zhang was the principal of the school. With Zhang's encouragement and recommendation of the M.E.M, Huang enrolled into WCUU as the first female student to study dentistry. She was the first Chinese woman to gain a Ph.D. in dentistry in China.[120]

While working with Lincoln Zhang at the Jinde Girls' High School for two years, Huang Duanfang was impressed with Zhang's management skills. Describing her working experience at the school under Zhang's leadership, Huang said the school

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[118] Liu Gang: "Zhang Linggao: the First Chinese President of the West China Union University," *The Biographies of the Outstanding Cultural figures of Modern Sichuan,* ed. Cultural and Historical Materials Committee of Sichuan Provincial Political Consultative Conference (Chengdu: Sichuan People's Publishing House, 1995), 453-454.

[119] Huang Duanfang 黄端方 1903-1979. Huang was born in Zizhong, Sichuan, to a poor family with two older sisters and one older brother. She converted to Christianity in order to get education for free. After she finished her elementary in Zizhong and Girls' high schools in Chengdu, she was assigned by the M. E. M. to teach at various mission schools. In early 1926, she was sent to Jinde Girls School in Zizhong where Lincoln Zhang was the principal of the school. In September 1928, the M.E.M recommended her to study Dentistry at WCUU. She won the second place of the1929 WCUU award for the preparatory program. Huang graduated in 1936 and was the first Chinese female dentist with a Ph.D. degree. After graduation Huang worked at the Nanjing University Medical School of Dentistry Department. In 1938, Huang returned to WCUU with the Nanjing University. Huang got married in 1939 when she was 35 years old. In 1945, Dr. David Dai, the head of dentistry department recommended Huang's research and inventory of "In Vivo Staining of Dental Tissue"牙组织活体染色 to the ministry of education for Dental Accomplishment Award. She was a good friend of Dr. Jiang Gaodi. 1946 Huang left WCUU in protest after one of her foreign colleagues got $ 10 allowance more than her. She didn't like the unequal treatment. She joined a hospital that was established by her classmates and her own clinic. In 1948 Dr. Huang Tianqi opened a dental department at the Provincial Hospital, Huang Duanfang was invited to be the deputy-head of the dental department. In 1953 Huang Duanfang became the head of the department and she retired from the position in 1972. She passed away in 1979. The biography of Dr. Huang comes from Mr. Chen Zexian, "Uprightness and Integrity: My Mother, Huang Daunfang, the Earliest Female Doctor of Dentistry in China", *History of Chinese Dentistry*, Nov. 14, 2021, 陈泽先，端方正直-母亲：中国最早的牙科女博士之黄端方，【口腔文史】Nov, 14, 2021.

[120] Chen Zexian, "Uprightness and Integrity: My Mother, Huang Daunfang, the Earliest Female Doctor of Dentistry in China," *History of Chinese Dentistry*, Nov. 14 (2021). I am grateful to Mr. Chen for sending me his family collections and allowing me to use his family archives.

authorities gave both Chinese and missionary teachers the opportunity to express their opinions freely. The experience and excitement was unforgettable.[121]

The early 1920s was a turbulent time in China. The warlords presented a tremendous threat to the local people since the central government exerted few, if any, restraints at this time on provincial and county levels. The warlords, small and big, ran rampant in villages, annexing land and bullying people. Located on the vital transportation line between Chengdu and Chongqing, Zizhong was severely afflicted by the local warlords' activities. People lived a life of unbearable fear. Miss Luo and other local people's bitter experiences made Zhang want to find ways to mitigate their fear.

Sometimes, the local church and missionaries could force authorities to provide assistance to the people. Most of the time, though, the local officials were powerless themselves to confront the small warlords. While using the influence of the church and its activities, Lincoln Zhang cultivated a friendly relationship with general Wang Zanxu 王赞绪,[122] trying to win the warlord's support and protection from the harassment of smaller warlords.

Zhang relied on church resources to help the local people. When wars broke out between local warlords, he opened the doors of the church to provide shelter for people who lost their homes. In the late 1920s, the M.E.M. built a hospital in Zizhong but didn't have any Chinese doctors working there. In 1922, only seven Chinese graduates had degrees in medicine from the WCUU, and most of them worked as instructors at the University and as doctors at the Canadian Methodist mission hospital in Chengdu. To address the need for medical care, Zhang procured medical supplies from the church, and tried to secure a Chinese doctor to work at the Hong Ren Hospital in Zizhong. In late 1922, he successfully convinced Dr. Qian Jiahong 钱家鸿 to work at the Hong Ren

[121] Miss. Huang Duanfang WCUU Enrolment Form, September 5th, 1928. Chen Zexian family Archive.

[122] When Lincoln Zhang worked in Zizhong, General Wang Zanxu 王赞绪 led the base troops there. Wang was born in 1886, Xichong, Sichuan. He was a subordinate of General Yang Sen who was known for consistently providing protection for missionaries. In 1927, Wang Zanxu broke with Yang Sen and sought refuge with Chiang Kai-shek. In 1938 he led his troops to fight against the Japanese. In 1949 he led his troops to surrender to the Communist government, leading to the peaceful liberation of Chengdu. In 1957 Wang voiced his opinions against the Anti-Rightist Movement. In late 1960 he tried to cross the Chinese border to Hong Kong, but he was caught and sent back to Chengdu. In protest he carried out a hunger strike against the government treatment and died in prison.

Hospital in Zizhong.[123] The arrival of Dr. Qian with his excellent services brought tremendous benefits to the local people.[124]

Dr. Qian's work in the church, school and contributions to community health and welfare won the trust and support of local people.[125] Zhang recalled those difficult times years later:

> Of the four years, three years were full of civil wars. As there was only one church in the city, this church had to do everything it could possibly do to help the poor and suffering, and protect the city as much as possible. Under such conditions the church was naturally closely correlated with all local agencies and took the lead in every activity for social welfare. Permanent organizations such as the Red Cross, relief agencies, and night schools, and temporary emergency relief bodies were established with the cooperation of the church and the community.[126]

Zhang himself recognized the benefits of the church's cooperation with the local community. When the mission station was able to convince the local government to run community benefit programs together, the results were usually encouraging. Zhang put tremendous effort into coordinating church services with local community organizations. "The result of such cooperation between the church and the community built on and contributed to the very strong friendship of the church and the community, and from that time on all the welfare agencies cooperated with the church."[127] As the local church leader, Zhang's efforts made a considerable difference.

His excellent work in Zizhong was watched closely by the M.E.M. as well by other mission groups, and by different levels of government.[128] As a result, in 1923, Zhang was appointed as a member of WCUU Senate. In late 1926, he "was offered a very promising position by the (Sichuan) military government."[129] While he was contemplating whether or not to accept the position, in November 1926, "an urgent

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[123] Dr. Qian Jiahong 钱家鸿 graduated from WCUU in Medicine in 1921. He was one of the first seven medical students from WCUU.

[124] Liu Gang: "Zhang Linggao: the First Chinese President of the West China Union University".

[125] Ibid.

[126] Lincoln Zhang, *An Adaptation of American Welfare Methods to West China*.

[127] Ibid.

[128] Liu Gang, "Zhang Linggao: the First Chinese President of the West China Union University."

[129] Lincoln Zhang, *An Adaptation of American Welfare Methods to West China*.

invitation" from the Senate Committee of West China Union University (WCUU) arrived in Zizhong. It asked him to take an administrative position at the University.

He declined the offer from WCUU, because "when all the missionaries left there, the church in that city (Zizhong) tried hard to keep him to take general oversight of church and school."[130]

In mid-January of 1927 during the Chinese New Year, several WCUU alumni went to Zizhong to meet Zhang in person; their mission was to persuade him to take the Vice-president position. He finally agreed and arrived in Chengdu in early March 1927.

WCUU would become his home for the next 20 years.

Chengdu is 350 kilometers away from Bishan, Lincoln Zhang's birthplace. Over the next ten years it became the cultural center of Southwest China. Lincoln Zhang played a decisive role in that cultural and intellectual transformation.

In the early 1920s, it took days to travel the 350 kilometers from Bishan to Chengdu since "travelling through the Zigzag Mountain Roads of Sichuan is more difficult than climbing up to Heaven."[131] The journey Lincoln Zhang took from being a student of traditional Classical Chinese to an advocate and administrator of Western modern higher educational institution was more testing and treacherous than the roads that led him from Bishan to Chengdu.

Zhang's desire for learning took him on a different path from most his fellow villagers, and his encounters with the American M.E.M. missionaries provided opportunities for him to navigate new possibilities for himself and his community.

The road ahead of him was filled with great uncertainty, and so was that of his country. On the one hand, he was among the few privileged young people to access such social opportunities, since most Chinese youths were simply struggling to stay alive. On the other hand, his curiosity, bravery, and determination to bring Western practices to China alienated him from others. For many Chinese people in the early days

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[130] Sparling to Arnup, February 28th, 1927. UCCA 83.047C Box 16 File 2.

[131] This stanza comes from the poem, "The Road to Shu is hard" (Shu dao nan 蜀道难) by Li Bai, one of the most famous poets of the Tang dynasty. He exclaims in his poem: "Walking on the narrow paths of Shu Kingdom (Sichuan) is more difficult than climbing up to Heaven!"

of the twentieth century, to associate with and work for foreigners was considered traitorous.

Zhang was a product of his time, but an unusual one. At a time when China was forced open by Western powers and the Qing Court was on its last breath of a long struggle to survive enormous social change and modernization, Zhang embraced Christianity, an invasive culture and belief that was unacceptable to most of Chinese society in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Summoned in a Time of Crisis

The new post as Vice-President for WCUU for Lincoln Zhang was not a normal appointment; he was summoned in a time of crisis.

The second quarter of the Twentieth century saw tremendous turbulence in Chinese society. It included the golden ten years of nation building from 1927 to 1937, the eight years of anti-Japanese War from 1937 to 1945, and the civil war from 1945 to 1949.

The changes of the century's first twenty-five years in Chinese society were massive. The fall of the Qing dynasty was revolutionary, but it incurred and intensified the infighting of the local warlords. The First World War from 1914 to 1918 provided an opportunity for national industries to develop in major Chinese cities like Shanghai, Hangzhou, Tianjin, and Guangzhou, which led the rapid growth of China's first working class. The 1919 May Fourth Movement marked the fledgling growth of modern Chinese intellectual culture and its embrace of Western technologies, cultures and political systems. The Movement aimed to use Western science, industry, and education as well as popular government to save China from foreign humiliation and to build a modern China. The establishment of China's Communist Party in 1921 and its cooperation with the Nationalist Party from 1922 to 1927 united China to fight against imperialist powers, especially Britain and Japan. China was experiencing rapid changes that aligned with the transformation of the international political and geo-political landscapes.

On May 25th, 1925, less than two weeks after the death of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the founding father of the Republic of China, Chinese workers and students in Shanghai protested for the first time in solidarity with a strike on a Japanese-owned cotton mill. On May 30th, the British-led Shanghai municipality and its troops opened fire on the protesters. Young students were among the casualties.

The massacre sparked outrage throughout China. Big cities like Wuhan, Jiujiang, Chongqing, Guangzhou, and Hong Kong organized strikes and demonstrations to protest against the foreign Great Powers. Other Western countries were not exempt from being targeted by the Chinese anti-imperialistic, anti-capitalist, and anti-Christian movement. In the Sichuanese city of Leshan 乐山 (Luchow) there was "an outbreak of violence" in a Canadian Methodist missionary station, where "T[t]he Asiatic Petroleum *go down*, or warehouse, was burned, and at the close of the Christmas service a crowd gathered at the church to demonstrate, breaking glass and lamps, and in other ways, made themselves obnoxious."[132] At WCUU the Chinese students went on strike, as did Chinese teachers. Some students even decided to withdraw from the University.

In early 1926, the ambitious new leader of the Nationalist Party, Chiang Kai-shek, started the Northern Expedition. With the initial support of the Soviet Union and several major Chinese warlords, Chiang Kai-shek was able to unite China, although infighting among various political and military groups constantly put the country on the brink of civil war.

In the midst of the Expedition and continued anti-imperialist actions, the British commercial ship Cockchater on August 29, 1926 sank General Yang Sen's boats on the Yangzi River close to Wanxian 万县, causing the death of 64 local soldiers and the loss of 85 thousand dollars worth of silver. Yang Sen seized the British commercial boats and demanded compensation. When negotiations failed, on September 5th, 1926, the British Consul in Chongqing decided to send their troops and gunboats to Wanxian where they opened fire on Chinese troops and civilians indiscriminately.

[132] Joseph Beech to Joseph Flavelle, January 14th, 1926. The United Church of Canada Archives (UCCA) 83.047C Box16 File 2.

The massacre killed more than 1000 Chinese and destroyed about 2000 shops and buildings, bringing the county to total ruin.[133] Starting from September 6th, demonstrations and protests were held across the entire country. Demands for abolishing the 19th-century unequal treaties, recovering concessions, and retrieving the country's educational sovereignty grew. Anti-Christian and anti-imperialist sentiments spread across the country, a strong indication of the awakening of the ordinary Chinese people's sense of nationalism.

In Chengdu, according to contemporary missionary testimony, "people boycotted the foreigners and university; and servants for the missionaries and foreigners left their work; and there are no foods to be sold to the foreigners."[134] In addition, the students of Christian mission educational institutions were called "running dogs of the foreigners."

Fearing for a possible repeat of the Boxer Uprising tragedy, foreigners started leaving China. The missionaries in Sichuan were urged by the British consul in Chongqing to leave the country as soon as they could.

At the end of September 1926, news of the Wanxian Incident reached Chengdu. WCUU students held meetings on campus to express their support, especially of students' movements in other cities. They issued a petition condemning the Wanxian Massacre, distributed anti-British pamphlets, destroyed the walls of the campus, and demanded to meet the President.

With tensions between students and the school authority high, on October 1st, the WCUU students participated in the protest in Chengdu, and published its manifesto, "Our Attitude to the Wanxian Massacre." The declaration said that stupid Britain was as cruel as wolves and tigers, and students vowed not to share the world with the British. This language irritated British missionaries. On October 4th, University President Dr. Beech called the leaders of the student group to his office to reprimand them. He told them that it was shameful for the students to protest against the University that was providing them with their opportunity to learn. Dr. Beech demanded the students

[133] The number of casualties of the Wanxian Massacre is uncertain. The British believed the civilian death number in Wanxian was about 1000; Chinese statistics indicated that more than 3000 people died in the British attack. For a very long time, another name for Wanxian was Ghost City.

[134] Joseph Taylor, *History of the West China Union University: 1910-1935* (Canadian Mission Press, 1936).

apologize for their anti-foreign and anti-Christian activities. Beech's criticism added fuel to the fire; as a result, on October 7th, a student-leaving-school group was organized. One-third of the students withdrew from the University, and all Chinese students and faculty went on strike. Dr. Beech tried to reason with the student group, but it did little to placate them.

On October 13th, the first student assembly called for an apology from the President, to be given before half-past eight on the following morning. "Next morning," according to the University's Vice-president George Sparling, "the five hundred students of the Middle School and the University assembled in a howling mob outside the main building. They demanded the appearance and explanation of the President."[135]

On October 15th, a mass parade to demonstrate against the action of the British at Wanxian took place in the city. Sparling reported: "Our students seized this occasion and joined the parade so we had the spectacle of five hundred of our own students walking down the road in front of our own residences carrying flags and banners and yelling to fight the British and destroy everything connected with them."[136]

On October 18th, Sparling reported, WCUU students held a meeting from 7:30 AM to noon. The aim was to vote on whether the University should close or not. "It almost makes one shudder to think of what the significance of an adverse vote would have been. If this University had closed probably all other missionary institutions in the city and perhaps in the province would have been forced to do likewise."[137] All missionaries held their breath to watch the evolving anti-foreigner and anti-Christian activities.

On October 19, the British Consul General wrote to Sichuan authorities and pleaded for them to provide protection to the foreigners.

By October 21, WCUU announced they were to shut the school down. At the same time, Dr. Beech, along with a WCUU graduate Mr. Yang Shaoquan 杨少荃

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[135] George W. Sparling. "Agitation in the West China Union University." Oct. 4-8, 1926. UCCA 83.047C Box one File 5. Between 1925 and May 1928, Mr. G.W. Sparling was Vice-president, then Acting president of the West China Union University. During his furlough from later 1928 to 1930, Sparling earned his Ph.D. in Theology. Sparling served as the Vice-chancellor of the university from 1930 to 1936, Dean of the College of Theology at WCUU until 1950 when he left China.

[136] Ibid. The number of students who participated in the protest included students from the West China Union University and students from mission high schools in Chengdu. In 1927, WCUU had only about 90 students.

[137] Ibid.

begged influential citizens of Chengdu to communicate with student leaders. Beech expressed his willingness to represent the British, Americans, and Canadians in Sichuan, and urged the British Government to bring justice to the Chinese people.

In late October both Chinese faculty and students still refused to go back to school. At the urging of the British authorities in China, missionaries began to evacuate Sichuan. Before leaving, most missionaries favoured keeping the University open. On November 4th, Westerners who lived in Chengdu published a joint announcement to the British Government and the entire world. It stated, "The Chinese people are absolutely correct in their actions to oppose imperialism. We admire and support their patriotic activities."[138]

The Senate Committee of the University held an emergency meeting to restructure itself. It was decided that Mr. Fei Chengxu 费承绪[139] would replace Mr. Joseph Taylor as the Chairman of the Senate. At the same time, the committee appointed G. W. Sparling as Vice-presidents of the University and called Lincoln Zhang to work in the Department of Religion and to assist with the University administrative duty.[140] The restructured Senate voted to keep the University open, and, upon being consulted, the student body and alumni supported the decision.

On November 4th, the Chinese faculty agreed to end their strike; on November 8th, students started gradually going back to school.

However, Lincoln Zhang declined the offer of the University. Later in January 1927, anxious alumni decided to send two representatives to Zizhong to meet Zhang in person, with an offer of Vice-presidency.[141]

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[138] Zhang Lipin. 290.

[139] Mr. Fei Chengxu, aka Fei Chung Chih, Donald Fay, 费承绪, 费宗之. Fei Chengxu graduated from WCUU in 1918, one year earlier than Zhang Linggao. Fei studied theology in the United States right after his graduation. After Zhang was appointed the vice-president, Fei Chengxu took the position of Dean of the faculty of religion at WCUU. Beech to Arnup, Nov. 10th, 1927. UCCA 83.047C Box 16, file 2.

[140] Beech to James Yard, Jan. 18, 1927. UBCHEA RG 011- 284-4454. P. 1251.

[141] The Chinese scholar, Dr. Zhou Hongyu 周洪宇, suggests that Zhang's appointment was strongly recommended by Dr. Joseph Beech since Zhang was Beech's student in Chongqing, and Zhang was a pastor of the American Methodist Episcopal Mission society, which at the time was the most powerful in West China. Both family members of Lincoln Zhang and Dr. Beech also suggested that Beech was the one who nominated and promoted Lincoln Zhang. See Zhou Hongyu, "The President of the West China Union University," *The Study of the Chinese Presidents of the Christian Universities in China*, ed. Wu Ziming (Fuzhou: Fujian Educational Publishing House, 2001). 周洪宇:"华西协合大学校长张凌高"*基督教华人校长研究* 吴梓明编, 福建教育出版社 2001).

In my research I have not found any document to support Dr. Zhou Hongyu, and the Zhang and Beech families' suggestion. In his letter to Dr. James Yard, On January 18, 1927, Beech wrote to Yard, "we have elected George Sparling acting Vice-president, and Lincoln Dsang has been appointed to the University for the Department of Religion

The political tensions between China and Western countries, the Chinese people's anti-imperialist sentiments, and the students' nationalist fervour led to feelings of uncertainty among remaining missionaries about the prospects for the University and their West China Missions. The University senate committee decided to make a major adjustment. Beside appointing Lincoln Zhang as the Vice-president, it also appointed Donald Fay as dean of the School of Religion and Fong Shuxuan as dean of the School of Education. This made Chinese academics the majority of members on the senate committee.[142]

On November 16, 1925, the Ministry of Education of the Republican Government had requested all foreign educational institutions to register with the Beiyang government in Beijing. It also required that the President or one of the Vice-presidents be Chinese, that the majority of board members of the University be Chinese, and that religion could not be a mandatory part of the curriculum. Those requirements obviously ran counter to the founding aims of Christian universities. In addition, the majority of missionaries including Dr. Beech believed that no Chinese personnel they knew were ready for leadership positions. The WCUU Board of Governors therefore decided not to register the University with the government.

On December 3rd, 1926, Dr. Beech wrote to the General Secretary of West China Mission Education James Endicott in a very gloomy tone. "The recent trouble through which we have passed revealed points in our armour that were quite vulnerable, specially from the standpoint of our student body."[143] His confidence was shaken. It was the first time he seems to have had doubts about the decision he and the Board of Governors had made to not register the University with the government, and for being unwilling to take Christian teaching out of the university's curricula. It was also the first time he understood the power of the patriotism of the WCUU graduates and students.

Wanting to take quick action to change the situation, he continued:

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and to assist in administration." (UBCHEA RG011 284-4454) On April 4th, 1927, James Yard wrote to Beech, "I had a letter from Miss Brethorst a couple of days ago saying that Dsang had been made Vice-president and acting head of the University. Donald Fay is dean of the School of Religion and Fong dean of the School of Education. A majority of Chinese also have been elected to the senate. What do you think about starting the wheels moving to get Dsang a D.D. at Wesleyan next June? If you agree to that, I wish you would take it up with Billy Rice, Dr. McConaughy and Dr. Downey." (UBCHEA RG011 284-4454. P. 1281) Based on the above information, I believe that it was the members senate committee, who remained in Chengdu under pressure of the alumni and hoped to keep the University open, to appoint Lincoln Zhang as Vice-president, not Dr. Beech.

[142] James Yard to Beech, April 4th, 1927. UBCHEA RG011 284-4454. p. 1281.

[143] Joseph Beech to Dr. James Endicott. December 3rd, 1926. UCCA 83. 047C Box 16 File 1.

> Many of our friends felt that had the institution been registered and been a part of the government system much of the propaganda directed against the students would have been without effect. That may, or may not be true. It is, however, true that these friends felt that we should hasten to secure registration and we felt that it was desirable to take advantage of their help at this particular time and consequently have endeavoured to make progress more rapidly than heretofore in this direction.[144]

In January 1927, almost all missionaries from Western countries left Sichuan. Only five Canadians, including George W. Sparling, stayed until May 1927.[145] They were waiting for a response from Lincoln Zhang.

"We were doubtful during the past few weeks whether we could succeed in getting Mr. Chang (Zhang) for this term." The Senate's appointment of Lincoln Zhang as the Vice-president didn't mean that Zhang would accept the position. They might have known the Sichuan government had also offered him a position. They also understood that most WCUU graduates could get better pay working for the mission stations rather than for the University, because the salary the University offered was considerably less. The tricky situation across West China meant Zhang was needed in various positions for "Mr. Chang is a man of strong personality and has good qualities of leadership." Sparling wrote to Flavelle.[146]

If the alumni failed to convince Zhang to take the Vice-president position of the University, they would have no choice but to close the University. It would be a huge blow to their two decades of educational effort. Gone also would be their hope of cultivating Chinese Christian leaders and achieving success for their evangelical endeavours since 1885.

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[144] Ibid.

[145] Sparling to Arnup, February 28th, 1927. "It has been very difficult for us to decide what is the best thing for us to do in regard to leaving the province at this time or continuing at our work. After the seizure of the Honkow concession early in January we were very strongly urged by the British Consul to leave here and gradually the women and children with the necessary escorts left, until finally there remained here five members of our mission…Owing to the failure of negotiations at Hankow we finally decided to leave and hired boats and last Friday planned to load the boats in the afternoon." UCCA 83. 047C Box 16 File 2.

[146] Sparling to Flavelle, March 15th, 1927. UCCA 83.047C Box 16 File 2.

Several telegrams were exchanged between Lincoln Zhang and the University Senate committee in late 1926 and January 1927 but got no commitment by Zhang, since "the church in that city [Zizhong] tried hard to keep him to take general oversight of church and school."[147] The Senate group became extremely anxious about Zhang's hesitation to accept the appointment.

What made the situation worse was that the 1927 Chinese New Year was on February 2nd, earlier than usual. According to Chinese custom, the school was due to open one or two days after the Lantern Festival, which was February 17th, 1927.[148]

On the other side of the Pacific Ocean, the M.E.M. Board members shared the same anxiety as the five remaining Canadian missionaries. The Chairman of the Board of the West China Mission, Sir Joseph Flavelle, wrote to Chengdu hoping to have the information updated. "I am not surprised that you are all anxious and wondering just what is the actual condition of our University at this time…as the time for opening our University approached there was great anxiety lest we would be forced to close for the term."[149]

The Alumni didn't want to see their University closed either; they offered to go to Zizhong to convince Zhang in person. Since Zhang was initially nominated and strongly supported by the University student body, students were anxious to have Zhang's commitment as well.[150] Before the Chinese New Year, the alumni sent "a delegate to go to Tzechow [Zizhong] to personally interview Mr. Chang and to place the needs of the University before him. Four days after this delegation had left we

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147 Sparling to Arnup, February 28th, 1927. UCCA 83.047C Box 16 File 2.

148 Chinese New Year, generally referred to as Lunar New Year globally, is the Chinese festival that celebrates the beginning of a new year on the traditional Chinese calendar. The festival is usually referred to as the Spring Festival in Mainland China and is one of several Lunar New Years in Asia. Observances traditionally take place in China from the evening preceding the first day of the year to the Lantern Festival, held on the 15th day of the year. The first day of Chinese New Year begins on the new moon that appears between 21 January and 20 February. In 1927 the Chinese New Year was February 2nd and the Lantern Festival was February 17th. Schools usually opened two days after the Lantern Festival.

149 Sparling to Flavelle, "West China Union University", March 15th, 1927. UCCA 83.047C Box 16 File 2.

150 Lincoln Zhang was not the only candidate for the vice-presidency. Mr. Hu Haiyun 胡海云 (also known as Fu Hai Uin/Wen Hai Yuin) and Mr. Fei Chengxu 费承绪 (also Donald Fay/Fei Chung Chih) were nominated too. Hu Haiyun was the first graduate student from WCUU in 1915 and passed away not long after graduated. In January 15th, 1933, the acting chairman of the Canadian West China Mission Frank Dickinson wrote to Dr. Endicott to complain about Lincoln Zhang, "Fu Hai Uin who killed himself with hard work—on a poor condition, up-to-date has been the outstanding man from the U. U. (Union University), and if he had been alive when the call came, Lincoln Dzang would still have been running the Teschow Church for the M.E.M." UCCA 83.047C Box 16 File 17.

received a telegram saying that Mr. Chang was coming. He arrived here last evening and was present at the opening exercises this morning."[151]

Zhang's arrival was a relief to the entire Senate Committee. "Everyone was glad to see him and we believe his presence has already heartened the students who have been doubtful as to the probability of the University opening this term."[152] As soon as the Senate received the definite answer from Zhang, they started to encourage students to register for the new term.

During the past two weeks in forecasting the possibilities of the University for the term we have placed our ambition for the registration for the term as one hundred but we already have that number and we know of several who are coming who have not yet registered so we are now placing our expectations at one hundred and twenty or thirty.[153]

On February 28th, 1927, a very happy Mr. Sparling wrote to Dr. J. Arnup in great excitement. "The opening exercises of the University were conducted this morning at eight o'clock and we are now formally opened for another term... We are all very happy that we have been able to open…"[154]

The Reluctant Devolution by Christian Missionaries

There is no document that sheds light on what made Zhang change his mind and decide to accept the position. The Senate Committee appointment of Zhang as Vice-president and alumni's encouragement were essential factors that made him decide to take the job. The alumni group might have suggested to Zhang that it was an opportunity for the Chinese to be part of higher educational enterprise, one that allowed foreign education to better serve Chinese youth in Sichuan. They might have come up with general ideas and prepared specific plans for how to run the University. However, one thing was clear: Zhang made the University Senate promise to register WCUU with the government. On Zhang's second day at the University, the Acting-president

[151] Sparling to Arnup, February 28th, 1927. UCCA 83. 047C Box 16 File 2.
[152] Ibid.
[153] Ibid.
[154] G. W. Sparling to J. Arnup, February 28th, 1927. UCCA 83. 047C Box 16 File 2.

Sparling wrote to Endicott, "you will know that we have during the past month re-organized the administration of the University in keeping with the demands of the Government of China and are also implementing promises made to the Chinese during the past term."[155]

The "re-organized administration" meant that a Chinese Vice-president should be in the University leadership group, the majority of the University senate would be Chinese, the University would register with the Republic government, and religious teaching wouldn't be a required part of the University curriculum.

A stopgap from the point of view of the missionaries was to appoint a Chinese as the Vice-president to pacify the Chinese students and keep the University running during their absence. Neither the missionaries nor Lincoln Zhang knew what this expediency would bring to the University. In retrospect, one thing was certain - that this expedient appointment led to Zhang's determination to make the University better serve more Chinese.

The evacuation of missionaries allowed the Chinese to be a part of administrative decision-making at the University, and Zhang to demonstrate his leadership ability; it also provided the opportunity for WCUU graduates to teach and become the earliest Chinese faculty at the University. It was the beginning of the University's indigenization, and the decline of missionary influences in West China and its educational institutions.

It took intensive debate, many struggles, and tremendous pains for the mission society and University senate to appoint a Chinese to be part of the University administrative team. The debate about whether or not any Chinese individuals should be included in the leadership group began years before 1926, since some liberal-minded missionaries had already previously suggested giving more responsibilities to the Chinese.

As early as 1925, Mr. Donald MacGillivray, Minister of the United Church of Canada who spent many years in Sichuan as an evangelical missionary and later as General Secretary for the Christian Literature Society for China in Shanghai, wrote to his superior Dr. Rowell to share some thoughts as to whether the Chinese could be

[155] Sparling to Arnup, February 28th, 1927.

trusted or not. Their conclusion was that although they didn't trust the Chinese, they needed them.

MacGillivray expressed his thoughts frankly, "can Chinese be trusted? Of course she is different now but the question is, can she be more trusted now than before. Yes and no, but in any case, she must be trusted, for we need her more than she needed us. This is the case in a nutshell."[156] The arrogance and prejudice of the missionaries against China and the Chinese were so clearly and vividly presented in his choice of words, tone, and attitude. At the time, he was not alone among his missionary fellows. One cannot help but wonder why they wanted to convert people they didn't trust to Christianity. Did they want quality Chinese Christians? If they converted people who were not trustworthy into Christians, were those evangelistic missionaries truthful to their missions and their beliefs?

A couple of months later, Sir Joseph W. Flavelle,[157] the Chairman of the Board of the West China Union University, wrote to Dr. Rowell to express his opinions on the missionaries' devolution of power in West China.

> I have been a warm supporter of the view that every competent Chinese worker and teacher should be given preference over foreign workers in the churches and schools and universities in China. I find it difficult however, during a period of great disorder, with government without responsible authority, to suggest passing over the property and administration of the Christian church and missions to native Chinese. In any case, one would think the process must be very gradual, and be accompanied by a definite commitment of

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[156] Donald MacGillivray to Dr. Rowell. October 22nd, 1925. UCCA 83.047C Box 1 File 1. Here MacGillivray used "she" to indicate broadly to Chinese and Chinese society.

[157] Flavelle, Sir Joseph Wesley (Feb. 15th, 1858-March 4th, 1939), businessman, philanthropist, and public servant of Canada. As a lifelong supporter of Christian missions, he represented the Methodist church on the Board of the West China Union University in Chengdu, Sichuan, and served as its Chairman from 1923 to 1935. His was mainly a fund-raising function. Flavelle never visited China; his principal role in church affairs was to provide financial support, which he did to a remarkable degree at all levels by giving money to funds for the poor, church building and restoration, bibles, pensions, distressed ministers, missionary work, and every other worthy causes. The summary of Sir Joseph Flavelle's life comes from the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*. For more information about Sir Joseph, please visit: http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/flavelle_joseph_wesley_16F.html.

> Chinese sentiment to financial support for the work which is committed to their care.[158]

In other words, neither the Chinese government nor people were ready to take on the responsibility for the leadership position.

Joseph Beech's letter to Dr. James Endicott on December 3rd, 1926 reveals the mission Board's concerns in the matters of the Christian mission's educational efforts in West China since 1925. "We have been labouring on the problem that the Board asked us to make progress upon at their meeting a year ago, namely, closer relations with the Chinese system of education, larger participation of Chinese in the work of the University and a closer intimacy with the Chinese people and things in general."[159] But substantial action was never taken until the aftermath of the Wanxian Massacre, when the subsequent mass evacuation of missionaries forced great societal change. Lincoln Zhang's appointment that happened not before the evacuation but on the brink of the University closing down was conditional and circumstantial.

Whether "the Chinese" could be trusted and whether they were ready to take on responsibility for the University were two major concerns for missionaries and leaders both in the field and at home. Opinions were divided among missionaries and mission authorities. In West China, the degree of understanding of Chinese people and missionary attitudes toward them varied drastically. Dr. Beech, President of WCUU, exhibited more doubt than trust toward the Chinese Christians regarding their ability to run the University and church affairs. George Sparling, a Canadian missionary, the Vice-President and then Acting-President of the University, was more optimistic than his immediate superior, however.

Reporting to the Board about the situation in the University, Sparling believed that if a situation like this had occurred five years earlier than March 1927, the University wouldn't have had any choice but to close. "But during the years, we have

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[158] Joseph Flavelle to Dr. Rowell. February 6th, 1926. UCCA 83.047C Box 16 File 2.

[159] Joseph Beech to Dr. James Endicott. December 3rd, 1926. UCCA 83. 047C Box 16 File 1.

been developing good Chinese Christian leaders and the fact that we are now able to continue for this term is due to the earnestness and ability of our Chinese leadership."[160]

Although opinions were divided, major adjustments had to be made if the mission wanted to survive in a changing Chinese society, especially in a time of crisis when "the month of January witnessed the departure of the great majority of the missionaries from this city and from the whole province of Szechuan… [with] only five Canadian missionaries [remaining] in Chengdu."[161] Once the departure time for those five missionaries was set, and no missionaries remained in Sichuan, appointing a Chinese administrator would be necessary to keep the University running. This was their best option.

In retrospect, Dr. Joseph Taylor recalled the situation for Lincoln Zhang's appointment as follows:

> It was possible to do this only by making several changes. Other teachers were engaged to take the place of some of those who had left; some courses had to be dropped; others had to be taught by teachers who had not been working in them up to that time. The teaching load of each instructor had to be increased. The Senate was kept at its usual strength by the election of more Chinese. The Rev. Dsang Lin Gao was appointed Acting Vice-President. In such ways it was possible to finish the term.[162]

Lincoln Zhang's appointment did not follow the usual course for a transition of authority. As Sparling's letter confessed to Dr. Arnup, the appointment of Lincoln Zhang and that of other Chinese as members of the senate committee "has partly been

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[160] Sparling to Flavelle, March 15th, 1927. UCCA 83.047C Box 16 File 2.

[161] Sparling to Flavelle, March 15th, 1927. Kenneth Beaton to Rev. J. H. Arnup, March 11th, 1927. According to Kenneth Beaton, the acting Secretary of West China Mission from 1926-1927, the five missionaries who remained behind were: W. J. Mortimore, E. C. Wilford, G. W. Sparling, Walter Small, and F. Dickenson. This group of five were scheduled to leave Chengdu on Feb. 25th, 1927 but postponed because they were waiting for the arrival of Lincoln Zhang. Of the other missionaries who left earlier in September, and October in 1926, some went back to Canada for furlough, some went to Kobe, Japan to wait to return to Chengdu when the situation improved, and some stayed in Shanghai for a short period of time. UCCA 83. 047C Box One File 3.

[162] Joseph Taylor, *History of the West China Union University.*

by force of circumstances..."[163] This may explain Zhang's hesitation in accepting the offer, because his appointment was an extreme measure in response to an extreme situation.

On Friday evening, March 19th, 1927, 36 missionaries who had evacuated from West China gathered to have dinner at the Navy Y.M.C.A. in Shanghai. Dr. James Endicott from Toronto[164] and Dr. Franklin from the United States attended this event. The topic dominating the gathering was the current political situation in China and their future in the West China missions.

Every missionary who had worked in China for five or more years experienced evacuation at that time. The feeling was quite different from years before. Now it was not just the resentful and so-called "xenophobic" Chinese who took violent action against the foreigners; for the first time, Chinese from all walks of life came together, especially those who had been exposed to western learning, culture, and industries, such as university students and manufacturing workers from big cities. These groups included the most educated and modernized citizens in Chinese society. A sense of modern nationalism and pride had begun to grow within the Chinese, and anti-Western protesters had the newly established Nationalist Government to back them up.[165]

Zhang's appointment to the vice-presidency might have been forced by circumstances, but recognition of the changes in Chinese Christian society prepared the missionaries to accept further transformations of both the Christian West China Missions and Chinese Christian groups. Sparling, who still remained at WCUU, wrote to warn his fellow missionaries:

> What the future has for us no one knows… but the future will be different from the past in that the administration and

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[163] Sparling to Arnup, February 28th, 1927. UCCA 83. 047C Box 16 File 2.

[164] On his 1927 China trip, Dr. James Endicott visited Fujian and Guangdong provinces and Shanghai but not West China. Sichuan was on his original itinerary but the political tensions prevented him from visiting the place he had worked for almost thirty years. Anti-foreign and anti-imperialist sentiments were still high in both Sichuan and Hubei. Transportation was another barrier for the trip. Since the Wanxian Massacre, General Yang Sen had set up a station in Yichang 宜昌, down to the Yangzi River, and British Navy and commercial boats were barred from entering the upper Yangzi River from Shashi 沙市 onward until 1935.

[165] Sharing his travel experiences and observations in South China with the missionaries, Dr. Endicott pointed out "the spirit of nationalism, which practically did not exist thirty years ago at the time of the Sino-Japanese war." UCCA. 83. 047C Box one File 23.

> management of the affairs of the University will be in the hands of a committee, the majority of whom are Chinese, but with the class of Christian leadership which we now have at our disposal, this is all to the good and in the interest of our cause in general, and our University in particular.[166]

With the departure of missionaries and the pervasive enthusiasm for nationalism and anti-imperialism in Chinese society, Lincoln Zhang took the position as the first Chinese Vice-president of a Christian educational institution at a very trying time. His leadership ability would be tested by the upcoming years and evaluated by both missionaries and Chinese. The challenge he faced was tremendous, and the actions he took would be decisive for the future of the West China Union University.

A Turbulent Time

There is no document available to shed light on why Lincoln Zhang hesitated to accept the position,[167] but the challenges and difficulties the job presented were obvious. Since the May Fourth Movement, Chinese voices opposing imperialism, Christianity, and foreign influence were growing louder and louder. The May 30th Shanghai Massacre in 1925 and the Wanxian Massacre in 1926 built the Chinese people's nationalist enthusiasm wave upon wave, and anti-foreign parades and protests took place in China on a daily basis.

In late 1926, Chengdu was a city at the center of the anti-imperialist storm in southwest China. Students who were studying at the Christian universities had been called foreign running dogs even before the Wanxian Massacre. Now the foreigners

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[166] Sparling to Flavelle, March 15th, 1927. UCCA 83.047C, Box 16 File 2.

[167] I suspect that re-organizing the Senate committee and registering the University with the Government were the conditions that Lincoln Zhang proposed before accepting the vice-presidency. In November 1926, the Senate committee hired Fei Chung Chih to replace Mr. Taylor, and nominated two Vice-presidents, Lincoln Zhang and G. W. Sparling. According to Sparling's letter to Joseph Flavelle on March 15, 1927, the re-organization of the Senate committee took place in mid-February 1927, during the time the University and the alumni tried to convince Lincoln Zhang to take the Vice-president position. In the letter, Sparling wrote, "As the time for opening our University approached there was great anxiety lest we would be forced to close for the term. Such an exodus five or ten years ago would certainly have meant that work must cease, but during the years we have been developing good Chinese Christian leaders and the fact that we are now able to continue for this term is due to the earnestness and ability of our Chinese leadership. About one month ago we decided to re-organize the Senate to implement promises given to the Chinese and to put in force Senate minute number 2010, so that now our Senate has a majority of Chinese members."

were running away from Sichuan and the University; by undertaking the task of safeguarding the foreigners' enterprise in China, Zhang made himself a marked man, seen by anti-imperialists as a foreign watchdog and therefore a public enemy.

Lincoln Zhang arrived at the University on the evening of February 27th, 1927, and the next morning he "was presented at the opening exercises."[168] Presenting himself to the students would have sent the encouraging message that he was one of them, and that he worked for them. It was the first time at WCUU, that a Chinese, rather than a foreigner, addressed the students as the top administrator at the University opening ceremony.

Three weeks after Zhang's arrival, Sparling wrote to Flavelle to report the situation of the University. "The [student] registration now is one hundred and thirty, which is beyond our hopes as we had only one hundred and sixty at the close of last term. There is a good spirit prevailing everywhere among students and teachers."[169]

Zhang spent the first several days working with the remaining missionaries to familiarize himself with the university's administrative work. On March 8th, nine days after taking the position, he, along with several other WCUU graduates and University employees, wrote a letter to the five remaining missionaries to ask them to stay.[170]

The letter expresses appreciation for the missionaries' "untiring efforts" to provide the University "a measure of real success." It downplays the political uncertainty and the general populations' anti-foreign sentiment, emphasizing, "Education is a philanthropic work and is not involved in international relationships…missionaries have come here in a spirit of sacrifice and service."[171] It states,

> It is our earnest hope that you will be able to continue, with your former enthusiasm and purpose and that no more leave.

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[168] Sparling to Arnup, February 28th, 1927. UCCA 83. 047C, Box 16 File 2.

[169] Sparling to Flavelle, March 15th, 1927. UCCA 83.047C Box 16 File 2.

[170] Zhang Linggao and others, "To Our Missionary Associates in the University." March 8th, 1927. 11 Chinese members of the WCUU Senate signed this letter. They were: Wen Hai Yuin 胡海云, C.H. Fang 方叔轩, Lu Chi, Cheo Kuang Hsi, Chang Lin Gao 张凌高, Chang Min Chuin 张明俊, Wu Chao Hua, Fei Chung Chih 费承绪, Lai Yuin Chang 罗荣宗, Chen Chi Shuan. Most of them were early WCUU graduates. Among them, C. H. Fang, Fei Chung Chih and Chang Lin Gao had overseas study experience. UCCA 83. 047C Box 16 File 2.

[171] Ibid.

> Then, when this period of strain and stress has passed you will find that our educational work has been greatly advanced and that the students have profited greatly under your teaching and guidance. This is the sincere desire of us all collectively and individually and we are extending our wishes through the Acting-President.[172]

This letter seems to have put George W. Sparling, a Canadian missionary, the newly appointed Vice-president, and Acting-president of WCUU, and the other four remaining missionaries in a great dilemma.[173] Sparling wrote: "It has been very difficult for us to decide what is the best thing to do in regard to leaving the province at this time or continuing at our work." They worried that, if they left right after the Chinese took over, "if would almost make the work for the term impossible. If we can remain and the work here continues, it will strengthen the Christian work throughout the province."[174] They therefore preferred to stay and weather the storm together with the Chinese.

The British Consul, however, strongly urged them to leave as soon as they could. In early 1927, the Kuomintang forces occupied the British concession in Hankou and showed no intention of leaving. As tensions between the Chinese and British ran high, Sparling and the missionaries watched the negotiations at Hankou nervously, but news reaching Chengdu at the time was not reliable.

It was late February there arrived news announcing that negotiations had failed. On Thursday, February 24th, four days before Lincoln Zhang's arrival, Sparling and his group decided, under the pressure from the British Consul, to leave Chengdu the next day. They hired boats and loaded their belongings the night before. The next morning at 10:00 am, as they were about to leave, Mr. Jolliffe, a Canadian missionary, telegraphed them from Chongqing to say that the agreement at Hankou had been reached, and the British concessions had been handed back to the Chinese. Sparling and his crew unloaded their luggage and decided to remain in Chengdu until further news could be obtained.

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[172] Ibid.

[173] In a letter by Mr. Ernest Hibbard, the treasurer of the West China Mission, to Arnup on May 3rd, 1928, the five remaining missionaries, W. J. Mortimore, E. C. Wilford, G. W. Sparling, Walter Small, and F. Dickenson. They eventually left Chengdu in May 1928. UCCA 83.047C Box 2 File 30.

[174] Sparling to Arnup, February 28th, 1927. UCCA 83.047C Box 16 File 2.

The next telegram came on Tuesday, February 28th from the British Consul in Chongqing saying he "did not consider that the Hankow agreement affected the general situation," and again advised them to leave before it was too late. Nonetheless, after long and hard debate, Sparling and the four Canadians felt obliged to stay, because "the whole city has been watching us and when the last British decided to leave here they thought that war was definitely planned, but now that we are remaining and in view of favourable negotiations in Hankow they think that a peaceable solution can be found."[175]

The letter from the 11 Chinese University senates gave the missionaries more reason to stay. In addition, the local military generals, Lin Sen 林森 and Liu Wenhui 刘文辉, each wrote to Sparling to offer their protection. Sparling assured Arnup, "the Christian people here are anxious for us to remain. We each have responsibilities here which are heavy and cannot lightly leave…we can remain and have confidence that we will be safe."[176]

March 12, 1927 was the second anniversary of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's death. With the remaining missionaries, Lincoln Zhang and other members of the Senate Committee had debated whether they should hold a ceremony to mark the passing of the founder of the Republic of China or not. What worried them most was the possibility of arousing new waves of anti-foreign protests and parades by the University students. Eventually they decided to hold a three-day event in memory of the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen in accord with the national celebrations.

In the ceremony, Lincoln Zhang gave his first speech as the Vice-president of the University. He shared with the students his understanding of Dr. Sun's political philosophy, the Three Principles of the People.[177] He explained that Sun's political ideology originated from several sources: the spirit of Christianity, the love for humanity; traditional Chinese philosophy, in particular the great harmony of an ideal

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[175] Ibid.

[176] Ibid.

[177] Sun Yat-sen (November 12th, 1866- March 12th, 1925) served as the first president of the Republic of China and the first leader of the Guomindang, i.e. the Nationalist Party. His political philosophy is embodied in the Three Principles of the People: nationalism-independence from foreign imperial domination, the rights of the people / democracy, and the people's livelihood.

society; and the Western democratic political system. The Christian philosophy of love for humanity, said Zhang, was a positive spirit that could be interpreted as a "fight for the love of the society and people, revolution for the love of China, and working hard for the love of Chinese culture." (为爱人群社会而奋斗, 为爱中华民族而革命, 为爱中国文化而努力) To reach this goal, Zhang advised the students to combine Christianity with traditional Chinese culture and philosophy, to learn from the teachings of both Christianity and Confucianism. At the end of his speech, he assured students that the guiding philosophy of this University was rooted in the teachings of Dr. Sun Yat-sen: loyalty, love, faithfulness and peace. He announced that the motto of the University would henceforth be: benevolence, courage, caution, and diligence. He spoke of Christian spirituality, but focused more on Chinese tradition and rational nationalism.[178]

Sparling observed the celebration nervously. When the event finally ended, he was greatly relieved, writing, "during the three days nothing of an anti-Christian or anti-foreign nature occurred."[179] He reported to the Educational Board, "Mr. Chang is a man of strong personality and has good quality of leadership…."[180]

However, the situation Lincoln Zhang faced was not as rosy as Sparling described. First, the leadership position he just took on was for a Western educational institution run by well-educated Christian missionaries who were backed by strong Western powers. Second, the mass evacuation left neither financial resources nor instructors at the University for courses like dentistry, medicine, pharmacy, and other science subjects. Third, anti-foreign sentiment was still high in Chengdu, so any Chinese working for and at a Christian University made himself a targeted man.

Many years later, Zhang recalled the situations he faced:

> In 1926, owing to the chaotic conditions in West China, most of the missionaries withdrew from the field. At this time I was offered a very promising position by the military government.

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[178] Qin Heping,"Zhang Linggao and the West China Union University," *Journal of Central China Normal University (Philosophy and Social Science)* Vol.36 No. 3, May (1997): 29. *The West China Union University Notes*. The 16th University Anniversary Special Issue, first Issue. 1927. 华西协和大学校刊，第 16 周年第一期.)

[179] Sparling to Flavelle, "West China Union University", March 15th, 1927. UCCA 83.047C Box 16 File 2.

[180] Ibid.

> The West China Union University sent me an urgent invitation to become head of that institution…Thank God, with a small faculty, a very limited budget, and strong persecution, we were able to drag along for five years. Triumph over this hardship gave us strength and courage..."[181]

As soon as Zhang walked onto the WCUU campus he was under strict scrutiny by everyone at the University. The remaining missionaries were relieved that the university would not be closed, but they had a hard time adjusting to the Chinese leadership. The Chinese staff was happy to have a Chinese Vice-president but unsure about his ability to run a Christian institution; and even the labourers were not as cooperative as before.[182] Although anti-foreign sentiment was high, trust in Chinese leadership still needed to be built.

Zhang set about demonstrating his understanding and patience for the situation. He showed no frustration, but listened to people's suggestions carefully; he identified the difficulties, and took his steps slowly. He understood that he needed the support of the remaining missionaries, therefore, he convinced the eleven Chinese University senators to write to the missionaries, urging them to stay. With the support of the University's Chinese staff, students and senators, he suggested that the University register with the Chinese government as soon as possible. He visited Mr. Shen Zongyuan 沈宗元,[183] the former minister of education in Sichuan and a classical Chinese teacher of WCUU, to ask his advice and support. He appointed Mr. Cheng Zhixuan 程芝轩, a Japan-educated educational officer in Sichuan, to be in charge of the University registration business.

"We are therefore all prepared to register our University at any time such a step seems necessary. I want to say, that I think we have been very wise in taking these steps before any more pressure was brought to bear upon us."[184] Sparling wrote to Flavelle to

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[181] Lincoln Zhang, *An Adaptation of American Welfare Methods to West China*.

[182] Ruth Zhang and Stephen Yang, "The Life of the President of West China Union University Zhang Linggao."

[183] Mr. Shen Zongyuan 沈宗元 had been a successful candidate in the imperial examinations at the provincial level during the Qing dynasty.

[184] Sparling to Flavelle, March 15th, 1927. UCCA 83.047C Box 16 File 2.

explain the necessity. Zhang successfully obtained the support from the missionaries remaining at the University.

The evacuation of missionaries directly resulted in a severe shortage of instructors that forced Zhang to re-organize University courses. He closed the departments of medicine, dentistry, and pharmacy, and gathered all classes in the faculties of Science, Liberal Arts, Religious Studies and Education. He hired instructors from other universities in Chengdu to teach some courses at WCUU, and used WCUU graduates and final-year students to teach first-year courses. The religion courses became optional instead of mandatory. At the same time, through the Acting-president, Mr. Sparling, Zhang urged the missionary faculty to return to West China as soon as they could. With determination, he ordered all University construction projects to continue without interruption.

Sparling watched Zhang's work with great intensity, then he wrote to report home, "I think that it is very fortunate that we could find such a man available in the province at this time… during the years we have been developing good Chinese Christian leaders and the fact that we are now able to continue for this term is due to the earnestness and ability of our Chinese leadership."[185]

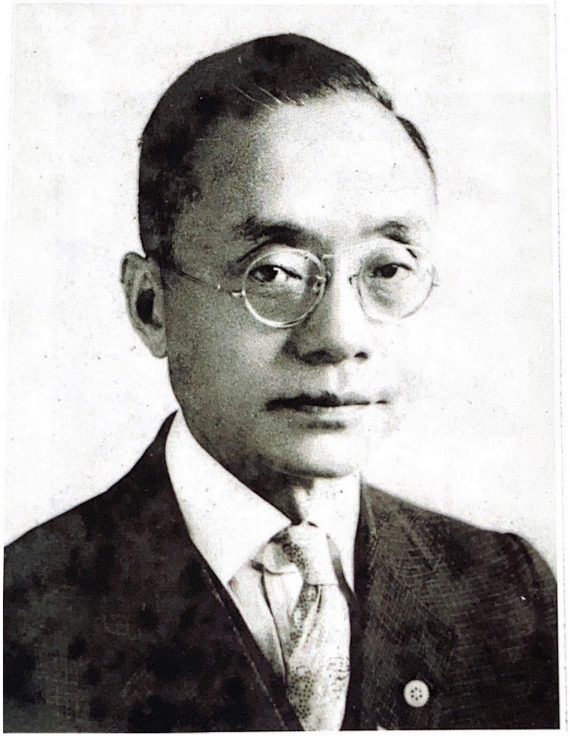
Conclusion

The presence of Western powers in China since the 1840s stirred up fear, resistance, and desire for change among the Chinese people. Although Christian missionaries' evangelical and educational efforts in West China further spread their religious and ideological beliefs into Chinese society, their work also led to increased career and social opportunities for a number of young Chinese leaders. In the mid-1920s, a sense of modern nationalism had begun to grow within the Chinese people. What's more, the bold emergence of promising Chinese leaders forced Christian missionaries to begin to give up their control in churches and educational institutions. Although Lincoln Zhang's appointment as the Vice-president of WCUU was triggered

[185] Ibid.

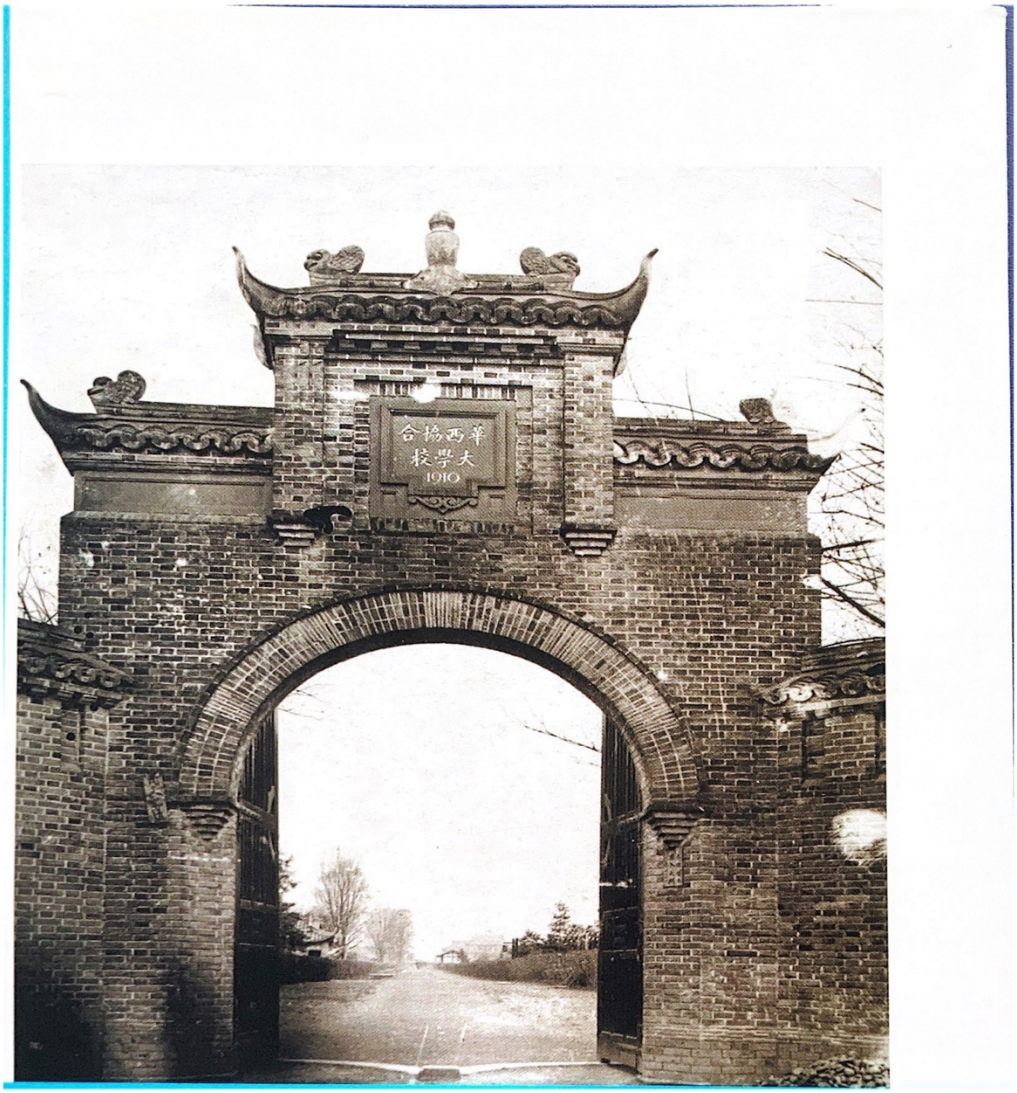
by circumstance, it was also an indication of the inevitable growth in the numbers of Chinese Christians and their readiness to make contributions within Chinese society.

Zhang was a product of a time when an infusion of cultures birthed possibilities for social change. His mission education provided him the opportunity to expand his vision, to develop his potential, and to be inspired by and work with his contemporaries as a member of a new generation of Chinese.



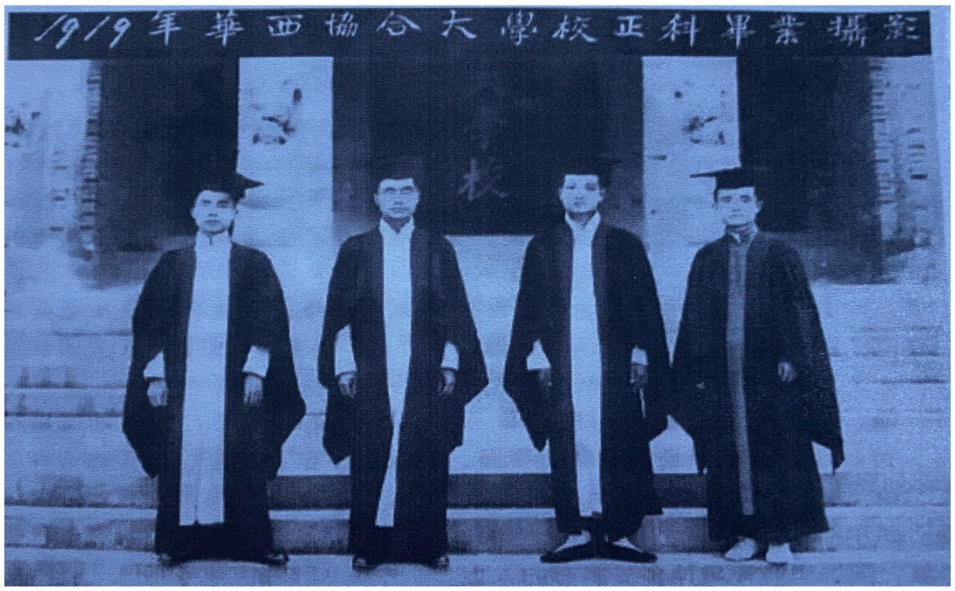
Dr. Lincoln Zhang (February 21, 1890 - March 5, 1955)

(Source: Sichuan University History editorial committee, ed. *History of Sichuan University-West China Union University: 1910-1949*, Vol. 4, Chengdu: Sichuan University Press, 2006. 四川大学史稿编审委员会 编 *四川大学史稿-华西协和大学 1910-1949* 四川大学出版社，2006)



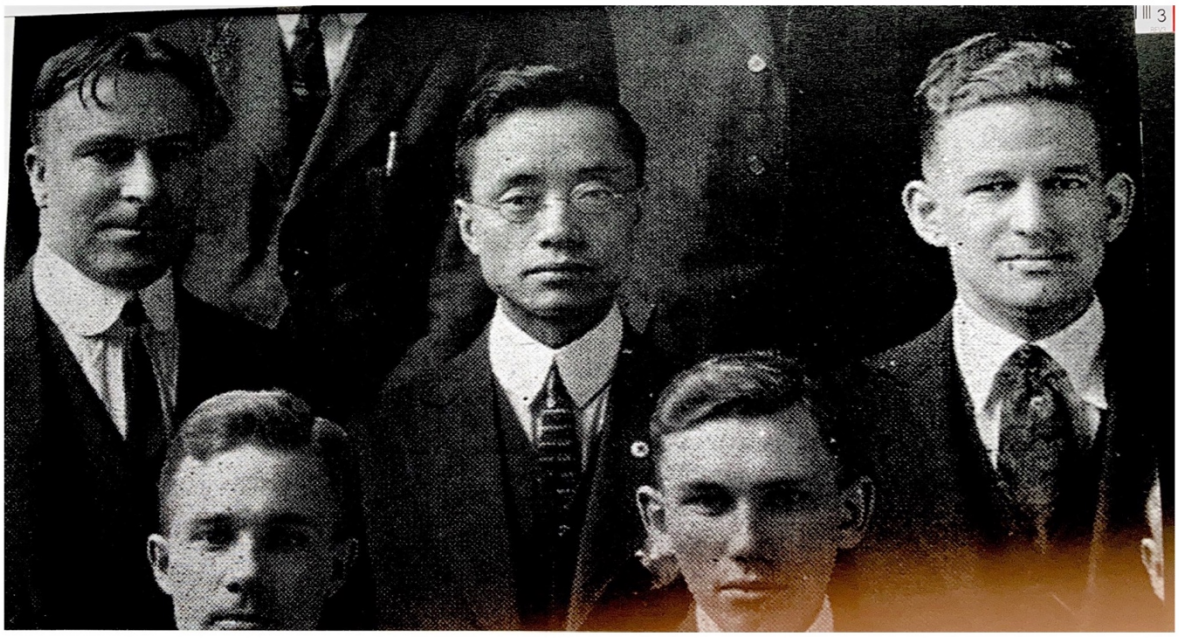
The Gate of the West China Union University

(Source: Sichuan University History editorial committee, ed. *History of Sichuan University-West China Union University: 1910-1949*, Vol. 4, Chengdu: Sichuan University Press, 2006.)



Lincoln Zhang, left second, graduation photo, 1919. The other three in the photo were Yang Chongxi, Fang Shuxuan, and Li Tengxuan

(Source: The Zhang Family Archives)



Lincoln Zhang Garrett Biblical Institute Northwestern University graduate photo, June 1921

(Source: Lincoln Zhang family archives)

The University Administrative Building

(Source: Yale University Library Divinity Archives: The United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia Records, RG 11-418-5881)

Chapter Two: Sea Change in West China

Introduction

From the mid-1920s to the early 1930s, the issue of restoring Chinese sovereignty in various institutions took center stage during negotiations between China and foreign powers. The awakened Chinese, united in their fierce nationalist sentiment, not only began to see their own country in a different light, but also led the Christian missionary societies to begin to change their approach to the mission enterprise in West China. Shifting the mission focus on education and committing to devolution of power to Chinese proved to be a struggle for the mission community.

During the temporary absence of missionaries after 1926, Lincoln Zhang worked strategically to keep the University running. He took initiatives to register the University with local and national authorities, which led to improved standards for university teaching, the indigenization of the faculty and university administration, greater acceptance of female students, and ultimately the transformation of WCUU from a primarily evangelizing Christian college into an education-focused Chinese institution. What's more, he designed an ambitious development plan for the University, outlining strategies to indigenize and secularize the University, a plan so controversial that it incited a long-lasting conflict between Lincoln Zhang and certain missionaries and board members.

Zhang believed that the goal of the University should be to furnish China with some decent young men and women for China's modernization. Based on this vision, he challenged the goals that the missionary administration had originally planned for the University. He aimed to modernize the University so that Chinese learners could cultivate their knowledge and social awareness in a broadened range of fields. He did not see the University as a place simply to train church workers, preachers, and physicians. He pushed to register the University with the newly established government, an action that further drove a stake between liberal-minded and conservative missionaries.

This chapter explains how the turbulent social and political changes of China in the 1930s forced the Christian West China mission to transform their approach from an

evangelizing undertaking into a broad education-focused project. This chapter further explores how Lincoln Zhang's blueprint for WCUU ran counter to the aims of the Western China-mission in a drastically changing Chinese society.

The Christian West China Mission After the 1926-1927 Evacuation

Since starting their missions in China in the early 1840s, Christian missionaries were extremely sensitive to the effects of China's political changes. Chinese anti-imperialist, anti-foreign, and anti-Christian movements of the early 1920s led to concerns among missionaries over their future in China. Their anxieties were intensified by the Chinese people's reactions to events, such as the 1925 May 30th Incident, the August 1926 Wanxian Massacre, the Republic government's request for registration of all foreign educational institutions, and the Chinese Christian leaders' demands for devolution of power within the churches. Whether or not to transfer power to Chinese Christian leaders became a topic for debate among mission authorities and individual missionaries.

The period between 1926 and 1928 was a turning point in modern Chinese history. The changes during those years awakened Chinese nationalism, transformed the Chinese working class, united the nation, and not only introduced new scientific technologies to modernize the country, but also spread democratic ideology more broadly than ever before. Most importantly, the various student and worker movements sent clear messages to foreign countries that China as a united nation was taking control of its own fate. With the growing desire to build a better, modern nation, and with increased confidence about the country's future, the attitudes of Chinese people towards foreigners started changing. They no longer used violence to attack foreigners but expressed their increased desire to learn from them.

The missionary evacuation in late 1926 and early 1927 resulted in three significant changes: it divided missionaries into two camps, provided opportunities for Chinese Christians to demonstrate their leadership abilities, and spurred a transition of power from the missionaries to the Chinese. These changes manifested two potential phenomena: first, the Chinese Christians were prepared to take over the local churches

and mission related work, and second, the newly established Nanjing government was ready to back them up.

The colossal transformation of China and Chinese society in these years and over the next decade inevitably impacted the Christian missionary community.

In early 1927, James Endicott, the General Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Church of Canada, arrived in China. One of the earliest Canadian missionaries working in Sichuan, where he had lived from 1894 to 1910, he was impressed by the country's changes during his 1927 trip - a vibrant society and a new spirit among the Chinese people.

Endicott shared his impressions with a big group of Canadian missionary evacuees in Shanghai on March 19, 1927. He told them that in his early March 1927 visit to Guangzhou (Canton), he was standing within one hundred yards of where the Shaji Massacre (Shakee Massacre) had taken place,[186] watching one hundred thousand protesters marching along, among them thousands of women. "We stood there and didn't cross the street. Not an unkind word was spoken (by the Chinese)." When witnessing a situation like that, he declared, "It is very hard to be a pessimist." He wanted his people to know that China and the Chinese people were changed. They were no longer the Boxers who believed that hatred could be an effective weapon.[187]

Talking about his conversations with a couple of Chinese Christian pastors in South China, Endicott reflected, "instead of listening quietly to what I had to say they had something more important to say to me. It is clear that these fellows are Nationalists. They are Nationalists about the church. They believe that the whole business should be put on a new basis."[188] He believed that the Chinese people now had a strong sense of nationalism and they were optimistic about a brighter future for China. "I haven't met a single one who believes that China is going into a hole. Every last one believes they are

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[186] Shaji Massacre 沙基惨案: the Shakee Massacre occurred on June 23, 1925. British, French and Portuguese in Shaji opened fires on the protests that resulted in over two hundred casualties. On June 21, 1925, workers in Hong Kong and Guangzhou went on strike in support of the May Thirtieth Movement in Shanghai. One June 23, more than 100,000 people gathered in Eastern Jiaochang 东较场街 to demand for expelling the foreign powers from China and cancelling the unequal treaties. When the protest moved to the west bridge, British, French and Portuguese troops started firing on the protesters. At the same time, the British warships fired on the north coast of Shamian 沙面 killed 50 people and more than 170 sere seriously wounded.

[187] "The West China Union University missionary dinner at the Navy Y.M.C.A., Shanghai, Friday March 19th to meet with Drs. Endicott and Franklin," author unknown, but possibly K. J. Beaton. UCCA 83.047C Box one File 23.

[188] Ibid.

already in the hole and beginning to get out of it."[189] He told them the spirit of nationalism didn't exist thirty years ago at the time of the Sino-Japanese war. "The Chinese were at this moment in a far more healthy and promising way than they had ever been before in all their long history."[190]

In West China, George Sparling, the Acting president of WCUU, was, as we have seen, one of the five Canadian missionaries who stayed behind after the evacuation. He was surprised to witness the "thoroughness and effectiveness" of the Chengdu boycott that resulted in the departure of all the students and missionary servants, which made the "campus as quiet as a graveyard at night." He admitted he and other missionaries had once thought "such a strike impossible" because the Chinese didn't have the "cohesive power necessary for such united action." The Chengdu strike came as a revelation to Sparling and his colleagues that the Chinese could come together "with a determination which could not but call forth admiration."[191]

The observation Endicott and Sparling shared probably made everyone at the gathering weigh their own thoughts over the Chinese mission and ponder what they would do when the crisis was over. China and its people would need not only Christianity, they thought, but also western science and ideology. Any Westerner who wanted to help China needed to be equipped with qualifications beyond evangelical fervour.

Examination of the archival record and missionaries' own writing indicates that the evacuation in late 1926 and early 1927 made most missionaries realize that the privileges they enjoyed in China had come to an end. The people against them were no longer just angry peasants and local gentry, but urban strata including, notably, the educated youth, the future of the country. This new generation was committed to not only adopting western technology, but also to embracing western political ideologies. They were determined to modernize their country.

The evacuation plans of the missionaries revealed their outlook for the future. In late October and early November of 1926, before the evacuation started, some

[189] Ibid.
[190] Ibid.
[191] G. W. Sparling, "After One Year," *The West China Missionary News*, December (1927): 10.

missionaries decided to stay in Shanghai in order to return to West China as soon as the situation stabilized. Some planned to go to Kobe, Japan, to remain a safe distance from the strife in China, and some wanted to cross the Pacific Ocean and return home.

The missionaries' views about the future of West China Missions were as divided as their travel destinations. A small group of missionaries felt strongly that all authority and administrative power should be kept in the hands of missionaries on the grounds that the Chinese were not ready and couldn't be trusted. The opinion of another group belonged to the opposite extreme; they proposed to eliminate the missionaries' power and hand it over to the Chinese Christians. In Kenneth Beaton's vision of ecclesiastical power, "[t]he sole authority in China would be the Chinese church. The Church would deal directly with the Mission Board at home."[192] The third opinion came from a group who suggested establishing,

> A system of co-operation between church and mission whereby the mission hands over to the native church full control and oversight of any congregation which reaches the stage of self support; within its own field the native church is supreme, and the grants of money which are made to it are entirely at the disposal of the native organization.[193]

From early 1928 onward, certain missionaries, especially the Canadians who stayed in Shanghai and Japan, started returning to West China.[194] They didn't know what was waiting for them, but were prepared for the worst.

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[192] Kenneth Beaton to Dr. Arnup. June 10th, 1927. The United Church of Canada Archives: 83.047C Box One File 23.

[193] Ibid.

[194] According to Miss. A. Brethorst from the Woman's Missionary Society of Canada, "Many of our missionaries are returning, the first to come back were Mr. and Mrs. Dye, then Doctors Hartwell and Gentry, Messrs. Rackham, Rape, Bell, Graham and Lovegren. These were followed by two Seven Day Adventist families and Esther Nelson, the latter being the first single woman to return. Mr. Robertson and Dr. Stubbs have arrived here, and we hear that many others have reached Chungking: Bishop and Mrs. Mowll, Mrs. J. Taylor, Messrs. Spreckly, Beaton, Allen, Jones, Soper and many others." (*West China News Notes*, No. 7 (April 12, 1928). UCCA 83.047C Box 2 File 34.) However, this list is not totally accurate: for example, the evidence shows that Beaton and Jones didn't return to China in 1928. Although Mr. G. R. Jones planned to return to China in the spring of 1928, "The Council were unanimously of the opinion that no good would be attained by his returning now. There will be ample time between the time a decision is reached that some men can go back and the time that they actually start for a message to reach you and for Jones to reach Shanghai. Meantime there is nothing he could do here, unless war between the Powers and China should break out and he was needed for interpreting or other work. Most of our folk who will be left here are already down to a good routine of systematic study of Chinese language and literature." (Beaton to Dr. Arnup, April 15th, 1927. 83.047C Box One File 3.)

To their surprise, the first thing they found was that transportation in Sichuan greatly improved.

> With both selfish and public-spirited motives, the generals have become very interested in this (motor-roads building) undertaking, rivalling each other in constructing roads within the territory they control. These roads may probably be linked up within two years – if they do not fight in the meantime! Due to the efforts of General Yang Sen, Chengdu city is now very modern.[195]

The University itself benefitted greatly from the improved transportation system since better road conditions would make commuting much more convenient for the many students whose families lived in rural Sichuan.

The treasurer of the mission even reported home that the newly built roads enabled the missionaries to be more productive. "Dr. Wilford uses his car in making his calls in the city and finds it a great saver of time. He can take along the nurse and student doctor and all the necessary appliances and be there in a very few minutes. His fees are large enough to cover the cost of the gas so things work out satisfactorily."[196]

What encouraged the missionaries more was the friendly attitude of the people they encountered. G. E. Hartwell wrote, "One whole day from Luekiang to Tzechow we witnessed a sight that was certainly inspiring. Stretched along that thirty miles there were four hundred to five hundred men with chisels, shovels, picks, hoes and barrows, carving through the hills, filling up the hollows, building strong bridges, in short, making a motor road about forty feet wide."[197]

Beaton did eventually go back to China in the early1940s after he obtained his Doctoral Degree. Mr. G. R. Jones never returned to China.

[195] Lincoln Zhang. "Vice-President's Report for the Year 1927-1928 to the Board of Governors of the West China Union University", July 1928. UBCHEA RG-011-272-4329, P. 89.

[196] Ernest Hibbard to Arnup. August 10, 1928. UCCA 83.047C Box 2 File 30.

[197] G. E. Hartwell to family. November 2nd, 1927. The United Church Archives of Canada: "West China News Notes", No. 5. UCCA 83. 047C Box 2 File 34. P.1.

On the way to the hospital of Ziliujing (Tzeliutsin 自流井) station, Dr. F. F. Allen encountered a Chinese man. As he later told his family, the man "was on his way to Tzeyang to install an 800-lamp lighting plant for that city under General Wang."[198] Upon arriving in Ziliujing, to his great relief, he found no mission property was damaged: "Everyone is glad to see us and expresses the hope if they do not take it for granted that we have come to stay…invitations to dinners have not been lacking."[199]

Dr. Allen was greatly satisfied to find out that the Chinese doctor Fuh (Fei) had kept the mission hospital running during the absence of the missionaries. "One is forced to the conclusion that we have many friends here and few enemies if any. The hospital under Dr. Fuh[200] has had a very successful year with 558 in-patients, 20,000 out-patients, a local income of $5500."[201]

The work Lincoln Zhang had done similarly impressed the educational missionaries. They found that the students had "a wonderful spirit" and the University had completed the provincial government registration procedure under the Beijing regulations. Several university construction projects at the campus were completed: the Educational Hall, the medical and dental buildings, the library, and the dormitory for female students.

"Our Chinese leaders are doing excellent work and it is great to see them assume the burdens which we at one time had to carry,"[202] Miss. A. Brethorst reported. She believed that the Senate Committee made the right decision in appointing Lincoln Zhang as the Vice-president and declared that what Zhang had accomplished was beyond her expectations. "Surely the University has justified its existence by having put out so many men and women that are now able to carry on in face of most discouraging

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198 Dr. F. F. Allen to family from Tzeliutsing. January 12, 1928. The United Church Archives of Canada: West China News Notes. No. 7. UCCA 83. 047C Box 2 File 34. P.2.

199 Ibid.

200 Dr. Fuh (Fei Chengzhong 费承忠) graduated from the WCUU medical college in 1926. He was assigned to work at the hospitals of Ziliujing and Zhongxian when the missionaries were evacuated from Sichuan. He later on did post-graduate studies in Jinan, Shandong at Qilu University medical college. Dr. Fei might be the younger brother of Mr. Fei Chengxu 费承绪. In the early days many family members, brothers and sisters, even father and sons or daughters went to WCUU to study because their grandparents or parents were Christian ministers.

201 Dr. F. F. Allen to family from Tzeliutsing. January 12, 1928. The United Church Archives of Canada: "West China News Notes" No. 7. UCCA 83.047C Box 2 File 34. P.3.

202 Miss. A. Brethorst's letter to board of Canadian Woman Missionary Society, "West China News Notes", January 2nd, 1928, No. 7. UCCA 83.047C Box 2 File 34.

circumstances."[203] She told her family that there were many moments when she "wanted to leave the field and never return," however, her faith in "China needing Christ" had made her determined to return. What made her decide to stay she emphasised was, "a long talk with such men as Lincoln Dsang and Mr. Fang (Shuxuan) and our fine new Dr. Fuh [Fei], and with the Dean of the Chengdu University."[204]

After returning to Chengdu, K. W. Morgan wrote home, "One got the impression that the Chinese leaders had got right into the saddle. Devolution of power and responsibility from mission to church has undoubtedly taken a long stride forward."[205]

During the absence of the missionaries, Lincoln Zhang and his Chinese team took the initiative to register with the government in Beijing in order to secure the registration grant from the provincial government. For the purpose of learning from his Chinese Christian college counterparts, Zhang went to Shanghai and Nanjing to get to know about their working strategies and new developments of Christian universities. When the fall term ended in January 1928, Zhang used the Chinese New Year holiday to take another trip to Shanghai where he had a long talk with the Rev. W. B. Albertson who reported his impressions about Zhang as follows:

> Lincoln Djang has been another visitor in Shanghai. He attended the Council of Higher Education where he made valuable contributions to the discussion and to the work of the Business Committee. The council has a new personnel this year and steps out on a new pathway. The majority are (sic) Chinese and a goodly sprinkling of the new Administrative officers…West China has good material in Lincoln Djang. He is a man of character and ability.[206]

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[203] Ibid.
[204] Ibid.
[205] UCCA 83.047C Box 2 File 34.
[206] Letter from Rev. W. B. Albertson, Feb. 24th, 1928, Shanghai. The United Church Archives of Canada: "West China News Notes" No. 7, (1928). UCCA 83.047C Box 2 File 34.

History is shaped not just by events but by the ways people respond to the events. The missionaries' late 1926 evacuation reshaped the structure of the West China Missions, and the Chinese Christians workers' initiative and accomplishments won missionary trust, boosted their own self-confidence, and demonstrated that Chinese Christian devolution had a solid foundation.

The earliest to return were mostly medical and educational missionaries. Those who decided not to return to West China were mainly evangelical workers. The nation-wide anti-Christian movements in the mid-1920s discouraged many missionaries, the evangelists above all. They had been greatly frustrated by the slow growth in the number of Chinese Christians; the need to evacuate had exasperated them further. They started believing that to convert Chinese to Christianity was a task that was next to impossible. That feeling intensified after they realized the Chinese Christians were participating in the anti-foreigner activities. It was natural for some missionaries who saw evangelizing as their core calling to think their mission would never be fulfilled.

Some other mission workers, through trials and tribulations, came to believe that education rather than evangelization was bringing more Chinese into their church. They saw that education was a more effective tool to help the Chinese. Through literacy efforts, they not only helped Chinese to convert to Christianity, but also lifted them from poverty. Those people's life-changing experiences became a positive example and source of energy in their community.

Some returning missionaries were greatly satisfied by the Chinese Christians' progress and accomplishments. Wanting to better prepare themselves for the changes of mission work in China, returning missionaries took advantage of furloughs to upgrade their qualifications. Between 1928 and 1935, many missionaries completed Master's programs, more than ten West China missionaries procured their Ph.D. degrees, these included Dr. Meuser, Dr. Bell, and Dr. Sparling. As a result, in the mid-1930s the West China missionary society had more missionaries working in professions such as medicine, education, and agriculture, than those working strictly as evangelists.

Gerald S. Bell, who took over Mr. Sparling's position as the Secretary of the United Church of Canada West China Mission Council Executive Committee, was among the first group of people to return to West China. In May 1928, as soon as he

arrived in Chengdu, he visited several mission outstations with his colleagues to examine the Chinese Christians' work. He sent letters and cables to the mission's headquarters in Toronto, asking his superiors to urge missionaries to return to China as soon as they could, because what he had seen was very encouraging.

The responses he received brought him great disappointment. On November 2nd, 1927, Dr. Humphreys wrote, "Neither of us (Dr. Lydia Humphreys and himself) can ever hope to return to China. Mrs. Lechler says they are not thinking of returning to China until September if their society will grant them the necessary extension of furlough."[207] On January 8th, 1928, Kenneth Beaton wrote to Arnup from Japan to state, as noted above, that he and his wife had decided not to return to China for four reasons. Firstly, the pains in his back made it difficult to carry on his work in West China. Secondly, his teaching in Japan was very enjoyable. Thirdly, he and his wife were not sure about their future, and family issues prompted him to return to Canada. Lastly, he didn't get along with four other Canadian missionaries in Chengdu.[208] In April, the news reached Chengdu that Edwin Meuser also hesitated to return,[209] and soon after the news followed to confirm, "Mr. E. N. Meuser is teaching Pharmacy in the University of Saskatchewan at Saskatoon."[210]

Bell became concerned. On June 22, 1928 He wrote to Arnup to express his worries,

> The long list of resignations and leaves of absence reported in your letters is rather stunning… if there was the slightest hope of retaining them for the work of the Mission. One greatly hopes that the ability and experience of a number of these men will not be permanently lost to the work in Szechuan.[211]

A prolific correspondent, Bell kept writing to inform Toronto that the situation in West China was different from what it had been before; people were friendly, and

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[207] Humphreys, UCCA 83.047C Box 2 File 34.

[208] Beaton to Arnup, Jan. 8th, 1928. UCCA 83.047C Box 2 File 30. After gained his Ph. D., Beaton returned to Sichuan in early 1940s, but he didn't stay long.

[209] Arunp to Edwin Meuser, April 30th, 1928. UCCA 83.047C Box 2 File 31.

[210] *The West China Missionary News*, October (1927): 41.

[211] Gerald Bell to Arnup, June 22nd, 1928. UCCA 83.047C Box 2 File 28.

they all expressed their great desire for missionaries to return. The outstations badly needed leadership, and each station needed at least one medical missionary. The local gentry and "local officials would like to cooperate with Church to open hospitals."[212]

Dr. Allen wrote from Luzhou [Luchow] to urge his colleagues and friends to come back. He told them that General Yang Sen approached him to express his hope for having more missionaries, meaning that he and his people would continue their support for local churches and schools.[213]

Unfortunately, the result of efforts to urge more missionaries to return was not satisfactory. At the end of 1929, Dr. Endicott wrote to the treasurer of the Mission Executive Council Committee to let him know that Rev. Morgan and Mr. and Mrs. Edmonds would delay their return. Mr. Mortimore had resigned, so he and his wife wouldn't return either. Dr. E. W. Wallace had accepted the Chancellor position at Victoria College at the University of Toronto, and neither Mr. Bowles nor Dr. Wilford would return either.[214]

By the end of 1929 "missionary staff has been reduced from 96 to 54,"[215] and about 44% of missionaries had decided not to return to West China; most of them were evangelists.

In March 1928, the British government appointed Mr. Henry Forster Handley-Derry (1879-1966) to replace Mr. Arthur Powlett Blunt (1883-1947) as the Consul General in the Chongqing [Chungking] office. Rev. K. W. Morgan went to meet the new Consul in Chongqing and have a long conversation with him. He wrote to Toronto to report his impressions about Mr. Handley-Derry and about the changed approach of the British toward China. Mr. Derry, Rev. Morgan wrote,

> [China] is very liberal…[he] believes in China for the Chinese. He thinks we must trust the Chinese and the best way to trust them is to get back to normal. He presumably differs from his government re evacuation of the foreigners last year. Thinks

[212] Bell to Endicott, Dec. 31st, 1928. UCCA 83.047C Box 2 File 28.
[213] F. F. Allen, "Report of West China Work of 1928." UCCA 83.047C Box 2 File 33.
[214] Endicott to Hibbard, Nov. 26th, 1929. UCCA 83.047C Box 2 File 36.
[215] Dr. Morgan, *Forty Years of Accomplishment*, April 1930. UCCA 83.047C Box 2 File 56.

we lost prestige… He has just come back from furlough so brings with him the new government attitude.[216]

In mid-June 1928, Bell wrote to let Arnup know although only a third of the missionaries were returning to China, he was satisfied with what he had now and it was "better not to complicate the situation". What he didn't say directly was that he wanted more educational and medical missionaries instead of evangelists.[217] On July 24th, 1928, he was happy to report to Arnup that, "Dr. Wilford, Dr. Mullett with Dr. and Mrs. Best and their three boys arrived here from Chungking last Thursday the 19th. The four motor cars they were bringing made quite a procession as they came down the street…"[218]

Lincoln Zhang's First University Development Plan

When Lincoln Zhang had arrived at WCUU in February 1927, the campus that before had usually been full of foreigners looked very different. Most of them had left, and only five Canadians awaited his arrival in order to transfer the University work to him, before they themselves would leave. Their only request to Zhang was to keep the school open.

Outside of campus, the Nationalist government was still negotiating with the British in Hankou regarding the privileges of the British and other imperialist nations in China.

In Chengdu, since Canadian missionaries had previously introduced modern printing technology, the nascent local media identified WCUU as a foreign agent in Chengdu, and thus a salient target to fan the flames of anti-foreign sentiment.

To keep the University open, Lincoln Zhang faced three serious challenges: the difficulty of registering the University with the government, filling a severe shortage of instructors, and finding money to hire teachers and staff.

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[216] Rev. K. W. Morgan to mission board. 83.047C Box 2 File 34

[217] Bell to Arnup, June 21st, 1928. UCCA 83.047C Box 2 File 28.

[218] Bell to Arnup, July 24th, 1928. UCCA 83.047C Box 2 File 28.

The WCUU's registration with the government was a stubborn issue that Dr. Beech and other earlier administrators had a hard time committing to. On the surface, the reason was that the government body was not stable, but deep down, the missionaries feared loss of control of the University and the loss of the privileging of Christian teachings and activities at school. Now the Guomindang (GMD) government in Nanjing and the Beiyang government in Beijing were both demanding WCUU registration.

In early 1927, the Guomindang Government, which had just established its rule throughout South China, had ordered all public and private educational institutions, especially Christian mission schools, to register. Poor communications and transportation delayed important registration documents from reaching WCUU, which left almost no time for the University to prepare itself to meet the requirement. What's more, the way in which the University's leadership was organized failed to meet the stricter requirements for registration. For example, under the Guomindang requirements, the University president had to be Chinese.

Lincoln Zhang discussed the situation with Acting-president Sparling and other Chinese staff, including Fang Shuxuan 方叔轩 and Yang Chongxi 杨重熙. He and his colleagues then took strategic steps to avoid stepping into the minefield. As discussed in Chapter One, they first wrote to Dr. Beech, the President of the school, and the Board of Governors of WCUU to inform them of the urgency of the situation and to ask for instructions. As previously stated, Lincoln Zhang then succeeded in obtaining approval to register from the Senate Committee. Second, since Zhang and his associates knew the University's current conditions made it unable to meet the GMD Government's requirements in Nanjing, they decided to initially register with the Northern Beiyang Government to buy some time, for the Northern Government regulations were not as strict as those of the GMD Government.

Zhang assigned Mr. Cheng Zhixuan 程芝轩 to compile documents for an application to send to Beijing, while notifying the Education Bureau of the Sichuan provincial government of their application. Soon Sichuan's educational authority accepted the WCUU notification and promised to explain to the Nationalist

Government that WCUU had received the registration order late due to miscommunication and poor transportation. The provincial officials of the Bureau of Education were satisfied with the registration initiative of the University and treated the WCUU like other government-registered public universities.[219]

Although a crisis was delayed, this did not mean the problem was solved - WCUU still needed to register with the Nanjing government. There were two GMD conditions that proved especially challenging for the University: first, banning religious teaching and activities on campus and, second, appointing a Chinese president. Zhang was frank with the Board about the problem they were facing.

> As the Chinese Vice-president of the University, I hesitate to speak about this problem, which puts me in an embarrassing position. On the one hand I see that for the sake of the University we must comply, but on the other hand the new regulations affect our Constitution too strictly…Personally I think the time has not yet come to put upon a Chinese such a heavy burden as the presidency of the whole University…further I do not think it is fair and wise to put a Chinese just not into such an important office, for which he is not quite qualified by prestige and confidence. It is certainly too much and too expensive an office for a Chinese…[220]

As it happened, the nationalist government realized that to forbid religious study and activity at school directly violated the rights of religious liberty that was included in its Constitution. Therefore, it soon softened its registration requirements from forbidding religious teachings altogether to accept that attendance at religious services should be voluntary not compulsory. The University's administrators were happy that

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[219] Lincoln Zhang. "Vice-President's Report for the Year 1927-1928 to the Board of Governors of the West China Union University", July 1928. UBCHEA RG-011-272-4329.
[220] Ibid.

the government was willing to make this reasonable adjustment, and gladly implemented the new policy.[221]

In September 1927 at the University's opening ceremony for the new academic year, Zhang informed the students that the Senate had formally decided that attending religious worship would now be optional. However, he told students that the University held religious services in the interest of the students, and declared "you will find that those who avail themselves of this privilege will be better students, and get much more out of their college life."[222] With the students knowing that attendance was not compulsory, they showed more interest and earnestness, according to an article in *The West China Missionary News* October 1927, titled "Another School Year Opens in the University".

The second problem encountered by Lincoln Zhang was to locate enough instructors for the classroom. Before Zhang had accepted the Vice-president position, the missionary administration had worried about whether there were enough students returning for the school's reopening in the spring term of 1927. Zhang's appointment encouraged student enrollment, but he had a hard time finding instructors to offer courses. The instructors of the schools of medicine, dentistry, and pharmacy, apart from Dr. Wilford, were gone. This meant that Zhang had no choice but to close those three programs.[223] Without enough faculty offering courses, some students threatened to transfer to government schools. Zhang therefore met with the remaining instructors and requested they take as much teaching duty as possible.[224]

Seeking support from the mission stations, Zhang asked the early returned missionaries like Mr. Earl Cranston, Dr. J. Taylor, Miss Brethorst, and Chinese mission

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[221] In his "Report of the Senate of the West China Union University to the Board of Governors," Acting president Sparling wrote, "the regulations under which we must conduct our work after we register have been published by the government for about two years and during that time have been somewhat modified. With all these, it would seem possible to conform without debate or apprehension of any kind with the exception of the one relating to Religious Teaching in the school. At one time there seemed a disposition on the part of the government to forbid any religious teaching whatsoever, but after representations were made to them showing that this was a direct infringement of the right of Religious Liberty which China has written into her constitution, it was decided to modify this to state that Religious Teaching or attendance upon Religious services should be voluntary." *The West China Missionary News,* September (1927): 17.

[222] "Another School Year Opens in the University." *The West China Missionary News*, Oct. (1927): 36.

[223] The medical and dental programs resumed soon, but pharmacy study re-started much later in 1932 after Dr. Meuser return to Chengdu.

[224] Lincoln Zhang, Vice-President's Report, July 1928. UBCHEA RG-011-272-4329.

worker Lawrence Lin to teach at WCUU. In addition, Zhang sent Dr. Y.T. Hu to other schools to teach English in exchange for their teachers to teach other subjects at WCUU. Sparling and Dr. C. M. Stubbs[225] made efforts to communicate with various mission stations to convince missionaries to work at the University.

Zhang persuaded some early WCUU graduates who were working at different mission stations to take teaching jobs as well. At the same time, as mentioned before, he used third and fourth year-students to teach first-year courses. The boldest step that Lincoln Zhang took was that he "hired quite a number of teachers from the Government colleges to take the places of some of our own foreign faculty member,"[226] and he intended to keep them. He approached Chengdu University, and hired Dr. Cheng, the head of the Department of Philosophy with a Ph.D. degree from a university in Germany, to teach "An Introduction to Philosophy." He also convinced another instructor from the same government university to teach French.[227]

That was his first attempts to indigenize the University faculty and staff.

Besides urging the Board of Governors to hire more Chinese faculty members, Zhang and the Senate also decided to add more courses in Chinese studies, including "The History of Chinese Philosophy" and "The History of Chinese Culture," which became part of the school curriculum. Advancing a position that he would continue to pursue in his later career, Zhang wrote: "Such courses are of fundamental importance in a University in China where we hope that our institution will be founded on Chinese life and related to the people for whom it is working."[228]

In Sichuan the warlords were still busy with turf-battles that resulted directly in a shortage of money to support their troops. Some ambitious generals started minting their own dollars, which contained a very low percentage of silver. Very soon those inferior dollars flooded the market, driving the price of genuine dollars down to half of the original value. Without authoritative regulations, some local military leaders took

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[225] Dr. C. M. Stubbs was the first missionary to return to West China in early 1928. He was appointed Acting-vice-president to take over Sparling's position. Upon Dr. Stubbs' return, Sparling returned to Canada for furlough.

[226] Ibid.

[227] Lincoln Zhang, "Vice-President's Report," July 1928. UBCHEA RG-011-272-4329.

[228] G. W. Sparling, Acting-Vice-President, "Report of the Senate of the West China Union University to the Board of Governors", *The West China Missionary News*, September (1927): 16.

the even bolder step of issuing bank notes that depreciated the value of the genuine dollars further.

The drastic currency devaluation in Sichuan challenged the operations of WCUU directly and caused it to suffer financial difficulties on multiple levels. The staff and faculty who depended on wages and salaries to support their families found that it was impossible for them to put food on the table. The devalued currency made it difficult for students to pay their tuition fees as well.

Since more than 90 per cent of WCUU staff and instructors were missionaries and their salaries and costs of administration came from five different denominations, with the evacuation of missionaries, the financial support from their own churches also disappeared. In their absence, there was no money for the salaries of the newly hired teachers and staff either. Before the evacuation, the usual university budget, Zhang reported, was over "three hundred thousand dollars Mexican a year, out of which only $16,000 (Mex.$32,000) is available for current expenses."[229] Afterwards, Zhang had only 10 percent of the usual budget to keep the University running.

He was stunned and frustrated by the financial hardship in which the previous administration had left the University. "Such a financial system is bound to cause trouble." He noted to the Board that he couldn't make a fist without a hand. "If the University wants to be a worthy one and render real service to China... It ought to set aside in its budget a certain proportion for Chinese staff. If the missions cannot run good churches without a sufficient budget, we find a greater difficulty in running the University without the same."[230] He turned to mission societies for financial support; they "helped us to the extent of something like four thousand dollars."[231]

Some missionaries exhausted their own resources to provide help and support. Walter Small, a Canadian missionary, the head of building operations at WCUU, worked multiple jobs to generate income for the University. He taught English two days a week, ran "a small shop in the center of the city for which the owner contribut[ed]

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[229] Lincoln Zhang. "Vice-President's Report for the Year 1927-1928 to the Board of Governors of the West China Union University", July 1928. UBCHEA RG-011/272-4329. P. 0092.
[230] Ibid.
[231] "Another School Year Opens in the University". *The West China Missionary News*, Oct. (1927): 36.

three hundred dollars towards the salary account,"[232] worked as an inspector and builder for WMS of Woman's College building to get paid, and took the acting Bursar's responsibility.[233]

The dire financial situation concerned Zhang more than anything else. In early 1928, during Chinese New Year, rather than spending time with his family, Zhang travelled to Nanjing and Shanghai to visit several other Christian universities to learn how they dealt with their financial challenges. Their experiences and methods inspired Zhang. Taking advantage of his travel, Zhang visited WCUU medical and dental graduates who had private practices in big cities like Shanghai, Nanjing, Beijing and Tianjin. He explained to alumni about the difficult situation the University was facing, and asked them provide support. Fortunately, the alumni came together to pledge scholarships for students from poor families.

Back in Chengdu, Zhang started to build up a social network to encourage the local gentry and celebrities to make contributions to the University as well. He knew that time did not favour his efforts since anti-foreign sentiment was still fresh in the minds of most people. He made the appeal anyway, which resulted in local politicians and gentry pledging a thousand dollars (Mex).

For the missionaries and the Board, Zhang's appointment was a short-term expedient rather than part of a long-term strategy; Zhang didn't treat his job as a temporary arrangement. He acted as if he were the person who would be responsible for this educational institution - then and in the future. Although the budget was extremely tight, and he had a hard time finding money to pay the instructors, he still decided that the University needed to carry on the original construction plans.

Mr. Walter Small was put in charge of several construction projects: the education building, the medical and dental buildings, and the library. As Zhang noted, Mr. Small "is experienced not only in building, but in social affairs too. In helping some of the gentry and generals with building plans, he became very well acquainted with the community."[234] The social connections Small established saved him from trouble

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[232] Walter Small, "Report of work July1st, 1927-June 30, 1928." UBCHEA RG-011-274-4329.
[233] Ibid.
[234] Lincoln Zhang, "Vice-President's Report for the Year 1927-1928 to the Board of Governors of the West China Union University", July 1928. UBCEA RG-011-272-4329, P. 0089.

caused by soldiers who camped on school grounds demanding various payments. He worked hard to gain support from local merchants and workers. Since the contract for materials was signed before the currency depreciated, the Chinese builders honoured the contract but suffered losses. "By meeting the needs of the depreciated currency, they (the local construction contractors) were willing to continue delivering materials and doing the work."[235] Together they mobilized all the possible resources to make the University business as usual.

Despite of all the turmoil and agitation that had been going on, Mr. Small pushed to continue construction work the whole time, "without the loss of a single day's work."[236] With his serious commitment and dedication, the building for medicine and dentistry was quickly completed, and was handed over to the University for use in early 1928.

To deal with local warlords who interrupted construction efforts, Lincoln Zhang sought support from Dr. Wilford, the head of the Canadian Mission hospital in the city. Dr. Wilford "is on good terms with nearly all the military leaders and by negotiating with them has succeeded almost every time in helping us when we have trouble with the soldiers."[237]

In the fall of 1928, after a temporary delay owing to the lack of funding, the Educational Building was completed.[238]

In dealing with the crisis, Lincoln Zhang demonstrated ability for navigating potential opportunities for cooperation despite disagreements and conflict. He believed that "perhaps the last and most important thing for this institution to do is to keep up its fine co-operative spirit."[239] He acknowledged that his opinions, perspectives, and approaches about university management were different from those of Vice-presidents Sparling and Dr. Clifford M. Stubbs from time to time; nevertheless, he believed they could work together for the same goal.

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[235] Walter Small, "Report of Work July1st, 1927-June 30, 1928." UBCHEA RG-011-274-4329.
[236] Ibid.
[237] Lincoln Zhang, "Vice-President's Report for the Year 1927-1928."
[238] Ibid.
[239] Lincoln Zhang, "Vice-President's Report for the Year 1927-1928 to the Board of Governors of the West China Union University," July 1928. UBCEA RG-011-272-4329.

Opportunities for cooperation with different parties outside WCUU helped the school to manage the instructor shortage. WCUU set up an instructor-exchange program with other public educational institutions in Chengdu, saving the University from closing its doors. WCUU's communication with the provincial education bureau also bought it much-needed time to prepare itself to comply with national government registration requirements. The University's cooperation with different mission stations further lessened its financial difficulties. Mr. Small's cooperation with local military leaders helped the University construction projects move along smoothly. In addition, for many events, Zhang invited Chengdu media to the University to promote better understanding of its cause, which gradually minimized its public reputation as an unfriendly and foreign institution. Such cooperation reduced misunderstanding and increased trust between the University and different parties, ultimately strengthening their ability to weather hardships in partnership and collaboration.

Working alongside Lincoln Zhang, Sparling watched his work carefully. He declared himself to be greatly encouraged and satisfied with the progress of the University since the evacuation. Sparling admitted, "The Chinese have an insight which foreigners can never get. Their presence is also an inspiration to us, as we watch their enthusiasm and realize that they are thoroughly committed to the cause which we represent and are determined that it must advance in spite of all opposition or interference."[240]

He credited Lincoln Zhang and other Chinese Christians with giving the general public a "more correct idea of what we are doing." This resulted in doubts dissipating and points of view changing. The attitude of people toward the missionaries' work changed from suspicion to support. Some of the gentry expressed their appreciation of Chinese Christians' work. "Chinese people started realizing that missionary work and the Christian Church are not responsible for China's trouble."[241]

Sparling attributed the changes to the devolution of responsibilities and to trust in the Chinese.

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[240] G. W. Sparling, "Report of the Senate of the West China Union University to the Board of Governors," *The West China Missionary News*, September (1927): 18.
[241] "Another School Year Opens in the University," *The West China Missionary News*, Oct. (1927): 34.

> In our University we find marked improvement throughout the year. In the staff we find a degree of mutual confidence, which didn't exist before the Chinese were given equal authority in all the counsels [sic: councils] and committees of the University. The result is more initiative and more readiness to make constructive suggestions rather than a mere willingness to support plans and schemes, which they had no share in producing. The place of Chinese as leaders is no longer nominal but real and a spirit of cooperation exists in the affairs of the institution are moving smoothly and the University is fitting naturally into the life of the community.[242]

Sparling's close experience working with the Chinese painted him as a strong supporter of the University's impending registration with the GMD government and its devolution to the Chinese. In February 1928, he sent a separate report, titled "University Registration" to the Board of Trustees to urge them that "we should continue our preparations and reorganize in a manner which will comply with the Central Government regulations."[243]

Locals' attitudes toward mission work changed due to multiple factors. First, some educated people had learned that Chinese leaders and power were responsible for China's social and political problems. Second, Christian church and missionary work was not the cause of China's troubles. Third, for the first time, a Chinese had taken the Vice-presidency at a Christian university, meaning it would no longer be a foreign school. With Zhang in a position of leadership, non-Christian Chinese teachers and students engaged closely with teaching and learning. Observing all those changes, the local influences gradually viewed the Christian missionaries' work in a positive light. The missionaries had raised people like Lincoln Zhang up from poverty, provided

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[242] G. W. Sparling, "After One Year," *The West China Missionary News*, December (1927): 12.
[243] G. W. Sparling, "University Registration," *The West China Missionary News*, V.30 no.2 (1928): 21.

educational opportunities to the general population, and now Chinese Christian leaders were starting to bring positive changes to the University and local community.[244]

In September 1927, the head of the English Department in the Chengdu government university sent his two daughters to WCUU to study.[245] His action encouraged many local gentry to follow suit.

Dr. Beech approvingly noticed the new interactions between Chinese and Western missionaries after he returned to China in December 1928. He found there was a "delightful fellowship now existing between all Christian workers irrespective of race. The smaller group has made possible the inclusion of Chinese colleagues in larger numbers than in the pre-evacuation days."[246] He was greatly encouraged by "so great an improvement that even with the present return to normal strength, ways and means should be provided for the continuance of the gains in mutual understanding and fellowship."[247]

With action taken to settle a limited budget, instructor shortage, unfriendly local media, and increasing pressure for registration, Lincoln Zhang moved rapidly to focus on reforming the University's administrative structure, improving academic standards, modifying entrance examination methods, and increasing enrolment for more female students.

His first step was to reorganize the structures of the school. By leaving the Senate Committee and Cabinet to deal with general principles, Zhang set up an office of the Dean of Studies. The office dealt with student affairs, courses of study, and the administration's engagement with teachers. Mr. Fang Shuxuan was appointed as the head Dean of Studies. Zhang trusted his "quiet mind and patient temper, and carefulness."[248] For the office of the Business Manager, Mr. Donald Fei was assigned the leadership position. He would be responsible for entertaining university visitors and

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[244] Ibid.

[245] Lincoln Zhang, "Vice-President's Report for the Year 1927-1928 to the Board of Governors of the West China Union University", July 1928. UBCHEA RG-011-272-4329.

[246] Joseph Beech to Board of Governors, *The West China Missionary News*, January (1929): 25.

[247] Ibid.

[248] Lincoln Zhang, "Vice-President's Report for the Year 1927-1928 to the Board of Governors of the West China Union University," July 1928. UBCHEA RG-011-272-4329, P. 89.

guests, meeting various people to boost the University's reputation, and conducting fundraising.

Even without sufficient instructors, Zhang still believed that setting a higher standard for the University instructors was necessary, so he sought to "define the qualifications of the teachers" now and "setting up a standard for our teachers" for the future. As such, the University would "know better where to place our teachers, and apportion their work."[249] To advance the quality of teaching and learning, Zhang also aimed to enrich the collections of the library. "Our library was somewhat like a foreign institution, and not of much use for Chinese students, as most of its books are foreign."[250] He decided to change that. With his efforts, Mr. Lo, the most influential member of the Chengdu gentry who was known as the best classical Chinese book collector in the city, "consented to loan to our library for the use of the students his own private library of about forty to fifty thousand valuable Chinese books. Our library is now up to the standard set by the Council of Christian Higher Education, and it is a great help to us at such a financially difficult time."[251]

In June of 1927, Lincoln Zhang suggested to the Senate members that they change the date of the University's entrance examinations to the same dates as those of the Chengdu government universities. The reason for advancing the entrance examination date was to attract better quality students to WCUU. Before Zhang came into the position, the entrance examinations were held in early September, while most government schools were in first days of August; therefore, students who couldn't get into the public schools would come to WCUU, which was not their first choice. This change forced students to seriously consider WCUU as their chosen school; it also led to WCUU applicants becoming "quite noticeably superior to the applicants of former years."[252] It also resulted in the University accepting nineteen non-Christian students for the first time since its inception in 1910.[253]

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[249] Ibid.
[250] Ibid.
[251] Ibid.
[252] Sparling, "Another School Year Opens in the University," *The West China Missionary News*, Oct. (1927): 35.
[253] Ibid.

Discussions were exploding among missionaries and Chinese Christians about the admission of students who didn't come from a mission school. "We hope we can maintain such a fine spirit among the students as to make them real Christians, and not church members only; so as to give them something really fundamental in their lives;" his goal was "not to receive all who come, but select students, so as to make a real contribution to Chinese Society."[254] His vision was beyond educating Church members; his expectation to the students was that they could provide service to the community. They must possess the spirit of serving the country, and whether they were a Christian came second.

In late 1927, establishing a dormitory for female students was set as a task on the University agenda. The Woman's Missionary Society of Canada (WMS) and Lincoln Zhang approached Mr. Small to discuss if he could manage to take on one more project. By March, the ground of the female student dormitory was broken. By the time Zhang reported to the Board, the "dormitory [was] roofed in and plastered on the upper storey. This is a building one hundred and ten feet long by thirty five feet wide and is a two storey building."[255]

Prior to the completion of the dormitory, in September of 1927, Zhang pushed the University to accept 30 female students, and ten of them studied medicine. He was proud of taking a huge step to accept such a substantial number of female students. He planned to admit more after the completion of the woman's dormitory.

> It is sad that owing to lack of accommodation we could not receive more than thirty students. With our best efforts, we can perhaps next term take about twenty more, while more than fifty have already applied. We hope we can find some way of building more dormitories, so as to give the girls of West China, who have very little chance to study, either in

[254] Lincoln Zhang, "Vice-President's Report for the Year 1927-1928 to the Board of Governors of the West China Union University," July 1928. UBCEA RG-011-272-4329.
[255] Walter Small, "Report of Work July1st, 1927-June 30, 1928," UBCHEA RG-011-274-4329.

this province or elsewhere, more chance of being trained for their own and the nation's future.[256]

He believed that accepting thirty female students was "one of the most glorious things we have this year." The previous administrators were hesitant to accept more female students, even though the Woman's Missionary Society of Canada in Sichuan pushed hard on them to concede. Many staff was unwilling to take this step because "similar colleges in the city have trouble [with taking female students] nearly all the time." Zhang assured his colleagues that if other university professors sent their daughters to WCUU to study, it meant the community had more confidence in "our school than to any other college".[257] He wanted WCUU to be the pioneer in promoting education and providing opportunity for women. In his understanding, providing education for women was crucial to the future of the nation. Women shouldn't be restricted to the role of Bible women and capable housewives only, but have the opportunity to take part in efforts to build and modernize the nation.

Acting president Sparling was also excited about the "presence of so many girl students [which] adds much to the college life and improves the general spirit of the student body."[258] What surprised him was "at the election of officers of the student body a girl student received a majority of votes for the office of President…the incident shows the place which the girls are gaining in the life of the institution."[259]

By increasing the influence of the University, Lincoln Zhang suggested that the school start a university paper. It was a "joint effort of teachers, students, and alumni" and "a good advertisement of our university to outside circles."[260] He aimed to create a positive image of the University, and to make it an integral part of local society.

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[256] Lincoln Zhang. "Vice-President's Report for the Year 1927-1928 to the Board of Governors of the West China Union University," July 1928. UBCEA RG-011-272-4329.
[257] Ibid.
[258] Sparling, "Another School Year Opens in the University," *The West China Missionary News*, Oct. (1927): 36.
[259] Ibid.
[260] Lincoln Zhang, "Vice-President's Report for the Year 1927-1928 to the Board of Governors of the West China Union University," July 1928. UBCHEA RG-011-272-4329, P. 92.

In July 1928, Zhang sent out his annual report to the Board of Governors of West China Union University. For the first time in WCUU history a Chinese administrator prepared the University annual report.

The most significant part of the report was contained in section two - Future Problems and Prospects. This section not only served as Zhang's case study on the University's current issues, it was also a road map outlining his ideas for the University's future and the actions he would take to realize them.

There were two reasons why this section stands out. First, Zhang was hired as a gatekeeper, not as an engineer tasked with re-designing and renovating the University's infrastructure. Second, the Christian mission had its own direction and they didn't feel that they needed anyone, especially a Chinese, to re-direct it. Zhang understood the purpose of his role and position, but believed that further changes were necessary, even beyond the scope of his appointment.

The first point Zhang discussed was a "determination of policy". He asked questions to the Board regarding what kind of university WCUU should be:

> Ought it to be an increasingly worthy institution for the Christian education of China's young manhood and womanhood, or simply keep going along old lines? Should it exist for the welfare of the young people of West China as a whole, or simply for training our own [church] workers? Should it mould its policy to accord with the present need and situation in China, or simply copy Western institutions? Does it need Chinese teachers and administrators, or is this a secondary question?[261]

His answers and preferences were laid out in his questions. His aims presented to be a direct challenge to the aims that the missions and the Board set up for the University for the past 17 years.

Zhang's vision was for WCUU to be an educational institution for young Chinese men and women. He saw WCUU as working for the overall benefit of West

[261] Ibid.

China youth while serving China's present needs and situation and employing Chinese instructors and administrators. His focuses were solely on China, Chinese youth, and China's future. It was a Christian educational institution but its services should be catering to the needs of Chinese society.

His second topic was the "character and aim of the University." This section was presented as a discussion continuing from the first one. He pointed out, "There are problems confronting the University on which its future fate depends. Of course it will be much easier for those administering the University merely to follow in the old steps, but we feel it against our conscience to take such an easy path."[262] He asked the Board to break away from their narrow definition of the purpose of the University. He stated if the University just wanted to train "our own workers as teachers, preachers and physicians", it didn't need such big an institution, but "we can hardly believe that is the sole purpose of the mission." He argued that the efforts of the University to train Chinese Christian leaders were falling behind, and failing to adapt to the needs of the modernizing Chinese society and its people. He suggested that the primary purpose of education was to establish an ideal of life and society for Chinese youth, and "ought to accord with the practical needs of China and the actual situation." This Christian university needed, in his opinion, to identify the problems of China, cultivate promising young leaders, and "furnish China with some decent young men and women for the great task in the near future."[263] It was a bold statement of Lincoln Zhang's aim and principle for the University building, and remained a long-lasting disagreement and conflict between Lincoln Zhang and some missionaries and the Board members.

He recommended that the Board take the University's registration with Nanjing seriously, for administrators had already "received quite a number of dispatches from the National government", and the provincial bureau of education also urged WCUU to have the application ready. Zhang concluded, "registration will help Christian schools to clear up misunderstanding and persecution, as they will be better understood by the Government, by educators, by students and people."[264]

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[262] Ibid.
[263] Ibid.
[264] Ibid.

Regarding "teaching staff", Zhang discussed at length the benefits of raising standards for training missionary instructors and indigenizing the University faculty. Chinese society was experiencing rapid changes that usually led to temporary instability. The outcome of previous crises had been missionary evacuation and nearly the University closing, and the University should prevent it from happening again and negatively impacting its students. Based on this fact, he argued, a stable Chinese faculty and leadership was necessary for the survival and development of the University. Therefore, training its own graduates as instructors was a more practical step to take. On top of that, the Nationalist government registration requirements demanded that the majority of faculty and administrators be of Chinese nationality. For these reasons, hiring more Chinese instructors was an urgent and natural matter. Indigenizing faculty was a practical measure to solve the insufficient instructor issue and established a clear goal for the future.

With the University having just set new standards for its instructors, not every missionary teacher was able to meet the new requirements. As a result, the school emphasized the need for missionary teachers to sufficiently meet academic training qualifications. "When we ask the missions for teachers, it seems better that we should give them a more definite idea of the qualifications desired, so that in this way the University may better build up its standards."[265] To address the above, Zhang took the following steps. First, he sent WCUU graduates to Beijing, Shanghai and abroad for graduate studies. The fact that the school "must train our own graduates"[266] was a painful realization to come to after missionary instructors left West China. The second step was locating high calibre teachers from other educational institutions. "If there is a good teacher available locally, whose work is needed in our university, we ought to have some means on hand to get him or her, no matter where they come from…"[267] In order to get his hands on quality instructors, he was willing to loosen the previously strict mission requirements and hire non-Christians. And third, Zhang would try his best to provide promising career and financial security to faculty members.

[265] Ibid.
[266] Ibid.
[267] Ibid.

Zhang must have known that the actions he took, the reforms he made, and the road map he drew for the future of the University ran counter to the purposes of the Christian China missions and education. He was called to guard the gate of the mission's compound, not to rebuild it.

Zhang's new approaches to the University alarmed some missionaries and the Board members as well. On October 23, 1928, after carefully reading through Zhang's report, the Secretary to the Board of Governors Dr. Frank Anderson ordered to have his report printed and sent to all members of the Board.

On October 30th, 1928, the Annual meeting of the Board of Governors of the West China Union University was held in New York. Sir Joseph Flavelle chaired the meeting, Sparling was invited as a visitor, and no member was absent from the meeting. Everybody had a copy of Lincoln Zhang's Vice-presidential report, which was the centre of discussion. However, members' opinions about Zhang's report were only mentioned briefly. The meeting minutes recorded that "the report was then read by the Secretary and discussed", and "that the Board consider that Report clause by clause, the matter of Registration being deferred till the place assigned to it in the Agenda."[268] The conclusion about the Report stated, "the consideration of this report was now completed and it was, resolved that the same be received and filed and that the warm thanks of the Board be conveyed to Rev. Lincoln Dsang and Dr. C. M. Stubbs for their deeply interesting and illuminating account of the progress and prospects of the University."[269]

The Board's reactions to Lincoln Zhang's report could be summarized with three phrases that the report was received, was read, and the suggestion for registration was not considered at that time.

It was obvious that the Board had reservations about Lincoln Zhang's opinions and his concerns about the direction in which the University was heading. To register the University with the GMD Government and to let the Chinese hold the President position would lead the Board and missions to lose power and control. To re-establish the University as an educational institution that trained modern Chinese citizens and not Christian leaders and quality church members ran counter to the aims of Christian

[268] Frank Anderson, "Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Board of Governors of the West China Union University, October 30th, 1928, UBCEA RG-011-272-4329, P.143-149.
[269] Ibid.

China education. To hire non-Christian teachers and to accept students without a Christian background diminished the influence of the Christian atmosphere and religious learning experience. To indigenize the University faculty and staff met none of the Christian China missions' interests.

Zhang had drawn a forked road map for the future of the University from the mission.

The Impacts of the University Registration on the West China Missions

While the 1926-1927 evacuations ensured that evangelical work was no longer the priority in West China, it also changed the internal structure of the West China Missionary Society.[270] Opinions on whether or not the University should register with the GMD government divided the missionary community further.

In late 1925, the Republican Government had issued a request that all universities register with the government. This policy intended to put all colleges - Christian, private, and government - under the same regulations, an essential step to ensure that educational institutions on Chinese soil were led by Chinese educators and administrators. Under those regulations, the president or Vice-president of the University had to be Chinese, and the majority of the board members of the University must be Chinese as well. The regulation also made clear that Christian teaching must not be included in the school curriculum, and all religious activities on campus must be voluntary. The regulations stated explicitly that any educational institutes that failed to register with the government would be closed down. That was a step towards nationalizing China's higher educational system.

In the following years, that policy impacted the Christian Colleges in China and their founders considerably. Most Christian institution strongly resisted registration - only a handful registered without hesitation. The concerns of the founders of those universities and its mission faculty members differed from those of the evangelic missionaries. The educational missionaries and mission authorities worried that

[270] The long history of tensions and disagreements between the evangelical missionaries and medical and educational missionaries would continue. In Jan.13th, 1933, Dick wrote to Beech and George to complain that the University took too big a share of mission funds. UCCA 83.047C Box 16 File 17.

registration would result in loss of leadership and control of the University, while the evangelic missionaries found the limitation of religious activities on campus to be in direct conflict with their purpose in China.

The registration request initially led to panic and confusion among Chinese Christians as well. For Chinese educational workers, running a modern Christian college was too novel a task; moreover, the Christian mission bodies were the sole source of funding for the University at the time. Without educational missionaries' leadership and financial support, the future of the University would be challenged.

The missionaries' first reaction to the prospect of registration was one of resistance. First, the primary purpose for the China mission and its educational efforts was to Christianize China. The best vehicle to deliver Christian teachings, to cultivate Chinese Christian leaders, and to increase the number of Chinese Christians was the Christian educational institution. Excluding Bible learning from the University curriculum would make the already difficult mission harder. Second, educational institutions – elementary, middle and high schools and this university – were the result of decades of missionaries' painstaking efforts. Handing them over to people who were not ready for the job was unacceptable. Third, the conservative missionaries realized that, with registration, what China and the educational system would need was not evangelists but highly trained medical and educational missionary personnel, and that shift in emphasis would further jeopardize their vision of the West China mission.

With mixed feelings, the missionaries pondered their own positions in relation to the imminent changes. Some supported registration, some were furiously resistant, and some believed that the mission was heading in the direction of devolution. However, one thing that all missionaries agreed on was that more significant changes were imminent, which would unavoidably lead to the altering of mission aims, power sharing between missionaries and Chinese Christians, and a new focus for their missions.

On March 8th, 1927, Lincoln Zhang, together with other Chinese staff of WCUU while preparing to register with the provincial government, wrote to their missionary associates to urge the missionaries to stay and continue their educational efforts.[271]

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[271] "To our missionary associates in the University." March 8th, 1927. This letter was signed by Wen Hai Yuin 吴海云, C. H. Fang 方叔轩, U Tang I, Lu Chi, Cheo Kuang His, Chang Lin Gao 张凌高, Chang Min Chuin 张明俊, Wu Chao

On May 17th, 1927, Dr. Joseph Beech, the President of the West China Union University and a missionary from the American Methodist Episcopal Church, discussed the University registration at the Executive Committee meeting of the Board of Governors in New York. He was clearly aware of the different opinions among missionaries, noting, for example, "Mr. Sparling is personally agreeable to registration with the Guomindang government."[272] Personally, Beech didn't favour registration, at least if it could be avoided. His reason not to register was that the Chinese "authorities difficult to take responsibility…we ought not to proceed to register with a government which is not a recognized government." Regarding how the Board should deal with the situation, Beech made further recommendations.

> I think it would be a wise step for the Board of Governors not to put itself on record at present because I fear that would precipitate trouble. But I believe that the situation in China is such that this Board should put itself on record as favouring registration and that authority should be given to a small group in China of speaking and acting for the Board in applying for registration. That they have the right at all times until such events come to pass. We ought to endeavour to enter into treaties with them that they assume responsibilities as well as ourselves.[273]

Before ending his talk, he reminded his audience of the primary reason they were in China. "The business of this Board is to help that small body of foreigners. We are there to bring Christ into the land. We are there to make effective the trained leadership that will direct the national thought in Christian faith. "[274]

Hua, Fei Chung Chih 费承绪, Lai Yuin Chang, Chen Chi Shuan. They were all WCCU graduates, administrative staff and faculty members in 1927. UCCA 83.047C Box 16 File 2.

[272] Beech's speech at the Executive Committee meeting, May 17th 1927. UBCHEA RG011-272-4318.

[273] Ibid.

[274] Ibid.

The strategies Beech suggested could be interpreted as follows: first, pretending to favour registration. Second, assigning several missionaries to support the process of eventual registration, with the Board staying outside of this issue. Third, leaving the decision with a "small group" of missionaries who could take the blame, since the future of the GMD government was uncertain and future changes were unpredictable. Fourth, playing along with the Chinese who promoted registration, without, however, necessarily being serious about it. The Board could wait until their enthusiasm ebbed. In the end, the business of the Christians in China was to train Chinese Christian leaders. Registration would sabotage their Chinese missions.[275]

The strategy Beech laid out and his way of thinking revealed the hypocrisy of his attitude toward registration. His only concern was the Christian China missions. However, the question was, how would their missions materialize without building a better Chinese society? To separate China from their Chinese missions means to build a castle in the air. Perhaps the attitude of some missionaries toward the land in which they conduct their work was partly responsible for their failure. The real problem was their judgements toward China and its people, which were shaped only by their past experiences, and their wilful ignorance towards signs of change that they didn't like.

Not only did the Board of Governors and Dr. Beech offer little support for Zhang's ideas, they acted as barriers against what he wanted to do. Lincoln Zhang knew that advocating for registration with the government would be an uphill battle with the Board, but he was willing to make his best effort.[276] On the other hand, he barely had any support from relevant governments or political authorities. What's more, in Chengdu students and local people were still agitated by imperialist and colonialist initiatives in China. Any hesitation in registration would likely trigger another wave of anti-foreign activities.

His major support came from Chinese colleagues and some Canadian missionaries; although, even within these groups, not everybody favoured registration.

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[275] Ibid.

[276] In his report to the Board, Zhang strongly recommended Board to register WCUU with the Guomindang government. Lincoln Zhang. "Vice-President's Report for the Year 1927-1928 to the Board of Governors of the West China Union University," July 1928. UBCEA RG-011-272-4329.

Among them, Mr. G. W. Sparling was the strongest supporter of registration and provided inexhaustible help to Lincoln Zhang.

Under these circumstances, Zhang decided to take this issue to the Senate Committee. It was not difficult for him to obtain a vote for registration since a majority of the Committee was Chinese. Working closely with the Senate Committee, Zhang acted fast to get the registration documents ready. By late 1927, with national politics changing rapidly, all necessary documents were ready, the registration application was submitted, and the provincial government granted the University registration under the Beijing government's regulations. The application gave the University a standing in Chengdu and committed local officials to providing protection to the University.

Zhang, like most Chinese Christians of his generation, possessed strong nationalist feelings and dreamed about building a stronger China. He shared an understanding with many of his contemporaries that China could only be saved through education. Since WCUU was a Christian University, the majority of their students so far had graduated from Christian high schools, and non-Christian students had a hard time getting into the University. Registration would allow the University to reach a broader student base and attract students from non-religious backgrounds and diverse parts of society.

Later in 1928, the Sichuan provincial government granted registration to WCUU. The next step was to register the University with the newly consolidated GMD national Government.

The GMD's registration demand was imposed on all mission schools, universities, and middle and elementary schools, and concerned many missionaries. Dr. W. E. Smith, an early Canadian medical missionary in West China, was one of them. Unlike other medical missionaries, he stressed evangelical work more than that of medicine and education. He spent most his time preaching and giving sermons. After marrying his second wife, Dr. Ida Spear, he encouraged her to work at the hospital and clinic, freeing him up to continue his evangelical work. After returning to China in late 1928, he started seeing the mission organizations differently. In his annual report to the Board, he asked them, "Should we change our Church organization?" He didn't like it, but knew that changes in the country were happening and inevitable. He strongly

believed that "multiplying themselves" -- converting as many Christians as possible --, should be the primary goal of the mission work.[277]

Dr. Smith was not alone in emphasizing the importance of evangelical efforts. On January 19, 1930, before passing away, Dr. Charles Service wrote to Dr. Endicott to stress what he saw as the needs of West China. Regarding hiring personnel for the hospital, he suggested, "only Christian doctors should be employed in our mission hospitals."[278]

The GMD government's requirement for the registration and the discouragement of religious activities at schools were not the only challenges the West China mission faced. Changes that were happening at home in the West also concerned everybody. The Great Depression forced missionary societies in the United States and Canada to cut their mission budgets deeply. The direct result was fewer missionaries sent to West China. Cutting mission budgets also led to "the closing of out-stations, the dismissing of helpers and Bible women…"[279] With few missionaries working at the out-stations, some fledgling Christian churches and organizations became leaderless, and soon inactive. On the other hand, the Chinese elementary and middle schools developed exponentially under the sponsorship of the provincial and local governments. Some municipalities even proposed to buy out mission hospitals and take over mission schools. As in other places, the new Nationalist government's educational efforts and financial support pushed the missionary society to become less dominant in education in Sichuan province.

On March 12, 1930, a couple of weeks after Dr. Service emphasized hiring only Christian doctors in mission hospitals, Garside Bell, the Secretary of the West China Mission Council, wrote to the Board to explain the Minutes of the West China Mission Council. He pointed out that "during the year we have been obliged to engage graduate doctors etc. for our hospitals that are not members of the Church. They are men of good

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[277] W. E. Smith: "Should We Change Our Church Organization? Report of West China Work of 1928," UCCA 83.047C Box 2 File 33.

[278] Dr. Service to Endicott and Armstrong, Jan.19th & 30th, 1930. UCCA 83.047C Box 3 File 50.

[279] Bell to Dr. Endicott, Jan. 6th, 1930. UCCA 83.047C Box 3 File 50.

standing but not Christians."[280] Education and medical work were being emphasized rather than evangelical activities.

The Mission Council urged the Mission Board to send a small group of missionaries to West China as soon as possible. The council stressed that the University teachers and medical workers must prioritize their return to China.[281] Some missionaries continued to emphasize the need for Christian teachings; even so, more actions were taken to improve education and medicine, not just praying.

Dr. Leslie Kilborn, a Canadian medical missionary, who was the secretary of the Medical Services Committee Council in West China, wrote to Endicott to ask him to send as many highly committed medical missionaries to West China as possible. Yet, he did so with strict conditions. For example, he directly rejected certain missionaries that the Board was intending to send. "Miss Batstone is not fit to live in the China of today,"[282] and Miss. L. E. Taylor's "highly emotional disposition made work in one of our mission hospital under present conditions much too great an ordeal for her to endure."[283] He gave Dr. Endicott specific names of those who he believed could work well in the West China. "We appealed for the return of Drs. Birks and Pincock…we have asked the Board to appoint Mr. Bruce Collier to West China as soon as he gets his Ph.D." Then, he wrote passionately, speaking of the Committee:

> We also appealed for three new medical men, and one of our resolutions distinctly makes a difference between men who will be willing to remain a lifetime in station work, and the usually more highly specialized men who will work in the Medical College. It is hoped that these three men will be of the former type…I would like to mention the name of Dr. Gordon Brown who graduated from the University of Toronto last year. He is a student volunteer and a United Churchman. Had the Board gotten into touch with him? He is engaged to Dr. Isabel Menzies, a daughter of Honan. I know that

[280] March 12, 1930, Garside Bell: comments on Council Minutes 1930. 83.047C Box 3 File 46.
[281] *West China News Letters,* No. 9. UCCA 83.047C Box 2 File 34.
[282] Leslie Kilborn to Endicott, Feb. 9th, 1929. UCCA 83.047C Box 2 File 41.
[283] Ibid.

> the Honan Mission is anxious to get this valuable couple out there, but in view of the state of affairs there, is not ours the greater need?[284]

In early March 1930, the best mission surgeon in Chengdu, Dr. Service passed away, leaving nobody to conduct surgeries in West China. In April, Dr. Endicott personally approached Dr. Wilford to ask if he could recommend any medical surgeon for China. Understanding Dr. Endicott perfectly, Dr. Wilford replied,

> I am sorry to say that I know of no one available with the language qualifications as well as surgical ability. Of course, a surgeon could be appointed and he would learn the language and be ready for work in due time, but that would not meet the immediate need…If I could persuade my family to return, and if I could sell my practice, I would be very willing and anxious to return. My wife is away on a visit to her mother just now. When she returns we will talk over the matter. I have a good practice which ought to be saleable, though I might have to sacrifice a bit financially in turning it over. This I would be willing to do if necessary."[285]

Within weeks, Dr. Wilford sold his practice and returned to China with his wife. They worked at the mission hospital and taught at WCUU medical school until 1950.

After 1930, few evangelical missionaries returned or were sent to West China. The Christian missionaries in West China from that time on were mostly professionals in medicine, dentistry, pharmacy, chemistry and Liberal Arts.

The United Church of Canada recognized the changes brought by the evacuation and by the University registration, and demonstrated its support. Before 1928, the

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[284] Ibid.

[285] Correspondence between Dr. Wilford and Dr. Endicott, April 11th, 1930. UCCA 83.047C Box 3 File 52.

United Church of Canada missionary society sponsored and supported Chinese Christians to study theology only in Canada.[286] When the West China field suggested sending Chinese Christians to upgrade their education in Toronto, the Board recommended henceforth, sending the University faculty who specialized in science to study in Canada instead of studying theology.

In early 1930, Sparling returned to West China with a PhD in theology and resumed his position as the Vice-president of West China Union University and taught in the philosophy department. In March of 1930, Dr. Sparling wrote to Dr. Endicott to report the progress of the University registration. There were still some missionaries strongly against it; however, they were a small minority. He reported, "All Chinese staff and students are in favour of registration."[287]

In early 1927, at the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Board of Governors, Dr. Beech expressed tremendous doubts about the legitimacy of the Guomindang government and the Chinese Christians' ability to run a modern Christian college. He was unsupportive of registering mission educational institutions for fear of losing their Christian evangelical aims, the privileges missionaries had enjoyed in West China, and the loss of leadership on the part of Christian churches in China to produce mission-educated Chinese youth. In early 1931, the formal registration application to the Nationalist government was made, and Beech stepped down from the Presidency to be the Chancellor of WCUU. His worries about the impacts of the registration on Christian missions remained.

In September he wrote to the Board of Governors to report that registration was "resulting in a distinct slowing up of the Christian preparatory education program." In addition, he said, it had "resulted in a large majority of the (Christian High School) students entering into business instead of going to college." Because theological education "hardly receives the crumbs that fall from the table…there are only 16 prospective students for the ministry listed in the University."[288]

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[286] The only exception was Dr. Huang Tianqi. In 1921 Dr. Huang was the first Chinese to gain a Ph.D. from WCUU in dentistry. In Feb. 1926, Dr. Huang was sent to University of Toronto to upgrade at the College of Dentistry. The United Church of Canada West China Missionary Society did not provide financial support to him. Dr. Thompson raised the fund from the Ontario Dentistry Association for his study at the University of Toronto.

[287] Sparling to Endicott May 5th 1930. UCCA 83.047C Box 16 File10.

[288] Joseph Beech to Board of Governors, September 30th, 1931. UBCHEA RG 011-277-4382, P.0628-0631.

Beech had reservations about the pressure for registration and worried deeply about the University losing the priority it gave to theological education. However, he accepted the changes graciously and worked hard with Chinese authorities to make the registration process as smooth as possible. He wrote to inform the Board, "preparation of these documents was a monumental task for which we are very largely indebted to Mr. C. H. Chen,[289] a former government official and educator who has been in the service of the University for the past six or seven years."[290] Since the lack of qualified teaching faculty was still a major challenge for the University, Beech exercised his power to recommend Chinese students who studied in the United States to West China. Later in November 1927, he wrote to Dr. Arnup, "Miss Ling will finish her work in March or April, after which she will be ready to go at any time."[291] In September 1931, after years of work to encourage his alma mater to support the West China Union University, Beech brought to Chengdu Hospital the first ambulance, financed under contributions from faculty and students of Wesleyan University. Often, when certain situations became too challenging for Lincoln Zhang to solve, Beech offered his help. In 1936, the national and local governments requisitioned the University campus as a military training base, provoking complaints from both faculty and students. Zhang negotiated with the Generals innumerable times but still couldn't get the soldiers to behave. Finally, "through the help of Dr. Beech, we approached to the Generalissimo to ask the military training be moved out of the campus. The Generalissimo made an exception for us,"[292] Lincoln Zhang reported to the Board of Governors with gratitude.

In 1908, when establishing a university had still been just a thought, a group of missionaries from the American Baptist Mission Union, the Canada Methodist Mission, the Friends Foreign Missionary Association of Britain, and the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States agreed that the aims of the University were "to further the

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[289] According to the WCUU Journal of Oct. 15, 1941, Mr. Cheng was educated in Japan. After returning to China he worked as an officer at the Department of Education for the Sichuan Provincial government. He started working at WCUU in 1924 as the director of university affairs and the director of the Library of Chinese Cultural Section, and dean of the Department of Chinese Language and Literature. He contributed greatly on university registration with both provincial and the national governments. He established and strengthened the department of Chinese Language and Literature, and built a solid foundation for the library of Chinese studies. After retiring from the university, he became a Buddhist master. He passed away on September 7, 1941. His memorial service was held at the university, and the chancellor of WCUU hosted the service.

[290] Beech to Board of Governors, September 30th, 1931. UBCHEA RG 11-277-4382, P.0628-0631.

[291] Beech to Arnup, Nov. 10th 1927. UCCA 83.047C Box 16 File 2.

[292] The President's Report of 1935-1936, July 1936. UBCHEA RG011-297-4624. P.93-103.

cause of Christian truth by means of education."[293] By the time the University was finally established in 1910, the mission statement had changed slightly, "the object of the University shall be the advancement of the kingdom of God, by means of higher education in West China under Christian Auspices."[294]

In 1927, when the University registered with the Beijing government, the vision of Zhang and his colleagues about the purpose of the University differed significantly from that of the missionaries. It stated, "The purpose of this University is to teach advanced knowledge, develop noble characters, and promote human happiness."[295] The WCUU no longer saw itself as an educational institution only to train Chinese Christian leaders and "advance the Kingdom of God" but a place promoting Chinese modernization.

Generally speaking, the purposes of the educational institutions for Christian missionaries were distinct from that of Chinese Christians. To Christianize China and train Chinese Christian leaders were the aims of the mission; to modernize China and cultivate future Chinese leaders and citizens were the goals of Zhang and his Chinese Christian colleagues. In his 1928 annual report, Zhang made it clear in a statement to the Board that under his leadership the University "must be more truly Chinese in aim and… produce those who will meet the problems and difficulties of Chinese society."[296]

The significance of Christian influence was abating, at least in the University's teaching and activities. Zhang was determined to show that the priority of education was to "furnish China with some decent young men and women for the great task in the near future."[297] The vision of Zhang and his educational undertaking would expand from the University campus to the broader community later on.

Changes were not only happening in West China. After meeting Zhang in Shanghai in 1928, Rev. W. B. Albertson wrote, "Chinese are taking the Presidency in a number of the Universities. Canton, Nanking, Shanghai Baptist, Soochow, Yen Ching,

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293 *The History of West China Union University*.

294 Ibid.

295 The original Chinese characters are: 本大学以教授高深学术，培养高尚品格，增进人类幸福为目的.

296 Lincoln Zhang, "Vice-President's Report for the Year 1927-1928 to the Board of Governors of the West China Union University", July 1928. UBCHEA, RG 11-272-4329, P. 92.

297 Ibid.

etc. practically all of the Eastern Colleges have changed over and have already elected Chinese at the head or are preparing to do so."[298]

Thus, in the early 1930s most Christian universities in China were in the hands of Chinese administrators. In terms of Christian education, most Chinese educators and administrators had different conceptions from their Western counterparts. To modernize and strengthen China were their common goals.

After running this educational institution for almost five years, Zhang's understanding of the purpose of education evolved, becoming clearer and more practical. He wanted the University to equip Chinese youth with "the spirit of sacrifice in service, cultivate noble character, teach advanced academics, create specialized talents, and meet social needs."[299] However, what they needed to accomplish was to convince Dr. Beech to support the registration.

On May 17, 1927, Dr. Beech laid out his registration plan to the Board of governors, and by the early 1931, it had taken four long years for the Board to finally accept the fact that the power transfer to the Chinese was ineluctable. This long delay illustrates not only the missionary's struggle to hold onto power, but also the Chinese Christians' frustrations as they sought to gain better supports from the general population and Chinese government at every level.

Without registration with the Nanjing government, Lincoln Zhang would endure tremendous pressure from local influential groups, alumni, and WCUU students. The alumni warned Zhang on many occasions that refusing registration would result in students' resistance.[300] Zhang was caught in an extremely difficult position. If he pushed too hard, his superiors and some missionaries could accuse him of being power hungry; by following the instructions of the mission boards, the University would be confronted by the entirety of Chinese society.

Out of frustration, in the middle of 1930 Zhang submitted his resignation,[301] but the Senate Committee wouldn't accept it.

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[298] Letter from Rev. W. B. Albertson, Feb. 24th, 1928. Shanghai, *West China News Notes*, No. 7, April 12, 1928, UCCA 83.047C Box 2 File 34.

[299] The original Chinese charters are:以博爱牺牲服务之精神,培养高尚品格,教授高深学术,造就专门人才,适应社会需要.

[300] Zhang Liping, 353.

[301] Ibid.

With overwhelming support from the Chinese to register the WCUU with the Nanjing Government, the next immediate challenge faced by the Senate Committee of WCUU was to elect or appoint a Chinese person as president of the University. Dr. Beech had held the position of President since the inception of this University in 1910.[302]

The same power shift was happening not only in the University but also in a broader context. Sparling informed Endicott, "You will have heard that Conference elected two Bishops for China, one of whom is a Chinese and will reside here in Chengtu. The Chinese Church is certainly making progress."[303]

On April 16, 1931, Lincoln Zhang was appointed as "President of the West China Union University for one year."[304] By the time of Zhang's appointment, 10 out of 13 Christian Colleges in China had Chinese presidents and were registered with the GMD government.

This long delay foreshadowed the challenges that lay ahead for Lincoln Zhang as he took on the University's future developments.

A Comparatively Peaceful Time

In late 1928 and early 1929 missionaries who had agreed to return to West China were back and readjusted to their work. With the University becoming a Chinese educational institute a foregone conclusion, most missionaries accepted the fact that registration was largely a matter of sovereign rights.

The returned missionaries soon noticed that the work environment was noticeably more friendly and pleasant. "The missionaries have been able to itinerate

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[302] Joseph Beech was born October 3rd, 1867, in Newbold, England. He graduated from Wesleyan University in 1899, with a Bachelor's of Philosophy degree. In 1911 he received an honorary Doctorate of Divinity. In 1899, Beech traveled to China. From 1901 to 1904, he was the principal of a high school in Chongqing. From 1905 to 1913, he was the president of Chengdu College. In 1913, he became one of the founders of the West China Union University, and he served as president from 1914 to 1931, and then as chancellor until 1941. In March 1939 Dr. Beech was awarded the Fourth Class Jade Medal by the Chinese Nationalist Government, a distinction only given to two other Americans, Professor John Dewey and Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler. Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek gave a farewell address to Dr. Beech when he retired from his post at WCUU.

[303] Ibid.

[304] UBCHEA RG 011-286-4484. P.1. In the early 1931, when the Senate Committee agreed to register the university with the national government and appointed Lincoln Zhang as the president, the Senate Committee changed its name to the Board of Directors.

undisturbed by agitation or banditry…everywhere the respectful hearings were given…the province of Szechuan has been an oasis of comparative peace and calm."[305]

The thing that seems to have excited the missionaries most was that the Chinese preachers, teachers, and farmers were exceedingly keen to learn the newest ideas and technologies. Beside their usual evangelical work, the missionaries also focused on peasants' literacy education, public health, and improvements in agriculture. Large numbers of people went to night schools to learn how to read and write. "There is no large building where any number of people could gather. So they have agreed to meet for five or six nights just before and after the full moon each month, except when it rains. There they meet in the moonlight out in the open sitting around on a grassy plot of ground."[306]

At the same time, the mission schools reached their highest capacity and became over-crowded, especially schools for girls and women. "There has been an increase of 28% in the five Higher Primary and Middle Schools of the General Board. In the six schools of the Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada (WMS) of this class there has been an increase of 43%."[307]

One development that pleased the evangelistic missionaries greatly was the changed attitude of the gentry and local authorities. The local elite had been the strongest force resisting the missionaries and their medical and educational efforts. They, now, were anxious to socialize with missionaries and eager to send their children to mission schools. They started recognizing and admiring the changes the mission hospital and schools brought to their community. They were itching to learn from missionaries in order to build their own hospitals instead of depending on missionaries. The missionaries understood that the gentry's approaches were largely from a "political or materialistic standpoint", but they welcomed them as bringing opportunities to "pass along the Truth."[308]

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[305] Author was no clear, possibly Rev. Garside Bell. "Report of West China Mission of 1931." UCCA 83.047C Box 3 File 66.
[306] Ibid.
[307] Ibid.11.
[308] Dr. Smith, "Report of Work for 1930." December 31st, 1930. UCCA 83.047C Box 3 File 51.

In the report of his 1930 work, Dr. Kilborn wrote with delight, "The year 1930 has been the busiest and in most ways the most satisfying year since I came to the Mission Field in 1921."[309] He was pleased to see "teaching has been better done", "students are better prepared", and faculty at both medical and dental college had increased their work efficiency. The membership of the student Christians also increased steadily, this being "one of the most significant things that has happened in student circles in West China for years."[310] The senior students had started attending chapel services on a regular basis. Exercising the leadership of the Student Christian Movement, students, especially those in medicine, had started providing social service work on and outside the campus. They conducted a night school for servants and workmen, a Sunday morning service for servants, a school for poor children of the neighbourhood, and went on a number of public health educational trips into nearby towns. Both the Chinese faculty members and graduates were major forces in professional and community service.

In late 1931, the Chinese doctors, dentists and nurses, in increasing numbers, started providing substantial services in West China. They worked independently as well alongside mission medical professionals to take responsibility in the fields of teaching, clinic work, and general community service. Three things that impressed the missionaries greatly about these Chinese medical professionals were, "first, the increasing number of women coming into the hospital wards from year to year. Secondly, the large sums of money contributed by the local gentry towards the support of the hospital."[311] And third, the fact that high standards set by the medical and dental missionaries not only gave WCUU a great reputation, but also allowed its graduates to be welcomed and accepted by other medical schools in major Chinese cities like Shanghai, Beijing and Tianjin.

The years from 1929 to 1931 also saw the rapid growth and development of peasants' agricultural education and rural economy. Although the University's registration with the government meant theological education was excluded from the

[309] L.G. Kilborn, "Report of Work of 1930." UCCA 83.047C Box 3 File 51.
[310] Ibid.
[311] "Report of West China Mission of 1931." UCCA 83.047C Box 3 File 66. P. 18-9.

school curriculum, some evangelic missionaries still made tremendous efforts to use all possible means to attract people to the church and church programs.[312]

In early 1930, the Nationalist government started making efforts to keep young people on their farms, teaching them to farm more productively than their fathers. With the Chinese students' assistance, Rev. Frank Dickinson, a Canadian missionary, took this opportunity to work with local authorities to help farmers to raise better crops and breed better animals. "Many people feel that this is our new open door… This may be one way in which the Christian church can recover the moral and spiritual leadership which it may seem to have lost in recent years."[313]

Lincoln Zhang visited Christian universities in East China annually and he was impressed with the Nanjing University's agriculture and forestry programs. With the rise in popularity of the Rural Evangelism Movement in China, Zhang hired Mr. Li Mingliang 李明良, a graduate from Nanjing University's agricultural studies department and assigned him to work with Frank Dickinson to start a rural study program.[314]

Since coming to China in 1913, Dickinson had planned to improve the quality of native dairy cows. His project grew to include the introduction of foreign fruit trees, mainly apple trees, poultry, and breeding cows in Sichuan. In his scheme, approximately 12,000 trees would "be changed over from poor fruit-bearing trees to trees which will bear good fruit."[315] He gave away scion wood to be used as grafting material on Chinese stock as New Year gifts every year. He attracted great attention and support from gentry, business people, and local authorities.

During his furlough between 1928 and 1929, Dickinson went to study at Cornell University and obtained the degree of Master in Science in the Department of Agriculture. After returning to China, he started his campaign to distribute scion wood to villages. The first person that came to ask for the scion wood was a biology teacher at WCUU. Dickinson personally took the scion wood into Chinese nurseries in deep

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[312] Ibid.
[313] Bell to Endicott, Feb. 10th, 1931. UCCA 83.047C Box 3 File 57.
[314] Ibid.
[315] Dickinson to Endicott, October 18th, 1930. UCCA 83.047C Box 3 File 50.

mountain areas. He taught the nurserymen to graft in more efficient ways and promised these nurserymen that next year the good trees were to be purchased and brought to Chengdu. Through his indefatigable effort, more productive stocks were introduced to the remote mountainous areas and the entire province. His effort resulted in local farmers making significant gains to their incomes.[316]

The second person who approached Dickinson was a university graduate who decided to return to his home farm to be a modern farmer. The third person was a dental student who, with his parents, walked seven days to bring the scion wood back to their home farm. Then, nurserymen came from both city and countryside for the scion wood. Later on, generals and local gentry invited Dickinson to their lands for advice on their crop improvements. Dickinson was delighted by the enthusiasm of these people who not only wanted better harvests, but also their desire to learn new technologies and methods. "We are trying to get behind this program to the fullest extent of our present resource in men and money," Bell reported to the mission Board.[317]

In the late 1920s, China began to experience major changes. The growth of Chinese nationalist sentiment stimulated by the May Fourth Movement had promoted a national awakening, which was bearing fruit. The newly established fledgling Nationalist government provided the Chinese people with a sense of nationalism. A group of Western-educated Chinese youth were the first stratum of modern Chinese intellectuals who saw national rejuvenation as their duty and responsibility. These accumulated changes gradually led to transformations in every aspect of Chinese society and resulted in various changes among numerous social groups. The missionary evacuation and WCUU registration with the government shifted the West China Christian society from an evangelical force to a professional educational group, and shifted its original aims from the training of Chinese Christian leaders to cultivating quality citizens for a modern China. The diminishing leadership of West China Christian missionaries provided opportunities for mission-promoted Chinese Christians to exercise their own leadership ability, to gain self-confidence, and to undertake the task of saving and modernizing their own nation. The devolution resulted not only in

[316] Bell to Endicott, Feb. 10th, 1931. UCCA 83.047C Box 3 File 57.
[317] Ibid.

the University's academic development, but also dispelled the animosity and misunderstanding that had existed between missionaries and the general public, bringing them together in the cause of China's modern educational effort. The rural peasants, the gentry class, local government officials and warlords who saw the promise of a rejuvenated nation, began to change their attitudes toward their one-time enemy, from whom they now believed they had much to learn.

Encouraged by the changes of Chinese society, Lincoln Zhang was determined to do his share. Although he was appointed as the President of the University, he still existed between a rock and a hard place.

Conclusion

The late 1920's and early 1930's were a time when changes took place everyday and in many aspects of Chinese society. Although reluctant to let Chinese Christians and the Chinese government take control of mission-operated educational institutions, the West China educational missionaries were forced into devolution when changes became unavoidable.

Lincoln Zhang's reforms during the absence of missionaries clearly demonstrated his ability to run an educational institution. His revolutionary plans for indigenizing and secularizing the WCUU challenged efforts for reconciliation between Chinese educators and Western missionaries, especially when it came to the focus of education. Lincoln Zhang's pursuits would be challenged and tested by both the missionary community and Chinese society.

The first group of WCUU medical school students and instructors, 1914

The students were in the front row and instructors were on the back. On the back from left to right were Dr. Omar Killborn (Canadian, 1910-1919), Dr. W. R. Morse (American 1915-1937), Dr. H L. Canright (American 1910-1928), Dr. Aiwen (The English name and service time at WCUU unknown), and Dr. Charles W. Service (Canadian, 1914-1930; Dr. Service passed away March 1930 in Chengdu)

(Source: Sichuan University History editorial committee, ed. *History of Sichuan University-West China Union University, 1910-1949,* Vol. 4, Chengdu: Sichuan University Press, 2006.)

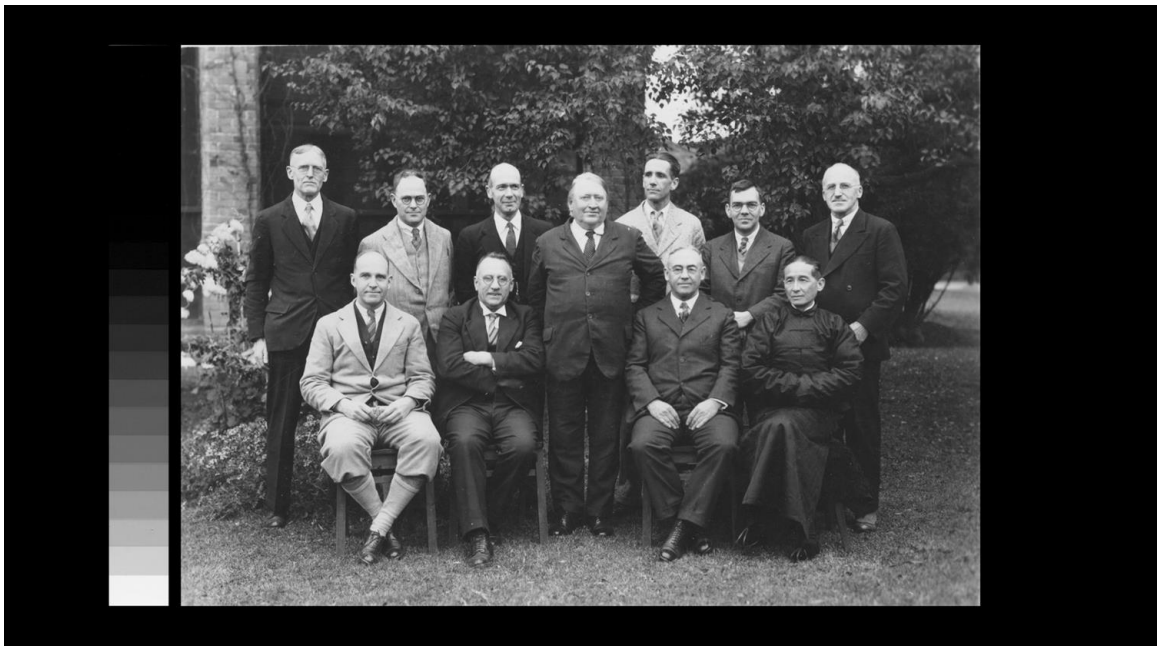
The Medical and Dental building completed in 1928

The East Wing was medicine and the West Wing was for Dentistry

(Source: Sichuan University History editorial committee, ed. *History of Sichuan University-West China Union University, 1910-1949,* Vol. 4, Chengdu: Sichuan University Press, 2006.)

The female students' dormitories were completed in the fall of 1927

(Source: Sichuan University History editorial committee, ed. *History of Sichuan University-West China Union University, 1910-1949,* Vol. 4, Chengdu: Sichuan University Press, 2006.)



1935, the educational missionaries at WCUU

The first row seat from left to right set: W. B. Albertson, Dr. S. H. Lilijestrand, Dr. Morse, and Mr. Yang Chongxi; the second row from left to right: Dr. David Graham, Dr. Leslie Killborn, Mr. D. S. Dye, Mr. A. J. Brace, Mr. J. D. Edgar, Dr. D. L. Phelps, and Mr. G. Sewell.

(Source: Yale Archives RG 11-418-5883-5684.)

Dickinson and an unidentified assistant with hybrid fruit plants

(Source: Yale University Library Divinity Archives RG 11-417-5425)

Chapter Three: Between a Rock and a Hard Place

Introduction

In the early 1920s, China experienced rapid social and political changes. In 1924, the Nationalist Party and the Communist Party began their first attempt at cooperation. The Northern Expedition, which took place in 1926, resulted in the country's unification in 1928. Calls for strengthening national consciousness and unity, abolishing extraterritoriality, eliminating foreign concessions, and eradicating government oversight of education became standard policy, and reflected the nation's demands to revive its dignity and honour. This sentiment carried on into the early 1930s.

Having accepted the position of Vice-president during a time when anti-imperialist and anti-Christian movements were spreading like wildfire and the campaign to restore China's sovereign rights over educational institutions was cresting, Lincoln Zhang was pushed into coping with unprecedented challenge. As the top Chinese administrator of a Christian college, he had to fulfill his duty and responsibility to the University and its funders, while also addressing the local community's demands for educational sovereignty.

Caught between a rock and a hard place and walking a delicate line, Lincoln Zhang saw challenges beyond the WCUU campus. While dealing with various difficulties, he was determined to make WCUU a "worthy place" for the community, and to push the school as part of national modernization efforts by registering it with the GMD government. His ultimate goal was to cultivate young men and women with a sense of community service who would become valuable assets to the community.

This chapter details the difficult positions in which Lincoln Zhang found himself. At WCUU, he became a target not only for political campaigns to restore educational rights, but for anti-foreigner campaigns as well. As a result, tensions grew between Lincoln Zhang and his mentor, Dr. Beech, with regards to the University's registration.

The Resistance to Registration

In November 1928, the Board of Governors sent Dr. Beech back to China to assist with the University registration. He crossed the Atlantic Ocean to Britain first, and then

went to Moscow. From there he took the train to Shenyang (Mukden), and then from Beijing to Shanghai. He arrived in Hankou on December 3, 1928; then took a detour from North to East and then to West China. The purpose of Beech's detour was to collect information about the registration status of other universities before he returned to Chengdu. He aimed to convince the Board of Governors that WCUU registration shouldn't be an urgent matter and to establish specific points of resistance against registration for the WCUU senate to put forward.

In January 1929, he reported to the Board that Yenching University was registered "under the Peking government" which made it "a virtually unregistered institution at the present hour…" He added "Nanking is, I believe, the only University that is registered to date…"[318] He published this letter in *The West China Missionary News* in the first issue of 1929, to present his point of view about the registration.

Beech's opinion caused different reactions among the missionaries, Chinese Christians and university staff at WCUU. His strategy, similar to what he had suggested to the Board of Governors one year earlier, was not to oppose registration, but not to cooperate with it either. He suggested to the Board and the University that registration "should not be seriously considered," for he wanted to buy time to put some religious programs into a provisional constitution before the registration took place. At Beech's insistence, the University established a number of elective religious courses "in the Faculty of Art." The next initiative Beech pushed forward was to format "a school for the training of Christian workers, comprising two years of work at a level comparable to the first and second years of college." He also took "similar action in regard to a one-year course of post-graduate theological study."[319] Those actions might have been considered a violation of the regulations of the national registration, but Beech pushed them through anyway.

In August 1929, Beech sent his President's Report to the Board of Governors. The report revealed his mixed feelings about the changes that had taken place in West China during his absence. He described the startling progress that had happened in China in

[318] Beech to Board of Governors, *The West China Missionary News*, Jan. (1929): 22-24.
[319] Joseph Beech, "West China Union University Annual Report", August 1929. UBCHEA RG 11-272-4329. P153.

general and Sichuan in particular, the impacts on Christian missions, and his complicated sense of loss.

A year earlier Beech had advised the Board not to register the University with the Nationalist government on the grounds that it might not last. Upon his return, his view about the Nanjing government altered because "it appears likely that the Central Government will…offer a better rallying center than any other group."[320] Its policies were more "cohesive," and a "stable government will eventuate as now seems hopeful." He assumed if this government gained "recognition as an equal sovereign power," it would be a great opportunity for Christian education. At the provincial levels, since his return all his encounters with the local authorities and military leaders were "in the main, friendly to us." The strong influence of the central government in Sichuan made him optimistic that, even should the local military "suffer a change of fortune…that will not affect our relations with the government authorities."[321]

He was happy to see that two significant changes took place at the University as well. First was the fact that "the enrolment of women accounts for 57" in number. Second was the rapidly increasing number of Chinese staff and the expanding scope of Chinese studies. "While additional funds are available for increasing the staff of the Department of Chinese, there is a paucity of teachers of the type we desire. Two additional full-time men have been invited to join the department next year."[322]

The stronger central government and the increased number of Chinese staff also weakened the significance of Christian influence in West China. In the eyes of Beech, such changes in general had "touched us in spots with destructive result and their influence is still evident in a weakened Christian morale." Specifically, such changes also resulted in a slackening of the Christian education movement and a subdued Christian atmosphere at the University. Most importantly, a stronger Chinese administrative presence put Christian Mission educational institutions under the purview of local and national educational authorities, rather than that of the Christian Churches.

His changed position in West China was the main sore spot in Beech's complicated feelings about the University's registration with the central government. If the WCUU

[320] Ibid.
[321] Ibid.
[322] Ibid.

decided to register, the first action it needed to take was to appoint or select a Chinese president, and Beech would have to step aside. It was a difficult step for him and the mission to take since the church had already lost control of its educational institutions, and now he had to hand over executive power to a Chinese. He was not ready.

Beech's feelings about the future of China and the West China missions echoed the worries previously shared by evangelical missionaries. Their anxiety was amplified at the 1929 North America Foreign Mission Conference held in Detroit, Michigan, USA. A total of 378 missionaries and administrators attended the conference, whose central focus was on the problems that foreign missions faced. Conference attendees identified the following as the most significant challenges: potential student missionaries were on retreat at home, mission budgets and missionary incomes were greatly declining, and in the foreign field, paternalism was giving way to partnership. Among these challenges that missionaries encountered at home and in the field, changes in Christian educational situations concerned the missionaries the most. It was taken as a foregone conclusion that the newly established Nationalist Government's registration request would bring further damage to the mission's control of their Christian educational effort.

Regarding the West China missions, one of the questions missionaries asked was: "For what in the Chinese revolution are missionaries responsible?"[323]

The conference reached no unanimous answer to that question. However, the questions asked by missionaries highlighted the startling fact that it was the mission-educated Chinese who initiated the mass educational movement, demanded the indigenization of Chinese educational institutions, and sought to cultivate a new generation of Chinese youth to build a modern China. The mission-educated Chinese were the ones who criticized the Christian educational enterprise in their country, claiming it encroached on China's sovereignty, violated the crucial aims of education, and infringed on Chinese culture.

The Anti-Foreign Embers Continue to Burn

[323] K. J. Beaton: "Significant Tendencies in Foreign Missions", *The West China Missionary News*, V.31 July-Aug (1929): 13-16.

Between the late 1920s and early 1930s, Sichuan was a hotspot for anti-foreign sentiment and of increasing demands to restore government oversight of educational institutions.

As early as the late 19th century, Sichuan as a province was known for its "geographical isolation, economic introversion, and cultural conservatism." It had the most anti-missionary uprisings in China before 1900.[324] The general attitude of Sichuan people toward the Westerners was one in which they "have contempt for them, humiliate them, and make fun of them because they are foreigners."[325]

Many Sichuan notables thought that the incompetence of various levels of officers of government was to blame for the rapid expansion of mission education in Sichuan and in China more broadly. Wu Yu 吴虞, Sichuan's then most prominent cultural figure, used the warlords fighting as an example of the government's poor exercise of its authority. In 1917, the Sichuan warlords had fought against warlords in the provinces of Yunnan and Guizhou, and two battles even took place in Chongqing, the largest city in Sichuan. All public and private schools in the province were closed or permanently shut down then, and only the mission schools kept their doors open. "This is a shame to China", Wu Yu wrote.

Some educated Chinese questioned the educational ambitions of the Christian missionaries entering China. Exploring reasons for anti-Christian movements in China, Mr. Wu Leichuan 吴雷川 stated, "Christianity in China has always been despised by scholar-officials, and it arouses meaningless hatred. This is neither the original defect of Christianity itself, nor the failure of Chinese scholars to accept the Christian Truth, but the failure of preachers to obtain appropriate methods and tools."[326] He believed that the Christians had entered China at the wrong time and with the wrong approaches.

In the early 1920s, China experienced rapid social and political changes. In 1924, the Nationalist Party and the Communist Party began their first cooperation; the Northern Expedition, which took place in 1926 resulted in the country's unification in 1928. Calls for strengthening national consciousness and will, abolishing extraterritoriality, eliminating

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[324] Liping Zhang, *The Chinese and Western Cooperative Governance: West China Union University*, 157.

[325] Ying Huang, "Why Is Sichuan so Strong," *Sichuan Studies,* Vol. 8, 1898. 黄英［四川厉害论］载［蜀学报］第八册，1898 年版. The original words are "嫉之，鄙之，诟之曰洋人，嗤之曰西士".

[326] Wu Leichuan 吴雷川 (1870–1944) was a leading Chinese theologian in the early 20th century and Chancellor of Yenching University. "The New Way of Christianity in China," *Life Monthly*, Volume 5, Issue 8 (1925).

foreign concessions and government oversight of education became standard, and reflected the nation's general demand to revive its dignity and honour. In this climate, the Western Christian educational institutions of China were destined to be public enemies.

In June 1930, the Executive Committee of the Nationalist Party Headquarters of Greater Shanghai issued a circular telegram aimed at preventing imperialists from pursuing a cultural invasion in China. Among other issues, this circular telegram contained several important points. It stated that "cultural invasion, as an implement of the imperialistic powers for the exploitation of China, is more dangerous to the existence and development of the Chinese people than political and economic exploitation."[327] Based on this presupposition, it proposed several measures to suppress Christian educational enterprises in China: that non-Chinese nationals shouldn't be allowed to teach in China; that graduated students from non-registered universities should not be treated on a level equivalent to that of graduates of registered schools; and that the governmental bureaus of education should keep an eye on the registered schools "in order to find out whether the authorities are engaged in religious propaganda." The YMCA was deemed an imperialist cultural invasion organization that should be taken over, and all publications issued by Christian schools should be "censored by the highest local Kuomintang headquarters."[328] The West China missionary society found that the Commissioner of Education in Shandong and the Provincial Party Committee there had promulgated similar regulations. The society was afraid the same policies would be implemented by the Sichuan government as well.

In the summer of 1930, twelve Protestant Churches sent a petition to the Nationalist government asking for the "repeal of the restrictions against religious education and worship in church schools." It argued that religious education in school had the potential to "nurture Christ-like personality, serve society and state", teach "love, liberty and equality", and "inspire and enable the students to achieve the ultimate aim of education." The church believed "the advancement of civilization is largely dependent upon divergence in

[327] A. R. Kepler, "The Growing Restrictions Upon the Christian Movement," *The West China Missionary News* V.32, n. 9 (1930): 14-16.
[328] Ibid.

thought." Therefore, it requested the Ministry of Education "to allow all grades of church schools to have elective religious courses…"[329]

On July 17, *The Shanghai Morning Post* 上海晨报 published Francis Zia's article, "Missionary Schools and the Registration Crisis". This article criticized the petition for being too weak, saying it failed to sufficiently demonstrate the mission society's educational accomplishments in China, omitted mentioning the success of the same educational system in Western countries, and overlooked the point that religious education would not denationalize Chinese youth. It argued, on the contrary, the Christian education ignited Chinese students passion for patriotism and made them better citizens for serving the community and benefitting humanity.

In effect, Zia reinforced the church's argument by expressing his understanding and observations of the progress of education in China under the auspices of the Christian mission. He believed the restrictive measures against Christian education violated religious liberty and freedom of speech in ways that might bring harm to society.[330]

Zia urged the government to reconsider its forms of regulation.

On July 24th the Minister of Education, Jiang Menglin 蒋梦麟 (also Chiang Monlin, Tsian Moling),[331] responded to the petition submitted by the Protestant Churches and defended the government's regulations from four perspectives. First, he argued, "religion [Christianity] cannot be taught by outward forms and practice" because there was more than one religion. Second, teaching Christianity at Chinese schools in his opinion would "preempt their [the students'] minds and deprive them later on when they have reached years of maturity of the ability to express freedom in the choice of their religion." Third, if the purpose of mission schools was to not recruit church members, then the government's restrictions did not "run counter to the prime purpose." Finally, if the

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[329] Church of Christ in China and 11 other Protestant Churches in China, "The Petition of the Chinese Churches to the National Government for the Repeal of the Restrictions Against Religious Education and Worship in Church Schools." *The West China Missionary News*, V.32, n. 9 (1930): 16-20.

[330] Francis Zia, "Missionary Schools and the Registration Crisis," *The Shanghai Morning Post*, July 17, 1930.

[331] Jiang Menglin 蒋梦麟 (January 1886 – 1964), also known as Chiang Monlin, and Tsiang Moling, was born in Yuyao, Ningbo, Zhejiang Province in 1886. He studied at Zhejiang Advanced College (浙江高等学堂; now Zhejiang University) in Hangzhou in 1903. In 1908, he went to study at the University of California, Berkeley. At first, he majored in agriculture, and then he turned to pedagogy.Jiang obtained his Ph.D. from Columbia University under John Dewey's guidance. Between 1919 and 1927, he served as the President of Peking University. He later became the President of National Chekiang (Zhejiang) University. Jiang served as the Minister of Education of the Republic of China from 1928-1930. He was also the Chairman of the Sino-American Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction in the late 1940s and 1950s. In the early 1950s, he was head of the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction in Taiwan.

purpose of the church schools was to teach science and social conditions, there was no reason to include religion in their curriculum. Moreover, in responding, the Minister made it clear that the government didn't want to dwell on this topic any longer, he wrote, "Let this be considered final and not subject to further review."[332]

The petition and other Christian voices were answered by a flood of complaints from the anti-Christian and anti-cultural invasion movements. During what came to be known as "China's educational rights fever", "education rights" were considered "national rights", including the demands of "fighting cultural aggression" and "recovering the right to education", which swept major Chinese cities like a high tide. In this context, the demand was to "restore" or "recover" government control of education. As a result, most Christian schools, including West China Union University, suddenly entered a precarious state.

In the summer of 1929, an anti-missionary organization called the "Restore West China Union University Movement Committee" had been formed. Its criticism of West China Christian mission education focused on three aspects: its infringing upon China's sovereignty, its violating the basic aims of education, and its invasion of China's culture.

On August 27, 1930, the organization sent a letter to the provincial government to demand that it take action to "retrieve" Chinese rights over WCUU. This letter accused the founders of WCUU of not registering with the Ministry of Education in Nanjing, but "with instead having filed with the U.S. Department of Education."[333] As the authors put it, the "WCUU has forced the U.S. Educational Authority onto our people - that is not only in order to impose the U.S. government on our territory, but also to rule our people. Nothing could insult our country's rights more than that."[334]

The complaint letter focused on the source of the University's funds as a problem area. Because the University was financially supported by the church, the letter stated that the WCUU "does not hesitate to violate the rules of education, and becomes a vehicle for

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[332] Jiang Menglin, "The Reply of the Ministry of Education to the petition of the Chinese Churches to the National Government for the repeal of the restrictions against religious education and worship in Church schools." July 24th, 1930. *The West China Missionary News*, V.32, N. 11, 1930, November (1930): 27-28.

[333] In early 1922, the Board of Governors registered WCUU to the Board of Regents of the University of the State of New York. The registration meant that all WCUU graduates would be recognized as holding the New York University credential.

[334] Restore West China Union University Movement Committee ,"The Public Statement of the Restore West China Union University Movement Committee to the Government of Sichuan Province." August 27th, 1930. WCUU Archives. "收回华西学校运动会呈省府公文," 1930 年 8 月 27 日, 华大档案.

teaching Christianity. Bible study occurs every day, and worship is forced weekly. The schools are nothing but a poisonous agency for propagating the Christian religion that directly harms our people."[335]

The letter accused the WCUU of being a fortress of the Western cultural invasion.

> The University is the base camp of the cultural invasion in the Southwest. The facts are conclusive, and it can no longer be denied. The purposes of the schools are training foreign slaves, multiplying them across the country, poisoning people's minds, twisting the people's character, and destroying our nation. Such evil institutions are not to be tolerated within the territory and have long been recognized as evil by people from all walks of life. . . It has been a long time that the Chinese people desire to defeat them.[336]

In the flood of criticism levelled at WCUU, the newly formed Sichuan media was a driving force that further agitated anti-Christian education sentiments. Ironically, it was Canadian Methodist missionaries who had introduced printing technology, the publication model, and management methods to the major cities of Chongqing and Chengdu in Sichuan. The missionaries not only promoted the West China publication enterprise and generally contributed to the establishment of the Sichuan media, but also greatly improved the literacy of the general population.[337]

Identifying WCUU as its primary target, the media attacked the school from three angles. It argued first that the foreigners were aliens, and that in Chinese history no aliens had ever come to China with good intentions. Second, the foreigners came to China with

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335 Ibid.

336 "Warning Campaign for Foreign Slaves Resurrected in West China School and Classmates Still Thinking of Returning to School after Retirement," Sichuan Provincial Commnuist Party History Working Committee, ed. *Wanxian September 5th Massacre* (Chengdu: Sichuan Academy of Social Sciences, 1986). 反文化侵略同志会, 收回教育权促进会, 学生救国团, 华声社, 中兴社, 成都九九学会, 知行协进社, "警告运动华西学校复合之洋奴及退出后犹思返校之同学", 中共四川省委党史工作委员会主编: [万县九五惨案], 1986 年版, 第 187-188 页.

337 To know more about how the Christian China Missions modernized China's printing, publication and news media, please refer to Jin Su, *Molding by Engraving: Changes in Chinese Printing in the Nineteenth Century* (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 2018, China). 苏精: *铸以代刻：十九世纪中文印刷变局*. 北京, 中华书局, 中国, 2018.

the mistaken notion that China was a barbarian nation. Third, the purpose of foreign churches in China was to train Chinese youth to become foreign slaves.[338]

Other Chinese assumed that, if an educational institution was not under the control of the Chinese government, it must have a hidden agenda. They wanted to convince the authorities and general population that, while the missionaries' educational goals at WCUU was conducted "in the name of the dissemination of culture, in fact it was cultural aggression."[339]

Another newspaper, *Yong Daily* 庸报, declared that WCUU was the "base camp of Chengdu Christianity, the lair of foreign devils, and a place where young compatriots sell themselves."[340]

On July 30, 1930, the *New Sichuan Daily* 新四川日报 published an article, "The Chronology of the Cultural Invasion at WCUU". It alleged that the Christian mission carried out a number of criminal activities: having dubious sources of finance, scheming to buy Chinese lands, raising funds by publicizing the backwardness of China in the missionaries' own countries, socializing with the powerful and rich in China to collect information about the country.

On August 28, and September 9, 1930, the same newspaper published more articles to conclude that WCUU was the base of the cultural invasion in the province. At the time, twenty Sichuan newspapers and magazines launched a joint attack on WCUU as "a walled concession" in the province.

Surveying the history of modern Chinese education, Mr. Shu Xingcheng 舒新城 argued that the non-religious, communist, and nationalist movements were responsible for China regaining its sovereign rights over education. Other scholars believed that it was

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338 "The Reasons Christian Education was Popular in China," *Vanguard*, Issue 3 (Dec. 1923). "教会教育盛行的原因", ［前锋］第三期，1923 年 12 月出版. Wan Xiuchun, "The Difficulties of the Church Elementary School I Experienced," *West China Educational Quarters*, Issue 4 (March 1935). 万休淳："我亲身所尝试的教会小学的困难"，载［华西教育季报］第四卷，1925 年三月出版.

339 "Police Academy Anti-Christian Declaration," *Waking Up the People Daily*, December 19, 1929. "警专校反基督教宣言",［醒民日报］1929 年 12 月 19 日.

340 *Yong Daily*, December 19th, 1929.庸报, 1929 年 12 月 19 日.

Communist Party members who were the guiding force behind the educational rights movements in Sichuan.[341]

The Chinese Christian Improvement Association was part of the nationalist movement. It published a bimonthly magazine, using cartoons, slogans, and speeches, to advocate for political causes. In contrast to other organizations, their purposes were: firstly, to bring down international imperialism and forms of Christianity that served as tools of cultural aggression; secondly, taking the standpoint of the oppressed nation, to embrace Jesus Christ as an advocate of freedom, equality, peace, and fraternity; thirdly, to take back all religious rights, teaching positions, and Church property in order to establish an autonomous Chinese church.

The association rejected imperialists who, under the guise of freedom, equality, and fraternity ran educational institutions in China to enslave the people and carry out cultural aggression. They argued that missionaries used churches as bases to promote superstitions and gather all kinds of intelligence on China's internal affairs, diplomacy, economy, military, and resources. In the name of "saving the dead and helping the wounded", the church set up hospitals and treated Chinese patients as the subjects of their medical trials.[342]

Since arriving in China in 1898, Dr. Beech experienced both political and social turbulence, as well as natural disasters, during his thirty years of missionary work in West China. In July of 1930 he wrote to the Board of Governors to express his concerns about West China and the future of Christian missions in Sichuan.[343] It saddened him to see the Sichuan people suffer from the ongoing tragedies of warfare, massive poverty, drought,

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[341] In her book, *China and the West in A Melting Pot: The West China Union University*, Dr. Liping Zhang, a professor of Sichuan University, pointed out that after the Wanxian Massacre in September 1926, the West Sichuan Special Committee of the Communist Party of China was the leading organizer of anti-British parades and the workers' strikes, as well as the movement for restoring China's rights over education. They set up an office in Chengdu and rented a teahouse as a temporary dormitory for workers who were on strike to take a break, and provided food supplies to the families of the workers. In the summer of 1930, the Anti-Imperialist League, an organization led by underground CCP members, held countless meetings and organized various protest activities to incite Chengdu people to take stronger actions to drive the foreigners out of China. In an anti-imperialist meeting, Yang Guojie, a CCP member, told his audience in his speech, "You fear foreigners, but we don't; if you don't fight against them, we will." Yang was arrested, accused of "advocating Communism, organizing armed riots, breaking orders, and attempting to overthrow the government." He was executed by the Sichuan military government, and after 1949 was recognized as a hero and a martyr by the Communist government

[342] Liping Zhang, *China and the West in A Melting Pot: West China Union University* (Chengdu: Sichuan Publishing Group, 2013): 355.

[343] Beech, "Report of the West China Union University to the Board of Governors," July 1930. UBCHEA RG-11-272-4330. P.178.

and the consequent soaring price of rice in 1929 and 1930. The Communists organized anti-Christian activities made him feel as that the political situation in Sichuan was one of "confusion and grave uncertainty".[344] At home in North America, The Great Depression, the decline in the number of students interested in being potential missionaries, and falling church incomes leading to deeply cut mission field budgets deepened the worries of Beech and his colleagues in China.

The University's Confrontation with the Local Community

The anti-Christian and recovering Chinese educational rights movements foreshadowed that 1930 would be an eventful year for WCUU, but its drama began preemptively in December 1929.

On December 5, 1929, a female WCUU student was on her way to the school. A student from the neighbouring government Silk Industrial College 成都蚕业专修学校 took photos of the young woman. She panicked and called another WCUU student for help. The student took the camera, removed the film, and returned the camera to the Silk Industrial College student according to Dr. Beech's 1930 annual report.[345]

On December 6, the student union of the Silk Industrial College decided to protest against WCUU, claiming the former was insulted by "foreign slaves". The next day, together with students from associated colleges in Chengdu, the Silk Industrial College students organized a parade on the streets and around the WCUU campus. They held banners saying, "Down with imperialism" and "Down with foreign slaves". They chanted the slogans of "Strike down the top-level foreign slave Zhang Linggao", and "Strike down the students of West China Union University." WCUU authorities asked its students to keep their heads down and stay calm.[346]

On December 9, students from Sichuan University printed "Down With Foreign Slaves" on a public wall and two WCUU students made comments on the slogans. A nearby student from Sichuan University heard their remarks and a verbal argument ensued

[344] Ibid. , 178-197.
[345] Ibid. , 182. Liping Zhang, 291-292.
[346] Joseph Beech, 1930 annual report. UBCHEA RG-11-272-4330.

and then escalated into physical fights. On December 10th, the Student Union of Silk School issued its first anti-Christian declaration, organized student marches, and gave speeches against Christian education on the streets. Their slogans were "Down with Christianity" and "Down with the Christian vanguard of the imperial cultural invasion".

On the same day, WCUU's student union sent their statement to all government authorities and local newspapers to clarify the cause of these confrontations, and expressed their concerns that the Silk School student union would try to force WCUU students to participate in their anti-Christian parades.

On December 11, more than one thousand students from several public universities and colleges held an anti-Christian gathering at the WCUU campus. The mass gathering along with the agitated energy of the crowd incited several students to enter the Baptist dormitories. There, they abducted one of the WCUU students, pushed a female missionary teacher from her bicycle, and verbally insulted a senior member of the Senate. The situation heated up and things soon spiralled out of control. [347]

That afternoon, the head of the Bureau of Education of Sichuan province, Xiang Chu 向楚, met with President Beech and Vice-president Lincoln Zhang to discuss strategies to ease tensions.

On December 14, the provincial government issued an order to the Presidents of both WCUU and the Silk School to forbid their students to engage in provocative actions. It also warned the Silk School administration to stop any new anti-Christian gatherings and marches. It sent soldiers to patrol outside of WCUU.

On December 15, the Greater Sichuan Anti-Christian Alliance called for people from all walks of life to join their cause. The next day, the Chinese Language and Literature Department of Sichuan University published a declaration in the *People's Daily* 国民日报 to ask the citizens of Sichuan to unite to fight against Christians and their "running dogs."[348] They used posters and slogans to call upon their followers. To get the Christian students on their side they used the slogans, "Christians United" and "Please became conscious of the compatriots who had been poisoned by Christianity." Slogans

[347] Liping Zhang, 292.
[348] Ibid.

such as “Withdraw the right to carry on Christian education in China and expel the imperialist running dog Christianity from China”, “Overthrow all imperialist forces in China”, and “Take the West China Union as a state-owned university” were used to emphasize their goal of restoring educational rights. Other slogans focused on targeting those they viewed as enemies, such as “Severely punish the Foreign Slave Zhang Linggao” and “Down with and annihilate Huaxi [WCUU] students.”[349]

Also on the same day, several other newspapers, including the *Chengdu Express* 成都快报, *New News* 新新新闻, and *Modern Daily* 现代日报, , published similarly provocative articles to encourage students to take bolder actions to maximize the damage to West China Union University. On December 18, about 120 organizations under the name of “non-Christian anti-Imperial Alliance” 非基督教反帝大同盟 held a meeting at the Silk Industrial College. It selected an Executive Committee and decided to hold a citizen gathering on Christmas Day, to march against Christian education and WCUU.

On December 18, WCUU decided to suspend all classes for ten days, and asked all students to guard the University day and night. The tension between the University and Chengdu society reached an unbearable point. “A company of guards were posted near the University parades and assemblies were forbidden and school authorities notified that they would be held responsible for the conduct of their students.”[350]

At the same time, the two WCUU students who had had a physical fight with the student from Sichuan University, went to Sichuan University, accompanied by two student representatives, to offer their apologies to the student who provoked the fight . The apology was accepted.

On December 21st, three major newspapers in Chengdu issued a joint announcement from WCUU and Sichuan University’s Chinese Studies department. It noted that two WCUU students had apologized to the student from Sichuan University. Tensions between the universities then settled down. However, the media continued to publish anti-Christian statements from various organizations.

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[349] The slogans from the Sichuan University department of Chinese Language and Literature published on the *National Citizens Daily*, December 16, 1929. *国民日报*, 1929 年 12 月 16 日, 成都.

[350] Joseph Beech, 1930 annual report, 182.

For many missionaries, the confrontation between WCUU and Chengdu's broader civil society was a warning sign reminiscent of the 1926 Wanxian Massacre, and served as a signal for possible evacuation. They watched the development with great intensity. In his letter to Endicott, Dr. Bell describing the anxiety among missionaries, "I want to get back to Chengdu before the end of the month as my wife is a little anxious regarding the coming of May 30th. It is the opinion of all the missionaries that we should take very special precautions for a week or so at that time so that there may not be any untoward happenings."[351]

It saddened some WCUU faculty to see "the irony of the political situation in China" since "those who try to treat the country and its aspirations most fairly are the ones who are made the object of attack." This comparative judgment referred to different kinds of Westerners. However, others saw things more optimistically. They were happy to see "times have changed from those of three years ago. Our own students kept in line, and through a wise selection of representatives presented their case to the authorities in a way to command credibility and respect, telling the truth in full and without exaggeration." They were impressed to see how WCUU students "for the sake of the University" were now willing to "lose face unjustly" to offer apologies. In the end, they found it "more encouraging in that up to date our own student body seems to be loyal to the last man."[352]

It was the first time the WCUU students had stood with the foreign faculty and stood up for them.

The Death of Dr. Stubbs and Its Aftermath

As the new year unfolded, further developments continued to shake the WCUU missionary community and in some cases the University as a whole. Several had an impact on the role that Lincoln Zhang would play.

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[351] Bell to Endicott May 13th, 1931. UCCA 83.047C Box 3 File 57. The date would be the anniversary of the May Thirtieth Movement 五卅运动, a major labour and anti-imperialist movement during the middle-period of the Republic of China era. It began when the Shanghai Municipal Police opened fire on Chinese protesters in Shanghai's International Settlement on May 30th, 1925 (the Shanghai Massacre of 1925). The shootings sparked international censure and nationwide anti-foreign demonstrations and riots. Students were the major force of those protests.

[352] "Anti-Christian and Anti-University Activities in Chengtu," *West China Missionary News*, V.32, no.1 (1930): 20-22.

In March 1930, the entire West China missionary society was saddened by the death of Dr. Charles Service, who was "a Christian gentleman, an indefatigable worker, a fine teacher, physician and missionary, and a man beloved as a friend."[353]. His passing was a huge blow to everybody in the mission field and discouraged many missionaries, especially those who had experienced violent anti-Christian attacks by the media and by people from various walks of life. Many missionaries then decided to leave China or quit their job.[354, 355]

At the same time, Dr. Service's legacy served as an inspiration to others. "Kilborn and Service were men apart and above the common men. I feel an also-ran in a race with them," Dr. W.R. Morse wrote.[356] After receiving the sad news, Morse, who was on furlough, wrote to Endicott, "I will do all or anything I can to save the situation with my own and other missions. I will return if that is the best way. But new blood must be added to the surgical staff. Surgery is perhaps the most effective method to attract Chinese, for they criticize that branch less severely."[357] Morse believed that the true Christian spirit, breadth of view, and a clear insight would conquer challenges confronting the mission.

In May, local bandits kidnapped Mr. Bridgman and Mr. Ding from their station, and ransom was demanded. They were held in a cave for weeks. Fortunately, with the help of the local people, they got away without paying the ransom. However, the kidnapping cast a dark shadow over the mission society.[358]

On Saturday, May 30 in 1930, Dr. Stubbs, a WCUU professor of Chemistry, was stabbed on the school's campus. Three unknown men had attacked him and taken his bicycle away. Several students were on the way back to their dormitory when they found Dr. Stubbs lying in the hallway in a pool of blood near Hart College. They carried him to

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353 "West China Union University Annual Meeting of the Board of Governors", July 4th, 1930. UBCHEA RG-011-272-4330.

354 Joseph Beech, "Report of the West China Union University to the Board of Governors," July 1930. "While we gratefully record the increase in Chinese staff members, we regret that the following foreign members give us no assurance of returning or having intimated that they cannot return. Of the United Church of Canada, Dr. and Mrs. J. L. Stewart, Dr. and Mrs. C. R. Carscallen, Dr. and Mrs. J. E. Thompson, Dr. and Mrs. C. B. Kelly, Dr. and Mrs. H. D. Brown, Dr. and Mrs. E. N. Meuser, Mr. and Mrs. J. E. Johns and Mr. and Mrs. P. M. Bayne of the Methodist Episcopal Church…" UBCHEA RG-011-272-4330.

355 "Missionaries leaving China by Thousands." September 27th, 1930. *San Francisco Chronicle*.

356 Dr. W. R. Morse to Endicott, April 6th, 1930. UCCA 83.047C Box 3 File 52.

357 Ibid.

358 "The Capture of Charlie Bridgman and Ding." Correspondence between Hibbard, Willmott, and McAmmond from April 21st to 28th, 1930. UCCA 83.047C Box 3 File 54.

his residence and contacted the campus doctor, who treated him. News travelled fast, by midnight that evening many people had come to Stubbs' home to pray for him. In the early morning on Sunday, May 31st, he was sent to Ren Ji 仁济 hospital.

Because of severe lung and kidney injuries, Dr. Stubbs passed away on Monday, June 1st. He was forty-two years old. Sadness again enveloped the entire campus and West China missionary society.

Lincoln Zhang was profoundly saddened, greatly shocked, and deeply stressed by the death of Dr. Stubbs. On a personal level, Dr. Stubbs had been a good friend and congenial colleague. They were next-door neighbours since the Zhangs moved into the University campus. When Zhang was dealing with a shortage of teachers, Dr. Stubbs was the earliest to return to the mission in late 1927 and stood behind him the entire time. He provided tremendous support and confidence to Lincoln Zhang. In April 1928, when the Acting president and Vice-president Sparling returned to Canada, Dr. Stubbs took over the Vice-president position. He encouraged Lincoln Zhang to prepare the Vice-presidential report, and reminded Board members to acknowledge the significance of Lincoln Zhang's insights. "For the first time in the history of the University the annual Report from the University on the Field to the Board of Governors has been prepared by a Chinese administrator…I believe it will be of more value to the Board as giving a Chinese viewpoint than if I should intrude my own modifications into it."[359] He praised Lincoln Zhang's courage for taking a big number of female students, "one hears striking testimony to the raising at least outwardly, of tone among our students which has ensured on the admission of women students to the university."[360] He also advised Lincoln Zhang, "To the general attitude of students, beside(s) the loyalty and keenness, must be added a questioning and critical spirit, which we who carry on the institution must meet frankly and sympathetically."[361] He inspired Lincoln Zhang with his view that independent thinking was essential for the quality of education.

Besides his deep sadness, Zhang was mostly concerned about the effect of recent incidents on the missionary faculty and society. His sense of duty led him to suppress his

[359] Dr. C. M. Stubbs, "Additional Remarks of Vice-President Report," UBCHEA RG-011-272-4329. P. 093.
[360] Ibid.
[361] Ibid.

sadness but increase his focus on dealing with this tragic event. He recalled that several violent anti-missionary incidents happened in Sichuan before and worried about the impacts they may have on society.[362] The first thing he did was to explain to missionaries that the tragedy was an isolated case, not a premeditated killing. At the same time, he reported the death to authorities and requested support. He suggested holding a memorial service as soon as possible to help Dr. Stubbs' family and friends to cope with the tragedy.

On June 2nd, the church of Friends' Mission held a memorial service for Dr. Stubbs. On Friday, June 5th, Lincoln Zhang led the University to hold a grand memorial service for Dr. Stubbs. The University invited provincial and city politicians as well as local celebrities to join them to mourn with the University's faculty and students.

In his memorial speech, Zhang described Dr. Stubbs as a dedicated Christian, teacher, and scientist. He was deeply devoted to China and had served as a mentor to Lincoln Zhang.

According to his daughter, Dr. Ruth Zhang, and his son-in-law Dr. Yang Zhenhua,[363] Lincoln Zhang's speech at Dr. Stubbs's memorial service deeply touched his audience. Mrs. Stubbs, beside herself with grief, shared her husband's final words to the public. Dr. Stubbs wanted to be buried in China and didn't want the British government to be involved.[364] He believed that his life was not wasted, although he "didn't live to see the destruction of the ancient evils against which he fought, but no less do his life and death contribute to their overthrow."[365]

On the Sunday evening before Dr. Stubbs passed away, Dr. Stephen Yang met Fang Shuxuan, the Director of University Affairs, who just visited Dr. Stubbs. Fang told Yang, "Dr. Stubbs woke up from a coma. He told his wife to ask British government not to let the relationship between China and Britain deteriorates because of his injuries. Stubbs' wife also asked the Chinese government not to give the death penalty to the people who

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[362] Ruth Zhang and Stephen Yang, "The Life of the President of The West China Union University Zhang Linggao."

[363] Dr. Stephen Yang (Zhenhua) was a medical student at the university in 1930. The night Dr. Stubbs was attacked Yang went with a group of students to wait outside of Dr. Stubbs' home to pray for his recovery. He also took a chemistry course from Dr. Stubbs. Many years later, Dr. Yang wrote an article, "Eternal fraternity and immortal spirit" to honour Dr. Stubbs. To access this article, visit https://www.myhxf.org/documents/SuDaoPu.htm.

[364] Ruth Zhang and Stephen Yang, "The Life of the President of The West China Union University Zhang Linggao".

[365] R. L. Simkin, "Clifford Morgan Stubbs," *The West China Missionary News*, July-August (1930): 15.

grabbed Dr. Stubbs' bicycle and stabbed him. She didn't want their wives to become widows."[366]

Mr. R. L. Simkin, a British missionary and the English Secretary of Senate of WCUU, wrote a letter describing Dr. Stubbs as a remarkable Christian. After receiving his Doctoral degree in science in 1913 from Liverpool University, Dr. Stubbs left England for China right away. He possessed excellent Chinese language abilities- for a time he assisted in teaching Chinese in the language school. In the field of chemistry, which was his specialty, he prepared and published a textbook in Chinese, which has been widely used by successive generations of students. When the 1926-27 anti-foreign and anti-Christian movement hit Chengdu, he was on furlough in England, but worked tirelessly to deliver speeches to his people about the value of China and the Chinese people. Speaking powerfully to the House of Commons and elsewhere before large and influential audiences, he urged conciliation and sympathetic understanding of the legitimate aspirations of New China. Upon his 1927 return to China, he boarded a river steamer at Yichang 宜昌. When he learned that the vessel was to be escorted by an armed force to the upper river, he transferred his baggage to another steamer. Many times, he said he would not hesitate to surrender his British nationality if he thought doing so could best advance the cause of harmony and goodwill between the two countries. Following his appointment as Vice-president of the University upon his return, he encouraged Lincoln Zhang to undertake larger responsibilities when most missionaries were out of China.[367]

According to Mr. R. L. Simkin, people liked to tell the anecdote of the time when Dr. Stubbs was walking down the street, and a group of Chinese soldiers yelled at him, calling him "Imperialist!" He stopped, raised his hat and bowed to them. The surprised soldiers did the same to him. In Simkin's view, he was a true friend to his colleagues, held his students to high scientific standards, and was a committed Christian devoted to supporting its belief, cause, and progress.

Although Dr. Stubbs and his wife's desire to prevent further escalation helped to prevent a further crisis, fear and anxiety among the foreign faculty persisted. The faculty proposed to the Acting-president and the University Senate that protective measures be

[366] Stephen Yang "Eternal fraternity and immortal spirit". https://www.myhxf.org/documents/SuDaoPu.htm.
[367] R. L. Simkin, "Clifford Morgan Stubbs," *The West China Missionary News*, July-August (1930): 13-15.

increased for the safety and security of the University. Since the municipal government in May had approved the University's expansion to include a female students' dormitory and a wall around it, some foreign faculty suggested extending the wall to the library so it could provide better security to the school.

In early April, when Dr. Beech left Chengdu for London to attend the annual meeting of the Board of Governors, Lincoln Zhang was appointed the Acting-president of the University. He understood that with the upsurge of anti-missionary and anti-Christianity activities and the Chinese peoples' determination to take control over their own education, fear and resentment were natural reactions from the missionaries. It was his responsibility to provide support and comfort to foreign faculty members.

He also needed to urge cooperation from all levels of governments to deal with possible international tensions and ramifications.

Having been called the top "running dog" of imperialists and a "foreign slave," Lincoln Zhang was walking through a minefield.

Zhang understood the fear and lack of security felt by the foreign faculty, especially since the attack on Dr. Stubbs happened on the University campus. In addition, many female students had complained about infringements on their privacy for years. On June 7th, Lincoln Zhang sent an official request to the Joint Office of Military and Police Corps to build a school wall and fence on the WCUU campus.

Taking recent anti-foreign movements into serious consideration, Zhang provided sufficient reasons and practical solutions to the government. The University wall-building proposal also asked the military to remove troops from the campus. In the application, Zhang stated,

> The number of troops in the previous provincial capital have increased, and the University campus is often used as a place for military training. It causes tremendous inconvenience to teaching, staff work and students learning, and has created many challenges for the University. Although military

commanders promised not to use the University as a military training ground, it never followed through.[368]

Military leaders demonstrated their support for the University by approving the request to build a wall, and issued an order to move all soldiers off campus. The order also stated that "all troops of the army are not allowed to enter the campus; the soldiers are also responsible to protect the gates and walls of the school. Anybody who damages the University buildings and violates the government orders will be prosecuted."[369]

The University started its wall construction in mid-June on Lincoln Zhang's authority. On June 27th, 1930, the *National Gazette* 国民公报 published an article to explain the reasons for building a University wall and the military protections for it. The article emphasized that no visitors were allowed to enter the campus. This ignited a public outcry right away.

Farmers, construction workers, anti-foreign organizations, and media were united in asking the government to abolish this order. On July 6th, *New Sichuan Daily* 新四川日报 and *National Gazette* 国民公报 published a statement from the United Sichuan Media Association. The statement stressed four points: first, foreigners and Chinese enjoyed equal protection under Chinese law; second, all foreign assets and property at WCUU and in Sichuan should be taken back; third, religious education should not be used as an excuse to purchase Chinese lands; and finally, the University should not be allowed to become a foreign concession by setting up walls. [370]

On July 15th, the University sent a statement to the local newspapers to clarify some facts.

> The application was submitted to the Joint office of the Military and Police Corps for approval. Based on the boundary records of the local authority, the University decided to add two short walls to

[368] WCUU, "The statements of the situation of the University, plans for aftermath, and appeal for support," "The University Wall Building" file, Sichuan University Archives.
[369] "Order of the National Revolutionary Army of No. 24th, 8th, and 9th Army Commanders of Liu, Deng, and Tian," "The University Wall Building" file, Sichuan University Archives.
[370] July 6th, 1930, *New Sichuan Daily* 新四川日报, Chengdu, and July 6th, 1930, *National Gazette* 国民公报 Chengdu.

> the rear of the school, and the rest [of the campus] will be bamboo fenced. The purpose of the walls was to reduce the number of roads entering the school. Anyone who wants to visit our school can enter and exit through the school gates. This statement is made for the truth to be known.[371]

The United Sichuan Media Association including eleven local newspapers declined to publish the University statement.[372]

Two days later an Anti-University Wall Building Association was organized; and all newspapers were inundated with statements opposing it. Some called for destroying the built walls and taking away the WCUU land and educational permissions at the same time, killing two birds with one stone.

On July 25th, the Anti-University Wall Building Association sent its ultimatum to the University. It demanded the University to tear the walls down within three days.[373]

On July 26th, Lincoln Zhang wrote to local and provincial civil and military authorities. He asked them to provide security and protection to the University to avoid unnecessary confrontation and damages. On July 30th, Liu Wenhui 刘文辉, Chairman of the Sichuan provincial government, ordered the Chengdu local government to take all necessary measures to prevent disturbances. He also ordered the military and police to protect the University's foreign staff.

On July 31st, all the local newspapers published a joint article titled "All Government Departments' Opinions on WCUU Wall Building". It assured the public that the Chengdu municipal government was strongly against the wall-building project, and the headquarters of military unit No. 28 claimed that the soldiers were on the people's side. The article scolded the University and its administrators for taking advantage of Stubbs' death to violate China's laws and deceive the government and people, claiming "they take our land as foreign territory, damage China's sovereignty, and insult our people."

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371 "The University Wall Building" file, Sichuan University Archives.

372 Zhang Liping, 297.

373 Editorials, "Mob Rule in Chengdu," *The West China Missionary News*, September (1930).

Another article published in the *New Sichuan Daily* asked the Chengdu municipal government to withdraw approval of the project. The article suggested that although the University called the new structures walls and fences, they actually amounted to a fortress. The paper accused the University of going against international law to make the University a special zone and said that the government had identified Lincoln Zhang as the chief mastermind behind the wall-building scheme.

On August 1st, hundreds of people gathered around the University campus. They destroyed the newly built gates; everything "had been levelled to the ground."[374] On August 6, in the morning at 6 am, about two thousand people broke down the gate, tore down the fences around the library, as well as the old wall around the female students dormitory…[375]

Hearing the news, Lincoln Zhang went to the scene where people were shouting slogans like "Down with Christianity", "Down with the capitalist running dog Zhang Linggao", and "Restore educational rights". The appearance of Zhang excited the crowd; their chanting became louder and louder.[376]

Zhang waited and asked them to quiet down. He explained why the University needed to build the walls and how the University would contribute to the future of Chengdu, Sichuan and China. He listed the programs the University was teaching and its status in the country. He answered questions people asked and suggested they do no more damage to the University property. He was said to have spoken in a sincere manner, with a calm tone, and to have been convincing in his answers and explanations. People gradually left after two hours of Lincoln Zhang's speech, appeal, and begging for understanding.[377]

Looking around the messy scene, Lincoln Zhang was reported to have said nothing for a long time. Many missionaries who witnessed the event were touched by his bravery.[378]

Since early 1927 when Lincoln Zhang had taken the Vice-presidency of WCUU, he had borne the brunt of the anti-Christian, anti-foreign, and anti-imperialist attacks. All the

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[374] Ibid.
[375] Ibid.
[376] Ruth Zhang and Stephen Yang, 10.
[377] Ibid.
[378] Ibid.

foreign missionaries knew that they had their own country's backing, but Lincoln Zhang was an exposed target, without protection, bearing hostile onslaughts from all directions: his own people, his own society, his own government, and dissatisfied foreigners.

After the destruction of the wall and Lincoln Zhang's confrontation with the crowd, the noise from the local people quieted down, but attacks in the media persisted. The media kept claiming that the construction of the wall was to set up the school as a "fortress" that would serve as "the base camp of imperial cultural invasion", that the foreigners were "the agents of imperialism", and that Chinese staff was "the slaves of foreign countries."[379] The public press provoked nationalist emotions further to attack WCUU.

On September 27th, *Current Affairs News* 时事新报 in Shanghai published an article titled "Enclosure and Construction of West China Union University" by Mr. Lu Zhiyuan 鲁止渊. The article established Beech and Lincoln Zhang as their direct targets and said that most Chinese youth didn't want to study at WCUU. The article quoted Bai, a foreign professor at the University, who said what they were doing was invading Southwest China, and that the University was the headquarters for their work. The article accused President Beech of escaping to the United States during the anti-Christian movements, and leaving Zhang Linggao as the "running dog," to act on his behalf. Zhang in turn blindly followed Beech's instructions and lied to the Chinese people and government.

According to the article Zhang claimed that the University was registered with the government, but the school still offered religious teaching and forced Sunday church gatherings. Zhang had used Dr. Stubbs' death, it claimed, as an opportunity to take possession of five thousand mu[380] of land, building a city around it, and had recruited a hundred people to patrol the fortress. The article said the death of Dr. Stubbs had been an accident, that the government had retrieved the stolen bicycle and executed the murderers, so enough had been done by way of bringing justice to the affair. According to the article, a hundred thousand people had participated in taking the wall down. The article claimed that provincial authorities overtly agreed with the concerns of the people, but in reality,

379 "Mob Rule in Chengdu," *The West China Missionary News*, September 1930.

380 "Mu" is a Chinese measurement unit for land. One mu equals 0.0667 hectares.

covertly opposed. In one final blow, the piece accused Zhang of falsely painting Stubbs' death as an assassination when he was really the culprit, claiming his bad personality and poor management skills were evident.[381]

The University was shocked by this attack. In October, Lincoln Zhang fought back by publishing a statement in the same newspaper, the *Current Affairs News,* to clarify the facts. In rebuttal it made several key points: that WCUU didn't have a foreign professor or staff member with the last name Bai and that the article had fabricated the name; that WCUU didn't have a Theology department and any religious component to its philosophy courses; that many Chinese youths did desire to study at WCUU, but that its higher than normal entrance examination standards made it difficult to get in; that the University did not coerce the government and armed forces to protect the University and its staff; that the school had followed the registration policies of not including religious studies in its curriculum; that the total acreage of the University was nine hundred mu, not the alleged five thousand; that the number of people involved in taking the wall down was several hundreds, not one hundred thousand, and that these people had been paid to destroy the University's property.[382]

Death threats were sent to Lincoln Zhang; the menace of "severe punishment to the top foreign slave Zhang Linggao" was echoed in the media, which identified him as the general architect of the wall building.[383] A letter published on *Huitong Weekly* 惠通周刊 warned Zhang, "You will be identified as the chief culprit and the target of all the attacks. Your death or physical injury is predictable if you don't stop doing what you are doing."[384] Friends and close colleagues urged Zhang to be cautious.

In response to these media attacks, the United States embassy protested to the Nationalist government. The government in turn ordered the Sichuan government to verify

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381 Lu Zhiyuan, "Enclosure and Construction of West China Union University," *Current Affairs News*, September 27, 1930, Shanghai. 鲁止渊,"成都华西大学圈地筑城",[时事新报], 1930 年 9 月 27 日, 上海.

382 WCUU, "The Explanations and Analysis of Mr. Lu Zhiyuan's Article and the Truth about the University Property and the Wall Building," *Current Affairs News*, October 21, 1930. Shanghai. Sichuan University Archives, file "The University Wall Building," 47-48. 华西协和大学,"为鲁止渊致函上海时事新报登载本校圈地筑城缕析函述披露以明真相", [时事新报], 1930 年 10 月 21 日, 上海.

383 Lu Zhiyuan, "Enclosure and Construction of West China Union University", *Current Affairs News*, September 27, 1930, Shanghai.

384 "A Letter to the Acting President of WCUU Zhang Linggao," *Huitong Weekly,* July 26, 1930. *惠通周刊*.

the facts and punish any wrongdoers. On November 17th, the U.S. Foreign Affairs Office passed on the results of the investigation by the Sichuan authorities to WCUU. The investigators' conclusion was that the whole incident had been a misunderstanding. The government vowed to make an effort to prevent it from happening again.[385]

The Sichuan media and anti-foreign organizations' attacks on foreigners was a culmination of almost 90 years of China's social, historical and political conflicts with Western powers. First, most Chinese held foreigners responsible for the many decades of chaos in China. To the Chinese, WCUU was a symbol of the church, foreign belief, and Western powers in Chengdu, the capital of Sichuan. To destroy the school was a destruction of foreign power. Second, a strong nationalist pride had now ignited patriotic passions within China's younger generation, and the indiscriminate killing of Chinese people by the British throughout the Wanxian Massacre had angered and provoked them. Third, the general population saw the wall being erected around WCUU as a form of symbolism. Chengdu didn't have an official foreign concession, but for some people, the University's wall-building was seen as a means of denying people access to the campus, similar to the imposition of foreign concessions elsewhere. People's actions were a strong demonstration of several decades of resentment and humiliation, leading to a confrontation with the foreigners and Western powers.

At the end of 1930, media speculation over Dr. Stubbs' death and the uproar over the University's wall-building activities finally quieted down. Many missionary faculty members were left impressed by Lincoln Zhang's handling of the situation. Throughout the entire ordeal, Zhang stuck to the facts, carefully restrained his emotions, and cautiously avoided offending involved parties. However, two years of bearing the brunt of attacks from all directions left Zhang exhausted.

In the spring of 1931, the Chengdu media launched "another attempt" to stir up opposition again over the erecting of a wall around the new dormitory for female students. Having learned from the previous experience, WCUU submitted a formal request for the project before it started, and was granted permission from authorities to begin construction. Zhang communicated with the government at several levels and asked for protection if needed. As soon as construction began, attacks from the media followed. There were "a

[385] Zhang Liping, *The Chinese and Western Cooperative Governance: West China Union University*, 299.

few days of scurrilous articles in the papers",[386] but the University was well prepared. It presented all the documents to the public, and authorities acted quickly to communicate with the media. "The Newspapers have been compelled to cease their propaganda…"[387]

By standing firm, Lincoln Zhang sent a clear message to society that the University wouldn't back down from attacks and humiliations. Local military authorities increased protections for the University in order to prevent damage to its property. Even in 1932, when two Sichuan military groups had street fights in Chengdu, the leaders Liu Wenhui and Tian Songyao 田颂尧 carefully mobilized soldiers throughout the entire city so as to deliberately avoid fighting around the University campus.

When all the dust had settled, Lincoln Zhang was able to reflect on such difficult times from a positive perspective, "this opposition is proving to be … a blessing to our University…"[388] In his 1931 annual report to the Board of Governors, he reviewed the 1930 anti-Christian activities that had targeted WCUU: the actions of Communists in Chengdu, the plans by organizations to take away WCUU property and educational rights, the wall building incident, and the attacks from media. Through those events he was relieved to see several encouraging results. First, the students defended their own University firmly. Second, University students, staff, and faculty, both Westerners and Chinese alike, were united in resisting media and communist attacks, rather than being divided by them. They shared common sufferings and demonstrated their combined strength and their mutual sympathy for one another. Third, after many confrontations, the general population and notable groups came to realize that the University was a valuable force within the community. Fourth, governments at all levels recognized the importance of the college.[389]

In dealing with such situations, Lincoln Zhang had been constantly stuck between a rock and a hard place, even on a personal level. These experiences led to the evolution of his understanding of Christianity.

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[386] Lincoln Zhang, "The President's Annual Report of WCUU to the Board of Governors," June 30th, 1931. UBCHEA RG 11-273-4331.
[387] Ibid.
[388] Ibid.
[389] Lincoln Zhang, "The President's Annual Report of WCUU to the Board of Governors," June 30th, 1931. UBCHEA RG 11-273-4331, P.320-324.

He saw people in a new light: some used their Christian connections to obtain personal gains and benefits, and ultimately failed to serve the people and community. In his writing, "My Cup: Can You Drink It?" Zhang likened such people's attitudes to those of the apostles James and John, who saw being close to Christ as a means of obtaining special privileges, to distinguish themselves from the rest of the disciples, and to get a "unique reward in the way of professional standing".[390]

He believed that a true Christian should adopt the conception of Jesus himself, to "drink of the same bitter cup which the world was to offer to him." This article seems to have been a sort of a self-reflection on his daunting responsibilities, a self-reminder of the hardships ahead, and self-encouragement to face the difficulties awaiting him. He drew an analogy between Jesus' cup and personal obligation, bitterness and suffering. He said, "With all its bitterness, the 'cup' to Jesus meant the wonderful privilege of serving his fellowmen… a duty and a task to be accomplished… also to be ready to suffer and to die… one ought to anticipate difficulties and suffering along with the Christian life, for these are liable to come at almost any moment."[391]

He used the suffering that Jesus went through to hearten himself. He realized that the problems and difficulties he confronted were hard to surmount, and only "real spiritual worship" could provide him with courage. "Jesus, from the beginning, knew that he was called to face a great problem, to meet exceedingly difficult situations…He went right ahead, faithful to his ideals and life purpose… Jesus was able to surmount all the difficulties and hardships which confronted him and found a stern joy in overcoming them all, in giving his life in service..."[392]

Reflecting on why people failed to do their work, Zhang pointed out that people couldn't emulate Jesus for several reasons: first, because they didn't have their purpose of life clearly in mind; second, because when suffering was involved they hesitated to press

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[390] Lincoln Zhang, "My Cup: Can You Drink It?" *The West China Missionary News* 31, no.1 (1929): 8.
What Lincoln Zhang indicated in this article was the gospel of Mark, chapter 10, verses 35-45, which tells the story of the brothers James and John (possibly Jesus' cousins), who, thinking his "kingdom would come soon", asked to be seated on his right and left sides. Jesus there explained to them that the kingdom was not coming soon and that they had to emulate him in suffering in service to others. Jesus said to James and John, "you will drink the cup I drink and be baptized with the baptism I am baptized with, but to sit at my right or left is not for me to grant. These places belong to those for whom they have been prepared."

[391] Lincoln Zhang, "My Cup: Can You Drink It?" 9-10.

[392] Ibid.

forward; and third, because they had a tendency to shirk their duties and hesitated to face a disagreeable task.

He believed that the common understanding of "life in China today" was "to get, not to give", which was a motto that marked not only the characters of some Chinese Christians, but also that of the Chinese government, public office holders, soldiers, and general population. He asked that people not emulate disciples like John and James when they sought to use Jesus' favour to obtain added Christian glory, but that they instead embrace the spirit Jesus recommended to those disciples, to take up the task of salvation, to suffer, and to serve.[393]

The article Zhang authored described the true character of a real disciple of Jesus; it also revealed his own mental journey. His perplexity about the challenges he faced from work and society was clearly demonstrated, his hesitation to confront difficulties was real, and his determination to follow his God's teaching stood out. He was not sure if he was ready to take the "cup", but he nonetheless told himself to take it and prepare to drink from it.

The WCUU's New Constitution and Registration Efforts

During the WCUU's 1929 and 1930 confrontations with the non-Christian Chinese public in Chengdu and beyond, Lincoln Zhang knew that one of the reasons WCUU was attacked was because it didn't complete its registration with the Nationalist Government. Some alumni told Zhang that the anti-WCUU movement would die with the University's registration, therefore, they argued, completing the registration should be his first priority. In any case, to him as well as to many other people, the matter of registration was a matter of aligning with the sovereignty of the nation.

As the Vice-president of the University and a Chinese Christian, Lincoln Zhang wanted to complete the registration procedure as soon as possible. However, there were multiple barriers. Dr. Beech's hesitation about the registration was the first obstacle confronted by Lincoln Zhang.

[393] Ibid.

In June 1930, Beech clearly expressed his opinion about registration in his annual presidential report to the Board of Governors. Trying to convince the Board not to rush into registration, Beech suggested that the Board approach this matter ambiguously. He was willing to bet that a possibly unstable Nationalist Government would make the registration a fleeting request. Based on that wish, he notified the Board:

> We have sought to anticipate later legislation by framing some of the provisions elastic enough to allow conforming without recourse to amendments, but there can be no positive assurances while China remains in its present conditions, and any document that we form must be, in a sense, provisional and temporary and subject to amendments. We present it to you, not as an ideal finished project, but as an instrument designed to conserve that Board's interests and to admit of the operation of the University in accordance with present registration.[394]

He was genuinely annoyed by the government and Chinese faculty's demands for registering, which would directly result in removing him from the President position, his loss of control over decision-making and policy-making at the University, as well as reduced Christian teachings and a limited influence of Christianity on the students. He wrote, in his report to the Board,

> Registration and revolutions are, like the poor, always with us. The recommendations which we present on this subject were partly inspired by the desire to remove this troublesome subject from your agendas. At no time during my present term on the field have I felt justified in recommending the registration of the University since its operation was possible without it. Conditions and unforeseen contingencies have however, made it advisable to

[394] Joseph Beech, "The President Annual Report of WCUU to the Board of Governors." June 30, 1930, UBCHEA: RG 11-273-4330, P. 214.

> prepare for registration by the drafting of a modified constitution and by seeking to place responsibilities in the hands of those who may be called upon to bear them under registration.[395]

Beech's attitude toward registration was clearly stated above. It was an annoying and "troublesome subject" and the mission could carry on without it. His suggestion for the University's registration was one forced by the situation in China, and provided an expedient measure to protect the interests of the educational Board. Although he admitted that changes in China and Sichuan were substantial, his stance regarding the registration remained the same as the time when he gave the speech at the Executive Committee meeting on May 17, 1927.[396]

In his presidential report, he downplayed the challenges the University faced on the matter of registration, failed to mention the raging fire of the movement to retrieve educational rights in Sichuan, and presented a disingenuous message to the Board that might mislead decision-making.

Since Beech was a leading figure in the West China mission, the President of WCUU, and the most important founder of the University, his knowledge, observations, and recommendations had a tremendous influence on the Board of Governors. Even as Vice-president, Lincoln Zhang was in no position to convince Beech of the importance of registration, let alone to challenge Board's decision. Zhang was urged by governments, Chinese staff, and the entire society to register the University, but was faced with an immediate superior who was strongly against it.

He was again caught between a rock and a hard place. This was one of the moments in which Lincoln Zhang thought about quitting.[397]

The 1930 annual meeting of the Board of Governors of WCUU was held at the Rendel Harris Library in London on July 3rd. It set the tone for the contentious topic of WCUU registration, which had been debated for years. Dr. Beech's report, opinions, and recommendations were all discussed. Dr. Earl Cressy, the Secretary of the Council of the Christian Higher Education in China, was invited to present his survey of the China

[395] Ibid

[396] Beech's May 17th 1927 speech at the Executive Committee Meeting. UBCHEA RG011-272-4318.

[397] Ruth Zhang and Stephen Yang, "The Life of the President of The West China Union University Zhang Linggao".

Christian Correlated Program to the Board. He gave a positive review of the progress and changes made to Christian higher education in China.[398]

Two important documents from WCUU were discussed at the annual meeting as well. The first was Lincoln Zhang's report on his investigation into the registration of East China Christian Universities in Shanghai. His report, which ran counter to Dr. Beech's investigation and recommendation, noted that in East China, all the Christian Universities, except for St. John's, were already registered.

The second document discussed was a draft of the New Constitution of the University passed by the University's Senate Committee on May 8th, 1930. It summarized three significant points from the New Constitution regarding the topic of registration, namely: that the various levels of governments had pushed hard for registration, that the constitution granted the Senate Committee the right to establish a Board of Directors as the leadership body of the University, and that the Board of Directors had the power to apply for registration and appoint the President of the University.

The members of the Board of Governors carefully studied all the documents before the meeting was held. The Board appointed Professor Robins, Dr. Cressy and Mr. Garside to examine details of the WCUU Constitution and provide recommendations. After long debate and discussion, on July 4th, the Board presented resolutions concerning the new constitution and the possible registration of the University: it approved the new constitution in general terms; authorized the Senate Committee of the University to proceed with the setting up of WCUU Board of Directors under the terms of the constitution; and authorized the Board of Directors "thus constituted, to proceed at its discretion with the registration of the University."[399]

This decision by the Board of Governors removed a major obstacle to the registration; that is, it effectively gave Lincoln Zhang and the Board of Directors the green light to proceed with the registration. The Nationalist Government had set a deadline of June 1931 for the registration, and any university failing to meet this date would face serious consequences. For example, no funding would be provided, the government

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398 "Informal Meeting of Members of the Board of Governors and the Faculty of the West China Union University held at the Rendel Harris Library, Selly Oak". July 3rd, 1930. UBCHEA RG011-272-4330.

399 "Minutes of West China Union University Annual Meeting of the Board of Governors", July 4th 1930. UBCHEA, RG11-273-4331. P. 228-249.

wouldn't recognize the University's credentials, its graduates wouldn't have equal employment opportunities, and much more.

On April 15 and 16, 1931, the first meeting for the Board of Directors of WCUU was held in Chengdu. The Board appointed Lincoln Zhang as the President of the University. Two-thirds of the members of the Board of Directors were Chinese. On June 30th, 1931, Lincoln Zhang and Vice-president Sparling sent their first report to the Board of Governors, which updated the Board on registration preparations. "They are now all ready and our application will go forward before the fixed date."[400]

The report emphasized that the University was now "an entity in which students and faculty are all one and which is continually gaining strength and which will soon be able to withstand and oppose that which may come from without" after the bouts of anti-Christian movements. The report also stated that the University had been officially empowered to carry on its educational work by concerned governments and authorities.[401]

In his report, Lincoln Zhang was extremely optimistic about the school's graduates and prospective students. There were now, he reported, more students from government schools enrolled in the University. There was huge demand for the University's graduates, for even Peking Union Medical College had come to ask for the WCUU dental graduates. The local population in Chengdu had started to believe that the University was an asset to the city, and the University was training the best citizens and youth for the nation.[402] In the year 1930, the University had 259 students, among them 123 studied medicine and dentistry, 40 were in science, 58 in education and arts, and 16 in theology. "We confidently expect," he wrote, "that the years to come will find some of our graduates in responsible places in public life while many others are serving their country in private professions, in business and in the Church."[403]

Zhang was delighted about the University registration process. With this major issue resolved, he began making other plans for the University's development. First, he ordered construction to begin on the wall surrounding the women's dormitories, and broke

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[400] Lincoln Zhang and Geo. W. Sparling, "Report of the West China Union University for the year ending June the Thirtieth, 1931," UBCHEA, RG11-273-4331, P. 326.
[401] Ibid. , 324.
[402] Ibid.
[403] Ibid. , 332.

ground on another dormitory building for female students. He remarked, "Just recently a piece of land has been purchased to the west of the medical dental college building…it was thought wise to purchase sufficient land…"[404]

Contemplating the University's almost two years' worth of confrontations and tension with locals, Zhang believed "one of the results of this opposition has been a determined effort on the part of all Christian institution to produce a better understanding and more cordial relations with the outside community."[405] He sought opportunities to meet local authorities, like the general and governor of Sichuan Liu Wenhui, and the Commissioner of Education, "in the effect that local governments authorities are continually taking to maintain order and thus make it possible for us to do our work."[406] Wanting to establish cooperation opportunities with other educational institutions in Chengdu, he visited the President of Sichuan University to ask for "mutual assistance" and exchange faculty members and staff to teach different subjects at their respective schools. He used the University's athletic field, which was the biggest field in Sichuan Province, to hold sports events for other schools, to engage other educational institutions, and opened it up for public use, such as hosting social events.

At the end of the report, Zhang came to the conclusion that he wanted to increase the University's influence on the community. He set up his goals to make the University one that "deserves a worthy place in the community" and to educate young Chinese men and women "in responsible places in public life while many others are serving their county in private professions, in business and in the church."[407]

He placed the community, the students, and the nation above and ahead of church. He was a product of the Christian China missions, but his mission commitments were different from that of his creator.

During the eventful years between 1930 to early 1931, Dr. Beech spent most of his time away from the University, leaving Zhang and Sparling to deal with the tension and conflicts between the school and the local community. Zhang's swift responses to the crisis, his calmness under pressure, his clear and rational statements to the public, and strong

[404] Ibid. , 330.
[405] Ibid. , 328.
[406] Ibid.
[407] Ibid.

arguments in defense of the University won the confidence and support from faculty and staff, both Chinese and foreign. "He was highly capable and vigorous, equipped with flexible and efficient approaches, had friendly and sincere attitude and manner. The success of WCUU had to be attributed to his hard work and ability." Dr. Jiang Wengang recalled of Lincoln Zhang's performance during times of crisis.[408]

Growing Pains of the University and Dr. Beech's Financial Arrangements

In September 1931, Dr. Beech sent his last presidential report to the Board of Governors. In this report he pinpointed the impacts of registration on the University.[409] Since the registration, students from mission middle schools had to take entrance examinations to compete with public school students, and had subsequently lost their advantage for getting into the WCUU. For many, it became more practical to study business instead of theology at WCUU. As a result, the University saw a drastic decrease in theological students. This led Beech to observe that the theology program " [T]here are only 16 prospective students for the ministry listed in the University."[410] He was deeply worried about the future of theological studies at WCUU. He wondered whether the registration was a turning point for Chinese students to focus on studying science instead of theology, or whether Christian schools were now being forced to make science the primary focus. How could the evangelists adjust themselves to such changes when evangelistic work was no longer a priority? Dr. Beech's concerns and view about the current and future were remarkably different from Lincoln Zhang's.

Beech believed that the missionary society had lost control of the West China mission and the University. His disappointment in those changes was obvious.

Other missionaries were more optimistic about registration and its subsequent changes than Dr. Beech. They regarded some changes as positive developments for education in West China. On June 12, 1931, for example, Dr. Bell wrote to Endicott and provided more encouraging numbers about enrolment in Christian middle schools and the

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408 Jiang Wengang, "My Reminiscence of West China Union University," *Selected Collections of Chengdu Literature and History*, Series 3, Sichuan People's Publishing House, China, 1982. 姜蕴刚, [我对华西大学的回忆], 成都文史资料选辑, 第三辑, 四川人民出版社, 1982 年.

409 Joseph Beech, "President's Reports to Board of Governors", September 30th, 1931. UBCHEA, RG011-277-4382, P. 0628-0631

410 Ibid.

University. The mission schools, Bell reported, had reached their highest capacity and even became over-crowded, especially schools for girls and women. "There has been an increase of 28 per cent in the five Higher Primary and Middle Schools of the General Board. In the six schools of the WMS of this class there has been an increase of 43 per cent."[411] He also reported the Japanese occupation of Manchuria was affecting the Chinese students, who felt a duty to defend their country. In this situation, the University encouraged students to openly discuss questions like, "What is the best preparation that a student can make to serve his country in a crisis?" Such discussions convinced the students, he wrote, that "they would not allow anything to interfere with their classroom work until it seemed necessary."[412] Both missionaries and Chinese administrators at the University were happy to see their students think and act more maturely and rationally after experiencing recent political movements.

For his part, Dr. Kilborn was satisfied, even proud, of the progress made within medical and dental programs at WCUU. "One of the most encouraging phases of our medical-dental work," he wrote, "is the fine service being rendered by these trained Chinese doctors, dentists and nurses."[413]

In his many years' work in the field of medicine in Canada and the United States, he saw that a great deal of discussion had been going on "regarding the relation of dental education to medical education." Many dental educators in particular were "trying to place dentistry on a par with medicine as regards fundamental scientific training", but were unable to achieve this.

> But here in West China where the dental profession is in the process of formation, we have so far kept way ahead of the average school at home in these respects, and are up with the leaders. Our dental students receive identical training as the medical students for the first four years of their seven in the University. This high standard will undoubtedly have a very great influence in moulding the future of dental education in China, for already our graduate dentists are

[411] Bell to Endicott, June 12th, 1931. UCCA 83.047C Box 3 File 57.
[412] Ibid.
[413] Leslie Kilborn, "Annual Report of College of Medicine and Dentistry, 1931." UCCA 83.047C Box 3 File 66.

finding positions of responsibility in Peiping Union Medical College (Rockefeller Foundation), Tsinan University and other places.[414]

The newly graduated medical students not only worked at mission hospitals, but also took leading positions in different provinces' local and military medical institutions across West China, something that Kilborn thought, "May be a matter of very great significance to the future of modern medicine in West China." Moreover, these graduates' work spirit and management style "would be widely imitated."[415]

Similar progress was being witnessed in the field of agriculture. During his furlough, Rev. Dickinson had obtained a M.Sc. degree in the Department of Agriculture at Cornell University. Upon returning to Chengdu, he implemented the plans he had envisioned a dozen years before in order "to improve the dairy qualities of native cows," noting that "this project has grown so as to include the introduction of foreign fruit trees, poultry, breeding, etc." This attracted attention and support from many Chinese officials, gentry and businessmen. Such new technologies and methods not only brought better harvests to rural West China, but also introduced farmers to new concepts of agriculture. These advancements led to the establishment of enhanced agricultural studies and practical programs at WCUU. Such developments were a part of Zhang's view for the University's influence on the local community.

In early 1932, when the registration application with the Nationalist government became certain, and the University's administrative work was in good order, Zhang left West China to attend the Methodist Episcopal General Conference in the United States. In his absence, Mr. Fang Shuxuan was appointed Acting-president. Dr. Beech, as Chancellor of the University, was still in charge of most of the administrative work, especially the University's budget and finance matters.

Although 1932 was a year in which, as Dr. Beech's report described it, "the University has enjoyed one of its best years with an absence of troubles within and without,"[416] the burden of government taxation brought serious financial uncertainty. Fortunately, abnormal profits due to the foreign currency exchange rate helped balance the

[414] Ibid.
[415] Ibid.
[416] Joseph Beech, "Report of the Board of Directors of WCUU." August 15th 1932. UBCHEA RG 11-273-4331.

University budget. The University also resorted to other financial measures, such as freezing staff salaries and increasing students' tuition fees.[417]

After Beech had stepped down as President of WCUU, he still wanted to be relevant and maintain his importance to the University. Therefore, he worked on the sidelines, but remained visible. His strategy was to help the University with its financial challenges, especially when it was feared that the "falling income of the Mission Boards, depreciation of investment values, [and] exchange losses in Western currencies"[418] might bring future financial difficulties to the University. Therefore, he suggested the Board not rely on the exchange rate for financial gains, but take the bold measure of investing in high-interest bank products.[419]

His reasons for taking bold action to achieve financial gains were threefold.[420] First, financial problems at home in the West, such as decreasing church attendance, difficult financial straits of the mission, and curtailment of work and withdrawal of workers, all required the Board to take "heroic" actions, and bank investment was one of them. Second, steady increases in the University's budget were foreseeable. Third, to meet the University's development plans; more funds were needed for erecting new buildings. Here, the list was long. For example, the Women's College building, the Medical-Dental building, and the University Clinical Hospital project all needed funds to complete the construction. At the same time, there was an inadequate amount of teachers' housing, the electric and heating plants didn't have sufficient funding available, the Central Clinical Hospital needed more beds, and the dental clinic needed more chairs for patients. In short, the need to enlarge and improve all the University facilities and programs demanded a large amount of funds.

Beech suggested that the Board send a gift to WCUU from Mrs. Benjamin Moore[421] "to Shanghai for investment in order to take advantage of the phenomenal rate of exchange now prevailing."[422]

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[417] Ibid.
[418] Ibid. , 378.
[419] Ibid. , 376-380.
[420] Ibid.
[421] In 1931 Mrs. Benjamin Moore donated money for erecting of one of the units of the Central Clinical Hospital at WCUU.

Beech also recommended that the Board of Governors put the regular University budgets and grants, special grants for the Board of Directors, and earmarked grants for teachers' residences all into one or more of the standard banks or trust companies in Shanghai in order to make currency exchange gains and high interest gains. He convinced the Board that "the cash balance remaining be constituted a special University endowment, or reserve fund; the same to be placed on fixed deposit in Shanghai standard banks or trust companies in the name of the Board of Governors…"[423]

On October 25-26, 1932, the WCUU's Board of Governors Annual Meeting was held in Toronto, Canada. The Board approved Dr. Beech's investment plan and made further advancements to his suggestions. Where Beech suggested putting Mrs. Moore's gift for WCUU into the Shanghai bank "for a term of one year",[424] the Board made a "slightly amended" version, where they asked that "the gift of Mrs. Moore for the erection of one of the units of the Central Clinical Hospital to be transmitted to…either the Hong Kong and Shanghai banking Corporation…at the end of that period the accrued interest be added to the principal and the entire sum reinvested for another year unless the Board shall order otherwise."[425] The Board also decided to put the grant for the teachers' residences in the same bank to produce a foreign currency exchange price difference, and to take advantage of the fixed rate from the bank.[426]

After the Board transferred all the mentioned grants, funds, and gifts to Shanghai, Beech also persuaded most field missionaries in Sichuan to put their personal savings into the Raven's American Oriental Bank in Shanghai, which was run by an American banker, Frank Jay Raven. Beech put all his personal savings into the same investment as well. [427]

In promoting the investment strategy he had devised, he argued:

> For the principle and the specific recommendations under it, the following considerations are urged. By the creation of this

[422] Joseph Beech, "Report of the Board of Directors of WCUU." August 15th, 1932. UBCHEA RG 11-273-4331, P.390.
[423] Ibid. , 390.
[424] Ibid.
[425] "Minutes of West China Union University Annual Meeting of the Board of Governors", Toronto, October 25-26. UBCHEA, GR-011-273-4331, P.402.
[426] Ibid.
[427] Dr. Bruce Collier to Dr. James Endicott, February 4th, 1935 and April 14th, 1935. UCCA 83.047C Box 16 File 22.

> endowment or special emergency fund, provision will be made for some slight annual increases to our budget at this critical period, without endangering the stability of our work; the Board of Governors will have resources for emergencies that may arise; they may be able to help forward long cherished projects for which funds have not come to hand; a guarantee fund will be provided to enable the Board to maintain its promised quota to the Directors as agreed in the Contractual Agreement, and a reserve against a possible reversal of exchange rates whereby there may be a loss in exchange and an implied obligation to make up the deficit. The investment of it in this fashion will quiet all calls for direct grants from this fund and thus save us from a dangerous procedure, or recurring misunderstanding.[428]

Beech thought his investment proposal would help the Board of Governors and Board of Directors of WCUU to meet the "steady increases in the current budget of this University are imperative for some time to come."[429] His plan for that investment was rosy, and although he mentioned risks, he believed they were insignificant.

Conclusion

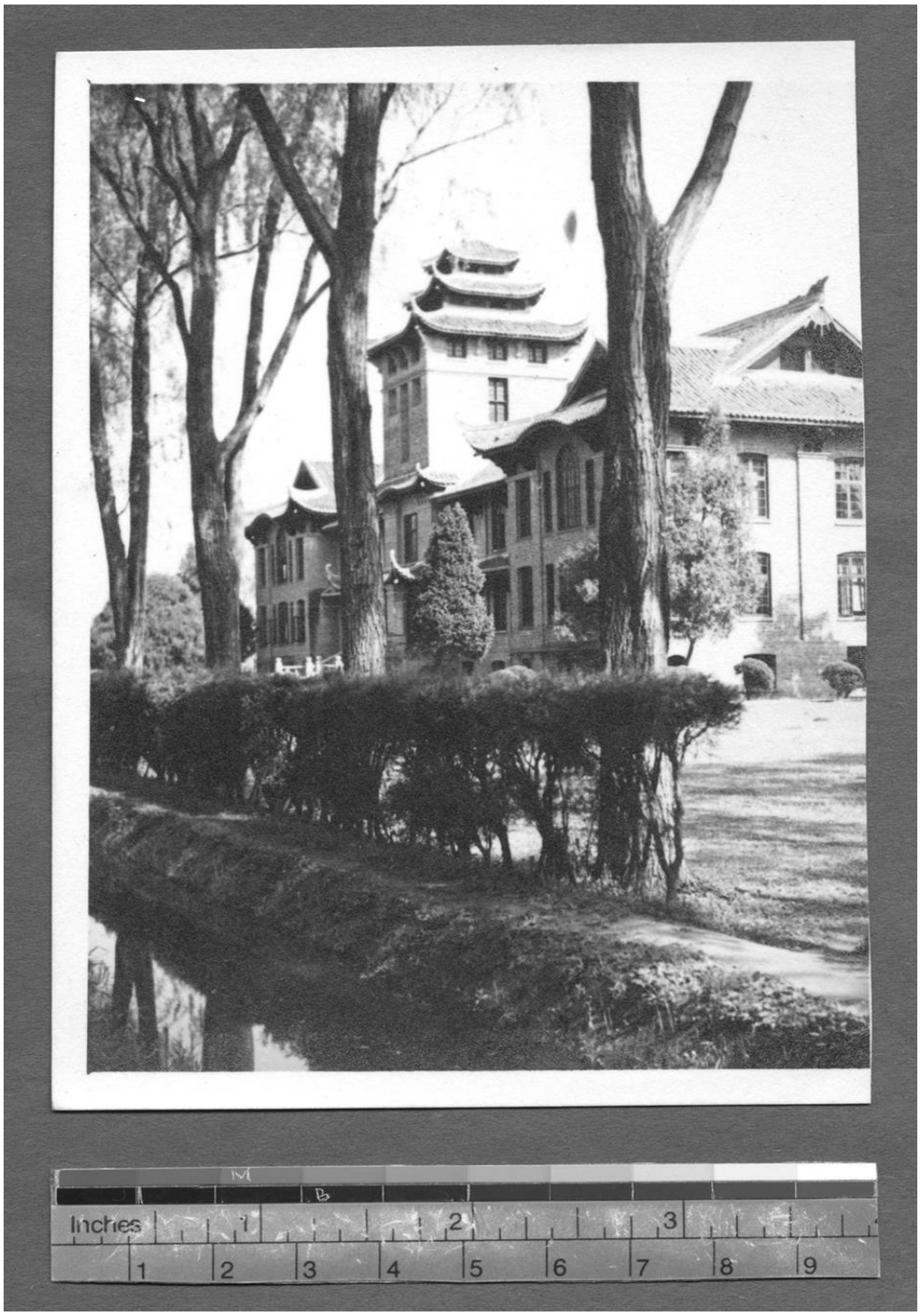
Together with WCUU students, faculty and staff, Lincoln Zhang weathered several political storms in the 1930s: the University's confrontation with other public educational institutions, the tragic death of Dr. Stubbs and the ensuing aftermath, and the local people's violent reactions in response to the building of the University wall. Several dissatisfied missionaries, led by Dr. Beech, rallied against registering WCUU with the nationalist government, which created greater tension between the Christian college and the community.

[428] Joseph Beech, "Report of the Board of Directors of WCUU." August 15th, 1932. UBCHEA RG 11-273-4331.
[429] Ibid. , 378.

The people's calls to restore China's educational sovereignty served as a source of inspiration and strength for Lincoln Zhang to push through with the University's registration, to expand his vision beyond the walls of the University campus, and to make WCUU a worthwhile place for serving and empowering the community.

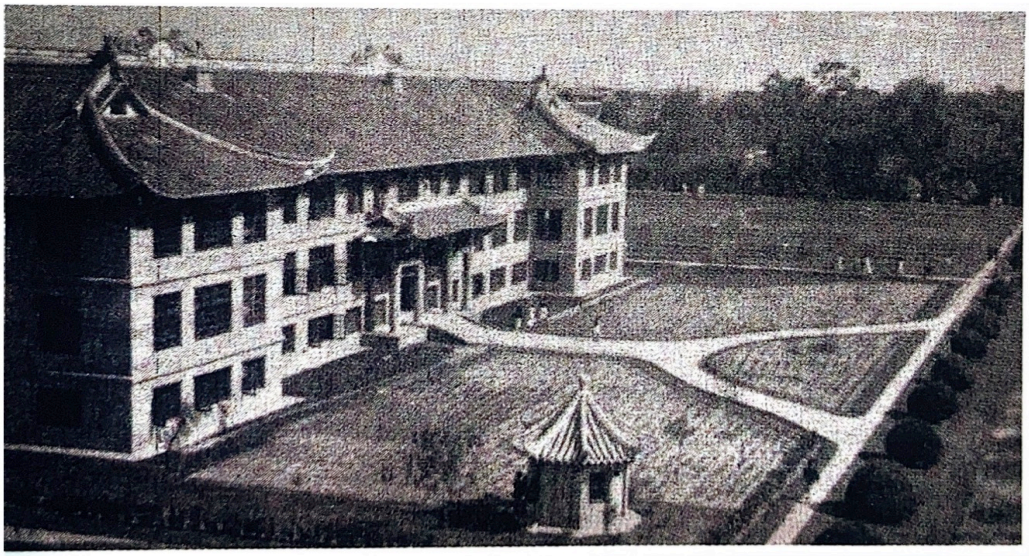
Dr. Stubbs, A British educational missionary

(Source: Sichuan University History editorial committee, ed. *History of Sichuan University-West China Union University, 1910-1949,* Vol. 4, Chengdu: Sichuan University Press, 2006.)



Hart college building, Dr. Stubbs was killed outside of this building

(Source: Yale University Library Divinity Archives, UBCHEA RG 11-416-5259)



Chemistry Building, Dr. Stubbs was the head of Chemistry Department

(Source: Sichuan University History editorial committee, ed. *History of Sichuan University-West China Union University, 1910-1949,* Vol. 4, Chengdu: Sichuan University Press, 2006.)

Female students studying beside the University wall

(Source: Yale University Library Divinity Archives, UBCHEA RG 11-417-5613)

Chapter Four: A Mission to Become a Strong Native Leader

Introduction

After years of Civil wars against various warlords, by 1930 Chiang Kai-shek and his government successfully split local military forces into provincial sections. As a result, Nanjing's influence finally spread widely throughout the nation. Gaining recognition from Western powers also allowed the government to increase its control of the Maritime Customs Services by appointing more Chinese to top positions. The increase in taxes gave the government the means to establish a public educational system, encourage industrial and commercial development, and build up a network of transportation that greatly benefitted urban China. Although the nation was threatened by various crises, such as the Japanese aggressions and the Communist army's campaigns to control various territories, China was enjoying some of its best years before the full-scale anti-Japanese war began in 1937.

WCUU experienced relatively peaceful times from 1932 to 1937. Spared from the constant crisis management of the previous years, and with a forward-looking mind, Lincoln Zhang began making development plans for the University and for himself. Improving the University's native leadership was at the top of his agenda.

From April 1932 to June 1933, Lincoln Zhang was immersed in Ph.D. studies at Drew University in the United States. He viewed this learning as an opportunity to better prepare himself as a native leader for the future development and advancement of the University, and to enhance his contributions by providing better services to the Chinese community. He trusted that, with the government's social support services, and the establishment of a reliable, well-researched system for welfare management, the young, the poor and the disadvantaged would have the opportunity to catch up and become valuable forces in society. Specifically, it was the study of the American welfare system that shaped Zhang's understanding of educational philosophy, his approach to academic teaching, and his methodology of social practice.

This chapter examines Lincoln Zhang's second blueprint for the next ten years of WCUU development and his passion for improving himself in the realms of academic learning, teaching, and University leadership.

Taking a Ph.D. Program at Drew University

After five years of intensive work, first as Vice-president of WCUU starting in 1927, and then as President, Zhang was granted a one-year sabbatical starting June 1932. In late 1931, American Methodist Episcopal Mission (M.E.M.) in West China appointed him as a delegate to attend the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Atlantic City, New Jersey, from May 2 to May 23, 1932. The M.E.M. also assigned him to give speeches at various churches in the United States, and the Board of Directors suggested that he establish networks with universities in North America. Zhang planned to return to China via Europe in the early winter so as to visit a few members on the Board of Governors there.

Soon after arriving in the United States, Zhang wrote to Dr. Garside, the General Secretary of the Board of Governors in New Yor[k,] "Since my vacation is granted from the University, I want to make my service first to any use for [sic, be of use for] that institution."[430]

In January 1932, as soon as Lincoln Zhang's travel plan was proposed, Dr. Sparling, the General Secretary of Canada West China Mission and Vice-president of WCUU, wasted no time in suggesting the United Church of Canada to make full use of Zhang when he was in North America.

> Mr. Dsang is prepared to remain in America for a few months... It is likely that his own church will want to make use of him in deputation work and it has occurred to us that the Board of Governors might also want to use him. We are paying his salary with the exception of a small amount which goes to the one who is acting as President during his absence… I have also written to Dr. Anderson, Secretary of the Board of Governors on the same matter… I might say that he is an

[430] Zhang to Garside May 9th, 1932. UBCHEA RG011-286-4484.

effective speaker and a good platform man. I believe he will move his audience wherever he goes.[431]

On February 12, 1932, Zhang left Chengdu. His first stop was Chongqing (Chungking) where he planned on meeting Dr. Beech to discuss issues related to the University. Then he would head to Nanjing (Nanking) to attend the All-China Conference of the Methodist Church.

Zhang's second time crossing the Pacific Ocean was not as daunting as the first one. He had been working as a senior administrator of a Christian Chinese University for seven years, spoke better English, and now had experience in dealing with American customs.

On March 24, 1932, Zhang left Nanjing for Shanghai, and from there he and his travel companion, Mr. Jiang Guodong 江国栋 (Chiang Gweh Dung) sailed to Vancouver. Mr. Jiang was a 1930 WCUU graduate in the field of physics and a teacher at a mission high school in Zizhou (Tzechow). The pair entered the United States via Seattle on April 19, 1932. Zhang's American entrance document shows that he was permitted to stay in the States for one year until April 19, 1933.[432]

The first month of Lincoln Zhang's time in Atlantic City, New Jersey, was occupied with attending various meetings and meeting up with old and new friends. He had pleasant meetings with Dr. Endicott, as well as Dr. Arnup, the Chairman of the Canadian Foreign Mission. Dr. Arnup invited Zhang to attend the Annual Conference of the United Church of Canada in Toronto. He also met Mr. T. G. Ho of Wesleyan University to discuss the possibility of setting up student exchange and cooperation programs.

On May 31, Zhang attended the meeting of the Executive Committee of the West China Board of Governors in New York. From June 4 to 24, he went to the summer school organized by the M.E.M. Church Foreign Mission Board, which was held at Drew University in Madison, New Jersey. During the summer school, he reported, "I find myself quite busy all the time. However, the change gives me quite a

[431] Sparling to Endicott, January 16th, 1932. UCCA 83.047C Box 16 File 15.
[432] Lincoln Zhang's American Customs File Number is 166 28-7/5.

rest."[433] Zhang often wrote to Garside to express his enjoyment of summer school events and activities.

In early June, after spending one week at Drew University, Lincoln Zhang successfully convinced Dr. Felton, a professor in the Department of Sociology, to accept him as a Ph.D. student. With the help of Dr. Felton, the University agreed to allow the Chinese language to substitute for one of the foreign languages requirements, and Zhang's B.D. and M.A. degrees would be credited to fulfill part of the requirements for the doctoral program. If he could pass his French examination and three other courses before the University's opening in mid-September, he could finish his Ph.D. in one year.[434]

From existing documents, it was clear that getting a Ph.D. degree in the States had not been contemplated before his arrival. Instead, he planned to use the opportunity to upgrade his learning taking some short programs and staying up-to-date on new academic developments.

On June 18, 1932, he wrote to Garside,

> Regarding to my school problem, I just got a letter from Boston University saying that the possible way to get inexpensive room and tuition free is to register in the theological school as a regular student. I had written to Dr. Marsh a few days ago to tell him that since I found it impossible for me to finish the regular courses for any degree, as I have to go back at the early Spring next year, I may register in the Theological school and take the minimum requirements there and some courses in the delartment (sic: department) of education, if they can arrange it for me…[435]

The possibility of being allowed to enter a Ph.D. program greatly encouraged Zhang. He worked "nine or ten hours a day" since mid-June. He needed to learn a new language for his Ph.D. qualification examination. He chose French, a language he had

[433] Zhang to Garside, June 18th, 1932. UBCHEA RG011-286-4484.
[434] Zhang to Garside, July 4th, 1932. UBCHEA RG011-286-4484
[435] Zhang to Garside, June 18th, 1932. UBCHEA RG011-286-4484.

never learned before, as his third language. Throughout July and August, Zhang worked with another Chinese student, Handel Lee (Lee Yu-yung),[436] and took French lessons from an American teacher.[437] Besides language learning, Zhang needed to take three and a half sociology reading courses to prepare for the qualification examinations.

After finalizing his study plan with Dr. Felton, on July 4, Zhang wrote to notify Dr. Garside that he was officially accepted by Drew University as a Ph.D. student. He informed Dr. Garside of his new sabbatical plan and wrote to ask the Board for financial support.

He downplayed the urgent nature of his request, only saying, "I just want to try and see if I can make my sabatical (sic: sabbatical) year of good use. If I should by any mensa (sic: means) succeed it would be a great help both to myself and the institution."[438] His letter emphasized the challenge of his financial situation since it was an urgent one. "I found I have to pay for the French tutor in the summer. May I expect to use the remainder [of the] funds we set up for the special trip for Chicago for this purpose? If you can draw it for me I shall appreciate your help very much."[439] Then he added,

> The school fees here will mount to something 575.00, and I can possibly get a scholarship from the university here of $150.00. Proximately I need four hundred dollars more for the school fees. As to the miscellaneous expenses I hope I can earn some money from my speech engagements. But I found so far, the churches at present day are all hard up against finance and did not get any honorium [sic: honorarium] yet. I just keep my faith and perhaps I can get along wlright [sic: alright]. If not, I will come to you again

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436 I have been unable to find Handel Lee's Chinese characters name.

437 Mr. Handel Lee (Lee Yu-yung) letter to Miss Mildred E. Williams August 8, 1932. Miss Williams was the secretary of the Board of Founders of the Nanjing Seminary. Mr. Lee was probably from Nanjing, and seems to have been another student supported by the mission board. Lee gained his Ph.D. in Philosophy at the same time as Lincoln Zhang at Drew University in June 1933.

438 Lincoln Zhang to Garside, July 4th, 1932. UBCHEA RG011-286-4484.

439 Ibid.

> for help. I must thank you again for your kind help which will mean so much to me as well as to the university.[440]

Lincoln Zhang was on tenterhooks over whether the Board would approve his request, since entering a Ph.D. program had not been discussed nor approved by either the Board of Governors in New York or the Board of Directors at WCUU. His primary purpose for his travel to America was to learn from the American university administration and establish a broader network in the States. The M.E.M. scheduled speeches and fundraising events for Zhang to attend, but his upcoming intensive studies would now interrupt these plans.

Despite everything on his plate, one thing worried Zhang the most - where and how he could secure funding for tuition and accommodations.

Dr. Garside replied the very next day, with three points emphasized. First, that he needed to discuss the issue of Zhang's tuition fees with Dr. Beech; second, that Zhang should be reminded of the time when the Board has paid his tuition fees in 1921-1922 for his B.D. at the Garrett Biblical Institute; third, that he would "call together the other members of the Finance Committee and seek the necessary authorization for us to advance funds to meet your requirements."[441] Following this letter, however, there came a long silence from Dr. Garside and the Board. Their quietness made Lincoln Zhang nervous and uncertain about his plans to take on Ph.D. studies.

On July 21, Zhang finally received a letter from Dr. Garside. The Board of Governors' response to Zhang's Ph.D. study proposal was warm but not especially enthusiastic.

> It was agreed in the first place to give general approval to your plans to spend the coming year at Drew University in the expectation that you will complete your requirements for the Ph.D. degree by the summer of 1933. While we all wish that you might have more time free for deputation work, and the visitation

[440] Ibid.

[441] Garside to Lincoln Zhang, July 6th 1932. UBCHEA RG011-286-4484.

> of other American universities for varying periods of time, still we recognize the great value of the Ph.D. degree, particularly for your position as President of the University, and feel that the securing of this degree is quite worth the sacrifice of other possible opportunities.[442]

Zhang was grateful to the Board for valuing his academic pursuits. His next immediate challenge was to locate founds for schooling To his great relief, the Board agreed to cover tuition fees and related expenditures for one academic year.[443]

Zhang was aware that he could not expect the Board to pay the full tuition and expenses for the entirety of his studies. Thus, on July 10, he wrote to Garside with a plan. First, Zhang planned to take summer courses to prepare himself for Ph.D. studies. Second, he would write to Dr. Arnup to arrange for paid speeches in Canada. Third, he didn't know "whether Dr. Beech and the University still count my salary in their budget of this year. Of course, I don't expect my salary of this year, as I know the University has a very hard time to deal with the native faculty, but I would appreciate it very much if they can give me some help for my family in China."[444]

On July 11, 1932, Zhang sent a budget to Garside and the Board to outline how much funding he needed to complete his studies. Garside must have realized Zhang was quite frugal based on his budget. He told Zhang that he needed to give himself some room for "unexpected expenses." Zhang was touched by Garside's kindness and thoughtfulness. He told him, "I must make the budget more accurate, as I found you and other friends on the committee are so generous to me which makes me rather embarrassed to ask any more help."[445]

In the next five months from August to December, Zhang wrote nineteen letters to Garside. Among them, ten letters were asking for money to cover his tuition fees, fieldwork trips, and other unexpected expenses. During Christmas, the University and

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[442] Garside to Lincoln Zhang, July 21st, 1932. UBCHEA RG011-286-4484.

[443] Garside to Lincoln Zhang, July 18th, 1932. UBCHEA RG011-286-4484.

[444] Lincoln Zhang to Garside, July 10th, 1932. UBCHEA, RG011-286-4484. When he was studying in the United States, Lincoln Zhang was the only breadwinner of his family. He left his wife and 4 children behind in China. The children's ages were 21, 7, 6, and 3 years old respectively. His eldest daughter Ruth Zhang was 21 years old, studying medicine at WCUU.

[445] Lincoln Zhang to Garside, July 20th, 1932. UBCHEA RG011-286-4484.

student dormitories were closed for the holidays, and Zhang was running low on funds. Zhang wrote to Garside, "I need $25.00 for boarding and fieldwork during the time."[446] Despite the holiday, Garside got back to Zhang the same day upon receiving the letter. "Enclosed herewith I am sending a check to your order for $25.00. If this proves inadequate to get you comfortably through the holiday season, I trust that you will not hesitate to call on us again."[447]

He knew that asking for financial support to promote and support education was an important part of his job as a University administrator. However, when asking for support for his own studies, he always remained embarrassed.[448]

On September 8, 1932, Zhang reported to Garside on his progress. He passed his French language test, received "A" scores on his reading courses, and soon he would start his field study week. Immersed in his studies, he declared that he "enjoy my works very much."[449]

He still took time off from his heavy course load to conduct deputation work. From September to December of 1932, Zhang delivered four speeches at the first Presbyterian Church in Elizabeth, New Jersey and other churches, and several other speeches at church council meetings in Kingston, Hamilton, Ottawa, and Montreal in eastern Canada

From July to December, he completed eight required courses, and worked on his field studies through most of September, early October, and late December."[450]

The Drive to Become a Strong Native Leader

Affording schooling was not the only challenge that Zhang faced during his Ph.D. studies. Very soon, he encountered another.

On September 18, ten days after the University formally opened for the start of the school semester, Garside notified Zhang that WCUU requested his return to China as soon as he possible. The cablegram from Dr. Beech to the Board urged: "Dsang:

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446 Lincoln to Garside, Dec. 14th, 1932. UBCHEA RG011-286-4484.

447 Garside to Lincoln Zhang, Dec. 16th, 1932. UBCHEA RG011-286-4484.

448 See the correspondence between Lincoln Zhang and the Boards in chapters five and six.

449 Lincoln Zhang to Garside, September 18, 1932. UBCHEA RG011-286-4484.

450 Correspondence between Lincoln Zhang and Garside, September to December 1932. UBCHEA RG011-286-4484.

faculty wishes you to return immediately. Arrive, if possible, before November 30, 1932. Beech."[451]

The reasons that Dr. Beech called Zhang back to WCUU were many. The most urgent one was that the Acting-president Mr. Fang Shuxuan was being offered a scholarship to study in England. They needed Zhang to return to take charge of the daily administrative work of the University. If Fang left before Zhang returned to China, it would leave the institution without a Chinese head. What is more, the wife of Dr. Beech was experiencing serious health problems, and needed his support during treatment in the United States.

In the Summer of 1932, Sichuan underwent deadly cholera epidemic. In August alone, about two hundred people died every day in Chengdu. Dr. Edwin Meuser acted extremely quickly to send telegrams to Shanghai and Beijing (Peiping) to secure cholera vaccines. He soon had all missionaries and their family members, WCUU doctors and local medical personnel and private practitioners vaccinated. Many missionary families suffered greatly from the epidemic. Dr. Sparling's daughter Dorothy and Mr. Homer Brown's daughter Julia were seriously sick. Mrs. Amos died of cholera within days and left three little children motherless; two days later, one of her babies died from dysentery. Most medical missionaries like Dr. Wilford and Dr. Ashley Lindsay were overworked to exhaustion.[452] They all needed time to recover, and the University was severely short of staff.

Other reason Lincoln Zhang was called back to WCUU involved running the alumni group's activities and handling the University registration with the government. According to Bell, several WCUU alumni who had differing opinions from Lincoln Zhang's about the University's management took advantage of his absence to strengthen their positions in the University, attempting to limit Zhang's power or replace him. They called an alumni meeting in order to have their proposal passed. They submitted a list of six names to the Board of Directors, of which the Board could choose three to act as a management committee of until Lincoln Zhang's return. Their agenda, it seems, was to form a small group to oppose Zhang. They proposed to limit the power

[451] Ibid.

[452] Bell to Endicott, September 6, 1932. UCCA 83.047C Box 4 File 73.

of the President, to reduce foreign presence in the University, and to ensure that faculty and department heads were Chinese nationals.

Their provocative activities worried University administrators and faculty, both Chinese and missionaries.[453]

At the same time, the University's endeavour to register with the Nanjing government encountered several setbacks.

Before leaving China, Lincoln Zhang arranged for Mr. Cheng Zhixuan to be in charge of WCUU's registration with the National Government. Zhang believed that registration was a foregone conclusion since the University had made all necessary changes to meet the government's requirements. During Zhang's absence, however, the Ministry of Education sent inspectors, such as Commissioner Mr. Mei Xinru 梅心如, Director Zhang Zhongmin 张重民, Dr. Wei Shizhen 魏时珍, and General Secretary Wu

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[453] According to Dr. Liping Zhang, Dr. Ruth Zhang, and Dr. Stephen Yang the same group of people became new members of the Board of Directors, and their strong opinions against Lincoln Zhang's every proposal were one of the reasons that Zhang decided to remove himself from the University leadership. Dr. Bell's letter to Endicott on September 6th, 1932 also showed strong disapproval of those alumni. In his letter to Endicott, Bell wrote, "As you know President Djang Lin Gao has been in American since the spring and is not due back here until the early winter. The Acting-President, Mr. Feng, has been granted some sort of scholarship by the English Friends and quite unexpectedly to many of us proposed to leave this month. That would have left the institution without a Chinese head. This seemed a fine opportunity for these other chaps. They called a meeting of alumni and willy-nilly had their suggestions passed." UCAA 83.047C Box 4 File 73. Accord to professor Jiang Wengang, 那时华大毕业同学刘腾轩，李海澜，肖路加，黄天启等人，本在校外工作，或自营医务。肖路加开办有肖氏兄弟医院；黄天启是成都很吃得开的牙科医生，医务发达，并不想回校任事。但是刘腾轩当县长垮台后，就想返校任职，当然不是想担任一个小职务，而是要与同学张凌高平起平坐。那时校内重要职务，除洋人外都是留洋回来，学有专长的人担任，如教务长方叔轩，理学院长张孝礼，文学院长罗忠恕，还有张明俊，李晓舫等任主任和教授，他们都是从国外留学回来，学有专长，刘腾轩，李海澜等人是不能与之相比的，于是就被张凌高拒绝任用，因而引起他们的仇恨攻击。其后肖路加，黄天启参加董事会，就特别在张凌高的报告和提案上肆意挑剔，大作文章。他们参加董事会是以同学代表的资格来的。董事长（张公权）是官僚挂名，董事也多为当地军政头头，不大懂事，很少参加开会，因而开董事会时，这些毕业同学的代表虽不多，影响却大." "At the time, Liu Tengxuan, Li Hailan, Xiao Lujia, Huang Tianqi and others who graduated from WCUU were working off-campus or had their own medical practices. Xiao Lujia owned the Xiao Brothers Hospital; Huang Tianqi was a well-respected dentist in Chengdu. He had an extremely profitable dental clinic and did not want to work at the school. However, after Liu Tengxuan lost his post as the county magistrate, he desired a position at WCUU. Of course, he did not want to just work at the university, but to be on an equal footing with his classmate Lincoln Zhang. At that time, the important positions in the school, except for those of foreigners, were all occupied by experts in their fields, such as the Dean of Academic Affairs Fang Shuxuan, the Dean of Science Zhang Xiaoli, the Dean of Literature Luo Zhongshu, Zhang Mingjun, Li Xiaofang and other directors and professors. They all came back from studying abroad and were experts in there are of study. Liu Tengxuan, Li Hailan and others could compare with them, therefore, Lincoln Zhang had a hard time offering satisfying positions to them, which led to their profound resentment and later personal attacks toward Zhang. Afterwards, Xiao Lujia and Huang Tianqi participated in the Board of Directors meetings, and always made a great fuss about Lincoln Zhang's reports and proposals. Because they were representatives of WCUU graduates, they had a great influence among alumni. The chairman (Zhang Gongquan) was a bureaucrat, and the directors were mostly local military and political leaders. Their busy schedules prevented them from attending most board meetings. Alumni members took advantage of the absence of major board members to give Lincoln Zhang a hard time." 姜蕴刚: "我对华西大学的回忆", [成都文史资料选辑], 第三辑, 四川人民出版社, 1982. Jiang Wengang, "My Reminiscence of West China Union University", *Selected Collections of Chengdu Literature and History*, Series 3, Sichuan People's Publishing House, China, 1982.

Junyi 吴君毅 from Nanjing to examine the University's administrative structure, its sources of finance, the layout of the campus, the course designs, and the activities of faculty and students.

Zhang's absence from WCUU enabled certain faculty members and alumni to approach the Nanjing inspectors to complain that, under Zhang's leadership, the registration regulations were not exactly followed. Although the inspectors declared they were satisfied with what they saw at the University, the opinions of certain faculty members and alumni concerned them.[454] Therefore, the inspection group recommended that the University make necessary changes to better meet requirements before the registration was granted.[455]

On receiving the request to return, Zhang wrote to Beech, Sparling, Fang Shuxuan and other colleagues to gather information about the situation at the University while continuing to carry on his studying. He took time to weigh his decision carefully, and debated with himself back and forth.[456] On September 29, 1932, two days before he left the United States for a presentation tour in eastern Canada, he wrote to several related parties to let them know that, despite the request, he had decided to stay and complete his studies. He appealed for their understanding and support.

In his letter to Dr. Beech, Zhang gave several explanations for his decision. First, he asked Dr. Beech to understand that a fruitful learning opportunity was difficult to come by; he couldn't give it up. Second, he believed that his current course of study was going to benefit his future work at the University greatly by helping him set higher standards for both the University's academics and its administration. Third, recalling that the excellent missionaries who had gone to China were very well prepared academically, he declared that he wanted to be able to reach their standards. Last but not least, he perceived that the challenges Chinese Christians faced were "not so much

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454 [四川省教育厅训令-教字第 1207 号], 1933 年 9 月 23 日, 华大档案. "Instructions of the Sichuan Provincial Department of Education – No. 1207", Sichuan University Archives. And 方叔轩，[私立华西协合大学代理校长方叔轩报告], 1933. Fang Shuxuan, "Acting President of the Private West China Union University", 1933.

455 Ruth Zhang and Stephen Yang, "The Life of the President of The West China Union University Zhang Linggao." on page 11, Zhang and Yang state that in March 1933, Zhang returned to China and stayed in Nanking to work with Mr. Cheng Zhixuan to complete the registration, then returned to Drew University to finish his degree. After carefully examining Zhang's correspondence with the Board of Governors and others, I conclude that Zhang didn't make that trip back to China.

456 Lincoln Zhang to Beech, September 29th, 1932; Lincoln Zhang letter to Garside, September 29th, 1932; and Lincoln Zhang letter to Dr. Silcock, October 12th, 1932. UBCHEA, RG011-286-4484.

with the finance, but rather with the dissatisfaction of their preparation. With a feeling of un-readiness no body can work long and efficiently. I take the chance this time to get me more equipped is just because [sic] I want to do more efficient works [sic, work] for my job in the University."[457] In short, he argued that the University needed higher academic standards and stronger native leadership, and that his studies would help him to achieve those goals.

In the early 1930s, most Chinese presidents of Christian colleges had Ph.D. degrees, as did the presidents of some Chinese public universities. Lincoln Zhang was one of the few who lacked that academic credential. Not having this degree made him uncomfortable sometimes, especially when people challenged him in this regard. He wrote:

> Dr. Beech, you can quite see that after such hardships and heavy strains for these five years in my office, I have been exhausted both physically and mentally. I find out that such opportunity to study again gives me quite an encouragement and a new light of my life. All clouds seem sat [sic] away and turns [sic: turn] a new page of my life history. I [will] feel more courageous to face my colleagues and students as well as the outsiders if I can keep up my scholastic standing along with them. Moreover, I still at present find myself not too old to study and my memory is still workable…it seems to me that it is God's will to give me such an unexpected opportunity to be more equipped for His Kingdom.[458]

He told Dr. Beech that if the University forced him to give up his studies to go back to China, he would do it, but "I am sure that even unconsciously I will feel more and more disappointed and discouraged, which will mean a great failure of my work for the University." At the end of the letter he said, "I do feel sorry that I can not come back

[457] Lincoln Zhang to Beech, September 29th, 1932. UBCHEA RG011-286-4484.
[458] Ibid.

right now to be of help, but my purpose to stay here is not entirely for myself."[459] Rather, "what I am trying to do now is sacrifice something temporary and short term, and get something more permanent and greater for the institution."[460]

To him, this study was not about earning a Ph.D. degree, but more about giving him enough confidence and courage to face the challenges that ahead of him, preparing himself better in both higher academic standards and administrative training for the leadership position.

He, therefore, asked for Dr. Beech's help and support, "I hope you can take this matter up with the faculty again and ask them to reconsider it. I know you may find some difficulty alright, but I do believe that with your presence on the field and the help of the whole faculty you can get along alright, if not better."[461]

On Sunday, Oct. 2nd, he left New York for Canada and his speaking tour. On Tuesday, October 4th, he spoke to the General Council of a Methodist diocese at Hamilton; on Thursday, October 6th, he spoke in Kingston; on Sunday, October 9th, he travelled to St. James United Church in Quebec City; his last speech took place in Ottawa. His speeches were well advertised among Methodist Churches, missionary groups, Christian Student groups, and local newspapers.[462] Many missionaries who had worked in Sichuan came to the events; WCUU graduates who were studying in Canada also came to meet their President. Zhang reportedly had a great time catching up with them. In his speeches he spoke at great length of Canadian missionaries' work in West China. He thanked the church members and all his audiences for their support. He also reported, "the speeches I made also seemed interesting and helpful to the friends over there to have better understanding and more faith in whatever they heard of the good stories of their missionary works over in West China, and a lot of the false stories they heard from the non-Christians were clarified."[463]

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[459] Ibid.
[460] Ibid.
[461] Ibid.
[462] Information about Lincoln Zhang's east Canada speaking tour schedule comes from various missionary sources, from church correspondence and from local newspapers, for example, October 8, 1932, *The Gazette* (Montreal, Quebec, October 8th, 1932), Arunp letter to Rev. P.W. Anderson, September 29th, 1932, UCAA 83.047C Box 16 File 15; and Bell to Endicott, September 6th, 1932, UCCA 83.047C Box 4 File 73.
[463] Lincoln Zhang to Garside, October 19th, 1932. UBCHEA RG011-286-4484. In his letter to Garside, Zhang didn't explain what kind of false stories that non-Christians gave.

Although the heavy workload had cut short his speaking tour in Canada, Zhang declared that the travels took his mind away from the pressure from West China. The meetings with old and new friends really cheered him up:

> I had a great time to visit the friends and my own teachers and their relatives, and speaking to the different churches and young people organizations. They seemed very interested in the missionary works in China. Specially [sic: Especially] the young people asked so many questions. I feel so glad that I can render such a little service to the Lord to make the people on this side to realize that Christ has been so heartily accepted in China through the services rendered by His Church.[464]

He returned to the Drew University campus in the evening of Monday, Oct.11th, and went directly to the library to catch up with his studies.

Dr. Garside's response to his September 29 letter was waiting for him. In the letter, he told Zhang that after discussing his situation with the Board members Dr. Edwards and Dr. Huntington, they all "agreed that, if at all possible, you should be allowed to remain in America until next spring to complete the work for your Doctor of Philosophy degree."[465] He also let Zhang know that they were making efforts to defer Mr. Fang's study in Britain. "We decided to send a cablegram to Mr. Silcock in London explaining the situation and asking whether it would be possible to postpone Mr. Fong's fellowship until next summer."[466]

Encouraged by the Board of Governors' support, on Tuesday, October 12, Zhang sent a letter to Mr. Silcock, the Secretary of the Society of Friends of Great Britain, to explain at great length the significance of his study to the University and himself.

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[464] Lincoln Zhang to Silcock, Oct. 12th 1932. UBCHEA RG011-286-4484.
[465] Garside to Lincoln Zhang, October 4th, 1932. UBCHEA RG011-286-4484.
[466] Ibid.

He told Mr. Silcock that, in the past five years his authority and academic credentials had repeatedly been questioned and challenged by a small group of people, made up mainly of WCUU alumni, whom he called "the trouble makers". Some of them, he said, had an eye on his job and believed that they were more qualified than Zhang for the position of President;[467] others had suggested Zhang didn't have the proper academic credentials to run a high-profile educational institution like WCUU.[468] Some people had attacked Zhang and Mr. Fang on many occasions on that front. Zhang admitted, "such an academic standing means so much at present in China, especially in our university in Chengtu, for my position."[469] Therefore, "in order to face the students and faculty inside and the government and educational circle outside, it is very important to have such high academic standing to hold the head office."[470] He was determined to use this opportunity to upgrade himself in order to set higher standards for the University, and leave no space for people to question his academic credentials.

He also believed that a Ph.D. degree would instil in him the confidence and resilience needed for the job, and better prepare him to plan for the future of the University. He confessed to Silcock that in the past five years there had been many times he was on the brink of quitting, that the recent challenges at home "certainly need great courage and fighting spirit to get over", and that the University needed a "strong man and high standing to face such difficulties." He said if he were to give up that opportunity, "I will have no courage to go right back to China to face the situation. As it is impossible, not because I am [a] coward."[471]

Zhang assured Silcock that strong Chinese leadership would be pivotal for the future of the University. Therefore, he argued, he needed to complete his program of study, so he asked Silcock and the council to postpone Mr. Fong's studies to the following June. "If possible, to give Mr. Fong longer time to be prepared, as he has

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[467] According to Dr. Ruth Zhang, Liu Tengxuan was one of them. Liu graduated the same year as Lincoln Zhang in 1919 from WCUU.

[468] Ruth Zhang suggests that the WCUU graduates Dr. Tianqi Huang (1921), Dr. Xiao Yisen (1923) and Dr. Xiao Yixin (1928) were major challengers to Lincoln Zhang in this regard. Zhang family archives. Lincoln Zhang's letters to Dr. Beech, Garside and Silcock in September and October 1932 also indicated that he was on the pressure to upgrade his academic credentials. UBCHEA RG011-286-4484. Dr. Zhang Liping and professor Jiang Wengang gave the same account as Ruth Zhang.

[469] Lincoln Zhang to Silcock, Oct. 12th 1932. UBCHEA RG011-286-4484. P.1206-07.

[470] Ibid.

[471] Ibid.

proved himself to be the right one to serve the University. It is not easy to find one like him, loyal, faithful and hard working."[472]

According to his daughter Ruth, Zhang was not used to showing his emotions to people openly, even to his family. He spoke very little at home and rarely joined his children for relaxing family conversations and events.[473] In his letter to Silcock, he nonetheless emotionally revealed some of the challenges and difficulties he had encountered in the past five years and his own vulnerability.

He was determined to overcome his challenges and improve his situation.

That same evening, he wrote to Garside to emphasize the responsibilities of native Chinese leadership at the mission college, the relationship between his personal abilities and the future of the University, and the importance of his studies. He believed that improving the leadership abilities of native Chinese staff was vital to the future of the Christian West China educational mission, and his Drew University studies were a significant part of the undertaking to fulfill Christian educational goals in China. "I do think that the responsibilities on the shoulders of the native leaders are certainly too heavy. Without training more native leaders to help, it will be too difficult for the institution to get along without either failure, or to kill its native leadership on the way going."[474] He took this study as a necessary preparation for future challenges. "Christ took up his cup because he felt quite ready to take it…I need to equip myself better before going back to China."[475]

By emphasizing the importance of native leadership, Lincoln Zhang was also indicating the devolution of the church authority and indigenization of the University were imperative for the future of WCUU.

On Tuesday, October 25th, Zhang went to Toronto to attend the meeting of the Board of West China Mission of the United Church of Canada. Returning home early on Thursday, October 27, Zhang went directly to class,[476] and as soon as it was over, he wrote to Garside to inform him that Mr. Fang's scholarship would be postponed to next

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[472] Ibid.

[473] Ruth Zhang and Stephen Yang, "The Life of the President of The West China Union University Zhang Linggao."

[474] Lincoln Zhang to Garside, Oct. 12th 1932. UBCHEA RG011-286-4484.

[475] Ibid.

[476] His American re-entry document indicates that he left Toronto for New York on October 26th, 1932. He might have taken a late evening train.

year. At the end of the letter, he reiterated the point that, "Our University suffered a great deal during these years just because we have not trained enough strong native leadership."[477]

The Spring and Summer semesters of 1933 were the busiest time of Zhang's studies in the United States. He took ten courses: human engineering, sociological research, social research and field studies, community organization, rural sociology, rural economics, theology and the interpretation of life, the psychology of religious development, philosophy and religion, and child welfare. The last two months he dedicated to research and dissertation writing.[478]

On June 5, 1933, the *New York Times* reported that among the 79 individuals getting degrees at Drew University that summer, "ten students from other Nations [were] among those to be honoured at exercises." Both Lincoln Zhang and his French language-learning partner Handel Yu-yung Lee obtained their Doctor of Philosophy degrees in Sociology at the same time and their names appeared in the newspaper.

The commencement was held on Tuesday, June 6th "in the open air under the oak trees of the Mead Hall campus."[479] Interestingly, Dr. Ralph Felton, Lincoln Zhang's supervisor, was awarded his second Ph.D. degree in Philosophy at the same time as his student. His first doctoral degree had been in Theology.

To Adapt America Social Welfare Methods for Underprivileged to West China

The title of Zhang's dissertation was, *An Adaptation of American Social Welfare Methods to West China.* The insights he laid out there would shape his career, University building, and development through the coming years.

Zhang's time at Drew University decisively shaped his understanding of academic learning, Christianity, and university administration. Armed with new knowledge, he redeveloped his political opinions about government and society, and most importantly, grew into his identity as an educated native Chinese leader of an

[477] Lincoln Zhang to Garside, Oct. 27th, 1932. UBCHEA RG011-286-4484. P. 1214.

[478] Lincoln Zhang Drew University official record of studies, Drew 3856.

[479] Unknown author, "79 To Get Degrees At Drew University," *New York Times*, June 5, 1933.

institution. The key factors that changed and reshaped him were the influence of his supervisor Dr. Felton, Zhang's close observations of American society, and the circumstances and changes that took place in the early 1930s in the United States.

In the late 19th century, many Protestants were deeply bothered by the new realities of urban overcrowding, gruelling factory work, and grinding poverty. Some Christians in North America began to link the concept of good work with salvation. The Social Gospel Movement "argued that people must emulate the life of Jesus Christ. To honour God, people must put aside their own earthly desires and help other people, especially the needy. The purpose of wealth was not to hoard it but to share it with other, less fortunate people."[480] The Social Gospel taught that Christian Churches not only had the duty to convert individuals and bring them to salvation through Christ, but also to work diligently to create a "better world" here and now. By the year 1900, much of mainline American Protestantism and its most prominent seminarians had embraced the Social Gospel.

Progressive Christian reformers, inspired by the movement, "implemented numerous reforms to help other people, one of their most important contributions to society was the creation of settlement houses."[481] Issues of public health, education, mental health, child labor and the working and the poor living conditions of low-income mothers soon gained attention as well With the reformers' efforts, support for the disadvantaged extended to more concerning social issues: advocating for temperance and other elements of public morality, opposing gambling and corruption, and working for improvements in the welfare of orphans and the living conditions of the elderly. Even though racism remained strongly entrenched among white Christians for a long time, and the churches were a powerful vehicle in conveying it, some Christian church leaders transformed their social concerns into moral concerns. This led them to pay attention to social justice issues such as women's rights and racial equality, at least among Black Christians and other people of colour. In Canada, the Social Gospel influenced the formation of a Christian democratic political ideology, and its principles

480 "Social Gospel Movement", Ohio History Central. https://ohiohistorycentral.org/w/Social_Gospel_Movement.
481 Ibid.

became part of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (later the New Democratic Party) formation in the 1930s.

At the time Lincoln Zhang arrived in North America, the Social Gospel movement had just passed its peak.[482] However, it continued to have lasting impacts on the policies of society in North America. The principles and social values of the movement dominated people's understanding of their own religious beliefs, and motivated them to continue taking action to build a better community where they lived.

Progressive scholars studied the transformations that resulted from the Social Gospel movement. Dr. Ralph A. Felton, Lincoln Zhang's supervisor at Drew University, was one among them.[483]

If his studies at Drew University were key to reshaping his views toward society, people's lives and living conditions, and his personal mission as a Christian and a Chinese, then Zhang's supervisor, Dr. Ralph Felton, was equally important in refining those views. Little documentation is left attesting to the interaction between Zhang and Felton, but it is not difficult to see the influence of Felton's writing and activities on Lincoln Zhang's dissertation and his subsequent career at WCUU.

Zhang probably met Dr. Felton in June 1932, at the time of the church mission program at Drew University. It is not clear who introduced them. Felton might have participated in the M.E.M. seminar since he was extremely interested in helping minority church people. Another possibility was that Zhang approached Felton after listening to his lecture. In Zhang's letter dated July 4th, 1932, to Garside, he mentioned he "had a great talk with professor Felton" about his plan to study at Drew for a Ph.D. From what he described, it is clear that this was not the first time the two had met and discussed Zhang's interests. However, it was during the late June meeting when Felton shared with Zhang that it would be possible to take him on as his graduate student. Before that meeting, Felton examined Zhang's work experience and his educational

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[482] About when the Social Gospel movement began to decline, scholars have different opinions. They mostly agreed that the destruction of the World War One made many people disillusioned with the Social Gospel ideals. To know more about the declining of Social Gospel movement and its legacy, please take reference to: Christopher H. Evans, *The Social Gospel Today* (Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster John Knox Press, 2001). Robert T. Handy, ed. *The Social Gospel in America: 1870-1920* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966). Christie, Nancy & Gauvreau, Michael, *A Full-Orbed Christianity: The Protestant Churches and Social Welfare in Canada, 1900–1940* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1996).

[483] Meredith Rupe, "Dr. Ralph A. Felton's Research," *Ralph Felton Papers:* first box. Drew University Library Archives.

credentials from WCUU, Northwestern University, and Garrett Biblical Institute. He also asked Dr. Eiselen, the President of Garrett Theological Seminary, to send Zhang's official transcript to him. The general requirement for the Ph.D. program was two years of study at Drew University. Understanding that the University requirements didn't align with Zhang's time limitation, Felton made the effort to ensure that Zhang could "pass the requirement of two years residence" in one year.[484]

On July 4, Felton met Zhang again to outline his plans for his year of study at Drew. He offered to supervise Zhang on three and a half one-on-one reading courses before the university academic term started.

Fortunately, Zhang had found a mentor who was learned, internationally oriented, and committed to social justice.[485] Felton had grown up near Ponca City, Oklahoma, where his family lived as homesteaders. After receiving a Bachelor of Arts degree from Southwestern College in 1905, he taught at the American College in Beirut, Lebanon. Felton completed rural missionary work for both the Presbyterian and Methodist churches, furthered his education at Columbia University with a Master's degree and received his Ph.D. in Theology from Drew University. He worked with Gammon Theological Seminary President Dr. Harry Richardson to form the Interdenominational Theological Center in Atlanta in an effort to provide more chomprehensive education for African-American pastors and ministers in the South. Then, he served as Professor of Rural Sociology at Drew Theological School from 1930 to 1952, and as Director of the Department of the Rural Church. A prolific author, Felton wrote 25 books and 29 pamphlets regarding his research on rural churches in the United States and abroad. Well-travelled, he taught in Lebanon, Syria, China, South Korea, Mexico, and Cuba. Beginning in the 1940s, Felton focused his research on black churches in the South, endeavouring to understand the influence of the church on black welfare in spite of Jim Crow.[486]

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[484] In Lincoln Zhang's letter to Garside on July 4, 1932, he wrote, "I had a good talk with Prof. Felton about my plan to work in Drew for Ph.D. We found it may be possible to work out. As in addition to what I have from Garret for my B.D. and that from Northwestern for my M. A., I have only to study one more year to fulfill the requirements of credits besides the dissertation." UBCHEA RG011-286-4484.

[485] "Dr. Ralph Felton Papers." Drew University Archives.

[486] Ibid.

Throughout his entire life Felton was devoted to studying, understanding, and providing support to rural, black and third world communities. His books, *These My Brethren: A Study of 570 Negro Churches,* and *Go Down Moses: A Study of Successful Negro Pastors*, published in 1950 and 1951 respectively, explain his progressive ideology toward the social issues in American society, and the reason he took Lincoln Zhang under his wing as his student after several universities had declined Zhang's applications.

Felton was a prolific author who focused his studies on rural churches in the United States and abroad. He was the earliest theological sociologist to conduct intensive surveys on rural churches and communities, and he left massive volumes of survey results and accounts of programs like the Federated Church and the Community Church movements, as well as church farms, church unions, and church buses, all products of the Social Gospel movement. He was concerned mostly with the spiritual contributions and values of the rural church and community. He also helped teach stewardship to rural church members and advocated the idea that the poor could contribute to society if the right help and support were provided. As an enthusiastic supporter of the Social Gospel movement, Felton was researching no single problem, but attempting to find a cure for the plight of the poor rural churches.

At least one scholar believed that "he was researching the right things for his time, because there needs to be some general knowledge as to whether certain methods have had general success or failure in trying to solve the problems of the rural church and why." However, the same author cautioned "what he fills out concerning statistics are merely guesses…his studies are a composite of opinions and impressions of the respondees and not a report of the facts themselves."[487]

In other words, he wrote about his desire for having a Christian community that paid equal attention to the rural, black and the ones who were left behind, even though his ideals in this regard were far from existing realities.

When Lincoln Zhang started his Ph.D. studies, Felton was focusing on developing his theory of the social survey. His book, *The Value of the Social Survey in*

[487] Meredith Rupe, "Dr. Ralph A. Felton's Research," Drew University Library.

a Changing Social Order, was published in 1933 when Lincoln Zhang was conducting his field study and writing his dissertation.

The courses Felton suggested Lincoln Zhang take for his Ph.D. program indicate the older man's personal focuses as well as the strong progressive Social Gospel approaches to American social, political, and academic ideologies at the time.

Zhang was fascinated by the courses and readings that Felton assigned to him, but what attracted his attention the most was the Field Study, on which he spent considerable time. From September 8th to 15th in 1932,[488] Zhang attended all the welfare events around the neighbourhood of the University campus to observe and investigate the backgrounds of the attendees, how events were conducted, and how the ministers performed. After his initial program of observation, he and Felton agreed that his dissertation would focus on studying the North American welfare system. In the last week of September, just one week after the school year started, Zhang's Field Study extended to New York City. He visited various welfare agencies, administrators, and organizations to gain a systematic picture and understanding of the system.

In both October and November, Zhang narrowed his research subject to "only large institutions and agencies…the most efficiently operated and staffed."[489] After initial observations and investigation, from December 14th to the last day of 1932, during the daytime he interviewed the administrators and staff of the selected institutions, to "obtain more information and explanations" regarding each "institution, its program and organization."[490] In the evenings, he read and analyzed the printed materials he had gathered, including the guidelines of those organization, minutes, annual reports, and pamphlets.

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[488] In general most students do their Field Study before doing other courses. Lincoln Zhang's case is different since he had to finish his study in one year. In his letters to Garside on September 2nd1932, he explained his course arrangements. "As I was informed by the registration office here in Drew that my credits in Garrett and Northwestern are not enough and I have to get 13 and a half more units in order to finish the full requirements for the Ph.D. degree. The regular courses during this school year are only allowed 10 units, that means I have to do some extra work to make up these three and a half units during this summer and meantime during this year. After consulting with the head professor I found way to make it up by taking some reading courses during the summer, and the first month of the Fall Term." On September 8th, 1932, he wrote to Garside again, "In order to make a change I take this week to make some field study of the public welfare in the neighborhood. I found I still have to be busy for the extra works. But I hope to get them all off before the first of November." UBCHEA RG011-286-4484.

[489] Lincoln Zhang, *An Adaptation of American Social Welfare Methods to West China.* Ph.D. Dissertation, 1933. Drew University Archives.

[490] Ibid.

Zhang devoted most of January and February of 1933 to writing his dissertation. He worked ten to twelve hours a day with few breaks for the entire two months. On January 15th he took a short break from writing and visited Dr. Garside's office to let him and Mr. Evans, the accountant, know how happy he was with the typewriter Garside had helped him acquire.[491]

He handed in his first draft of his dissertation on the last day of February and anxiously waited for feedback from his supervisor. Dr. Felton's comment was very positive and that greatly encouraged Zhang. He spent most of March revising his dissertation. After sending his second draft to Dr. Felton on March 27th, Dr. Felton informed Zhang that his committee and the University were very happy with his work. He submitted the final version of his dissertation to the committee in mid-April of 1933.

In his dissertation, *An Adaptation of American Social Welfare Methods to West China*, Zhang gave a detailed account of the administrative operations, management, and functions of welfare agencies and institutions in New York City on the eve of the New Deal. He studied the agencies' methods of managing family and child welfare, health, mental hygiene, the public library, and recreational facilities. He analyzed the available information and compared it with the welfare system in West China, and observed that the American system supported both individual activities and community actions and focused on cooperation instead of competition. The system and its services evaluated the needs of individuals and valued prevention over curing, and client participation was emphasized. Youth delinquency was treated as a social issue not a personal problem; trained personnel provided services; services to the poor were extended to the entire family; special needs services were provided, and the services were objective rather than subjective.[492]

The concept, principles, and practices of the social welfare system provided cultural shocks to Lincoln Zhang. He saw drastic differences between the American government and its social concerns and China's social reality.

In his study, he identified the problems that existed in the West China welfare system. He pointed out that West China did not lack "some sort of social welfare

[491] Lincoln Zhang to Garside, Jan. 16th, 1933. UBCHEA RG-011-286-4485, P. 1243.
[492] Lincoln Zhang. Dissertation, Chapter XI, P. 183-187. Drew University Archives.

institution, either private or public," and he stated that the principal object of his study was not to change the old institutions altogether. His aim was "rather to introduce modern and scientific methods which have been found useful and practical in America" to China.[493] He believed that scientific methods, professionalism, and valuing individual needs were key elements for the improvement of the welfare system in West China. In this regard, Lincoln Zhang's perspective was in line with that of contemporary Chinese intellectuals like Hu Shi and Fu Sinian. They believed that Western scientific approaches and respect for individual freedoms would lead China into a democratic and modern society.

Zhang's observation and analysis of the pre-New Deal welfare system in New York City appears to be thorough and in-depth. However, when comparing West China's welfare institutions to those in the United States, he downplayed the differences between West China and New York. The purpose of his study was to "introduce modern and scientific methods"; however, he ignored that a state-sponsored and supported welfare system was almost non-existent in West China. In some cases, he tried to use cultural differences to minimize the weakness of the welfare services in China. He also overlooked the crucial differences of political and social structures between the United States and China.

In his dissertation, under the "background of the writer" section, Zhang explained why he was interested in the study of social welfare. He credited his missionary education in West China with bringing life-changing opportunities to him and people like him. He stated that while he was in high school in Chongqing, he came to the realization that young Chinese people needed education and opportunities early on, and he found that the "success or failure of each individual is largely the responsibility of society or the community."[494] He then emphasized the importance of education to Chinese individuals and to the society as whole, writing:

> The majority of the graduates of that institution (Chungking high school) who now occupy important

[493] Lincoln Zhang, *An Adaptation of American Social Welfare Methods to West China* (Drew University), 3.
[494] Ibid. , 6.

> social positions in West China have only attained their present position because of the opportunity offered them by the institution. The college at which I studied, and of which I am now president, West China Union University, is supported by five Protestant denominations. In this institution nearly one half of the former students, and one third of the present students are supported either by the students' loan [sic: loans] or by scholarships offered by the university or by the different mission colleges. Because of these facilities many young men and women of West China have the privilege of getting an opportunity for higher education, and many now occupy high position in Church and state.[495]

Besides education, Zhang believed cooperation with different parties was essential for building improved community services. He used his personal experience to illustrate the great benefits of cooperation. In the early 1920s, the wars and conflicts between local warlords and military leaders made Zizhong a place where people lived in constant fear. Under such conditions, he thought, "The church was naturally closely correlated with all local agencies and took the lead in every activity for social welfare... The result of such cooperation between the church and the community brought out the very strong friendship of the church and the community, and from that time on all the welfare agencies cooperated with the church."[496] In his later career he strove to build such cooperation further.

The most evident change that happened to Zhang during his studies in the United States was his re-definition and understanding of his position as a university president. At the administrative level, he was determined and confident that he would set higher academic standards for both faculty and students; he would introduce modern scientific methods to management and cultivate more native faculty and leaders; he

[495] Ibid. , 6-7.
[496] Ibid. , 7.

would emphasize to students that serving their society and nation should be a fundamental value of their learning.

Service was a key element that Zhang stressed. He understood the importance of service as a pastor projecting the spirit of Christianity. His studies of American welfare systems enriched his understanding of the meaning of service. Encouraging students to embrace service to the community, the people, and the nation became the core value of his educational philosophy. From that time on he sought to reinforce the spirit of service to university graduates especially. He wrote, "As President of the University I became more and more convinced that all college graduates must have a special passion, in order that they may render a service to society."[497]

Soon after he graduated from Drew, Zhang published an article discussing his understanding of the roles of Christian leaders. He stated that wealth, power, and medical skills bring no true happiness to people's life. He argued that without the spirit of service the medical work of curing wouldn't be powerful. He believed that both government and educational institutions should promote the idea of service to Chinese youth.[498] In this article he gave a clear personal interpretation of the importance of service: To him, service was more valuable than wealth and power; service was the purpose of Christianity, and the essential quality of a true Christian. Without the spirit of service, knowledge and skills wouldn't be as powerful as they should be.

This new realization prompted Lincoln Zhang to see his role of President at WCUU as a mission of service.

He also took what he was learning into teaching practice. In the Fall of 1933, right after he returned to West China, he strengthened the Sociology Department by adding new courses and new instructors. He appointed Dr. David C. Graham, a Canadian missionary and University of Chicago and Harvard graduate to teach An Introduction to Anthropology, and Zhang himself taught a Social Survey course. He sent his students to the streets of Chengdu to conduct sociological research, with the goal of helping them understand the "spirit of mass life". He hoped that, armed with research experience, students would appreciate the "methods of practical investigation

[497] Ibid. , 8.

[498] Lincoln Zhang, "What Must Christian Leaders Do?" *The Chinese Recorder* Vol. 65 (July 1934): 421-422.

of the social situation." his ultimate goal was to cultivate with them a spirit of social service. He also arranged for students to be "permitted almost unlimited access to all levels of Chengdu schools (from small primary schools to Sichuan University)."[499]

Zhang also helped WCUU students to organize the Sociology Club. According to Jeff Kyong-McClain, the aim of the club was to work "under department faculty guidance", "toward more effective social service and rigorous research standards." The strategy appears to have been successful, for club members praised Zhang's Social Survey class as their inspiration to use sociology to reform Chengdu,"[500]and Zhang's students' "essays appeared on all facets of Chengdu life, including many classic problems of the Republican-era city, like the lives of rickshaw pullers, beggars, prostitution and criminality...." In addition, the value of Zhang's "hands-on approach to social survey" was "greatly appreciated by faculty and religious leaders from the university." Moreover, Lincoln Zhang along with other faculty members like Graham, Dr. Phelps, Dr. Meng Siming and Wu Hengjiu made personal donations to fund the publication of Zhang's students' work and to create a Sociology Department Journal. "In the preface to the journal's first issue, Dean Phelps explained the importance of sociology in bringing about humankind's great future through social scientific research and technocratic intervention."[501]

Under Zhang's guidance and support, the Sociology Department brought in new ideas and practices to enrich Sociology studies at WCUU and other universities. Taking the Social Survey course further, Lincoln Zhang cooperated with other guest universities during wartime and set up the Shiyangchang Social Study Experiment Station. This station was established so that students could access educational resources that that allowed them thoroughly investigating the social structure of peasants' lives in a small village. Through the Social Survey, students examined the characteristics of the countryside, economic activities, customs and practices, and other social issues that warranted investigation. Lincoln Zhang also extended the concept of social survey to the Frontier Research Institute at WCUU. He encouraged the researchers to examine the

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[499] Jeff Kyong-McClain, "Making Chengdu 'The Kingdom of God as Jesus Conceived It': The Urban Work of West China Union University's Sociology Department," *Social Sciences and Missions* Vol. 23, Issue 2 (2010): 171.
[500] Ibid.
[501] Ibid. P.172.

Sichuan border tribes from broader perspectives of language, customs, social environment, and history. In the mid 1940s the Sociology Department at WCUU became "the largest department in the discipline at any Chinese university then."[502] Dr. Wu Yifang, the President of Jinling Women's College, admired the Social Experimental Program at WCUU greatly; after returning to Nanjing, she decided that the University "should be continued the splendid experience we have gained in Sizchwan [that] could help us to establish new centers near Nanking and extend the valuable services to the rural communities."[503]

Lincoln Zhang assured Dr. Garside, Dr. Beech and Mr. Silcock that his studies in America would be a life-changing opportunity for him, and that this study would make him a better teacher, a qualified Christian educational institution leader, and a better Christian.[504] With conscious efforts, he made that transformation steadily and obviously, to himself and to the University. Over the next fourteen years, as he continued serving as President of West China Union University, Lincoln Zhang, the University, and China would all experience unprecedented crises and tests. His personality, teaching ability, administrative skills and political ideology would all play an essential role in determining the fate of the University.

The Policy Committee Report—Lincoln Zhang's Second Blueprint for the University

Lincoln Zhang returned to Chengdu in August 1933 by travelling through Europe. His first letter to the Board of Governors reported that the University's registration with the national government had been officially granted. In this letter, he expressed his gratitude to the founders of the University and the Board for their support of "the work of the University as in former years when it was at a more tender age and kept closer under the parental roof."[505] He thanked the field missionaries for "raising

[502] Shuhua Fan, *The Harvard-Yenching Institute and Cultural Engineering: Remaking the Humanities in China, 1924-1951*. (Lanham, Boulder, New York and London: the Lexington Books, 2014).
[503] Wu Yifang, letter to Miss MacKinnon, Jan. 5th 1946. UBCHEA RG-011-084-2194.
[504] Lincoln Zhang letters to Garside September 29th, 1932, Beech September 29, 1932, Garside October 12th, 1932, and Silcock October 12th, 1932. UBCHEA RG011-286-4484.
[505] Lincoln Zhang to Board of Governors October 8th, 1933. UCCA 83.047C Box 16 File 27. UBCHEA RG011-272-4318

up native workers," who now were able to take over missionary work and "do the work more efficiently", and he thanked the Board for having faith in Chinese Christian leaders in Sichuan.[506] Declaring that under the new constitution, this University was "now in its adolescent years but yet far from maturity,"[507] he stressed it would need the continued support of the church in North America for "long years to come."

Zhang's appreciation of the Board and the missionaries seems to have been genuine. His statement about the University embarking on its "adolescent years" indicated that the Board should allow the University and its native leaders to explore its own future with a degree of freedom and independence. The support he requested for the University was sincere.

On September 1, 1933, Dr. Sparling wrote to Dr. Arnup to report on the difficulties that the University was experiencing and the situation the newly returned President was in. "He has discovered certain problems waiting for him…" Sparling wrote, continuing "…it is not pleasant for him but he will have to face it."[508]

Sparling was right that the problems facing Zhang, namely: a dire financial situation resulting from severe budget cuts, a shortage of qualified teachers, a missionary group divided in their opinions about registration, and an unstable political situation. Nevertheless, Zhang was determined to look for solutions.

His time studying at Drew University allowed Zhang to closely observe the educational structures and systems in the West. As a result, he gained a great deal of inspiration and knowledge, which he applied diligently to the management of his own University. His newly procured Ph.D. degree gave him the confidence to teach, communicate, and exchange ideas for university advancement with staff, both Chinese and foreign. What's more, the University's successful registration with the national government allowed Zhang to gather more Chinese staff to organize a major university reform.

Lincoln Zhang aimed to simplify administration, indigenize faculty, improve standards for teaching, and meet the needs of Chinese society.

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[506] Ibid.
[507] Ibid.
[508] Sparling to Arunp, September 1st, 1933. UCCA 83.047C Box 26 File 18.

While contemplating plans for the University's reform, Lincoln Zhang was inspired by the University educational study group led by Luo Zhongshu,[509] the Dean of the College of Liberal Arts. In early 1935, Zhang appointed a University Policy Committee to survey WCUU's current situation and to make recommendations for improvements. Each college sent two representatives to participate in the Policy Committee meeting,[510] which was held once a week for three to four hours to identify the problems the University had and come up with practical solutions.

Lincoln Zhang invited Dr. Francis Wei, the President of Huachuang University,[511] to serve as Chair of the Committee. The Committee sent out two hundred copies of questionnaires to staff and students to make sure their voices were heard and opinions were counted.

After 56 weeks of discussion, the Policy Committee came up with a 114- page-long report. The Report was divided into two parts. Part one surveyed the current situation of the University from four aspects: administration, teaching and curriculum, personnel, and outside relations. It went to great lengths, one hundred pages exactly, to detail the challenges the University faced. Part two, which was only 14 pages long, consisted of recommendations for improvement.

In the report, the Policy Committee found that WCUU's "Administrative System" was one that featured great "multiplicity" but lacked adequate "efficiency," having "not kept pace with the growth of the University."[512] Since the University was structured under the college system by five different Christian mission-bodies in 1910, it had strong "tendencies to independence and individualism." Therefore, the lack of coordination among the colleges "led to a certain amount of division and

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509 Luo Zhongshu, "The Postwar Contribution of the College of Humanities," *Journal of West China Union University,* June 1945. In 1934 with about ten WCUU professors, Luo Zhongshu organized a University Education Discussing Group. They got together every week to discuss the advantages of North American and European universities and to exchange ideas for the university improvement. 罗忠恕,"文学院战后应有之贡献",[华西协和大学校刊], 1945 年 6 月.

510 The members of the Policy Committee were, H. G. Anderson, H. B. Collier, C. C. Liu, Zhongshu Luo, W. G. Swell, and Zhang Xiaoli. The first five members submitted the final report in November 1936. Zhang Xiaoli, the Dean of college of Science, didn't agree with the Recommendations contained in Part II of the report and made a separate statement.

511 Huachung University was one of 13 Christian Colleges in China before 1950. Located in the Wuchang District of what is now Wuhan city, the capital city of Hubei Province, it developed from Boone College, which was founded in 1903. In 1924, the Boone College was renamed to Huachung University; in 1931 it registered with the Nationalist Government and Dr. Francs Wei took the president position in 1929. In 1953 the school was renamed the Central China Normal College, and then in 1985, it renamed to Central China Normal University.

512 "West China Union University Policy Committee Report." 1936. UBCHEA RG 011-277-4380. P. 511.

decentralization."[513] For example, since each mission-body controlled its own buildings and property, the University had a difficult time managing them. Since the Bursar of the University was appointed by the Board of Governors, all "books are kept in English… [and] the Bursar makes annual financial report to the Board of Governors, but the books of the University are not audited locally".[514] As a result, the University's administrative team, which included the President, did not have a clear idea with regards to the financial situation, which included components such as incomes, budget, and expenditures. Plus, a shortage of staff led to the exhaustion of instructors and administrators alike, allowing them no time to develop themselves or make future plans for the department and University. For example, "the President has no one man under him to carry the details of routine administration, and must bear this burden himself."[515] What's more, the University's finances were entirely dependent on foreign sources. This led to a phenomenon where funds were "available for buildings and other special purposes", but there was no money to increase the salary of Chinese staff. Most funds from outside the school had strings attached, and the University sometimes had no authority to spend money on even the most essential priorities. This complicated system caused great "misunderstandings" between the Western staff and the Chinese.

In terms of the University's "Teaching and Curriculum", the Committee recognized that the availability of teaching staff was unstable due to the high number of part-time instructors, as well as the frequent furloughs of Western teachers. Regarding the curriculum, there was no proper balance between fundamental and specialized courses. The report indicated, "The various departments are too independent, and are not properly related to one another."[516] The "Mission considered evangelism, education, and medicine their three most important activities."[517] Such aims were completely at odds with the government-registered University, whose aims were to "train teachers for secondary schools, specialists in educational management, leaders for mass education,

[513] Ibid.
[514] Ibid. , 513-514.
[515] Ibid. , 510.
[516] Ibid. , 533.
[517] Ibid. , 524.

rural education and vocational education, and research."[518] Moreover, the committee agreed, "one of the fundamental problems is… the academic standard of students entering the university has been too low."[519] Therefore, the University needed to conduct a careful study of the teaching and learning methods as a preliminary step to coming up with comprehensive courses and setting higher standards of education for both students and faculty.

The "Personnel" section in the committee's report examined the backgrounds of the University students, the occupations of WCUU graduates, staff salaries, working conditions, and the religious life of the University. Again, the report emphasized that University admissions standards had been too low. It also noted that the occupations of the graduates were narrowly focused. 27 percent of former students taught at church or mission schools, and 30 percent worked in the medical and dental fields. At the time of the report, the University had 55 foreign and 36 Chinese staff. This meant that most instructors at the University were often unavailable, since foreign instructors had to take furloughs every five years. Thus, the availability of teaching staff was extremely limited, and the consistency of education unstable.

With regards to "Working Conditions", those belonging to Chinese staff were substantially worse than those of their Western counterparts. The salary of Chinese staff was one-fourth that of the foreign staff, and only "half of the standard set by the Ministry of Education." All "westerners are accommodated in foreign-style residences built and owned by their respective Missions."[520] For Western staff, accommodations were free, and the mission-bodies often rented out their extra houses to people who had no connections to the church or the University. The University could provide only twenty residential places for Chinese staff, and the instructors who were unmarried had to live in students' dormitories; what's more, none of their accommodations were free.[521] The foreign staff was able to take regular furloughs for advanced learning and teaching preparation, but the Chinese teachers did not have sabbatical, and any opportunities for extra training had to be privately arranged. The mission staff enjoyed

[518] Ibid. , 525.
[519] Ibid.
[520] Ibid. , 538.
[521] Ibid.

various medical care and pension plans, whereas Chinese staff were not even provided with annual physical exams, group insurance or pensions. Long working hours and poor working conditions resulted in faculty members' "intellectual stagnation", few publications, and as a result, the University's reputation in scholastic and scientific circles was poor.

The section on "Outside Relations" examined WCUU's relations with the national and provincial governments, the Board of Governors and Missions, other educational institutions, and broader Chinese society. The Committee pointed out that the University's relationships with the national and provincial governments were distanced. The reason was that "this University is a private institution, with a Board of Founders abroad, but at the same time registered with the Government of China."[522] In such a situation, the Committee rightly felt, it would be challenging for the University to satisfy both the founders and the Chinese authorities. The University, in making its application for official registration, had "agreed to comply with all regulations and orders of the Government,"[523] but in reality, it had difficulty following certain government policies.

For instance, the second inspection report conducted by the Ministry of Education pointed out two major challenges: first, that the frequent furloughs conducted by foreign staff were "very detrimental" to the teaching program, and second, that the Chinese teachers' salaries were too low. However, nothing could be done by the University authorities because the foreign staff's furlough system was not under its jurisdiction. The University had neither the authority to replace foreign teachers to solve the furlough problem, nor the financial means to increase the salaries of the Chinese teachers. Plus, the Board of Governors was the major financial source of the University. In 1936, most of the University's income of $50,000 came from the Board of Governors. $2,250 came from renting out the University's land, and student tuition fees generated $16,500. Moreover, "the salaries of the Chancellor, Bursar, Superintendent of Construction and English Secretary are paid by the Board of Governors…all

[522] Ibid. , 548
[523] Ibid.

missionaries' salaries are paid by the Missions concerned."[524] Compared to the money from outside of China, the money from the province was only $2000,[525] a small fraction of the University's income. The University's authority was thus torn between following government orders and following the money to keep the University alive.

Further conflicts of authority erupted when it came to plans for military training. Since the early 1930's, the government requested all universities to conduct military training for their students. In the early 1920's, however, the Friends' Service Council entered an agreement with the Board of Governors which "had stipulated that there be no military training for the students of the University."[526] When the national government military training program was put into effect, "the Friends resigned from all University administrative positions, but continued with their teaching."[527] After tremendous efforts, the University was granted an exemption from mandated military training, and two military officers were appointed as Drill Instructors to train students. The Friends' Service Council nonetheless declined to resume university administrative responsibilities.

During this time, WCUU's peculiar status as a private educational institution registered with the national government, but ran by a foreign Board of founders, made it difficult for the school to be recognized as a reputable institution in China.

The Board of Governors and Missions retained a direct influence over the University. The Board of Governors served multiple roles: it acted in an "administrative capacity", provided major financial support, promoted university work outside of China, and coordinated the University's miscellaneous needs. The University's relationship with individual churches was connected through staff members of the University, and some churches had representatives on the Board of Directors. In terms of relationships with other educational institutions, the Committee noted that WCUU's connection with its "sister Christian colleges is not intimate". It was distanced from government schools as well.

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[524] Ibid. , 513-514.
[525] Ibid. , 548.
[526] Ibid.
[527] Ibid.

With regards to the University's role in Chinese society, the Committee admitted that the University hadn't made many efforts to reach out to the people. "We recognize the need of society; the problem is how to fill that need."[528] In a painful statement, the report said, "this University has followed too slavishly an occidental academic pattern, with little regard for the actual needs of the society which it is pledged to serve."[529]

The Committee's close examination of the University's situation took up most of the report - 100 out of 114 pages. The actual purpose of the Policy Committee was to begin an overhaul of the University administrative system, to set up higher standards for instruction and teaching curricula, to establish better and more intimate relations with stakeholders outside of the WCUU, and to ensure that the University met the needs of Chinese society. Put simply, the report was Lincoln Zhang's blueprint for restructuring the University in order to indigenize, secularize, and sinicize it.

The University's policy report of 1936 was the second roadmap that Lincoln Zhang engineered for WCUU. The first one emerged in 1928 not long after he became the Vice-president of the University. Since then, over the past eight years, great advancements had taken place in China, at the University, and for Lincoln Zhang. The Nationalist Government had solidified its rule, aiming to build a modern Chinese society, and anti-Western movements had mostly petered out. The University was fully registered with the Chinese government, Chinese staff took on half of the teaching and administrative positions at WCUU, and more non-Christian students were coming to study at WCUU. Lincoln Zhang had been appointed by the Board of Directors as the top administrator of the University, and, now equipped with a Ph.D. degree, he had gained the support of both Chinese and foreign staff. The Policy Committee agreed, "The University has gained credit for what it has accomplished to date. But we are warned that further growth and development, and the possibility of a real contribution to the life of this province, depend more upon an efficient, vital, far-seeing administration than upon any other factor."[530] While emphasizing that the University administration

[528] Ibid. , 557.
[529] Ibid.
[530] Ibid. , 518.

was "vital", the Policy Committee expressed the belief that the President should be the person who was the key decision-maker for the University.

It takes courage and determination to invite a President from a sister university to be the Chairman of the Policy Committee, but Lincoln Zhang believed that the decision was right, because Dr. Wei had "valuable experience, mature judgment, and an objective point of view."[531] Dr. Francis Wei did not disappoint him. Before the final meetings to decide on the new University policies, Dr. Wei spent ten days interviewing WCUU students, administrative officers, and faculty members, attended meetings with the Committee members, and read the policy report multiple times.

Because Huachung University was under similar circumstances as that of WCUU, Dr. Wei recognized the challenges the WCCU faced. "In more than one way it is not an easy task to shape the policy of a Christian University in China today," he wrote. "Opportunity to serve is limitless, but resources limit us to a modest scope."[532] Dr. Wei believed that the analysis submitted by the Policy Committee was a "heart-searching deliberation [which] may seem at first sight radical, but they are all necessitated by the circumstances and in my judgment conducive to the best interests of the West China Union University."[533]

The "Recommendations for the next Twenty Five Years" was the second part of the Report of the Policy Committee. The Committee made it clear that the recommendations were not criticisms of the school, nor did they signify disloyalty to past, but served as an "examination of possibility of further advance." Instead, the purpose of the recommendations was to make the University administrative system "more efficient" with "democratic characteristics".[534] "Largely influenced by the replies to questionnaires sent out to both staff and students,"[535] ten direct recommendations were made, grouped under the headings: Aim of the University, Central Policy of the University, Administration, Finance, Teaching and Curriculum, the Alumni, the Staff, Religious Life, the Students, and Outside Relations.

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[531] Ibid. , 560.
[532] Ibid. , 559.
[533] Ibid. , 560.
[534] Ibid.
[535] Ibid.

The first recommendation directly redefined the "Aim of the University". When the University was founded in 1910, the founder claimed, "The object of the University shall be the advancement of the kingdom of God, by means of higher education in West China under Christian Auspices."[536] In other words, the University was a place to cultivate Chinese Christian leaders and quality church members. The Committee believed if WCUU hoped to modernize in the next twenty-five years, the aim of the University should be redefined as, "to make a Christian and a limited but specific educational contribution of the people of China."[537] The University would serve "the people of China", not "the advancement of the kingdom of God." It was a decisive and concrete step toward secularization. It was a drastic change of the mission of the University.

The second recommendation, titled "General Policy of the University", called for a reinforcement of the new aims of the school, and specifically steps, "to concentrate the teaching programme so that high standards are attained," and remain "consistent with the development of Chinese citizens of Christian character and conscience."[538] The purpose of transforming a Christian college to one focused on science and academic learning was clearly stated, and the overall goal was to cultivate Chinese youth with Christian values.

The Policy Committee's recommendations for the "Administration" section were practical, targeted, and for certain items, perhaps overly ambitious. Its goal was to reorganize the administrative system, "ensuring greater efficiencies and simplicity" and "avoiding the present multiplicity."[539] Since the Committee identified lack of coordination, strong individualism, and under-staffing as reasons why the "system has not kept pace with the growth of the University", it proposed that "the main administrative officer should be the President" and recommended adding both a Chinese secretary and an English secretary to the President. This way, the President would have time to "develop outside contacts", consider University development plans, and expand sources for financing the University.

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[536] *History of Sichuan University--West China Union University 1910-1949*. 10-11.
[537] "West China Union University Policy Committee Report." 1936. UBCHEA RG 011-277-4380. P. 562.
[538] Ibid.
[539] Ibid. , 562.

The Committee hoped that creating a new position of Dean of Studies would mean that the Dean could take on less teaching work, and instead "have time to develop the creative side of his office."[540] They also proposed to the Board of Directors the idea of creating an Executive Committee whose members "should have full executive responsibility for all University affairs; should be a clearing house for University business; and should have a centralizing and coordinating function."[541] This recommendation aimed to ensure that the University focused on students and teaching so that the President and his office did not need to. The President was to have authority over running the school efficiently and effectively, to achieve administrative "simplicity". In other words, the different mission-bodies should not fragment the President's power.

In any system, no matter how big or small, transferring power between players is always a struggle. Conflicts of authority and jurisdiction at WCUU were not an exception. The Policy Committee recognized that by simplifying the University's administrative system, the Chancellor's power had to be limited. The Committee made a bold proposal, stating,

> We recommend to the Directors that they should request the Board of Governors, on the retirement of the present Chancellor, to discontinue the office, to appoint a 'REPRESENTATIVE' to promote contacts between the Governors, in America, and Great Britain, and the Directors of the University in China. The 'Representative' would have no administrative function in the University.[542]

The responses and reactions by the Board of Governors and by then Chancellor Dr. Beech to this proposal are unclear, but we know that the suggestion never bore fruit. The power of the Chancellor continued to carry clout with the Board of

[540] Ibid. , 563.
[541] Ibid.
[542] Ibid.

Governors and in university decision-making well after Dr. Beech himself retired from his position.

Regarding the section of "University Finance," the major recommendation made by the Committee was to allow "the President [to] be freed from much of his routine work as so to enable him to develop outside contacts."[543] This suggestion was significant for multiple reasons. First, the President would have more knowledge and information about the University's income and expenditures than before; second, one of the President's new priorities would be networking and fundraising; and third, the University would be expected to expand its fundraising domestically, rather than relying on the Board of Governors only.

There were several recommendations that were highlighted for the "Teaching and Curriculum" section. The Committee suggested improving standards for instruction and learning at the University, for example, that "the teaching of Medicine and Dentistry be continued as a main and unique contribution."[544] It also recommended making the Chinese department the primary focus within the College of Arts,[545] noting that making "subjects meet some need of society" should be the responsibility of the University. This was the first time the Committee stressed the importance of the Chinese department; it was also the first time that the needs of the society were emphasized as part of course instruction and building out curricula.

To achieve these goals, the Committee decided that instructors and and their curriculum should prioritize training WCUU students as future teachers, rather than professionals or specialists in a field. Besides recommending establishing Pharmacy as the primary department within the College of Science, the Committee added extension courses on the topics of fabric dyeing, leather tanning, and agricultural studies to meet specific needs of the local community.

On the topic of "Students", the Committee reinforced the importance of setting higher standards for incoming students based on their entrance examination scores, granting scholarships based on accepted students' later performance in school rather than their entrance examination scores, and ensuring that student discipline was the

[543] Ibid. , 564.
[544] Ibid.
[545] Ibid.

responsibility of the President. Regarding Alumni, the Committee hoped that they "kept in closer touch with the University, and that they be granted the privilege of being permanent students of the University in regard to all except laboratory practice."[546]

The Committee's recommendations for improving "Staff" were not only ambitious, they were also the most difficult to achieve. The idea at the core of these suggestions was to challenge the privilege of Western staff and administrators at the University as well as the authority of the mission-bodies. The Committee emphasized that increasing salaries and providing better accommodation for Chinese staff were two important ways for ameliorating the situation. In the case of the former, the committee hoped "the salaries of the Chinese staff should be raised to the official University salary scale," and "suggested that consideration should be given to the adoption of a uniform basic salary scale for all Western teachers, at a rate not disproportionate to the salary scale of the Chinese staff."[547] In terms of housing, they proposed, "the housing of staff, both Chinese and Western, be regularized, the Missions being requested to allow their teachers' residences to be centralized under the University."[548] However, in the next ten years, no matter how hard Lincoln Zhang would try to push these two items through, they never materialized.

The Committee made another challenging recommendation regarding the University's Religious Life. It believed, "in the selection of teachers great care should be taken in choosing these likely to adapt themselves to the Christian atmosphere and activities of the University, and that the large majority should be professing Christians."[549] It also suggested that, "a definite part of the annual budget be allocated to facilitate the coming of Chinese Christian leaders to make a contribution to the religious life of the University."[550] However, the Committee also made the decision to abandon the original stipulation that the University staff had to be Christians.

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[546] Ibid. , 564.
[547] Ibid. , 566.
[548] Ibid.
[549] Ibid.
[550] Ibid.

"Outside Relations" was the last item on the recommendation list. It asked the President to do more to improve the University's publicity. It stated, "While the promotion of official outside contacts is the function of the president…publicity should be the business of the President and his secretaries, not of any sub-committee."[551]

This Report prepared by the Policy Committee represented Lincoln Zhang's vision for the University for the next twenty-five years; it also served as his action plan towards University indigenization, secularization and sinicization. This plan was intended to be implemented peacefully over the period of twenty-five years, but during the inception of the plan, Lincoln Zhang would neither be able to foresee the challenges the war against the Japanese military government and occupation would incur, nor anticipate that, with the support of the Chinese and foreign staff, he could realize most of his twenty-five year plan within ten years.

In the next ten years, Lincoln Zhang stuck with the Policy Committee's Recommendations. As we shall see in the coming chapters, he prioritized fundraising within China, improving university quality, and faculty indigenization.

Seeking Domestic Financial Support for the Growth of WCUU

Before the Policy Committee Report was finalized, Lincoln Zhang started making broad connections outside of Sichuan province. His priority was locating financial supports from all possible sources.

From 1935, for three years in a row, Zhang travelled nation-wide from April to June to establish a network and raise funds for the University. He lobbied national and provincial governments for educational funds, approached influential people to establish a social network for gaining support for university projects, and visited established alumni to convince them to provide scholarships for students from humble family backgrounds.

In early March 1936, Zhang left Chengdu even earlier than the previous year to visit big cities like Chongqing, Nanjing, Shanghai, Jinan, and Beijing. His aim was to promote WCUU and seek financial support. The results came fast and were

[551] Ibid. , 567.

encouraging. Zhang reported that the central government budgeted for WCUU, and that during 1936/37 "we expect to receive $23,000…to show their goodwill and appreciation of our work."[552]

In late February 1937, the grant from the national government came as promised but with the stipulation that the $23,000 be distributed as follows: for the College of Arts $4,000; for the College of Sciences $6,000; for the Colleges of Medicine and Dentistry $13,000. These allocations reflected that the government placed its emphasis on the applied sciences. At the time the government was preparing for a possible Japanese invasion; the medical services would be in great demand.[553]

In 1937 the funds from the Ministry of Education, provincial government, special subsidies and private donation amounted to CN $ 129,893,[554] composing 41.29 per cent of the total income of the University. One year earlier the University Policy Committee Report stated, "There is not other income from local sources."[555] Lincoln Zhang's efforts to seek domestic financial sources started seeing encouraging results.

Zhang's efforts to "develop outside contacts" also brought fruitful results. For two years in a row, the University invited the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek to give speeches at the University's graduation ceremonies. In June 24, 1935, according to Mr. Bell, Generalissimo Chiang "spoke in the highest terms of what he has seen here in the University, of the order and decorum of the proceedings that day. He said that since coming to Szechuan he had never heard such singing of the National Anthem and observance of the National ceremony as he had that morning."[556] He also gave advice to the students regarding their future work for the country.

The following July, both Generalissimo and Madame Chiang addressed the students. Chiang was impressed with the clean and orderly conditions of the WCUU campus, spoke highly of the University Museum, and the accomplishments of the

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552 The President's Report of 1935-1936, July 1936. UBCHEA RG011-297-4624.

553 Lincoln Zhang, "Report to the Board of Directors", March 1st, 1937. UBCHEA RG011-297-4624.

554 Zhang Liping, 422.

555 "West China Union University Policy Committee Report." 1936. UBCHEA RG 011-277 4380. P. 515.

556 Bell to Endicott, June 26th 1935. UCCA 83.047C Box 5 File 112.

medical and dental colleges.[557] At the Generalissimo's insistence, Dr. H. J. Mullett and Dr. R. G. Agnew became his personal dentists.

Madame Chiang particularly appreciated the agricultural programs at WCUU, such as those devoted to raising livestock and improving fruit varieties. According to Lincoln Zhang, she declared that she was "very surprised that our cash budget was so small. We were very glad to make such good contacts with them."[558] Having seen the advanced educational and research work of WCUU despite its tight budgets, in 1938, both the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek met Dr. Meuser and Mr. Dickinson, the heads of the pharmaceutical and agricultural departments respectively, and provided special grants for these departments to expand their research and receive more students.

In July 1936, the University was preparing for the celebration of its 25th anniversary in October. Zhang and the Board of Directors voted to invite several distinguished individuals to serve as honourary members of the Board. They also decided to use the celebration to launch a financial campaign "for an endowment fund of N.C. $200,000 to be used for the establishment of scholarships, and to relieve the general budget of the University."[559]

On October 10, the well-organized celebration attracted a big crowd of celebrities from within the province and other big cities. In addition, many government officials agreed to become honourary members: Governor Liu Xiang of Sichuan; Governor Yang Yongtai 杨永泰 (Yang Yuin Tang) of Hubei; General Liu, military adviser to the Nanjing Government and the Minister of Foreign Affairs.[560]

In the Spring of 1937, Zhang took another trip down the river. He stopped in Wuhan, Nanjing, Shanghai and other cities to meet more potential honourary Board members and to seek their advice and financial support.

This trip was a productive one. The list of acceptances Zhang brought home included the most powerful people in China in the mid-1930's. They were General Ho

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[557] Lincoln Zhang, "The President's Report of 1935-1936." UBCHEA RG011-297-4624. P.93-103.
[558] Ibid.
[559] Ibid.
[560] Lincoln Zhang to Garside, October 15, 1936. UBCHEA RG011-286-4485. P.1309.

Kwei-kwong, Acting Director of the Generalissimo's Headquarter at Chongqing; Kong Xiangxi, Minister of Finance; Zhang Qun, Foreign Affairs Minister; Zhu Jiahua (Chu Chia-hwa), Chairman of Trustees for British Indemnity Funds, who would later become the Minister of Education; General Lu Hangqun, Chief Secretary under President Lin Sen; Dr. Liu J. Heng, Head of the Health Administration; Marshal Feng Yuxiang, Governor Han Fuqu of Shandong Province. Zhang also met Zhang Junmai (Carsun Chang)[561] and Zhang Jia'ao (Chang Kia-ngau, also Zhang Gongquan),[562] the President of the Bank of China and Bank of Communication. Zhang Jia'ao provided tremendous support to the University and became a close friend of Lincoln Zhang's later on.

Since Lincoln Zhang was an early graduate from WCUU, he knew the accomplishments of the alumni well. They were scattered across the country, and were primarily doctors and dentists who practiced in both public and private sectors with good incomes. Zhang believed that they could be a trusted and reliable source to support students who came from poor families, as the Policy Committee suggested. Zhang made time to visit alumni when he was traveling and encouraged them to support the causes of the University. He also asked local alumni to help. In 1934, Dr. Zhao Shuyuan 赵书元, a 1922 graduate in medicine, offered one scholarship for a student every year. Another alumnus, Mr. Ke Sugao, gave 10 scholarships annually to help outstanding students in poor financial circumstances.[563]

In 1937, Lincoln Zhang extended his trip, originally meant for East China olny, to the North as well. Before leaving Chengdu, he set a "goal of N.C. $ 30,0000 to be used as an endowment fund for loan scholarships."[564] When he returned to the University in June, he was happy to report to the Executive Committee, "the graduates in the various cities were planning to raise an endowment fund for loan scholarships, and were aiming at providing thirty such loan scholarships."[565]

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[561] Carsun Chang (also Zhang Junmai 张君勱, 1886-1969) was a prominent Chinese philosopher, public intellectual and political figure. Zhang Junmai was the leader of China's Social Democratic Party.

[562] Chang Kia-ngau (also Zhang Jiaao 张嘉璈, and Zhang Gongquan □公□ 1889–1979) was a Chinese banker, politician, and scholar. He was an influential figure in the history of the modern Chinese central bank.

[563] Lincoln Zhang to the Board of Governors May 27th, 1934. UBCHAE RG 011-286-4485, P. 1280-1282.

[564] Lincoln Zhang to Dr. J. Beech, Dr. Frank Anderson, Dr. B. A. Garside, Mr. H. T. Silcock, and Mr. A. G. Castleton, July 7, 1937. UBCHEA RG 011-286-4486.

[565] "West China Union University minutes of the Executive Committee of the Board of Directors." June 30th, 1937. UBCHEA RG 011-276-4376. P. 364.

Lincoln Zhang also announced two exciting pieces of news to the Executive Committee. The first one was that Dr. Beech was able to encourage the students of Wesleyan University to give the University "nine two-year scholarships."[566] The second was the Bayer Pharmacy Co., in Shanghai "made a gift of $600 towards the salary of an assistant instructor in the Department of Pharmacy for the year 1937-38," and the Mercks Chemical Co., Shanghai "granted two scholarships of $50 each to the Department of Chemistry."[567]

On July 7, 1937, the day of the Marco Polo Bridge Incident, Zhang wrote to major Board members to report that WCUU had had a very successful Spring term. The University had increased the financial support that it was receiving from national and provincial governments, many influential people, and university alumni. The elite standards and reputation of the University began to be recognized nationally, and as a result, the Generalissimo and the Minister of Education invited Zhang to attend that summer's national educational conference in Lushan, Jiujiang as a national leading educator.

Zhang also informed the Board, right before he wrote this letter, that he had received word from the Ministry of Education that WCUU was granted $30,000 for the year 1937-1938, "which is more than we had hoped for."[568]

To be invited to the Summer Educational Conference was a great honour for all universities and educational workers in China. Zhang was delighted and proud of the invitation. The increased grant made him even happier. "The tide seems to have turned and there is now no longer an anti-foreign or anti-religious feeling, and our work is beginning to be appreciated," he wrote to the mission Boards. "[T]he nation is showing a real interest in our University, and I hope this will encourage you and our friends in America, Canada and England."[569] He asked the Board to continue supporting the programs that the Chinese government was unable to provide, in line with his view that the University should provide "a balanced education."

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[566] Ibid.
[567] Ibid.
[568] Ibid.
[569] Ibid.

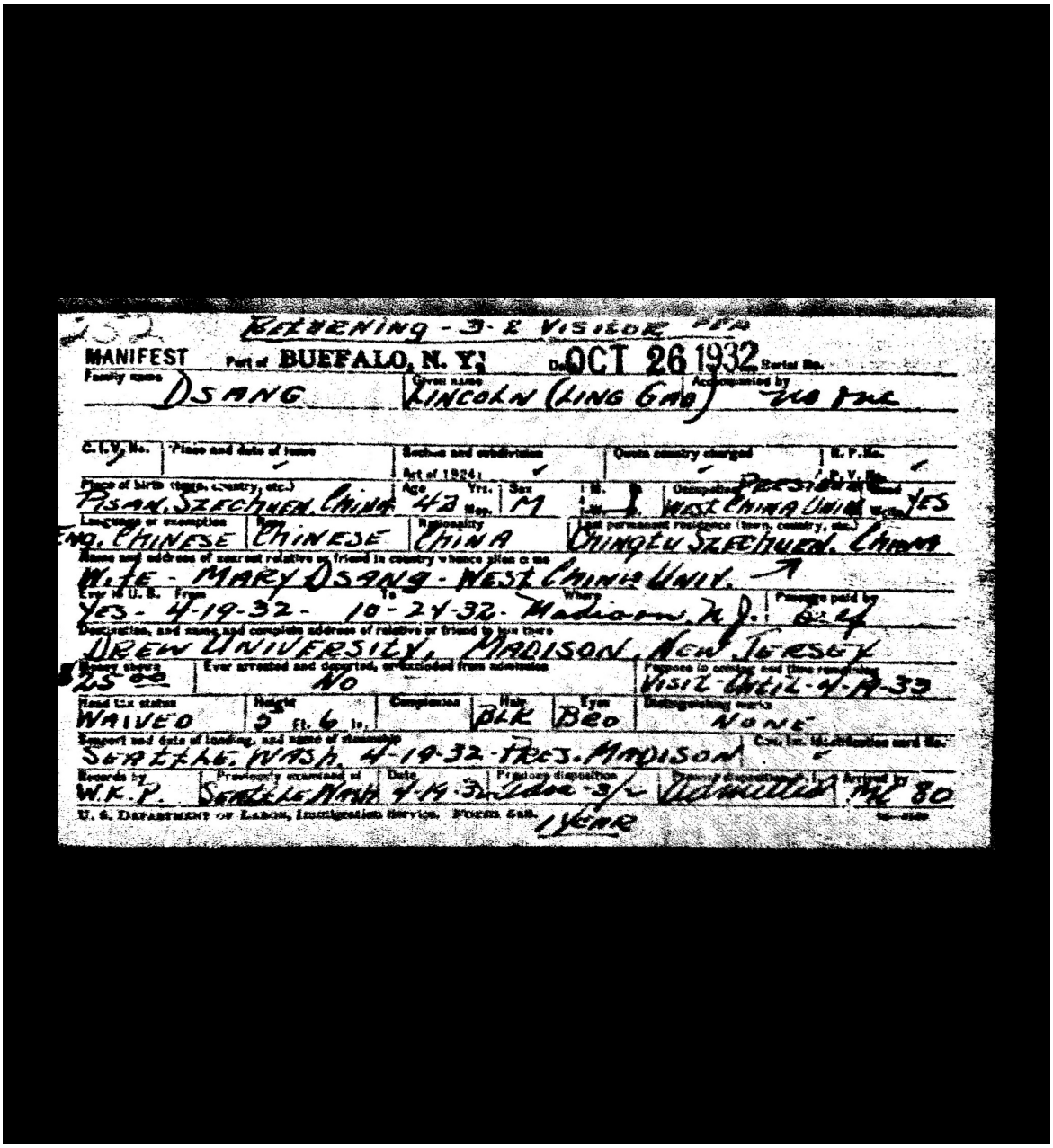
While the Japanese invasion of China proper was underway, the nation, more than ever, was united under the Nationalist Government. With the government's financial support and recognition of his University development efforts, Zhang had great hope and confidence in the future of the University and China itself.

Conclusion

1932 to 1937 was a relatively peaceful time for WCUU and China. During these years, the nationalist government began to put greater emphasis on education, and many overseas trained scholars returned to China, thereby elevating standards of education for both administrative and academic staff. Lincoln Zhang's determination for self-improvement prepared him well for overseeing the expansion of the University's various programs during wartime, as well as for facing the school's financial difficulties and faculty indigenization efforts. His experiences gave him the confidence to turn his leadership position at WCUU into a mission of service.

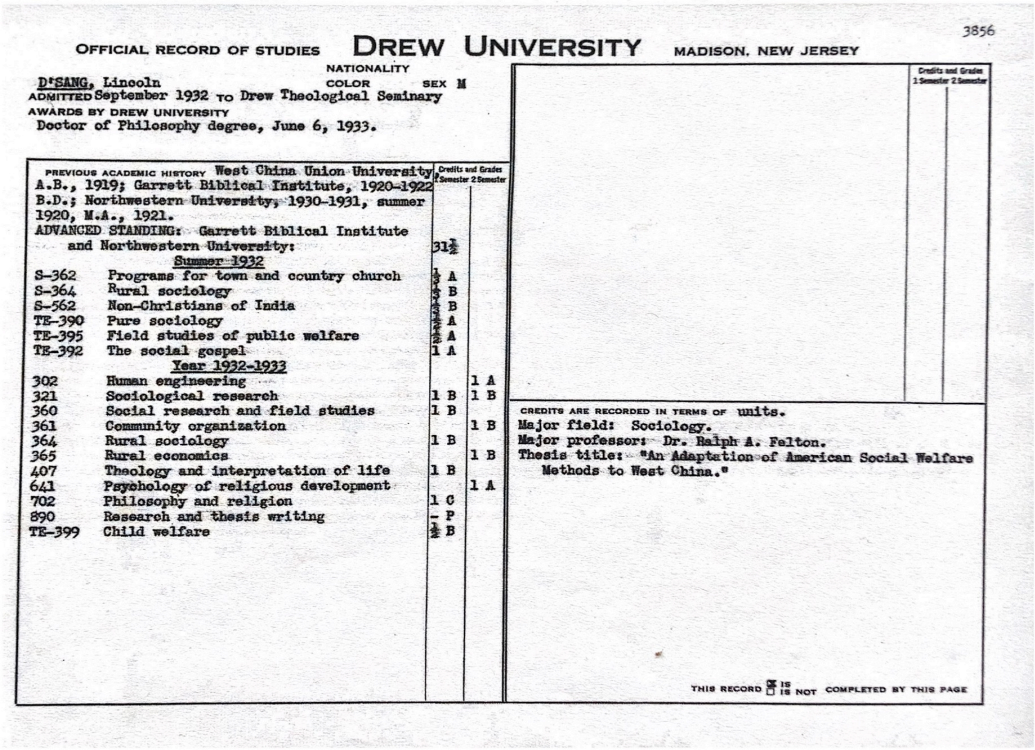
The University Alumni welcomed the registration inspectors from Nanjing, 1932

(Source: Sichuan University History editorial committee, ed. *History of Sichuan University-West China Union University, 1910-1949,* Vol. 4, Chengdu: Sichuan University Press, 2006.)



Lincoln Zhang customs record: October 26, 1932 returning to New York from Toronto after attending the Board of West China Mission of the United Church of Canada

(Source: Lincoln Zhang family archives)



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OFFICIAL RECORD OF STUDIES **DREW UNIVERSITY** MADISON, NEW JERSEY

NATIONALITY

D'SANG, Lincoln COLOR SEX M

ADMITTED September 1932 TO Drew Theological Seminary

AWARDS BY DREW UNIVERSITY

Doctor of Philosophy degree, June 6, 1933.

PREVIOUS ACADEMIC HISTORY West China Union University A.B., 1919; Garrett Biblical Institute, 1920-1922 B.D.; Northwestern University, 1930-1931, summer 1920, M.A., 1921.

ADVANCED STANDING: Garrett Biblical Institute and Northwestern University: 31½

		Credits and Grades 1 Semester	2 Semester
	Summer 1932		
S-362	Programs for town and country church	½ A	
S-364	Rural sociology	1 B	
S-562	Non-Christians of India	1 B	
TE-390	Pure sociology	½ A	
TE-395	Field studies of public welfare	½ A	
TE-392	The social gospel	1 A	
	Year 1932-1933		
302	Human engineering		1 A
321	Sociological research	1 B	1 B
360	Social research and field studies	1 B	
361	Community organization		1 B
364	Rural sociology	1 B	
365	Rural economics		1 B
407	Theology and interpretation of life	1 B	
641	Psychology of religious development		1 A
702	Philosophy and religion	1 C	
890	Research and thesis writing	- P	
TE-399	Child welfare	½ B	

Credits and Grades 1 Semester 2 Semester

CREDITS ARE RECORDED IN TERMS OF units.

Major field: Sociology.

Major professor: Dr. Ralph A. Felton.

Thesis title: "An Adaptation of American Social Welfare Methods to West China."

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Lincoln Zhang Drew University Transcript, 1932-1933

(Source: Drew University Archives)

1936 Lincoln Zhang, Dr. Francis Wei, 3rd from left with WCUU Policy Committee members. Dr. Francis Wei, the president of Huachang University visiting WCUU and as chairman of the university Policy Committee.

(Source: Yale archives)

Dr. Zhao Shuyuan, a WCUU 1922 graduate in medicine, and his wife Xu Huixun 徐慧薰

With his wife, Dr. Zhao set up a scholarship to support a student from humble family background from 1934 to 1950. Xu was raised by the mission orphanage and graduated from Nursing School. She got to know her husband when she was a nurse at the Sishensi Hospital in Chengdu (The United Church of Canada West China Missions sponsored). The photo was taken in 1932 before Dr. Zhao Shuyuan left China to upgrade at the University of Toronto.

(Source: Courtesy of Dr. Zhao Meiling 赵美玲, daughter of Dr. Zhao Shuyuan, and Dr. Xi Ning 席宁. Drs. Xi and Zhao family archives.)

Chapter Five: The Tension Between University Expansion and Financial Difficulties

Introduction

The quieting down of anti-foreign and anti-imperialist movements in the early 1930's allowed WCUU as a Christian university to focus on its further growth. In terms of teaching and curriculum advancement, both Chinese and Christian colleges in China entered their best years so far during these years. However, the Great Depression brought fundraising challenges for Mission and Educational Boards in North America, and the 1937 Japanese invasion in China proper put the nation and its educational institutions to the test of survival. The dire financial situations both domestically and overseas threatened to bring about harder times for the University's program development, especially in securing financial support.

In the mid-1930s, Dr. Beech orchestrated a promising investment plan with the aim of bringing better financial means to the University. Unfortunately, his mishandling of the school's funds in this way brought disaster to the University. Besides the financial catastrophe created by Beech, Lincoln Zhang also faced deep budget cuts from both the Associated Boards and the foreign mission societies. Soaring inflation forced many missionary instructors to depart WCUU, and university staff scrambled to secure basic accommodations and food. What's more, from 1937 onwards, Zhang was obliged to accept the arrival of a large number of refugee students fleeing areas impacted by the war, which further used up precious resources. Bringing Lincoln Zhang's plan for expanding university-funding sources proved to be a daunting task.

However, Zhang tackled such challenges unflinchingly. To achieve his goals, Lincoln Zhang made fundraising his priority and shifted his focus to securing domestic financial sources rather than foreign. He exhausted all possible avenues in order to build close relationships with alumni and woo politicians, businesspeople, and other notables, all for the goal of raising money for the University's expansion.

This chapter therefore examines how Lincoln Zhang built a domestic network to secure financial support for university advancement before and during wartime.

The Mismanagement of University Funds

Since its inception, WCUU's budget had always been limited. Even so, the 1930s remained a particularly challenging time for both mission boards and the University. The impact of the Great Depression resulted in deep budget cuts from missions and the Board of Governors. With the departure of a large number of missionaries also came the departed the payments attached to each of the mission personnel. In the science department alone, four out of five missionaries left their posts. As a result, "four Chinese teachers need to be added this fall…the salaries of these four new teachers must be met by our reduced budget,"[570] wrote Dr. Bell to the secretary of the Board of Governors Dr. Frank Anderson grimly.

The primary difficulty with confronting the newly appointed members of the Board of Directors was that they had to use a fixed budget to cover a rapidly expanding educational institution. Since the annual meeting of the Board of Directors in April 1932, the Executive Committee of the Board had met several times to discuss solutions to balance income and expenditure.

When it came to specific fundraising methods, some members reminded the Committee that since the University hadn't officially registered with the national government, that the gentry and military men still viewed it as a Christian college. As a result, it would be very challenging to convince them to be generous. Requesting support from alumni was promising, but they were a small group with limited income, and it was "not practical to expect the alumni to contribute too much" within a few short years.

Sharing the worries of the Executive Committee members, Dr. Beech "offered to be responsible for one-half of the prospective deficit if the Board of Directors would assume the other half"[571] at the WCUU executive meeting. However, his proposal was rejected because "we [the members] felt that while he would in all probability find his share in America, we would have to assume personally the balance." Bell wrote, "This we are absolutely unable to do under present conditions when our own salaries are being cut, and we are being called upon to assume large shares in work items, because

[570] Gerald S. Bell to Frank Anderson, July 5, 1932. UBCHEA GR 011-283-4438.
[571] Ibid.

of the decreased grants from our respective boards for maintenance of the regular mission work."[572]

Although Dr. Beech's offer to take on half of the deficit was declined by board members, he was determined to see his proposal through to completion, since his plans were already set.

As one of the founders and the first President of the University, Dr. Joseph Beech left multiple legacies at WCUU, such as his remarkable skills in both networking and fundraising. In the early days of the University-building, wherever Beech went, the first thing he did was to visit local authorities to introduce the University, its mission, and ask for financial support.[573]

In a letter he sent to Mr. DeVesty on January 20th, 1920, Beech made a list of 10 pledges to be "secured in the first half of 1919 for the University", adding up to $82,000 in total. The list detailed the names of donors, amounts already paid, and total amounts pledged. He also gave clearly designated purposes for each donation such as "Summer School at W.C.U.U.", "Endowment of Chair" and "Memorial bldg." His determination to raise money for the university was clear, stating that these pledges were "just a portion of the more than $400,000 included in the Centenary budget for West China Union University."[574]

The Canadian missionary Mr. H. D. Robertson remembered Beech's fundraising methods vividly. Beech, he wrote, was always "smiling his way through all sorts of difficulties and bringing to definite conclusions all manner of suggestions and ideas. In Western countries we see him going from place to place telling the tale of this university and its opportunities, and interesting men so that they give with confidence the money needed for the university."[575]

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[572] Ibid.

[573] Sichuan University History Editorial Committee, *ed*. *The History of Sichuan University*: *West China Union University: 1910-1949* (Chengdu: Sichuan University Press, 2006), 27. 四川大学史稿，第四卷, 华西协合大学，1910-1949. 成都，四川大学出版社, 2006, 第 27 页

[574] Joseph Beech to Mr. DeVesty, January 20th, 1920. M. S. Missionary Files: Methodist Episcopal Church Missionary Correspondence, 1912-1949: China. General Commission on Archives and History, United Methodist Church, Nineteenth Century Collections Online.

[575] H. D. Robertson, *History of the Union University: A Sketch*. The United Church of Canada Archives.

In early 1932, the very well-connected Dr. Beech was persuaded by an American insurance, bank, and real estate tycoon, Frank Jay Raven, to deposit the Associated Boards' funds, grants and gifts for WCUU, plus most of the missionaries' personal savings into Raven's American Oriental Bank,[576] with the expectation of receiving high interest rates known as "Raven Interests".

Right after the University Executive Committee meeting in early 1932, Beech wrote to the Secretary of the Board of Governors, Dr. Frank Anderson, to reveal his plan for solving the financial difficulties that the mission Board and the University faced. He asked Anderson to put his recommendations on the Board's Executive Meeting agenda and to keep the contents of his suggestions confidential, even to the members of the Board of Governors. He wrote:

> It is sent that you may know its contents, especially the recommendations, early enough to get them on your agenda for early consideration. I am hoping the Exchange Item can be considered by the Executive, with only Executive members present prior to the consideration by the Board. Confidentially, the sum on deposit in Shanghai is Silver $100,000, 7% interest. What folks do not know about, they do not try to get, and handling this matter without stating

[576] A contemporary article in TIME magazine gives some background information about the Frank Jay Raven and his American Oriental Bank. Frank Jay Raven was an American banking & real estate tycoon, founder of the famed "Raven Interests", and councillor of Shanghai Municipal, which once boasted assets of $70,000,000. On June 17th, 1936 he convicted of embezzlement on seven counts and sentenced to five years in prison at McNeil Island, Wash. the *New York Times*' Shanghai correspondent wrote: This failure of the American Oriental Bank "was by far the worst that American interests have suffered in Shanghai, and it was so extensive that it virtually pauperized many thousands of people in China and some in the United States. It marks the end of careless, unsupervised and unscrupulous American business methods in China . . . For this failure created such financial havoc that the suspicion and distrust of American business that it engendered is great." Apparently no American bank examiner ever went to Shanghai to inspect the books of the Raven Bank, which is incorporated in Connecticut, and thus Banker Raven conducted his business as he pleased, lived quietly in his $150,000 mansion, contributed to local churches, never drank, and invited confidence with the friendly slogan: Deposit Your Money in This Bank and Become A Partner. While her husband sat in a Shanghai jail, Mrs. Raven continued last week to reside in Germany at Heidelberg, where the Raven daughters are completing their higher education." ("China: Rough on Raven," Time Magazine, 0040781X, 2/10/1936, Vol. 27, Issue 6.) Elaborating on this, the British historian Robert Bickers recently wrote "Frank Jay Raven, a municipal councillor from 1931 to 1934 in Shanghai, had created a network of property and finance companies centred around the 'American Oriental Bank' that had been insolvent for three years before its collapse in 1935. It brought down with it three Chinese Banks, and severely undermined the financial standing of many US missionary organizations in China, which had lodged funds with Raven's Company. Shanghai is not alone in producing this kind of criminal adventure', the leading local British newspaper pointed out in the aftermath of the trial. But the "peculiar conditions prevailing here" should have warranted greater caution. It was "often referred to as an American Bank', admitted the liquidator, but was in fact just 'a bank established in Shanghai by an American' and not subject to any US banking laws. So there was a loophole large enough to allow Raven to establish a bank protected by extraterritoriality, but outside any US legislation. And to reinforce this, Raven and his legal team had effectively silenced or suborned the American legal establishment in China." Robert Bickers: *Out of China: How the Chinese Ended the Era of Western Domination* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2017).

the amount will make the days here a bit happier for those who have to maintain the Board's point of view and maintain wise methods of finance. So please endeavor to get an early Executive Session with adequate time for considerations and then early consideration by the Board.

Matters have been in a state of flux: the absence of Senate[577] Sessions has made it difficult to get things done in a constitutional manner, but we have gone on in fine shape avoiding rocks in the stream. If we get by this registration, we ought to have clear water ahead. Confidentially,[578] there are those in the field who would like to dynamite the project. As near as one can arrive at the reason, it is to embarrass the Chinese Officers of the University against whom they think they own something. (China all over.)

So we have left some things undone—normally these recommendations would have come through the Senate. I sent them on my own after consulting a few our most experienced and trusted members who think my recommendations are eminently wise.[579]

Beech frankly confessed to Anderson that in order to achieve his goal, he had gotten around the members of the Board of Directors of the University, kept the Chinese administrators of WCUU in the dark, and deposited $100,000 Silver for 7 percent interest in the American Oriental Bank in Shanghai without notifying the relevant parties. By abusing his power, Beech deliberately breached policy, directly deprived the Chinese board members and administrators of their democratic rights in

[577] I underlined the word "Senate". Before WCUU was registered with the Nationalist government, the westerners took the majority seats of Senate. Since April 1931 when the University decided to register with the Nationalist government and Lincoln Zhang was appointed to be the President of WCUU, the name of Senate of the University was changed to "the Board of Directors", and the two-third of the members were Chinese. That's why Dr. Beech didn't propose his plan to deposit Silver $ 100,000 into the Shanghai American Oriental Bank to the Board of Directors because he knew he couldn't get his agenda through. Dr. Beech still called it "Senate," which indicates he had a hard time accepting the changes.

[578] The underlining was by the author of the letter, Dr. Beech.

[579] Dr. Beech to Dr. Anderson, undated. According to the development of the event, it was possibly written and sent between July and August 1932. UBCHEA RG 011-283-4438.

university governance, and betrayed the trust of both his Chinese and Western colleagues. Beech was proud of his ability to build wide connections, acquire valuable information and take rapid action.

No documents indicate that Lincoln Zhang was notified or knew anything about Beech's arrangement for WCUU finances although he was in New York at the time. The Executive Committee members of the Board of Governors neither questioned nor opposed the actions Beech too to deal with the funds. Both Anderson and Garside were supportive and took part in the scheme.

In a letter to Garside, Anderson wrote, "I am inclined to think that you are right in suggesting that we do not approach the Board at the present time regarding their appropriations; surely we may take it that they intend to assign to the University as much as before, unless they intimate to us to the contrary."[580] Then he added, "With regard to the $90.000 on deposit at Shanghai,[581] I think that as this money is bearing good interest just now we might leave it where it is; perhaps the Committee which takes oversight of our investments might report to the Board of Governors their judgment about this money, when it meets next month."[582]

When the Board of Governors was finally notified of the arrangement, Sir Joseph Flavelle, the Honorary Chairman of the Board of Governors, talked to Beech personally. He strongly urged Beech to reconsider this investment carefully since the high interest rate was too good to be true. He also stressed to Beech that since the monies were the funds for WCUU and for the missionaries' retirement savings, "safety rather than rate of interest should be the determining factor in the use of all trust funds."[583]

Beech nonetheless had full confidence in his powerful and wealthy friend's ability to make handsome profits to support the University. Raven's 7 percent return

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[580] Anderson to Garside, March 4th, 1933. UBCHEA RG 011-283-4438.

[581] Beech's letter to Anderson indicated that he deposited Silver $100,000 into the Raven Bank; Anderson's letter to Garside said there was Silver $90,000 in the Shanghai Bank. Beech probably put together another $10,000 of his own and other missionaries' savings into the bank as well. On June 13th, 1935, Bell's letter to Endicott said, "About $80,000 silver of Board of Governors money was gone". I couldn't locate documents to explain the discrepancies among their accounts. It is possible that Beech had withdrawn $10,000 before June 13th, 1935 or the money wasn't all gone but $ 80,000 was lost, or Beech didn't let Dr. Bell know exact how much money was lost the Shanghai Bank investment.

[582] Ibid.

[583] Sir Joseph Flavelle to Dr. Beech, June 10th, 1935. UCCA 83.047C Box 16 File 21.

rates, compared to the Hong Kong & Shanghai Banks's two to three percent annual return, were appealing. Beech also trusted that as a Shanghai municipal councillor, Frank Jay Raven's position would guarantee the return of the investment. Having stayed in China and associated with the wealthy and powerful for so long, Beech somehow adopted an attitude of having absolute trust in wealth and authority.

Subsequently, in early 1935, when the news of the insolvency of Raven's American Oriental Bank's reached Chengdu, Beech almost had a heart attack. He then "left immediately for Shanghai to look after these matters" and what he found was that "about $80,000 silver of Board of Governors' money" was gone,[584] and so were many missionaries' personal savings.

Flavelle was deeply disturbed by the loss; he was especially upset that "these conditions are being established at a time when the University greatly needs financial support to carry on the current work as it is, in the provision of reasonably adequate physical equipment and additions to the teaching force."[585]

Harbouring wishful thoughts to get the money back, Beech wrote to Flavelle that the closing of the Raven Companies "is an involved story and judgment regarding it must await the elapse of considerable time."[586] However, a sense of guilt, shame, and responsibility led him to pursue various avenues to mitigate the damage.

For the entire summer of 1935, Beech travelled between China's big cities, Nanjing, Shanghai, Hankou, and Beijing to meet with the powerful and influential, trying to get some money back and mitigate mitigate losses. After meeting Mr. Main, the representative of Raven Companies, Beech finally realized that the money was gone, and that it was time for him to take extraordinary measures and remedial action.

He had his eye on the top leader of China.

"I secured a stenographer…as a gift from Generalissimo's headquarters. She had come out from Australia, arriving just about the time they left on account of the crisis in government affairs at Nanking."[587] With inside information, Beech obtained the schedules of the time the Generalissimo and his wife would be meeting with Mr. Main

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584 Bell to Endicott, June 13th, 1935. UCCA 83.047C Box 5 File 112.

585 Joseph Flavelle to Dr. Beech, June 10th, 1935. UCCA 83.047C Box 16 File 21.

586 Beech to Flavelle, July 18th, 1935. UCCA 83.047C Box 16 File 21.

587 Beech to Dr. Frank Anderson, December 13th, 1935. UCCA 83.047C Box 16 File 21.

from the Raven's American Oriental Bank. He took advantage of the timing, writing later that:

> I had secured a pass for a car and challenged Dr. Agnew[588] to get into his car along with his dinner hosts, Dr. and Mrs. Phelps, and drive out to the landing field. The guests were mostly military officials, who appeared to be a sad looking group. The postmaster was the only other foreigner. Madame, a day or two later, wrote that they would invite me to call and see them as soon as they were settled. On the next day came Mr. Main's letter, so on the following morning I wrote asking if I might call that day as I was due to leave for Shanghai the next morning. She very graciously fixed 3:30 p.m. as the time. Mine was the first visit of a foreigner, at Chengtu and my impressions were of a high order. As a visit of Marshal Liu-Hsiang was due at 4 p.m. he (the Generalissimo) immediately asked my help in naming Szechuenese who could help in the social and industrial rehabilitation of the province. That was the theme for about 20 minutes; then I shifted to a reception to them by the foreign and university community, their presence and messages at our graduation exercises, and being assured of their pleasure—I stated that my visit was to Shanghai re feared losses in the failure of the Raven Companies and my desire to make my visit the occasion of gain for the University rather than humiliating losses. I said, directly, I am going to appeal to the Board of Trustees of the British Boxer Indemnity for what I think is our due and that will recompense for our expected losses. I am going to ask them for at least $100,000. 'They have not been to Chengtu, you have, will you support me in that appeal?' His answer was; 'I will do that gladly', and as I hesitated Madame Chiang replied in English, 'The Generalissimo says he will.' He departed to meet the Marshal and I went upstairs to

[588] Dr. Agnew was a Canadian medical missionary and the private dentist of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek.

tea with Madame Chiang. When I made the request, I believed that his support was tantamount to favorable action by the Board at their next meeting. Nevertheless, once in Shanghai and learning the worse fears about the Raven Companies, I called, by appointment, on all the members of the Indemnity Board resident in Shanghai. It is a large Board made up largely of Chinese in prominent official or business positions. My first call was on R. Calders—Marshall Esq. a prominent merchant. He sounded the note that was quite universal, 'I will give the matter my support and feel certain that with the promised word from the Generalissimo favorable action will result.' 'Should I see the other members of the Board?' he replied, 'By all means', and proceeded to give advice(s) re finding them. I followed the lead for several days in Shanghai, and then departed for Nanking. Here again, I had written in advance, asking for appointments. Distances are immense in Nanking and free hours from conferences at a time like this are few, but one by one, I saw them all and got their promise of support. It was a gratifying experience as the persons called upon responded. With one exception, they were the leading officials of the government or persons of like import. As I came near the end of my pilgrimage I got the news that the Generalissimo had sent two telegrams to the Chairman and Director. First asking them to vote my request, to which reply was sent 'funds all appropriated for this year'. Second message, 'vote it at your next appropriations'. Here let me digress to state that I had made the appeal for $150,000 for the clinical hospital building at the University and had approached members of the American Indemnity 'China Foundation' for $50,000, stating that we had $50,000 more on hand to add to their grants.[589]

[589] Beech to Flavelle, July 18th, 1935. UCCA 83.047C Box 16 File 21.

During his visit to the Chairman of the Educational Section of the British Board and the Director of the American Foundation in Beijing, Beech shared at length how he obtained his insider information, asked for favours, and begged for support. He was so blinded by his trust in political and social connections in China; he completely forgot that it was those connections that had led the University to financial ruin.

He received promises but had to wait until early next year to find out if they were kept.

Soon after, Beech received news that "the Shantung University payment had been stopped." He called the Minister of Education, Dr. Wang Shijie (Wang Shih-chieh 王世杰), who agreed to give an extra $ 2,101 for the year 1935.In reference to the extra funds, Dr. Wang reported that it "will come as the last grant did in 12 instalments."[590] Beech was overjoyed. He had gone so far to chase the money, and finally he saw results. "So the cloud that overhung when I started down has some promise of a silver lining."[591]

This was just the beginning, not the end, of atoning for his mismanagement. His next goal was to chase down the Canadians and Americans who were connected with the Rockefeller Foundation, he told Flavelle cheerfully.

While understanding Beech's feelings of guilt and acknowledging his efforts to repair the damage he caused, Flavelle still decided to call Beech back to America as a measure of discipline. He did not reply to Beech's letter on July 18, 1935 immediately, but waited until he had all the necessary information before doing so. After making up his mind, on October 14, he wrote to let Beech know his thoughts about the disastrous investment, and future plans he had for Beech.

In the letter, Flavelle reminded Beech hat the Board had instructed him not to take risks. However, Beech had repeatedly ignored the Board's warnings. Second, the failure of the Raven Companies meant, "not only were the funds of the West China Union University gravely impaired, but private depositors, including a large number of the missionaries on the field, saw the saving of years disappear."[592] Third, he considered

[590] Ibid.
[591] Ibid.
[592] Joseph Flavelle to Dr. Beech, October 14th, 1935. UCCA 83.047C Box 16 File 21.

that Beech's actions "greatly weakened" the Foreign Mission Boards' efforts to provide quality work at the University. He ignored Beech's reports about his networking efforts, especially with the Generalissimo. Clearly, he didn't appreciate Beech's efforts to chase the powerful and the influential in China. Beech's missteps, he emphasized, "indicated a lack of intellectual appreciation of the responsibility attached to the union movement which created the University."[593] Sir Joseph was disappointed at Beech. His final instruction to Beech was,

> When you are free, following the January meetings of the Chinese institutions who have promised you assistance, you should come to America and share in the effort of the Associated Boards whereby you will lend your valuable support in securing specified financial assistance for West China Union University. Meantime, you may not be able to secure an additional assistance in Canada.[594]

At the end of the letter, he told Beech,

> I will only add that while the Board necessarily met under a cloud of anxiety concerning the future, there was no lack of faith and hope for the ultimate success of the work to which it was committed. The two representatives of the staff, Dr. Lindsay and Dr. Kilborn, who were present as corresponding members, gave us the intimate touch with the work which has been carried on, which the Board greatly appreciated. Their faith, courage, and belief in the future, were stimulating to a degree.[595]

[593] Ibid.
[594] Ibid.
[595] Ibid.

Flavelle's praise of Dr. Lindsay and Dr. Kilborn implied criticism of Beech, especially his associations with Chinese powers. Beech had no choice but to comply with Flavelle's order.

Compared to Flavelle's strictness, Anderson and Garside were more gentle and lenient towards Beech because they were the earliest supporters of Beech's proposal. The two exchanged letters almost daily to discuss how to approach the situation with Beech. After Flavelle decided to call Beech back to America, Anderson immediately wrote to Garside, "As I feel that the letter to Dr. Beech must be very carefully expressed, I have made a draft of what I think it might be proper to say…I wish you would study it closely, and do not hesitate to make any amendments that may seem wise to you."[596]

The same day, he wrote to Beech, "I am confident that I am expressing the feeling of the Board if I say that the Board would not want to bring pressure to bear upon you to come home at this time especially on financial grounds."[597] He also comforted Beech that only a few people knew the reason he came back to America; the explanation for his return was "furlough". Anderson assured him that his work would be "endeavor to secure, either by larger annual grants to the Board or by endowment funds, more ample means for the support of the University as it now is."[598]

The assurance from Anderson made Beech feel comfortable enough to write to the Board members and the people in West China. In his letter, Beech downplayed the severity of the disciplinary action he received, treating it as a U.S. fundraising arrangement. He also tried his best to secure money from the Indemnity Funds to compensate for the money lost to the Frank Jay Raven investment scam, and he never mentioned the name of the Raven Bank, instead calling it "the Shanghai funds."

With the help of his "life saver",[599] a nickname he gave to the Australian stenographer who worked at the Generalissimo's headquarters, Beech wrote he that was

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[596] Anderson to Garside, Oct 12th, 1935. UBCHEA RG 011-283-4440.

[597] Ibid.

[598] Ibid.

[599] It was Beech who called the Australian stenographer his "life saver". In his letter to Dr. Frank Anderson on December 13th, 1935, Beech wrote, "fortunately, I secured a stenographer in September and October as a gift from Generalissimo's headquarters. She had come out from Australia, arriving just about the time they left on account of the crisis in government affairs at Nanking. She was authorized to help me, and her appearance ready for work was my first

able to visit and "secure the support of Generalissimo and Madame Chiang and by the time [I] reached Nanking he (the Generalissimo) had sent two telegrams to the chairman of the British Board (of Indemnity Funds). That helped considerably…"[600]

The Board of Indemnity Funds was scheduled to meet in April of 1935. Before the meeting, Beech traveled to Shanghai, Nanjing and Beijing to visit every single board member of the British Indemnity Funds "in the hope that [he] could secure at least what we had lost and while at it 'carry-on' the program I had outlined to follow while enroute to America."[601] After he "secured sufficient encouragement", Beech went back to Chengdu to help the departments of Medicine and Dentistry with the grant application, which he then sent out in August. He received no information from the Indemnity Funds, but knew the Board was going to meet again in January 1936. "I had intended starting down river so as to be in the vicinity when they met and to have consulted with some of the leading members in both Boards."[602]

When Beech was asked to attend the Board of Governors' annual meeting in New York, he heard nothing back from the Boards of the Indemnity Funds. In early March 1936, he wrote to the Board of Governors regarding the University's budget for 1936 and 1937, "We estimated $20,000 from Nanking, and we received $18,215. We also estimated $3,000 from the Provincial Government…had been granted $2,000…it appears that our present expenditures for this year will over-run our total receipts by $5,354…there seemed no immediate line of remedy…"[603]

Beech asked the Board to go ahead and have the annual meeting without him, but Dr. Endicott was firm. He instructed the Secretary of the Board of Governors that they would be "postponing the Annual Meeting till the Fall, in order that we have the advantage of having Dr. Beech with us."[604]

In early April of 1936, Beech left Chengdu, a place where he spent 37 years of his life, buried his first wife, met his second wife and had seven children. In his 37 years

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intimation of it or introduction to her. She was called to Shanghai about the end of October, but not before she had qualified as 'life saver' to me." Beech to Anderson, December 13, 1935. UCCA 83.047C Box 16 File 23.

600 Beech to Anderson, December 13th, 1935. UCCA 83.047C Box 16 File 23.

601 Ibid.

602 Ibid. There were two Boards of Indemnity Funds in 1930s; one was in Peiping, one was in Nanking.

603 Beech to Anderson and Garside, March 5th, 1936, UCCA 83.047C Box 16 File 23.

604 Garside to Anderson, January 16th, 1936. UBCHEA GR-011-283-4441.

of service, he traveled back and forth across the Pacific Ocean a total 14 times to promote the University enterprise, but the ocean crossing in March of 1936 was the first time he traveled with such a heavy heart. He knew his chances of returning to China were slim for he was already 69 years old. And to him, China was the place he called "his second motherland."

Back in the United States, Beech worked hard to raise money to support the development of the University. An article published in *The Chinese Recorder* noted that the funds he had raised in the United States "represent a large part of the entire property of the Chengdu-based West China Union University. He has been instrumental in obtaining over N.C. $5,000,000.[605] Beech estimates the value of all the old buildings of the school at approximately U. S. $1,000,000 while N. C. $1,000,000 worth of new buildings, including the United Hospital, are being built."[606] He was planning to continue raising "an endowment fund of N.C.$250,000" to provide at least 50 free beds for the United Hospital. He also estimated that another N.C. $1,000,000 would be needed to complete all the projects of the school. "So, he will be busy raising this amount in the United States."[607]

Financial Support from the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang

On top of funding cuts from the Missions and The Board of Governors, Dr. Beech's financial missteps made Lincoln Zhang's job extremely challenging. First, Zhang had to find ways to cover the school's extreme fiscal shortage. Second, since

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[605] After the Qing dynasty was toppled, The Republic of China was founded. The Provisional Government of the Republic of China based in Nanjing urgently needed to issue military currency for use in place of the previous Qing currency. In 1914, the National Currency Ordinance established the silver dollar as the national currency of the Republic of China. Although designs changed compared with Imperial era coins, the sizes and metals used in the coinage remained mostly unchanged until the 1930s. The 1920s and 1930s saw the price of silver appreciate in the international market, increasing the purchasing power of the Chinese currency and leading to a massive efflux of silver out of China. It became evident to the Chinese government that it could not retain the Silver Standard without debt defaults increasing, and so chose to abandon it. The situation was exacerbated by the multitude of commercial, provincial and foreign banks issuing currencies all at different values. In 1935, the Central Government enacted currency reforms to limit currency issuance to four major government controlled banks: the Bank of China, Central Bank of China, Bank of Communications and later the Farmers Bank of China. The circulation of silver dollar coins was prohibited, and private ownership of silver was banned. A new currency issued in its place was known as fabi 法币 literally "legal tender". It also called xinbi 新币, means New Currency and the English initial was, N.C.

[606] "Dr. Beech Retires from China With Honor." *The Chinese Recorder*, Vol. 71, no. 6 (1940): 405. *China and the Modern World at Gale Primary Sources*. Accessed April 4, 2020. https://go.gale.com/ps/i.do?p=CFER&u=asiademo&v=2.1&it=r&id=GALE%7CKCFZXL693647045&asid=1586145600000~b0c98e1c

[607] Ibid.

many missionaries invested their entire savings into Raven Companies, some suddenly found themselves with no financial means to deal with the inflated cost of living in Sichuan; they had no choice but to cut off financial support to Chinese students. As a result, the University was obliged to find ways to support those students. Moreover, some missionaries had difficulties getting by and many requested to return to their home country. Their departures made the shortage of teachers all the more severe, and the University had to find money to hire Chinese instructors.

The budget cuts, investment losses, and missionary departures were not the only financial hardships Lincoln Zhang had to manage. Soaring consumer-prices added tremendous financial pressure to the University faculty members and students from poor family backgrounds. On top of those difficulties, another challenge Lincoln Zhang faced was that communication between the Bursar's Office and the President was severely limited. The reasons for poor communication were that, first, the Board of Governors appointed the Bursar, rather than the Board of Directors to make the appointment. Because the Bursar was a missionary not a Chinese, the books were kept in English. Second, the shortage of staff led to the Bursar's duties almost becoming almost "entirely mechanical"; as a result, he had the no time to either be a part of "University financial policy," or "to prepare regular statements for the various departments and committees, and they may be in the dark as to their financial standing."[608] Third, it had been the custom for Western staff members to purchase books and equipment directly from the Bursar without notifying anyone else at the University.[609] Last but not least, "The Bursar makes an annual financial report to the Board of Governors, but the books of the University are not audited locally."[610] Therefore, the total income, expenditure, and specific financial situation of the University were unknown to the President, and he certainly had little to no say when it came to controlling finances.

In addition to being kept at arm's length by the Bursar's office, the University's sources of income became greatly limited. These circumstances not only prevented program expansion, they jeopardized the administrative authority of the President as

608 "West China Union University Policy Committee Report." 1936. UBCHEA RG 011-277 4380. P. 514.
609 Ibid.
610 Ibid.

well. In 1936, "the Board of Governors gave: $50,000, rent of University Land: $2,250, and Tuition Fees: $16,500. There is not other income from local sources."[611]

For the University expenditures, Lincoln Zhang faced two major problems; first, accounts were sometimes charged without the proper requisitions, especially when the department heads were foreigners. This made impossible for the University treasurers to manage and keep accurate account over the funds. Second, under the instruction of the Board of Governors, all University accounts were kept in silver, but expenditures in gold were charged at the rate of 2:1. The result of this method was that the University never really received the actual $50,000 as an annual budget, the reason being that:

> Formerly the Board of Governors paid $25,000 gold to cover their annual grant of $50,000 silver. Thus when the exchange was greater than 2:1, they gained on all local expenditures in silver. However since the income of the Board of Governors has decreased their give only the gold equivalent of the $50,000 silver at current exchange, and they lose an equivalent amount on all sums drawn in gold at 2:1. In any case, the former "gains in exchange" never accrued to the University, but remained the property of the Board of Governors.[612]

This method of accounting meant that the University suffered losses from currency exchanges, while the Board of Governors enjoyed the profits. The Board of Governors had short-changed the University for a long time.

The issue of growing university deficits also needed to be addressed. The cost incurred by the growing student population, staff and administrative expenditures, departure of Western instructors, and staff salary increases could only be mitigated by cutting equipment grants. The accumulation of debt meant that the University absolutely had to expand its financial sources to make its development possible.

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[611] Ibid.
[612] Ibid. , 516.

In working with the Policy Committee, Lincoln Zhang believed that before expanding financial sources, changing the "general laxness" in University financial administration should be the first step taken. The Board of Directors needed to be more proactive in growing University funds rather than just "passing on what they received from the Board of Governors."[613] To encourage Board enthusiasm for fund-raising, Lincoln Zhang suggested recruiting honorary board members. Zhang put unnecessary paperwork and administrative tasks on hold in order to make time for establishing connections outside of the University to raise funds for the university. Both the deans of each college, and the heads of each department were responsible for fundraising as well.[614] Despite this, Zhang held himself primarily responsible for developing new sources of University income.

Watching Lincoln Zhang's struggles closely, Bell wrote to Board of Governors to call for their attention.

> It seemed to the Board that there were circumstances which justified an appeal for a special grant this year, as seen in the ongoing furlough of such a large number of missionary members of the staff and the necessity for increasing the number of Chinese teachers. This applies particularly to the college of Medicine and Dentistry, but it is also true in the College of Arts, where the number of teachers both Chinese and missionary is reduced to a very dangerous level. The Board, therefore, decided to attempt to meet the deficit as indicated in the estimates by appealing for an extra $14,000 from the Board of Governors and by making a definite effort to secure $21,000 in China.[615]

While continuing to push the Board of Governors for more financial resources, Lincoln Zhang urged the Board of Directors that it was time to expand their funding pool to include the wealthy local gentry, military men and other notables' nation-wide

[613] Ibid. , 517.
[614] Ibid. , 562-564.
[615] Bell to Anderson, March 4th, 1937. UBCHEA GR 011-283-4442.

since the University had fully registered with the government. With increased numbers of earlier WCUU graduates having already established themselves as esteemed members of medicine and dentistry, there were expectations that the University might hope to receive their support as well.

Since returning to China from the United States in 1934, Zhang travelled to Nanjing to attend the Central Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church every Spring. Each trip, he made time to visit influential contacts and alumni in Shanghai, Nanjing, Hankou, Chongqing, Tianjin, and Beijing, in order to establish a strong network for the support of the university. During Zhang's travels in the Spring of 1936, the University newsletter reported, "Dr. Dsang (Zhang) secured the consent of a number of prominent men in Government and educational circles to become honorary members of the Board of Directors. He was also able to enlist the interest of the alumni in a scheme for the provision of scholarships in the near future."[616]

His hard work paid off. In 1936, WCUU received N.C. $ 23,000 from the Ministry of Education, and N.C.$10,000 from the provincial government. The Department of Chemistry was granted special subsidies of N. C. $ 6000 and N.C.$ 95,000 respectively. In 1937, the government provided a grant of 128,300 to the University, which was about 41 per cent of the total school budget. In 1944, the school was granted N.C.$112,000 by the Ministry of Education of the central government, and N.C.$110,000 by the provincial government.

Besides funding, Zhang also pushed the government to provide more scholarships for students who had difficulty paying their tuition fees. In 1942, the Ministry of Education allocated six President's Scholarships, known as the Zhongzheng 中正 (Chung-cheng)[617] Scholarship, to WCUU. To WCUU, and the provincial government provided student loans for 22 students. The name of Lincoln Zhang's daughter Ruth Zhang (Zhang Junru 张君儒) was on the student loan list.[618]

In the early Summer of 1935, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and his wife Madame Chiang became particularly interested in the many programs at WCUU. One

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616 *West China Union University News*, July 1936. UCCA 83. 047C Box 16 File 34.

617 Zhongzheng (Chung-cheng) was the honorific name of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek.

618 "List of Student Scholarships," *University Journal*, Jan 15th, no. 31 (1942): 14-16.

possible reason for their interest was because the Nationalist Government sensed that the imminent Japanese invasion would be extremely aggressive and could capture of much of China's territory. If this were to be the case, the GMD government capital would need to relocate to a securer place. At the time, the geographical features of Chengdu made it safe enough to be considered China's wartime Capital.[619]

On June 25th, 1935, with his wife accompanying him, the Generalissimo gave a speech to WCUU students of the graduating class. The next day the Chiangs approached the school's administrative group to express their fondness for the University, and proposed to reside at the campus whenever they were in Chengdu, viewing WCUU as a place where they could "get away from their routine" and have some much needed rest. They proposed that WCUU allow them three houses, one for themselves, one for their servants and one for their guards.

The University declined the request. "We can provide one but not three," stated Bell.[620] Lincoln Zhang explained the reason for turning the Chiangs down more precisely. They didn't want too many military personnel at the campus, as the University was a place for learning and not military presentation.

However, the refusal did not discourage the Chiangs; they stayed quite some time at the school anyway, and later on "lived in a Canadian missionary Dr. Collier's bungalow"[621] when they spent their summer at Emei Mountain 峨眉山.

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619 In Dr. Beech's letter to Sir Joseph Flavelle on July 18th, 1935, Beech gave details of his meetings with the Chiangs in early 1935 in Shanghai and Chengdu. He suggested that Flavelle not share the information with the Board members, except Dr. James Endicott and Mr. Wowell. In the letter, Beech wrote, "It is now known that wealthy Chinese are moving their fluid wealth out of the country in considerable amounts. While not always trustworthy, the Chinese mind is a fairly good barometer of approaching storm. Is the financial situation the cause, or is it the Japanese? Perhaps both, but certainly the Japanese contribute a Preponderant portion." "'We may all be coming your way soon' was said in effect by more than one prominent person who knew I was from Chengtu, and implied by his remark that Chengtu might soon be the capital of the country. Meantime, the Generalissimo continues at Chengtu in his anti-red campaign and refuses to 'come down' at the behest of foreign representatives who want him to come down. When in Peiping I asked Professor Hu Shih, who is a political seer as well as a noted philosopher, 'What next'? Referring, of course, to the political change that had taken place in Peiping and North China, he replied, 'probably, the Lunghai Railway.' I answered, 'I wouldn't say that'. He arose, reached across that table and said, 'Shake hands'. We did. The day after my arrival in Peiping, President Stuart invited me to spend the night at Yenching University. He wanted to know the conditions upon which Yenching might move to the campus of the West China Union University. I said in fullest sympathy with him, 'I trust you will hold the fort'. 'So did I, but we may be compelled to leave, and hence must be prepared,' he replied…I said to Minister Johnson when, as his residence was in Peiping, "if you are not to present your credentials as Ambassador in Peiping till next September, you may be presenting them in Chengtu.' 'Who can tell?' was his reply…one must expect the unexpected in China. Should it happen, West China will be the land of promise and it may be the cradle of liberty? I am glad I am here. I am glad the University is here. It looks as if we might play a part we never dreamed of. China's star may set in the East and rise in the West." Beech to Flavelle, July 18th, 1935. UCCA 83.047C Box 16 File 21.

620 Bell to Endicott, June 26th, 1935. UCCA 83.047C Box 5 File 1120.

621 Dr. Bell described Collier's Emei summer home as "Dr. Collier's bungalow in which they have installed plumbing, fully screened the house, and has a portable electric lighting plant," which may explain its appeal to the Chiangs. Dr.

Later in 1935, Dr. Beech approached the Generalissimo to ask for help in solving problems that the University faced, specifically financial difficulties and military disturbances. He suggested that the Generalissimo move his soldiers off campus because they made female students uncomfortable. The suggestion was accepted and the troops left the University. What's more, Madame Generalissimo promised to secure financial support for WCUU.[622]

In the Summer of 1936, the Chiangs revisited WCUU. Mr. Chiang addressed the students and "spoke highly of the Museum and the Medical and Dental work."[623] But part of Madame Chiang's appreciation of the works of WCUU, as Lincoln Zhang noted, was personal. "Because she was ill when she arrived in Szechwan (Sichuan) and needed the care of some of our faculty members."[624] During their time in Chengdu, besides receiving professional medical attention from faculty members, as well as fresh milk, fruit, and vegetables from Mr. Dickinson garden; [625] Madam Chiang's health greatly improved. She was extremely impressed with her treatment. Through her conversations with Dickinson, she was surprised to know how small the University budget was and expressed her desire to help. "We were very glad to make such good contacts with them", Lincoln Zhang wrote to the Board.[626] As he had hoped, the Chiangs became strong supporters of certain WCUU programs, such as those involving agricultural, dairy, and pharmaceutical research.

The following year in June, Lincoln Zhang received "an invitation from the Generalissimo and Minister Wang Jingwei 汪精卫 (Wang Ching-Wei) to a summer

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Gerald S. Bell to James Endicott, July 30th, 1935, UCCA 83.047C Box 16, File 21. Dr. Collier's letters to Dr. Endicott indicate that he was in deep debt and needed the money to pay the debt. At the time when the Chiangs were in Chengdu he was putting his cottage up for sale. Renting his cottage to the Chiangs might have been a way the mission helped with his financial difficulties. There are more details about Dr. H. B. Collier' situation in the correspondence between Collier and Dr. Endicott in 1935. These documents can be found at the United Church Archives of Canada, 83.047C Box 16 File 22.

622 Dr. Beech to Dr. Anderson, Dec.13th, 1935. UCCA 83.047C Box 16 File 23.

623 The President's Report of 1935-1936, July 1936. UBCHEA RG011-297-4624.

624 Ibid.

625 Canadian missionary Dr. Frank Dickinson and his wife worked in China from 1913 until their retirement in 1947. Dickinson was not a trained agriculturist but was passionate about farming and stockbreeding. Not long after he came to Sichuan, he started his own vegetable garden and raised cows and sheep to provide nutrition for his fellow missionaries and their families. In early 1920, he started introducing British fine breed dairy cattle, American apples and other improved varieties of fruits to Sichuan. His experiments became well known among students, farmers, warlords and generals, as well as government officers near and far. In 1936, Mr. Li Mingliang 李明良, a graduate of Agricultural Studies of Nanjing Center University, joined WCUU. Mr. Dickinson and Li started a one-year agricultural workshop program to help local farmers adopt and improve their products. In the later 1930s when taking his furlough in Canada, Dickinson obtained his Ph.D. degree in Agriculture Studies.

626 The President Report of 1935-1936, July 1936. UBCHEA RG011-297-4624. P.93-103.

conference at Kuling.[627] This year the Nationalist government invited all the leading educators and other outstanding people throughout the country to meet in conference at three different periods."[628] Zhang was able to attend the second conference, from July 25th to August 2nd, 1937. He was excited about the invitation and looked forward to the opportunity. To his great relief, according to the invitation, "travel expenses may be refunded, so we hope the trip will not involve much financial responsibility for the University."[629] Although being invited was a great honour and he was excited about attending this conference, avoiding unnecessary spending always needed to be taken into consideration.

In 1936, Madame Chiang provided funding to the agricultural programs at WCUU, which were led by Mr. Dickinson. He took a newly graduated student who had majored in agriculture, Li Mingliang 李明良, from Nanjing University. Together, they offered workshops to help farmers improve their productivity and refine the breeds of their dairy cattle. In 1938, Madame Chiang sponsored a project for building a dairy barn to house her herd of prize cattle and the cows owned by the agricultural program.[630]

WCUU left strong impressions on the Chiangs through their time there, and they became quite familiar with various programs the university offered and with individual faculty members. As early as 1935, Dr. Mullett started working as the Chiangs' personal dentist, a relationship that lasted until they left the mainland of China for Taiwan.[631]

In early 1939, Madame Chiang invited Dr. Meuser [632] to "discuss matters relative to Pharmaceutical education, research in crude drugs and the local manufacture

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627 Guling (Kuling) is part of Lushan, Lu Mountain 庐山. It is located in Jiujiang 九江, Jiangxi province. The Lushan Educational Conference: On the Generalissimo's recommendation, the Nationalist Government was preparing to hold a large-scale conference at Lushan to which notables from all fields were invited to have free discussions on state affairs. To have one's name on the list was a great honour for the university and the person who was invited. The colleges and universities used the number of people on their faculty who were invited to this conference to boost their prestige.

628 Lincoln Zhang to Dr. J. Beech, Dr. Frank Anderson, Dr. B. A. Garside, Mr. H. T. Silcock, and Mr. A. G. Castleton, July 7th, 1937. UBCHEA RG 011-286-4486. P. 6-9.

629 Ibid.

630 *West China University News,* 1938. UBCHEA RG011-297-4624. P.148.

631 Dr. Harrison J. Mullett, dentist, Canadian medical missionary. He and his wife worked in China from 1919 to 1951. He contributed greatly to the establishment and development of China's dentistry.

632 Dr. Edwin Meuser, Canadian medical missionary. He was the founder of the College of Pharmacy. He and his wife served in China from 1915 to 1951. He established the first department of pharmacology in China.

of medicines, and to come at Government expense."[633] In July 1939, Dr. Meuser went to Chongqing to meet Madame Chiang and other government officials.

He wrote,

> Madame Chiang told me very frankly that both she and the Generalissimo have for many years been interested in the type of work I have been trying so long to do, and assured me of their appreciation of my efforts in spite of the many handicaps and lack of facilities, and voluntarily promised to assist us in a practical way at the earliest possible date.[634]

She also told Dr. Meuser that the government was determined to "render the fullest pharmaceutical service toward meeting present and future needs for medicinal requirements in West China."[635]

During the ten days of Dr. Meuser's stay in Chongqing, Madame Chiang also arranged for him to meet the authorities of China's Red Cross. Before returning to Chengdu, both the Red Cross and Madame Chiang offered financial support for the Department of Pharmacy's reorganizing plan. Dr. Meuser reported to Toronto happily, "I see tremendous possibilities for real Christian service at this time through these efforts, and needless to say we are happy to be engaged in this work after the many long years of striving against odds for it."[636] The financial support along with other donations painstakingly acquired by Dr. Meuser made possible the speedy expansion, progress, and development of pharmaceutical research, teaching, and production in West China.

The Challenges at the Beginning of the War

[633] Dr. Meuser to Dr. J. H. Arnup, July 23rd, 1939. UCCA 83.047C Box 16 File 30.
[634] Ibid.
[635] Ibid.
[636] Ibid.

On July 7th, 1937 gunfire erupted on the Marco Polo Bridge. Japan had launched a full-blown invasion of China; the intense anti-Japanese resistance that followed put Zhang's optimistic plans for the University to the test.

In mid-July, Zhang attended the second session of the Summer Educational Conference in Lushan as planned.[637] But the atmosphere there was different from that of other years. The most discussed topic was not of the development of China's higher education, but how Chinese universities would survive the Japanese invasion.

On July 28th, the Japanese began a comprehensive bombing of Tianjin city. On the afternoon of July 30th, the Japanese military held a news conference to announce their plan to bomb Nankai University. When asked why they chose an empty university campus as a target, the Japanese military news spokesman said they had reasons to believe that all Chinese universities were anti-Japanese bases. "That means the Japanese are going to destroy all Chinese universities?" one journalist asked. "Please forgive us!" the news spokesperson replied.[638]

At 3 P.M., the Japanese started bombing the University. The first bomb hit the library, turning 1.4 million books to dust and ashes. Then, a hundred Japanese soldiers poured gasoline into classrooms, student dormitories, and laboratories and set them all on fire. After the entire campus became scorched earth, the Japanese sent 400 troops to occupy the Nankai University campus.

When news of these atrocities reached Lushan, shock and anger pervaded the conference. The President of Nankai University, Zhang Boling 张伯苓, had just left the conference for Nanjing. The next morning, July 31, Wang Shijie 王世杰, the Minister of Education visited Zhang Boling.[639] The next day Generalissimo Chiang met Zhang to discuss moving Nankai and other universities to Changsha or Kunming. Zhang Boling spoke to the *Central China Daily* 中央日报. He believed that, although the Japanese

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637 The second session of the 1937 Lushan Summer Educational Conference was held between July 25th and August 2nd.

638 Israel Epstein, *History Should Not Be Forgotten* (Beijing: Beijing Language and Culture University Press, 2005).

639 Sources give two different dates about the Minister of Education Wang Shijie's visit to the President of Nankai University, Zhang Boling. One is in the morning of July 30th, 1937, and another one is in the morning of July 31st, 1937. Since the Japanese bombed Nankai University after the 3 P.M. news conference on July 30th, the minister's visit on the next morning, July 31st should be the more accurate date.

could destroy the university campus, they couldn't destroy the spirit of the University and of the Chinese people.[640]

Seven leading Chinese scholars telegrammed the Committee on Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations to condemn the Japanese's brutal slaughter and wanton destruction of educational institutions.[641] The discussions about developments in Chinese education soon shifted to how to carry on Chinese higher education during war time.

On July 16, at the first session of the Lushan conference, Generalissimo Chiang assured all attendees that he would unite the entire nation to defeat the Japanese. He laid out his educational plan where all schools should "consider peacetime as wartime and wartime as peacetime." Other Chinese leading educators, for example Hu Shi, also suggested that education during wartime should aim to maintain status quo and not introduce special measures.[642]

At the time, nobody could have known how much the war would impact Chinese education. However, one thing was certain--the government would have to spend heavily on the military in order to defend the nation, which meant spending less on education.

The Great Depression forced Western missionary societies to cut their budgets drastically. As a result, funds for Christian universities decreased considerably. Taking West China Union University as an example, in the early 1920's, the Associated Mission Boards had contributed 80 percent of the school's revenues; in the 1930s, the Boards provided 50 percent of the school's budget; by the 1940s this share decreased further to 20 per cent. The University therefore had to find funds for the remaining 80 per cent in order to keep the school running. J. I. Parker, the treasurer of the Board of

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640 Unknown Author, "Condemnation of the Bombing of the Nankai University from all Walks of Lives," *Shanghai News* (*Shun Pao*), July 31, (1937): sec. 4. 《南开大学被炸毁各方深表痛愤》,《申报》1937 年 7 月 31 日第 4 版.

641 The seven Chinese leading intellectuals were Cai Yuanpei **蔡元培,** President of Beijing University; Jiang Menglin **蒋梦麟,** former Minister of Education and president of Beijing University; Hu Shih **胡适,** the philosopher, essayist and diplomat, who is widely recognized today as a key contributor to Chinese liberalism and language reform in his advocacy for the use of written vernacular Chinese**;** Mei Yichi **梅贻琦** a politician, physicist and educator, who was the president of Qinghua (Tsinghua) University from 1931-1948, and served two separate terms as Minister of Education of the Republic of China from 1948 to 1949 and from 1958-1961; Luo Jialun **罗家伦**, Minister of Education, historian, diplomat and political activist; Zhu Kezhen **竺可桢**, a renowned geologist and meteorologist; and Wang Xinggong **王星拱,** chemist and the president of Wuhan University.

642 Kuo-tai Hu, "Disputes on the Question of Wartime Education and the Formation of an Educational Policy for the Guomindang in the War," *Republican China* Volume 14, Issue 1 (1989).

Governors, wrote as follows to Lincoln Zhang and to H.D. Robertson, the Chancellor of the University, to explain the rationale for major budget cuts: "As it became certain that the total amount of the special fund…would have to be reduced very considerably from the total of the amounts asked, the Committees concerned endeavoured to reach the required reduced figure and at the same time leave the field authorities as much freedom as possible to apply the amounts available at the points most needed."[643]

Moreover, the missionary society used the University's mandated registration with the Chinese government to justify the reduced financial support. Many missionaries argued that since WCUU was no longer a Christian university, it was the Chinese government's responsibility to support it.

Deep cuts from foreign funding bodies and heavy military spending meant that WCUU faced great financial difficulty. However, it is important to keep in mind the broader context of China's economic situation. Since the early 1930's, China's consumer-price index had already been soaring, but in the Spring of 1940, it began to run wild. Within several months the price of rice increased to 20 times its original cost. As China's war with the Japanese scaled up and more Chinese territory was occupied by the Japanese, students from war zones poured west into Chengdu and West China Union University, arriving with empty stomachs and pockets. The University felt obliged to accept more students from war-torn areas. There was an increased number of students, more than 20 per cent of whom needed financial support. The University was obliged to locate the financial means to meet the demands.

With the price of food skyrocketing, the University staff had a hard time supporting their own families. Eight strikes took place and each time Zhang worked hard to convince the faculty to return to the classrooms. In addition, continually soaring inflation made fundraising extremely difficult.

Unstable political and social conditions aroused students' patriotic desires to not only be a part of China's national struggles, but to make positive changes. As a result, student-led movements emerged at WCUU and across the country.

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[643] J. I. Parker to Lincoln Zhang and Robertson, November 24th, 1939. UBCHEA RG 011-286-4487. P. 99.

Associated Boards Tightening Budget

The West China Union University was established by five mission societies in 1910. Among the five associated boards, the United Church of Canada West China Missions sent the greatest number of educational and medical missionaries to West China. The Mission Board also covered all the expenses of the missionary faculty members at WCUU, including salaries, accommodations, travel expenses, teaching equipment, and allowances for their children's education. Canadians shouldered a significant part of the school's financial expenditures.

During the Great Depression of late 1931, representatives of the mission boards, trustee boards, and college boards held a special meeting to discuss the financial challenges facing Christian Colleges in China. A proposal for a "North American Board for Christian Colleges in China" was presented. The meeting voted to recommend "that the Boards of Trustees of the several Christian universities and colleges in China form a cooperative organization to be known tentatively as the Associated Boards for Christian Colleges in China."[644]

Two major reasons for the establishment of such an organization were "to increase financial support and to strengthen appeals to Western donors…"[645] For both Associated Boards members and Christian universities in China, the aims of such an organization were optimal but the time was hardly propitious. The Great Depression led to great financial difficulties for almost all the mission boards and trustees, but Christian colleges in China had just entered the best years of development. The University's goals for both program expansion and the tightening of the University's budget by the Board happened at about the same time, leading to great financial tension. During 1932-33, "the Associated Boards had difficulty meeting even this modest budget and, for four consecutive years, did so only by reducing meetings, cutting staff, and deferring increases in salaries. In June 1935 it found it necessary to secure a loan of $10,000 to balance the budget and start the New Year."[646]

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644 William P. Fenn. *Ever New Horizons: The Story of The United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia, 1922-1975* (Mennonite Press, Inc. Newton, Kansas, 1980): 29.
645 Ibid.
646 Ibid.

The losses of WCUU's investment funds also put tremendous pressure on the Associated Boards to raise funds for the school through different channels. Having previously voiced no criticism to Dr. Beech and the Boards' misjudgement of the Shanghai investment, General Secretary Dr. Garside was quite anxious about WCUU receiving insufficient gifts and pledges from North America. Garside believed that the decreased interest from donors were due to three reasons in particular. First, WCUU didn't have enough strong representatives on the Associated Boards. The idleness of the members of the Board of Governors was another reason. Third, the mission boards did not do enough to support their educational efforts, especially the Canadian Missionary Society, which was not active enough to shoulder WCUU's undertaking.[647]

In early 1936, Dr. Garside wrote to Dr. Anderson, Secretary of the Associated Board, and a representative of West China Mission of the United Church of Canada, to share his concerns about weak representation of West China in the Board of Governors and their lack of active in fundraising. On March 13, 1936, Garside wrote to Anderson:

> Our West China Board of Governors has never been at all active in seeking increased support for the University, and I am quite certain that under the present conditions it never will be. With the death yesterday of Miss Carolena Wood, we have lost the only one of our West China Governors who has evinced any interest or activity in this sphere. Whenever Dr. Beech comes to North America, he is left almost without support or assistance, and has to get whatever he can through his own personal resources. When Dr. Beech is not in America those of us here in the office who are trying to serve all the colleges find it almost impossible to do anything on behalf of West China because we do not have any adequate support from the Board of Governors or others who are definitely interested in the University.[648]

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[647] Garside to Anderson on January17th, 1936, March 13, 1936, and, Nov.24th, 1936; Garside to Beech May 29th, 1936. UBCHEA RG 011-283-4441.

[648] Garside to Anderson March 13th, 1936. UBCHEA RG 011-283-4441.

Since Dr. Beech was the only person who actively conducted fundraising in North America but spent his time mostly in China, the funds raised in North America for WCUU were meagre compared to other universities. One thing that Garside did not say to Anderson directly was that Beech was an American, but the Associated Boards wanted to see more Canadians to actively raise funds for WCUU. In 1936, West China only had U.S.$75 in funds acquired outside the Associated Boards, but Yenching University secured over $135,000 in gifts and pledges. The difference in fundraising results, Garside believed, were because Yenching had a group of earnest and active trustees in America who were "working for the interests of Yenching, whereas West China has no one."[649]

In late 1935, when WCUU decided to build a new hospital, Dr. Beech wrote to the Associated Boards to ask for support. Garside told Anderson that he wondered why the members of the West China Board of Governors could not act more aggressively to "make some genuine progress toward getting the funds needed for the new hospital, and also for its maintenance and operation."[650] Using Yenching as an example again, he told Anderson that President Stuart of Yenching secured about $40,000 in new funds, and pointed out "there is no reason whatever why our West China group could not do just as much as the Yenching Trustees if they would only apply themselves to the task."[651]

Interestingly, Anderson never responded to Garside's questions, comments, and complaints. Their correspondence discussed various issues, the Associated Boards' tight budget, the late submission of lists of promotional objectives from West China to the Board, and how to approach Dr. Beech about the investment losses. However, Anderson kept his silence on the topic of raising more funds for WCUU. Garside, usually patient on most issues, became impatient with the reticent Anderson and the West China Mission Board of Canada. He told Anderson,

> Those of us who are here in the office do not deserve major credit for the fact that Yenching has secured as much—neither do we deserve the major blame that West China has

[649] Ibid.
[650] Garside to Anderson January 17th, 1936. UBCHEA RG 011-283-4441.
[651] Ibid.

> accomplished so little. All that our office could possibly do is to provide facilities through which the Colleges can get support if their Boards of Trustees and their leaders on the field go out for it.[652]

Garside pointed his finger at Dr. Endicott and Sir Joseph, the leaders of the Canadian West China Missions for not doing enough or providing more financial support. Within the last two years, the two have "taken a puzzling attitude of disapproval"[653] toward setting up a union of trustees for Christian colleges in China. Garside believed that the purpose of such trustees "would prove highly beneficial to the whole program of Christian higher education in China," especially because "The place of West China is so distinct and so clearly recognized that it has nothing whatever to fear at this point. It would, however, have much to gain."[654] But why wouldn't the Canadian Mission Board work to improve its finances?

After more letters to Anderson and Beech, Garside once again urged Canadian missionaries to be more active in supporting Christian colleges in China, especially WCUU. He told Anderson, "We have a great deal of respect for the viewpoint of our Canadian friends who believe that all support of these China Colleges must come through Mission Board channels, though we do not quite agree that this is the only way in which our Colleges in China can get the funds they must have in order to carry on…"[655]

Dr. Endicott did not think Garside's suggestion was fair since the United Church of Canada sent the largest number of medical and educational missionaries to West China, and the Canada Mission Board made sufficient contributions to the Christian colleges in both manpower and cash. Flavelle shared the same understanding of the United Church of Canada's undertaking in their educational efforts in West China. In a letter to Beech, in which he copied to Garside, Flavelle explained why he had a different approach than the Americans. He told Beech, "You are already aware that if

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[652] Garside to Anderson March 13th, 1936. UBCHEA RG 011-283-4441.
[653] Ibid.
[654] Ibid.
[655] Garside to Anderson November 24th, 1936. UBCHEA RG 011-283-4441.

the University had been supported by the other contributing bodies after the same manner as it has been supported by the United Church of Canada, we would have been stronger in teaching staff and better equipped to carry on."[656] In other words, both Endicott and Flavelle believed that the Canadian West China Mission had done its part by sending the majority of the University's teaching personnel, which should count just as much as gifts and pledges.

Often, finances and unequal distribution of resources were major points of accusation and contention between the Board and the University.

Limited Trust Towards the Native Leadership

An immediate result of the war that had a major impact on WCUU was the relocation of four other universities to its campus from November 1937 to early 1941. These were: Nanjing National University and Jinling (Ginling) Woman's College from Nanjing, Qilu (Cheeloo) University Medical School from Jinan, Shandong province, and Yenching University from Beijing.[657] Providing sufficient accommodations for the influx of faculty members, their families, and refugee students was the first challenge that Zhang faced.

In a report, Dr. Kilborn described the crowding on campus as a scene where the "flood of refugees had not yet reached its peak".[658] On campus, "all dormitory rooms have been made to take in extra students wherever possible, and rooms originally designed to hold two or three students now have five or six…there were no classrooms available for our students…"[659]

Following the government's orders, WCUU not only made room for refugee students belonging to universities that had moved to its campus, but also accepted "loan students" who paid fees to WCUU*,* who, in every respect, were treated in the same way as the students of the institutions from which they came. At the end of 1938, WCUU

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[656] Joseph Flavelle to Dr. Beech, October 14, 1935. UCCA 83.047C Box 16 File 21.
[657] Yenching moved to Chengdu with WCUU in 1941. The other three joined WCUU in Nov. 1937 to early 1938.
[658] Kilborn report on College of Medicine and Dentistry, Dec. 26, 1937. UCCA 83.047C Box 16 File 25.
[659] Ibid.

had loan students from 18 provinces.[660] The flood of students and faculty arriving at WCUU quickly grew beyond it capacity for accommodation.

Soon after the arrival of the first wave of refugee students and teachers, Zhang wrote to the Board to appeal for emergency funds to build more dormitories.[661] Zhang confessed to Dr. Garside the financial hardships of the University, writing:

> We don't know what we will do this coming term, for we cannot turn away students, and yet if we do not receive more financial aid, how we can meet the situation is a real problem… We know that one of the purposes of your Board is to help the Christian institutions in China, so we hope you will give this matter due consideration as speedily as possible. So that we may be enabled to help the refugee students during this time of crisis.[662]

Garside admitted that direct financial supports to WCUU "have not been very large", due to the fact that "our united group has not been able to make a specific appeal for West China to many people."[663] But the letter from Flavelle, the Honorary Chairman of the West China Union University Board of Governors, to Dr. Beech highlighted the severe shrinking of available funding.

> It is not easy for you to understand the state of almost bewilderment of the Foreign Mission Boards of the various churches as to how to carry on their work in face of the remarkable diminution in their cash resources from the givings (sic) of the respective churches with which they are identified. It is clear beyond question that, for the present at least, the original conception of responsibility for the University through the support

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[660] The difference between the refugee students and loan students is the former came from warzone without ability to pay their tuition fees, which the national government took care of it by providing financial support to WCUU. The loan students were accepted by other universities that might have lower entrance standards than WCUU but came to WCUU to study and paid their tuition fees to WCUU. Both refugee and loan students came from the warzone.

[661] "University Notes." UBCHEA RG011-277-4383.

[662] Lincoln Zhang to Dr. Garside, July 18th, 1938. UBCHEA RG 011-286-4486.

[663] Garside to Lincoln Zhang, June 7th, 1937. UBCHEA RG011-286-4486.

> of the Foreign Mission Boards of the churches concerned is in a greatly weakened conditions, both as regards actual cash available for expenditure in the field and in personnel.[664]

To mitigate the difficult financial situation at home, the Secretary of the Board of Governors, Dr. Frank Anderson, suggested that Beech remain in China instead of returning to America to raise funds as planned, in order to "utilize the present increased prestige of the institution to secure support for it in China itself."[665]

In a private letter to Beech, Flavelle instructed him to "secure added monies for the maintenance of our work" to support WCUU. He suggested that Beech follow "the January meetings of the Chinese Institutions who have promised your assistance"[666] to secure the money.

Both Anderson and Flavelle stressed how important it was that Beech focus on exploring possible funding sources in China. This suggested that North American sources were close to being exhausted.

Flavelle instructed Beech that after the mission in China was done, he could "come to America and share in the effort of the Associated Boards…securing specified financial assistance for West China Union University."[667]

Flavelle also planned to mitigate the University's challenges by other means. Since the United Church of Canada was "stronger in teaching staff and better equipped" than the American churches, the Board would send over more educational missionaries from Canada despite there being "so many difficult local situations in every part of the Dominion."[668]

Understanding that the Missions and Associated Boards had a hard time coming up with the needed funds immediately, Lincoln Zhang, working with Dr. Ashley Lindsay, the Acting-chancellor of the University, urged the Associated Boards to take extraordinary measures in this extraordinary time "by acceding to our request to make

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664 Joseph Flavelle to Dr. Beech, October 14th, 1935. UCCA 83.047C Box 16 File 21.

665 Frank Anderson to Beech, Oct. 21st, 1935. UCCA 83.047C Box 16 File 21. This document doesn't bear the name of the writer, nor the date. I deduced both through other correspondence between Beech, Anderson and Flavelle. On the top of this document, is written: DRAFT.

666 Joseph Flavelle to Dr. Beech, October 14th, 1935. UCCA 83.047C Box 16 File 21.

667 Ibid.

668 Ibid.

our grant this year in gold at least equal to the U. S. gold used last year to bring us the grant of $ 88,000 N.C." With inflation, the currency exchange rate favoured gold in the Chinese market, and Zhang and the University wanted to take advantage of it. "This should not make any difference to the Board's finances at home, but would make all the difference in the world to us here."[669] However, the request, though reasonable and beneficial to the University, was declined flat by the Board of Governors. Over the next few years, Zhang and the University made the same requests repeatedly, but the proposals never went through. As mentioned earlier, the Board of Governors preferred to keep the earnings from the exchange rate to themselves.

The limited trust of the missionaries towards the Chinese was the primary reason the Associated Boards refused to give gold instead of N.C. to the University. In giving gold to the University, the Board wouldn't suffer any financial losses, but the University would enjoy considerable gains from the currency exchange discrepancy in China's market. A stark example was the Board's dealing with Dr. Sparling's appeal for financial support.

On February 9th, 1939, Sparling, the Dean of the College of Theology, wrote to Anderson, "We are now completely filled with students and teachers and must have further accommodation. We are planning, therefore, to erect a temporary building, which would accommodate these extra students and some teachers. This will cost $10,000 Chinese currency."[670] Sparling stressed to the Board that "Exchanges from gold to silver is especially good now so we think that $1500 may give us $10,000 national currency which we will need for this building."[671] His application was dealt with right away. In March 1939, Anderson informed the secretary of the Cooperating Units, "Resolved that we appeal to the supporting Mission Boards for a minimum fund of gold $1500 for this building. We urge that each Mission Board make a special emergency appeal for these funds. In order to have the building ready for the fall term it is necessary to have the funds by the month of May."[672]

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669 Lincoln Zhang and Lindsay to Endicott, Frank Anderson, Garside, Beech, H. T. Silcock and Rev. A. G. Castleton, June 30th, 1938. UBCHEA RG011-286-4486. P.0028-39.
670 Sparling to Anderson, Feb. 9th, 1939. UBCHEA RG011-283-4443.
671 Anderson to the Secretaries of the Cooperating Units, undated, possible early March, 1939. UBCHEA RG 011-283-4443.
672 Ibid.

The Board never explained on what basis Lincoln Zhang's appeal for gold was declined but Sparling's was granted. It is safe to assume two possibilities: first, the Board prioritize theology over the University's science programs; second, as an educational missionary, Sparling held stronger credibility with the Board compared to Lincoln Zhang. If the Board did not show obvious double standards in their approach to the missionaries and Chinese leadership, they did so in a subconscious manner. Neither approach was beneficial to their Christian undertaking in China.

The Boards' intention to maintain control over University operation was another reason for their tight financial control. The Board of Governors always appointed the Bursar manage WCUU funds,[673] and never appointed a Chinese to the position of Director of the Accounting Department, even when they had difficulty locating a qualified missionary to do the job. The Board of Directors[674] of WCUU should have had the power to appoint or hire its own Treasurer and Director of Accounting Department or Chief Accountant, but it never had the privilege to do so. Even after the Policy Committee recommended that a Chinese be in charge of University finances, a motion that was affirmed by Lincoln Zhang, this crucial change had not materialize by the time Zhang left his post.

Professor Jiang Wengang referred to Beech's tight control over the University enterprise, especially when it came to finances, as "the emperor system at WCUU". In his article about WCUU, he wrote,

> When everything arrives at the President's office, the President could not deal with it immediately, and must go to the Chancellor Beech's office for instructions and decisions, especially for issues of finance, which must be signed by the Chancellor. The accounting director who was responsible for the University expenditure was also a foreigner. The Chief

[673] Five international missionary bodies composed the Board of Governors; there were the United Church of Canada West China Missions, the American Baptist Foreign Missionary Society, the British Friends' Service Council, the British Church Missionary Society, and the Methodist Episcopal Church U.S.A. Board of Foreign Missions. The headquarters of the Board of Governors was in New York City.

[674] The Board of Directors was the Board of the West China Union University. It established after the University decided to register with the Nationalist Government. The members of the Board of Directors were Chinese politicians, celebrities, faculty members, and alumni.

> Accounting Officer was under the Office of the Bursar, and the Bursar of course was also a foreigner. Zhang could not make decisions directly, for the final approval was on the hand of Chancellor.[675]

The funds sent by the Board to the University usually came with specific stipulations, which were often based on North American theories and policies that neither reflected reality in West China nor took the needs of the University into consideration. The gaps between the Board of Governors' stipulations and University practices were wide and required considerable energy and negotiation for Lincoln Zhang and the University to bridge.

There were many times Lincoln Zhang begged the Board of Governors to allow the University to use funds, such as those from Harvard-Yenching, for urgent matters, but his requests were mostly turned down. Sometimes he felt like he was backed into a corner with his hands fully bound. On one occasion, out of frustration, he confessed to Dr. Garside, "Personally I feel rather difficult to get on [to keep going on], but it is something that I cannot help myself. So I simply have to fight the battle through. Wish you (all) friends can give me advice and guidance."[676] What Lincoln Zhang really wanted to say was: please just trust me and let me do my job.

As the war deepened and the Japanese occupied more territories, students and faculty continued migrating to Chengdu. The lack of accommodations, such as student dormitories, classrooms, labs, and residences for faculty, worsened. Zhang wrote to the Associated Boards to report, "The Administration feels that it is impossible to carry on the work of the University on a smaller budget than that received last year. We trust that the Board will recognize this and meet our needs."[677] The Board's reply was frank and direct. "It has been difficult to raise money this year,"[678] Dr. J. I. Parker, the Acting chairman of the Board wrote to Zhang. Dr. Garside, who used to be sympathetic to the

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675 Jiang Wengang, 87.

676 Lincoln Zhang to Garside, October 7th 1939. UBCHEA RG 011-286-4487. P. 0092-93.

677 Lincoln Zhang and Lindsay to Endicott, Frank Anderson, Garside, Beech, H. T. Silcock and Rev. A. G. Castleton, June 30th, 1938. UBCHEA RG011-286-4486. P. 28-39.

678 Dr. J. I. Parker to Lincoln Zhang, June 21st, 1940. UBCHEA RG011-286-4487. P.123-24.

tight financial situation at WCUU, wrote to Zhang to warn him, "Once a budget has been adopted and plans for the fiscal year have been set up, the Board of Governors is almost wholly powerless to make any further grants, for they have no additional resources on which they can draw."[679] It was the Board's polite way of discouraging Lincoln Zhang from making the same request again.

The message must have gotten through, but Lincoln Zhang continued writing to ask for financial assistance. Zhang also must have known that requesting financial support was part of his job description; sometimes begging for money became his only job.

Soon the Treasurer of the Board sent more concerning signals to Zhang. In his letter, the Associate Secretary and Treasurer Carl A. Evans asked Zhang and his colleagues to make careful plans for "the resolute and most economical use of your total resources to meet the challenges of your total task." He continued, "Perhaps more important still, the intensification and threatened spread of the world disaster promises to bring revolutionary changes, and may seriously endanger your existing support from abroad."[680] This message could be interpreted to mean that very soon, the Board may no longer be able to provide any financial support to the University.

Sure enough, the Board made even deeper cuts to the University budget the following year. Dr. W. P. Fenn,[681] the representative of the Associated Boards[682] informed the five University presidents in early February of 1944, that the limit of funds received from abroad had been reached, and that "no further additions could be expected from the source. Therefore, it would be necessary for the universities to cut the 1944 -1945 budgets anywhere from 20 to 50%."[683] This meant that the universities, like

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679 Garside to Lincoln Zhang, January 13th, 1941. UBCHEA RG011-286-4488. P. 0166.

680 Evans to the presidents of the associated universities, May 29th, 1941. UBCHEA RG011-286-4488. P.199-200.

681 Dr. William Purviance Fenn (1902-1993) was born and reared in China. He became a professor at the University of Nanjing. During the anti-Japanese War, he was the representative of the Associated Boards for Christian Colleges in China. From 1951 to 1970 he was General Secretary of the United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asian.

682 The United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia (UBCHEA) went through several name changes between 1882 and 1974. With the goal of coordinating educational policies and programs in China and coordinating financial assistance in the West, representatives of the boards of several collages in China established the Permanent Committee for the Coordination and Promotion of Christian Higher Education in China in 1925; Committee for Christian Colleges in China, 1928; Associated Boards for Christian Colleges in China (ABCCC), 1932; United Board for Christian Colleges in China (UBCCC), 1945; and UBCHEA, 1955.

683 Bell to Arnup, Feb. 23rd, 1944. UCCA 83.047 C Box 10 File 238.

the missions, couldn't carry on with the present amount of staff and university work beyond June 30th, 1944.

From July 7th, 1937 to May 3rd, 1946, more than 150 letters were exchanged between Lincoln Zhang and the Associated Boards and board members; almost every single letter discussed how to raise funds in order to keep WCUU running and how to find solutions to deal with the financial shortfall.

Among the 150 letters Lincoln Zhang wrote to the Associated Boards, 50 letters asked for financial support. In the beginning, the Boards were sympathetic to the situations WCUU and the Chinese faced. With their own financial resources approaching exhaustion, the Boards, under great pressure, gradually became impatient with Zhang's repeated appeals especially after America joined the war to fight the Japanese in the Far East. Zhang rarely argued, but kept writing to report on the progress of the University, the challenges it faced, the problems they were working on solving, and mostly, the kinds of support they needed. The tone of his letters was always calm, down-to-earth, firm, and direct with unflinching and unflagging determination.

The refusals from the Boards never discouraged Zhang and he did not take no for an answer. He wrote to repeat his requests again and re-approached the Boards from different angles later on.

In 1933, when Lincoln Zhang had written to ask the Boards for financial support to complete his PhD study, he wrote apologetically with tremendous embarrassment and obvious discomfort. When he wrote during wartime to request support for the University and students, he demonstrated great determination and perseverance. He believed strongly in what he was doing.

The Legacy of Dr. Joseph Beech

On December 19, 1938, Anderson wrote to inform Carl A. Evans that Dr. Beech was ready to return to China in early 1939 and he "would be taking with him 10 tons of Hospital equipment."[684]

[684] Anderson to Evans, December 19th, 1938. UBCHEA RG 011-283-4442.

After returning to North America in 1936, Dr. Beech worked tirelessly to jump on any opportunity to secure gifts, materials and pledges for WCUU. He successfully convinced Garside to give a "refund of about $8,000, [which] would be coming to the University from the Associate Boards in accordance with the usual procedure in connection with the Promotional work of the Associated Board; of this about $6,000 would be needed to balance the Budget of the University."[685]

Before leaving the United States for China, Beech notified Lincoln Zhang that this trip, to be taken in 1939, would be his final one. At age 73, he decided to retire.

In late 1939, Lincoln Zhang suggested to the Ministry of Education to present Dr. Beech with an award, thanking him for his contributions to the University. In the letter, he wrote:

> The University was founded by the former principal of Dr. Beech from the United States. In nearly 30 years Dr. Beech has raised about four or five million worth for the school buildings, and cultivated thousands of Chinese talents. Because of Dr. Beech during the anti-Japanese War, the West China Union University became a place where many Chinese universities can continue their educational undertakings. At WCUU the departments of medicine and dentistry are in advanced other educational institutions in the southwestern provinces. Recently the University is renovating its teaching and practice hospital and has raised more than N.C. $ 500,000 for its renovation, and most of them were raised independently by Dr. Beech. Today's accomplishment of the University is the result of Dr. Beech's decades of hard work and dedication. He is now seventy-three years old, and he will retire in the next spring. It is commendable to mark the achievements of Dr. Beech for his contribution is indispensable. I am writing to ask the Ministry of Education for verification and submit it to the National

[685] Ibid.

> Government to award Dr. Beech. I hope this award can be given before Dr. Beech leaving China.[686]

Lincoln Zhang also wrote to the Sichuan provincial government and Mr. Zhang Jia'ao, the Chairman of the University's Board of Directors, to grant his request. Mr. Chen Lifu, Minister of Education acted fast to convince the Generalissimo to grant Dr. Beech the award.[687]

In March 1940, the Chinese government awarded Dr. Beech the Fourth Class Jade Medal, "a distinction only given to two other Americans, viz. Prof. John Dewey and Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler."[688] In the following days, there were many farewell dinner parties hosted by Sichuan celebrities and politicians, students, faculty and the University.

On Sunday March 18th, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek gave a farewell address to Dr. Beech. He praised him as a Western sage who played a pivotal role in building WCUU, which:

> Itself has become one of the greatest centers of learning, with outstanding scholars and professors whom Dr. Beech has engaged both in China and aboard. Dr. Beech is indeed worthy of the highest admiration. His whole life has been given for the education of this country…the great personality and spirit of Dr. Beech will be immortal with the enterprise, which he has created here in this country. He will be remembered forever by the Chinese scholars and students.[689]

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686 Lincoln Zhang, "Request the government to commend the founder Dr. Beech," *The West China Union University News,* no. 29 (March 1940): 4-5.

687 Chen Lifu, 呈请国府褒奖创始人毕启 博士 "Appeal to the National Government to commend the founder Dr. Beech," *The West China Union University News*, no. 29 (March 1940): 5.

688 UBCHEA RG011-297-4625. P. 71-93.

689 Thomas F. Beech: Joseph Beech's Story of Determination and Dedication. January 2012. https://Beechchinawest.com. Accessed April 2nd, 2020.

Beech told his host and friends that he was fortunate to have two countries of which he was proud to be a citizen and for which he had served for 37 years; both countries he loved deeply.[690]

The Political Uncertainty and West Mission Financial Challenges

Financial hardships and a shortage of faculty were not the only challenges that the University faced. Through the early and mid-1930's, fighting between the Nationalist Government and the Red Army in Sichuan also brought serious threats to university operations.

Before the Generalissimo's Chengdu visit in mid-April of 1935, the entire city and nearby areas were alarmed by Red Army attacks. Dr. Bell suggested that the mission send home all Canadian School (CS)[691] students outside of Chengdu. By the time the Red Army crossed the Jialing (Kialing) River 嘉陵江, the University was closed. Women, children, and some staff members were sent to Chongqing or safer places, because "the question of going into the [Chengdu] city in case it was going to be besieged has been discussed."[692] At the same time Lincoln Zhang decided to send more faculty members away, "All C.M.S. women and children without exception have been evacuated," Bell informed Endicott.[693] With only several missionaries remaining at WCUU, Dr. Sparling, Dr. Kilborn, and Dr. Walmsley, and Lincoln Zhang stayed in Chengdu to keep communication channels open with the local military leaders and to protect the remaining faculty, students, and University property.

With the battle against the Red Army underway in northern Sichuan, the Nationalist government was extremely sensitive about students' sympathy for the Communist campaign and ideology. Zhang had to deal with the situation strategically. He intended to protect students and staff, while also making sure the University could have military protection without offending government forces. On April 13, a Saturday morning, four students were taken away from the University's Hart College Dormitory

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690 A. F. L, "The Investiture of Dr. Beech," *West China Missionary News*, no.5 (1940): 209.

691 The school was established in 1930 for the children of Canadian missionaries in West China.

692 Bell to Endicott, April 19th, 1935. UCCA 83.047C Box 5 File 110.

693 Bell to Endicott, April 25th, 1935. UCCA 83.047C Box 5 File 110.

by a search party, accused of "being Red sympathizers". Accompanied by Mr. Spooner, a Canadian missionary instructor in the science department, Lincoln Zhang immediately went to the police station to visit the students. After several days' negotiations, the students were released on April 18.

Besides the political uncertainties, staff shortages presented an acute challenge for the University. Since the Great Depression, as we have seen, missionary funds had been cut drastically. The Sichuan government's campaign for the GMD's New Life Movement allowed local authorities to tax people in advance on a five to thirty year term. At the same time, devaluation of foreign currencies and the reduction in missionary salaries further spread a sense of uncertainty among missionaries. Some missionaries went home on furloughs and decided not to return to China, some considered leaving once their terms were up, and others sent in their resignations immediately.

On February 4th, 1935, Dr. H. B. Collier, the head of the Department of Biochemistry, wrote to Dr. Endicott, "I surprised my colleagues of the College of Medicine and Dentistry last month by announcing to them that I intended to resign from the University and the Mission at the end of my term in two years time (1937)."[694] To begin with, one of the reasons for his resignation was that "the whole university is understaffed, and everybody is doing the work of several men."[695] At the University, heavy workloads affected the health and wellness of employees and "ran the danger of a complete physical breakdown" on others. Plus, there was too little funding and equipment for too many students, and salaries were too low to sustain staff and keep the University running. He told Dr. Endicott that it was impossible to run a University on the present budget and that the only possible solution was to "discharge teachers, and close certain departments and laboratories" since "there is no hope of extra money from abroad, nor do the local prospects seem very good."[696] He warned Dr. Endicott that many mission people were not coming back to China and more were considering leaving. Dr. Collier's decision to quit his job was based not only on the financial challenges he was facing, but also on doubts about the entire mission educational effort.

[694] Dr. H. B. Collier to Dr. Endicott, February 4th, 1935. UCCA 83.047C Box 16 File 22.
[695] Ibid.
[696] Dr. H. B. Collier to Dr. Endicott, April 14th, 1935. UCCA 83.047C Box 16 File 22.

"It is awful to think of the missionary enterprise spending its men and money just to keep going the institution that was founded 20 years ago."[697]

In the next several years, West China saw more missionaries resigning, or going for furloughs and not returning. With deeper budget cuts, the missions, under tremendous pressure, were forced to sell property – lands, schools, and hospitals – to local governments and the wealthy. Dr. Collier's perspective on the University's financial challenges and his own decision to leave spoke to not only his personal hardships and frustrations, but also the challenges that most missionaries were facing. These difficulties were amplified at the University, for most staff and faculty were left with only half or even one-third of the income compared to that of evangelical missionaries.

What's more, the school had to squeeze money from an already tight budget in order to hire Chinese staff to replace the departed missionaries. Sometimes, the University had to take money from other programs for urgent needs, which often caused tensions and conflict between the Associated Boards and sponsors, such as Harvard-Yenching Institute.[698]

Since taking on the position of General Secretary of the Canadian West China Missions, most letters that Mr. Bell wrote home reported the loss of people and property from the field. A prolific writer, Bell wrote to family, friends, and mission headquarters in Toronto almost twice a week at great length. Maybe writing was his way of coping with the pressures and frustrations stemming from the financial difficulties and work conditions he faced. His letters were occupied with several topics: the mass withdrawals of missionaries from the field, the cut-to-the-bone funding, and property losses in Sichuan. And all of that, he felt, led to the sobering reality that not only were the West China Missions losing ground, but his own people were losing faith in mission work. If people no longer wanted to continue doing what they had been determined to do, there was no future for the mission, he kept telling the Board members in Toronto.

"I have felt that with the exception of the Browns, Mr. Hoffman, and perhaps the Bridgmans who seemed determined to get home… the next few years will see further

[697] Ibid.
[698] Chapter Seven gives a detailed examination on this regard.

retirement – for the Mission that was once said to be one of young people, is now made up largely of middle aged and older ones."[699] Bell wrote to Dr. Arnup. The information Bell received from the mission's headquarters was equally dispiriting. Dr. Arnup wrote to inform him, "Rev. A. P. Quentin resigned, Rev. E. W. Morgan retired because of illness; because war makes the travel impossible, Miss. I. K. McIntosh is taking leave of absence; Mr. Beacon is on leave of absence; and due to ill-health, Dr. H. D. Jenner is on leave of absence…"[700]

More to Bell's dismay, there were further salary reductions for the field missionaries. "On motion, it was agreed that the cut which has been in effect shall be reduced from 15% to 7 ½% on base salaries and on the allowance of all children in Canada, and that the same become effective as from January 1, 1942."[701] Bell found no courage to deliver the message to his colleagues, because most missionaries were already living in poverty. "It's no disgrace these days to have a much patched pair of shoes,"[702] he said, for he wore such a pair himself. According to Bell, the cost of living forced missionaries to "get rid of things to help out our own circumstance,"[703] and as a result, he "sold radio and some other things and turned it into the house," but had no idea what to do "about buying coal next month?"[704] Depressed, he told Arnup, "We did not see much value in our asking or agreeing to the return of missionaries, if the funds available to the Board are insufficient to keep those already here."[705]

The recent death of his father deepened his misery. He confessed to Arnup, "I think it very doubtful if I shall be returning to the field after next furlough."[706] Bell left China in 1945 after 30 years of dedicated work.

Lincoln Zhang's Efforts to Raise Funds for University Program Expansion through Networking

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699 Bell to Arnup, Feb. 20th, 1942. UCCA 83.047C Box 9 File 196.
700 Arnup to Dr. Bell, April 27, 1942. UCCA 83.047C Box 9 File 196.
701 Ibid.
702 Bell to Arnup, Dec. 11th, 1942. UCCA 83.047C Box 9 File 197.
703 Ibid.
704 Bell to Arnup, May 4th, 1943. UCCA 83.047C Box 10 File 216.
705 Bell to Arnup, "Hardship in finance, transportation and illness of missionaries," Jan. 29th, 1943. UCCA 83.047C Box 9 File 216.
706 Bell to Arnup, Dec. 11th, 1942. UCCA 83.047C Box 9 File 197.

For many reasons, the University's Board of Directors annual meeting of 1935, which was supposed to be held in June, was postponed to February 1936. In the meeting, Mr. Zhang Jia'ao (Chang Kia-Ngau 张嘉璈)[707] was re-elected as Chairman of the Board. Mr. He Beiheng 何北衡, the Minister of Public Construction of Sichuan, couldn't make the meeting, thus, he appointed Mr. Lu Zuofu (Lu Dso-fu 卢作孚), the founder of the Minsheng Shipping Company, as his representative. He also recommended Mr. Lu as a member. As a result, Lu replaced Mr. Kan Chiyung[708] whose term had just expired. The Board also elected Dr. Xiao Yisen (Luke Hsiao) 萧义森[709] as the representative of the Alumni Association.

The re-election of Mr. Zhang Jia'ao as the Chairman of the Board of Directors and the addition of new member Mr. Lu Zuofu satisfied Dr. Beech greatly. Regarding Zhang Jia'ao, Beech says that Mr. Zhang

> is recognized as a non-political man, and a man whom the nation at large knows and approves…for the past year he has been having stated periods of study and devotion with one of the leading Christian ministers in Shanghai, and has been meeting regularly with a group of business man in Shanghai for Bible Study and cooperation in living the Christian life.[710]

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[707] Zhang Jia'ao (Chang Kia-ngau 张嘉璈 also 张公权, Nov. 13,1889–October 13, 1979), was a Chinese banker, politician, and scholar.A supporter of reform in China, he had started his public service career in 1910 as editor-in-chief of the *Official Gazette* published by the Ministry of Communications. In 1913 he started his banking career assistant manager of the Bank of China in Shanghai. Under Zhang's leadership, the Bank of China resisted the Kuomintang government's pressure to return to government control and to purchase government bonds, which would contribute to ever-growing deficits. Zhang's interest was the development of the country, particularly, railroad and other infrastructure development, even if such projects were not particularly profitable for the bank. In December 1935, he accepted the position of Minister of Railways. During much of the Sino-Japanese War, Zhang served as Minister of Communications, accompanying the central government from Nanking to Chungking. After his departure from China, Zhang moved to the US and was a senior research fellow at the Hoover Institution at Stanford University. He died on October 13, 1979 in Palo Alto, California. He published two books, *China's Struggle for Railroad Development,* and, *The Inflationary Spiral: the Experience in China, 1939-1950*.

[708] Mr. Kan Chiyung was a Provincial Commissioner of Civil Affairs of Sichuan.

[709] Dr. Luke Hsiao, also Xiao Yisen 萧义森, graduated from the medical school of WCUU in 1923, and practiced medicine in Chengdu with his brother, Dr. Xiao Yixing 萧义兴, also a WCUU graduate of 1928.

[710] Beech to Dr. Anderson and Dr. Garside, March 5th, 1936. UCCA 83.047C Box 16 File 21. In his dairy, Zhang Jia'ao had no mention of his religious belief and activities at all; the only exception was on July 14th, 1947, he wrote,

As for Mr. Lu Zuofu, he "is the Director of the Min Seng Industrial Co., by far the greatest business concern in Szechwan, controlling electric plants, the largest steamship Co., on the Yangzi River, and recently he has been appointed by the Nanking Government as the head of the Reconstruction Bureau for the Province of Szechwan."[711]

After reconstructing the Board of Directors, Dr. Beech left China. His departure meant Lincoln Zhang had to carry forward the legacy that Beech had built, and deal with the financial difficulties he left behind.

In late 1936, the University Policy Committee formally recommended that the President's first priority must be to "develop outside contacts" and expand the University's financial resources. After careful planning and study, they decided to shift University fundraising to focus on domestic sources. Their first step to achieving this goal was to build a strong, well-resourced social network.

Zhang must have mulled over these strategies long and hard before the University Policy Report was formed. In April 1936, right after Beech returned to the United States, Lincoln Zhang left Chengdu as well. He went to Chongqing, Nanjing, Shanghai, Jinan, and Beijing, to meet WCUU alumni and encourage them to invest "in a scheme for provision of scholarships in the near future"[712] and help to build a more reputable Alma Mater.

The Chairman of Board of Director of WCUU, Zhang Jia'ao was close friend of Dr. Beech since late 1920. Zhang started his banking career young. At 24 years old, he was the assistant manager of the Bank of China in Shanghai. In 1916, when Yuan Shikai requested that his bank stop redeeming banknotes for silver for the Yuan government's use, Zhang refused to follow orders and instead looked for a bank operating outside the government's control. Due to his efforts, the Bank of China's shares were mostly invested upon by private shareholders, which further built the confidence of its clients. Soon after, the Bank became the largest at the time in the

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"In the afternoon at 5:00 pm, my wedding with Ms. Zhou Bixia was held at M.E.M church in Beijing. Rev. Davis held the ceremony." (*The Chronology of Zhang Gongquan.*) It was not clear if Ms. Zhou, his second wife, was a Christian.

[711] Beech to Dr. Anderson and Dr. Garside, March 5th, 1936. UCCA 83.047C Box 16 File 21.

[712] *University News*, July 1936. UCCA 83.047C Box 16 File 34.

Republic of China. Under Zhang's leadership, the Bank of China continued to resist pressure from the Nationalist government. When the Nationalist government finally controlled half of the Bank's shares, Zhang resigned from his post and declined the government's offer for a leading position at another bank controlled by the government.

In March 1935, Zhang Jia'ao took the position of Deputy Director of the Bank of Communications. At the end of the year he was appointed Minister of Railways. "A man cannot fight his government long," Zhang Jia'ao confessed to Beech during his Shanghai visit in 1935.[713] He told Beech, "I concluded to do what Jesus would have done under the circumstances, to place myself at the disposal of the nation's welfare and do the best that can be done."[714]

Beech had tremendous admiration for Zhang Jia'ao's ability to develop China's banking business under great hardship and his courage to resist pressure from the Nationalist Government. In February 6th, 1934, Beech wrote to Dr. Endicott, Sir Joseph Flavelle, and Dr. Garside to recommend Zhang Jia'ao as a member of the Board of Governors and as a representative on the Board of Directors of WCUU. "I have consulted with others here and I am sure his appointment will be hailed with delight,"[715] Beech wrote.

Dr. Endicott was very uncomfortable with Beech's handling of this matter. "He has already made approaches to him (Zhang Jia'ao) and has, therefore, created an expectation that he will be nominated by the Board of Governors as one of our two appointees under the new Constitution."[716] Endicott wrote to Garside to discuss the situation they were facing. Ten days later, Endicott came up with a solution but still couldn't help but complain to Garside, "As you know, I personally dislike this way of doing business and would have greatly preferred that the matter should have come before us in a more regular way, but there was nothing left for us to do but to go as we could in meeting Dr. Beech's wishes and views."[717] In the Spring of 1934 when Zhang Jia'ao went to Chengdu for the first time, he was already elected as Chairman of the

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[713] Beech to Flavelle, July 18th, 1935. UCCA 83.047C Box 16 File 21.
[714] Ibid.
[715] Beech to Endicott, Feb. 6th, 1934. UCCA 83.047C Box 16 File 19.
[716] Endicott to Garside, March 9th, 1934. UCCA 83.047C Box 16 File 19.
[717] Endicott to Garside, March 20th, 1934. UCCA 83.047C Box 16 File 19.

Board of Directors of WCUU. An assumption could be made that Dr. Beech orchestrated the election result.

If Dr. Endicott, Sir Joseph Flavelle and Dr. Garside had a difficult time handling with Beech's authoritative style, then Lincoln Zhang was in no position to challenge him.

Lincoln Zhang met Zhang Jia'ao after he became the Chairman of the Board of Directors. Fortunately, they hit it off instantly, and became life-long friends over years of work together to build WCUU into a modern University. Beech might have acted too precipitously and forcefully in other affairs, but in this case, in inviting Zhang Jia'ao to be the Chairman of the Board of Directors, he made the right choice.

Between 1934 and 1936, Beech mentions Zhang Jia'ao numerous times in his letters to Flavelle, Endicott, Garside and Dr. Frank Anderson.[718] He was very proud of his powerful Chinese friend and therefore eager to take credit for recommending him to the Board. On March 5th, 1936, not long before returning to the United States, Beech wrote to Dr. Anderson with an update on Zhang Jia'ao's political moves. Besides being re-elected as the Chairman of the Board of Directors,

> Mr. Chang (Zhang Jia'ao) is now a member of the new Cabinet as Minister of Railways…Mr. Chang's appointment to his office has given great satisfaction to all parties concerned... I am glad that this sort of endorsement has come to your appointee, for you will remember it was only upon my recommendation that you ventured to elect him… I think you will appreciate this fact, inasmuch as I could now say that he was a member of the Christian Church at the time I presented his name before the Board of Governors.[719]

Lincoln Zhang took over the network built by Dr. Beech and made efforts to expand and strengthen it.

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[718] Rev. Dr. Frank Anderson was Secretary of the Board of Governors of the West China Union University. He lived in London, Ontario, Canada.

[719] Beech to Dr. Frank Anderson, March 5th, 1936. UCCA 83.047C Box 16 File 21.

In the next several years, especially during periods of war, Zhang Jia'ao provided considerable supports to the University and its development. He introduced many well-connected people to the WCUU enterprise. Besides encouraging and introducing wealthy and powerful Chinese to support the University financially, he also took money from his own pocket to support Lincoln Zhang's University fundraising efforts.

In late 1939, knowing Dr. Beech was planning to retire, Lincoln Zhang convinced Zhang Jia'ao to set up Dr. Beech's Memorial Funds to commemorate his contribution to the University. Zhang Jia'ao, then the Minister of Communications of China, together with Zhang Qun (Chang Chin 张群), the Governor of Szechuan, as well as Mr. He Beiheng (Ho Beh-heng 何北衡) and Marshall Liu Wen-hui, raised N.C.$100,000 for the Dr. Beech Memorial Fund to provide thirty-two scholarships to support students from humble families. Besides that, Zhang Jia'ao secured another N.C. $80,000 to be used in connection with the work of the United Hospital, which urgently needed money for its completion.[720] In 1941, Zhang Jia'ao made another donation of N.C.$ 50,000 to the University.

In 1943, when anxieties over the rising cost of commodities overwhelmed the entire university, Lincoln Zhang decided to start an alumni campaign. He called on alumni to help the University pull through difficult times, and made sure "Mr. Chang Kia-ngau (Zhang Jia'ao) spent several days with us on Alumni Campaign to secure an endowment fund."[721] Zhang Jia'ao tried his best to attend almost "every meeting of the board." At the end of June, Zhang Jia'ao took a special trip to Chengdu to speak to the students of five major universities.

In early 1943, Lincoln Zhang wrote to the Associated Boards to request support for building a student dormitory. Due to severely limited funds, the Associated Boards took a cautious approach against new University projects. On July 12, the treasurer of the Board of Governors wrote to Zhang sternly, "We are not able to raise all the money which the field would like to have or which they can spend…The program in China

[720] Lincoln Zhang to the Board of Governors, April 12th, 1941. UBCHEA RG011-286-4488/GR011-297-4626. P. 0190-0193.
[721] Lincoln Zhang to the Board of Governors, March 23rd, 1943. UBCHEA RG 011-286-4489, GR011-297-4626.

must be regulated in such a manner…it must be realized that there are limitations to asking here in the United States…"[722] Lincoln Zhang was not easily discouraged by the harsh tone of the letter. He went to Zhang Jia'ao for help, who offered to communicate with the Board of Governors. On December 10, 1943, Evans wrote to Lincoln Zhang and Robertson, "Dr. Chang's (Zhang Jia'ao) cablegram inferred that the Board of Governors would even give thought to a request for funds to help purchase the building and we have received a cable indicating that the Directors are considering Dr. Chang's suggestion."[723]

Zhang Jia'ao's dedication and strong support to the University provided much needed help to Lincoln Zhang. Through many years of cooperation and efforts to develop the school, the Zhangs' friendship deepened. Under normal circumstances, men who share mutual goals, values, and similar personalities, such as Lincoln Zhang and Zhang Jia'ao, usually become life-long friends.

Thanks to Zhang Jia'ao's connections, Lincoln Zhang made efforts to encourage businessmen, politicians and celebrities to be honorary members of the Board of Directors. Through intensive travels and hand shakings, he was able to add more notable names to the list of the University honorary board members.

His letter to the Associated Boards described the efforts he took to build a solid network and raise funds for the school.

> The honorary members of our Board of Directors whom I visited personally and who have accepted our invitation are: General Ho Kwei-kwong, now acting in the Generalissimo's Headquarter at Chungking; Minister H. H. K'ung 孔祥熙[724], Finance; Minister

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722 Evans to Lincoln Zhang, William Small and H. D. Robertson, July 12, 1943. UBCHEA RG011-286-4489. P. 0271-73.

723 Evans to Lincoln Dsang and Robertson, December 10th, 1943. UBCHEA RG 011-286-4489. P. 292-296. In 1943 Zhang Jia'ao didn't have Doctorial degree. In July 1970 when Zhang was 82 years old, his Alma Mater Keio University granted him an honorary doctorate degree.

724 Kung Hsiang-hsi 孔祥熙, September 11, 1881 – August 16, 1967, often known as Dr. H. H. Kung, was a Chinese banker and politician in the early 20th century. He married Soong Ai-ling, the eldest of the three Soong sisters; the other two married President Sun Yat-sen and the later President Chiang Kai-shek. Together with his brother-in-law, Soong Tse-ven, he was highly influential in determining the economic policies of the Kuomintang-led Nationalist government of the Republic of China in the 1930s and 1940s.

Chang Chuin 张群[725], Foreign Affairs; Minister Chu Chia-hwa 朱家骅[726], now Chairman of Trustees for British Indemnity Funds and Governor of Chekiang Province; General Lu Hangchuin, chief secretary under President Lin Sen; Dr. J. Heng Liu, head of the Health Administration; Marshal Feng Yu-hsieng 冯玉祥; Governor Han Fu-chu 韩复榘, Shantung Province; and older members like Dr. Herman Liu of Shanghai. I also saw Mr. Chang Kia-ngau (Zhang Jiaao) and Mr. C.C. Chang (Zhang Junmai, also Carson Zhang 张君劢), his brother. All of these friends I found very interested in our University and quite helpful in securing introductions in Government and educational circles. It was largely due to their influence and help that visits to Government offices and other institutions were so successful. For instance, with introductions from Chang Kia-ngau (Zhang Jia'ao) and Minister Chang-Chuin I had a very successful time with the Board of Education in Nanking. When I visited the

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[725] Zhang Qun or Chang Ch'ün 张群; May 9, 1889 – December 14, 1990 also known as Zhang Yuejun 张军岳 was premier of the Republic of China and a prominent member of the Kuomintang. He was a classmate of Chiang Kai-shek when studying in Japan before returning to China to serve under Sun Yat-sen in the Xinhai Revolution, which would overthrow the Qing monarchy in 1911. In 1915, he finished his military training at the Imperial Japanese Army Academy. With the restoration of the Republic, Chang held several posts. Becoming a major general of the National Revolutionary Army at age 28, he later became a member of the Kuomintang's Central Executive Committee, mayor of Shanghai and president of Tongji University, governor of Hubei province and foreign minister. During the Anti-Japanese War he served as secretary general of the National Security Council and governor of Sichuan province. He served as secretary general to the President of the Republic from 1954 to 1972 and senior advisor to Presidents Chiang Kai-shek, Yen Chia-kan, Chiang Ching-kuo, and Lee Teng-hui.

[726] Zhu Jiahua or Chu Chia-hua 朱家骅, 30 May 1893 – 3 January 1963, was a politician in the Republic of China. He studied Geology at the University of Berlin and received his PhD in 1922. In Nov. 1926, he became a member of the Guangdong Provincial Government and began his career as a politician. In May 1927, he was transferred to the Zhejiang Provincial Government Affairs Committee and became director of the Zhejiang Provincial Department of Agriculture and Industry. In June, he served as the vice president of Sun Yat-sen University, and concurrently served as the director of the Guangdong and Guangxi Geological Survey. In addition, he also served as executive member of the Guangdong Provincial Party Headquarters of the Chinese Kuomintang. In October, he served as a member of the Zhejiang Provincial Government and Director of the Civil Affairs Department, and was an executive member of the Zhejiang Provincial Party Department of the Chinese Kuomintang. Since March 27, 1930 he was the Chairman of the Board of Director of the Indemnity Foundation to 1949. In September 1931, he served as Secretary-General of the National Economic Committee. In December, he served as Minister of Education of the National Government. In October 1932, he was appointed Minister of Transportation. In December 1935 he became the Acting Secretary-General of the Central Political Committee. In the spring of 1936, he was the director general of the Academia Sinica. After the outbreak of the Anti-Japanese War in March 1938, Zhu served as the director of the Counsellor Office of the National Government Military Committee, then as the Secretary-General of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang and Chairman of the Party Affairs Committee and Director of the Central Bureau of Investigation and Statistics. He played a pivotal role in party affairs. In 1940, he was the president of the Academia Sinica and president of Sun Yat-sen University. In 1944, he was appointed as the Minister of Education. On May 31, 1948, Zhu was appointed as the Executive Member of Government Affairs, then Vice-president. He passed away on January 3, 1963 in Taiwan. He was 69 years old.

> China Foundation of British Indemnity Fund Offices I found everyone very friendly and interested in our work. The China Foundation promised to give another $25,000 for equipment of the new hospital, and the British Indemnity Fund Trustees approved the hospital plans and paid up the first instalment of their grant. Probably when they have paid up the $75,000 we may be able to approach them again for more help. It seems now that the University has quite a future before it, with so many good friends to speak for us. Best of all this University is now recognized as a Chinese institution helped by the Church, rather than as a foreign one.[727]

Lincoln Zhang's list included the most powerful politicians and military generals in China in the 1930's and 1940's. Among the list of names the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Zhang Qun,[728] who was not only highly trusted by Chiang Kai-shek, but he was also the closest friend of Zhang Jia'ao.[729] The list also included the Chairman of the British Indemnity of Funds and Governor of Zhejiang Zhu Jiahua (Chu Chia-hwa), whom, at the time, was named the third most powerful person in China.

Lincoln Zhang once said power, wealth, and fame were floating clouds that could disappear in a blink.[730] Personally, Zhang never sought power and fame. However, he understood the importance of socializing with the wealthy and powerful in order to garner support for the University. At the time, he might have believed that the survival and development of the University was worth sacrificing his personal principles for.

Besides politicians, Zhang also made acquaintance with experts from other specialized fields, such as military generals, scholars, and businessmen. These included:

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[727] Lincoln Zhang to Dr. J. Beech, Dr. Frank Anderson, Dr. B. A. Garside, Mr. H. T. Silcock, and Mr. A. G. Castleton, July 7th, 1937. UBCHEA RG011-286-4486. P.6-9.

[728] From 1930s and 1940s Zhang Qun's positions as a GMD government officer constantly changes.

[729] In his diary Zhang Jia'ao indicates that Zhang Qun was a close friend. He asked Zhang's opinions and advice before his every political move. Zhang Qun was also a mediator between Zhang Jia'ao and Chiang Kai-shek when there were conflicts between them.

[730] Lincoln Zhang, "The Success and Failure of Youth," *West China Union University News*, July 1, 1939. 张凌高, [青年的成功与失败], 华大校刊, 1939 年 7 月 1 日, 第四期.

Gan Jiyong 甘绩镛,[731] Lu Chao 吕超, Weng Wenhao 翁文灏, Chen Bulei 陈布雷,[732] He Guoguang 贺国光, Yan Yangchu 晏阳初,[733] Zhang Boling 张伯苓, Deng Hanxiang 邓汉祥, Hu Wenlan 胡文澜. With the support and connections of Zhang Jia'ao, many businessmen made considerable donations to WCUU, such as Minsheng Company 民生公司, the largest transportation company on the Yangtze River, Chongqing Steamship Company 重庆轮船公司, Bank of Sichuan 四川银行, Bank of Sichuan Salt Industry 川盐银行, Bank of Meifeng 美丰银行, and Bank of Xingcheng 兴城银行. In about six years, Lincoln Zhang gathered some of the most influential people from political, financial, commercial, and academic circles to support WCUU.

In 1936, 43 per cent of WCUU students were funded by scholarships; by 1946, this number grew to represent nearly two-thirds of the student body. Half of the scholarships came from provincial governments, the other half from local governments.

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[731] Gan Jiyong, 甘绩镛 1888-1962. Historical materials about Mr. Gan Jiyong are lacking. According to available material Mr. Gan successively served as Director of the Twenty-First Army of the National Revolutionary Army, Director of Administrative Affairs, Director of the Sichuan East Taxation Administration, Director of the Civil Affairs Department. He participated in the preparation of Chongqing University and the School of Rural Construction. He also served as the Director of the Sichuan Province Government's County and City Fanatical Consolidation Office, the National Political Council, and the Director of the Sichuan Monopoly Sugar Monopoly Bureau.

[732] Chen Bulei, 陈布雷, November 15, 1890 – November 13, 1948. He was born in Ningbo, Zhejiang province to a wealthy family. He graduated from the Zhejiang High Academe (Now Zhejiang University). Upon graduation he worked for a newspaper in Shanghai as an editor. His articles criticized the warlords and supported the Northern Expedition of the National Revolutionary Army and gained popularity with his audience. In April 1927 he met Chiang Kai-shek who insisted Chen work for him, and then Chen was appointed as the Secretary-General of the Zhejiang Provincial Government. In May of the same year, he served as Secretary of the Central Party Department of the Kuomintang. In 1936 he started working as Deputy Secretary-General of the Central Political Conference of the Nationalist Party, Director of the Second Division of Chiang Kai-shek's Attendant's Office, Deputy Minister of the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee. As the person who was said to understand the intentions of Chiang the best, Chen Bulei drafted the most important texts and telegraphs for Chiang. Whenever there was a major event Chiang usually had Chen's opinion first. In October 1945 he was appointed as the Deputy Secretary General of the Central Committee of the Kuomintang. In May 1947, he served as National Policy Advisor to the President and acting Secretary General of the KMT Central Political Committee. He killed himself on November 13, 1948.

[733] Yan Yangchu, also 晏阳初 Y.C. James Yen, 1893 - 1990, known to his many English speaking friends as "Jimmy," was a Chinese educator and organizer who devoted his life to the education of the common people in China and later in the Philippines. Educated in Christian missionary schools and then at Yale, Yen began to concern himself with the plight of common Chinese villagers while working with Chinese Labor Corps in France at the end of World War I. Yen developed a program of Rural Reconstruction aimed at combating the four interrelated problems of village life: poverty, disease, ignorance, and misgovernment. Yen developed techniques for rural development that did not depend on central government control, violent revolution, or large infusions of foreign money. In 1926, the Mass Education Movement (MEM), founded by Yen and his colleagues, set up a village campaign in Ding Xian (Ting Hsien), using People's Schools to coordinate innovations ranging from breeding hybrid pigs and economic cooperatives to village drama and Village Health Workers. In 1948, he persuaded the United States Congress to fund an independent Sino-American Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction. In the summer of 1952, Yen organized the Philippine Rural Reconstruction Movement, which grew into the International Institute of Rural Reconstruction (IIRR). Dr. Yen's integrated and people-centered development strategy has now been widely adopted throughout the developing world.

Certain government officials were also particularly generous when it came to supporting education. From 1942 to 1945, Mr. Zhang Qun, the Secretary General of the National Security Council and Governor of Sichuan province, paid for all the expenses of the Institute of Frontier Region Research from his own pocket. Since 1946, Mr. Liu Wenhui 刘文辉, the Chairman of Xikang Province, donated NC $400,000 to the University, and his wife donated NC $100,000. In 1947, even after he left his post as University president, Lincoln Zhang met and convinced Liu to give one hundred million (NC) to support the WCUU Institute of Frontier Region Research. Mr. Yang Xiaoci, the manager of the Chengdu branch of the Central Bank, donated N.C.$ 4,500,000 to the University in scholarships. Mr. Gao Limin 高利民 of Renshou 仁寿 donated his family land of 302 acres to the University. Dr. Lan Tianhe 蓝天鹤 and Mr. Small went to Renshou to accept the donation.

To encourage more wealthy people to give financial support to the University, in March 20th, 1943, Lincoln Zhang wrote to Mr. Evans, Secretary of the Board of Governors, to suggest granting the wife of Mr. Lan Wen-bin 蓝文斌 an honorary degree in Home Economics from WCUU. His argument for the proposal was that for the past fifteen years Mrs. Lan had been in charge of a successful mining industry in rural Sichuan. She and her husband had donated more than one million dollars (N.C.) to various educational institutions, and another one million to WCUU. Of that amount, half a million was to be an Endowment Fund for the Department of Home Economics. "Mrs. Lan specially wishes to promote the standing of Chinese women and the training of women leaders for the future reconstruction work of the nation."[734] The Associated Boards declined this request and warned Zhang that granted an honorary degree based on financial contribution would set up a "dangerous precedent to follow."[735]

In the next one year and six months, on the topic of granting Mrs. Lan an honorary degree, countless letters were exchanged between Lincoln Zhang and Evans. Neither could convince the other and neither side would back down. On March 1943,

[734] Lincoln Zhang to Evans, October 29th, 1943. UBCHEA RG011-286-4489. P. 0281.
[735] Evans to Lincoln Zhang, July 12th, 1943. UBCHEA RG011-286-4489. P. 0278.

the University notified the Board of Governors that an honorary degree was being granted to Madame Lan. Evans argued that what Lincoln Zhang did would bring disgrace to the University, whereas Zhang insisted that Mrs. Lan's educational support and contribution should be recognized. Finally Dr. Arnup instructed Evans that it was better "to let the matter stand."[736]

During a time when mission boards were constantly decreasing financial support, and the entire nation was at war, Lincoln Zhang worked tirelessly to secure financial capital for the University. In such dire economic circumstances, Zhang needed to be resourceful; as a result, he was often forced to exhaust resources, bend principles, and take extraordinary measures to keep the University running.

Garnering Financial Support from Alumni

In the early 1930's, WCUU began to see a shift in the student demographic, particularly when it came to family background and social class. Students from missionary middle and high schools and Christian families no longer represented the majority of the student body at WCUU. The local gentry class, previously strongly resistant to Christianity, began to send their children to the mission universities, and military and merchant families were also eager for their children to have a western education. New students from public schools also competed for entrance to the Christian college, especially after the University was fully registered to the Nationalist Government in 1933.

In 1924, the University's college of medicine accepted its first female student Le Yicheng 乐以成 (Helen Yoh).

Le was born to a wealthy family in Leshan 乐山 county of Sichuan, about 156 kilometers from Chengdu. Her father Le Hezhou and uncle Le Heji owned a large amount of land, and ran businesses trading gold, salt, Chinese herbal medicines, and groceries. The two brothers had a total of 17 children, 10 boys and seven girls; Le Yicheng was the second girl in the Le family. Le Hezhou was in charge of the family

[736] Evans to Lincoln Zhang, November 27th, 1944. UBCHEA GR 011-286-4489.

business in their hometown. The responsibility of Le Heji was to make sure all the Le boys received the best education.

Under Le Heji's management, most of the Le boys were studying in major Chinese Christian universities, like WCUU, Qilu University in Shandong, Jinling University in Nanjing, and Guanghua (Kwang Hua) University in Shanghai.[737] Although Le Hezhou was open-minded enough to allow her to have naturally unbound feet and study classic Chinese literature at his own school, he still arranged for her to marry a man of his choosing. Le wanted to be like her brothers and male cousins, but her father wanted her to get married when she turned 16 years old. Le Yicheng decided to run away from home to seek support from her uncle, who, at the time was the supervisor of the student dormitories at WCUU. He arranged for her to study at the Hua Ying Girls School 华英女中 operated by the Woman Missionary Society of Canada in Chengdu.

In 1924, Le Yicheng became one of the first eight female students accepted by WCUU. She graduated in 1932, the first woman to earn a degree in medicine at WCUU and in Sichuan province as well. She was one of the pioneers of China's obstetric medicine and education. In 1939, she was sent to Toronto Women's Hospital in Canada to upgrade her qualifications, then to the gynaecology department of Los Angeles Hospital.

In 1941, when Dr. Le returned to China, eight of her cousins had graduated from WCUU. Except for one cousin, Le Yiqing, who studied Liberal Arts, the other seven, like her, all graduated from WCUU's College of Medicine and Dentistry. They were: Le Yichi, medicine, 1927; Le Yixun, dentistry, 1930; Le Yicheng, medicine, 1932; Le Yiqing, liberal arts, 1938; Le Yiyong, medicine, 1938; Le Yichun, medicine, 1939, Le Yihe dentistry, 1939, and Le Yilun, pharmacy, 1941.

[737] Shanghai Kwang Hua (Guang Hua University 上海光华大学) founded in June 1925 by teachers and students who withdrew from St. John's University. In 1925, the May 30 massacre broke out in Shanghai and people from all walks of life took to the streets. The teachers and students of St. John's University organized strikes and protests, but the university blocked their actions. On June 3rd, 553 students and 19 teachers decided to leave St. John's University. Their parents and the broader Chinese society supported their actions. In October 1951, most colleges and universities were re-organized. Some department of the university merged to establish East China Normal University.

In the late 1930's and early 1940's, many WCUU students came from very well-to-do families, like the Les.[738] By that time many early WCUU graduates were Christians coming from humble families who had made their way upward to the social ladder and became accomplished professionals. These WCUU graduates had a shared desire to help poor students like themselves, and to support education and build a stronger China. Together with the groups of wealthy students, these successful alumni provided much needed financial support to the University's fundraising efforts.

As an early graduate of WCUU and himself a member of a new group of rising scholars and social elite, Zhang understood the alumni's shared aspiration to support the poor and help them integrate into the nation's growing population educated intellectuals. This helped him relate to alumni.

In sharing with the Board of Directors the lessons he learned from working with alumni, Zhang suggested that Board members quietly "approach individuals, rather than doing a lot of publicity which not only costs money and time, but does not always bring much result."[739] In March 1937, Zhang set a goal "to raise N.C $ 200,000 as an endowment for the General budget, and N. C. $50,000 as an endowment for scholarships."[740]

In a note to Dr. Beech, Lincoln Zhang wrote, "To show their appreciation of their alma mater," the graduates have started a financial campaign with the goal of $30,000 (N.C.) to be used as an endowment fund for loan scholarships. "this is very necessary, so as to help good students in poor financial condition." [741]

Thanks to Zhang's efforts building alumni relations, the University received several generous scholarships from previous graduates who attended its programs. These donors were: Mr Zheng Shijun 郑石均, who provided seven tuition

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[738] Just to name a few cases I know of, they included WCUU graduates like Chen Zixin 陈自信, pharmacy, 1943, Chen came from a wealthy family in Hong Kong. Her five older brothers and sisters all graduated from Christian universities; Dr. Huang Menghua 黄梦华, a graduate on medicine in 1943, also came from a rich family. He later became a Senator of the legislative Council of Hong Kong. Dr. Li Zhisui 李志绥, WCUU medicine in 1943, who later became the private doctor of Mao Zedong, also came from an extremely wealthy family in Beijing.

[739] Lincoln Zhang to the Board of Directors, March 1st 1937. UBCHEA RG011-297-4624. P.113.

[740] Ibid.

[741] Lincoln Zhang to Dr. J. Beech, Dr. Frank Anderson, Dr. B. A. Garside, Mr. H. T. Silcock, and Mr. A. G. Castleton, July 7, 1937. UBCHEA RG011-286-4486. P.0006-9.

scholarships;[742] Ha Dejia who offered three scholarships 哈德嘉京学社;[743] Mr. Quan Qingshan 权青山 offered two;[744] Mr. Wang Ouping 王欧平 and Mr. Zeng Juncheng 曾俊臣, who together provided $400 per year to sponsor the tuition fees and accommodations for 30 students, and Dr. Zhao Shuyuan, who supported one student annually.[745] These donors were all WCUU alumni.

Mr. Chow, father of Dr. Chow Hsu at WCUU, received N.C. $200,000 as his Sixtieth birthday present. Having returned to Chengdu from his hometown, Dr. Chow held a party and invited President Lincoln Zhang and the acting Dean of Medicine. At the event, he announced his father's decision to donate the entire sum of his birthday gift to set up an endowment fund for the Department of Bacteriology. The income was to be used each year: one half of the funds for equipment in the department, and the other half for student assistance.[746]

The WCUU University Journals from 1941 to 1948 reveal records of the students' fundraising efforts and alumni donations.

In September 1941, the University's Youth Association worked at the Xiao Tianzhu 小天竺 street clinic to raise money for the University. The association also established 12 scholarships to support scientific research. Among them, there was one Zhongzheng scholarship, one Meiling scholarship,[747] six Zhizhong scholarships, and four Zaomin scholarships.[748]

In March 1942, students in the Department of Pharmacy donated N.C. $2000 to support students from humble families.[749] In September 1943, the College of Dentistry started a fundraiser during the WCUU's 25th Anniversary celebration to raise money for dental students. At the end of the year, the college raised more than N.C.$100,000 from

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[742] *The University Journal,* Issue No. 31 (Jan 15, 1942): 14-16.
[743] Ibid.
[744] Ibid.
[745] *The University Journal*, Issue No. 31 (March 15, 1942): 27.
[746] News from WCUU, April 1945. UBCHEA RG011-297-4627. P. 22.
[747] Zhongzheng is another name of Chiang Kai-shek and Meiling is the first name Madame Chiang. It is not clear if those scholarships were established by the Chiangs or someone else set it on their names.
[748] *The University Journal*, no. 5, (October 15th, 1941): 30.
[749] *The University Journal*, no. 31 (March 15, 1942): 27.

Chengdu, and more from Chongqing. More than 30 students were awarded scholarships.[750]

In 1944, as soon as the Spring term started, the University formed a committee to organize and promote continuing donations. Soon, the ophthalmology department obtained N.C. $4308 for scholarships.[751] In April, graduates from the medical and dental colleges held concerts during the holidays to raise money and donate medical equipment to the University.[752] In late 1947, each "student of Medical College donated 200cc blood to raise money for the development of the University."[753] Following the example led by the medical students, the dental students donated blood and raised N.C. $14,724,200 for the University.[754]

Incomplete records showed that in 1941, alumni donated N.C.$1,000,000 to the University.[755] In 1944, alumni donated more than one million (N.C).[756] The following year, in 1945, alumni donated N.C. $2,734,327 to the University for food and subsidies for faculty and research, and provided financial support for students from poor family backgrounds.[757] In 1948, Mr. Li Zhenggang, a WCUU graduate who studied in the United States, set up a "Saving for Student Scholarship" fund to encourage people to support students from humble families. He donated U.S.$10 American dollars to support one student per year and asked the WCUU students, alumni and faculty who were studying and living in North America to do the same.[758] In Sichuan, local alumni group, such as the Zizhong 资中 Alumni, worked together to establish a scholarship that financially supported two students every year.[759]

Some individual missionaries tried their best to provide scholarships to support students although their incomes drastically decreased. There were the Wesley

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[750] *The University Journal*, no. 1 (Nov. 15th, 1943): 7.
[751] *The University Journal,* no. 10/11 (March 30, 1944): 16.
[752] *The University Journal,* no. 13/14 (April 30, 1944): 8.
[753] *The University Journal*, no. 1 (Jan. 20, 1948): 5-6.
[754] *The University Journal*, no. 2/3 (1947): 15.
[755] Lincoln Zhang to the Board of Governors.
[756] *The University Journal*, no.9 (Feb. 29, 1944): 11-12.
[757] *The University Journal*, no. 8 (May 30th, 1945): 1.
[758] *The University Journal,* no. 3 (March 1st, 1949): 3-4.
[759] Ibid. , 8.

Scholarships, which supported10 students, the Phelps scholarship, which supported five, and Stubbs Scholarship, which supported three. The Dr. Morse, Dr. Thompson, and Dye scholarships each supported one student. The British missionary, Mrs. Anderson, had left West China ten years earlier, but after receiving the news that WCUU was going to establish a music department, she sent music books, notes, and instruments to the university. She also set up scholarships to support eight WCUU students.[760]

During their furlough in 1941, Dr. R. G. Agnew and Dr. H. J. Mullett obtained material support from an American Dental Material Products Company.[761] In 1944, Dr. Kilborn and family established the Kilborn Memorial Library Fund.

Total income for the University in 1936 was recorded, "the Board of Governors gave: $50,000, rent of University Land: $2,250, and Tuition Fees: $16,500."[762] In 1937, private donations made up only 0.5 per cent of the University incomes. By 1944, with the efforts of Zhang and the University, this category was responsible for 35.3 per cent of the University's income. Increased financial support from all members of Chinese society allowed Lincoln Zhang to keep the University running, to expand programs and disciplines, and most importantly, to carry out his vision of building WCUU into a university that meets the needs of Chinese society.

Conclusion

In 1936, the WCUU Policy Committee lamented that almost 70 per cent of the University's income depended on the Board of Governors in New York and always came with strings attached.

Despite many trying events, such as the mass departure of missionaries, the Japanese invasion, and out-of-control inflation, Zhang took action to "develop outside contacts" beyond Chengdu and connected the University with some of the most well-

760 *The University Journal*, no. 3 (March 1st, 1949): 11.
761 *The University Journal*, no. 5 (October 15th, 1941): 19.
762 "1936 WCUU Policy Committee Report." UBCHEA RG-011-277-4380.

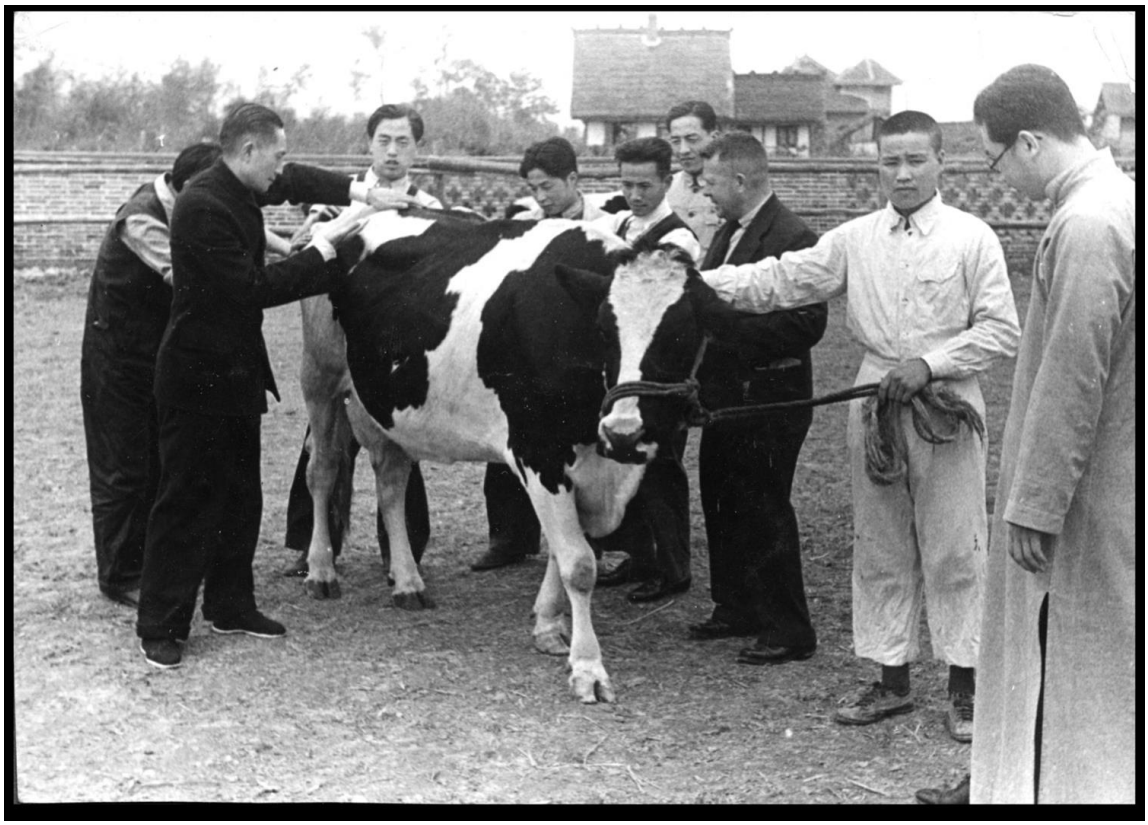
established individuals in China, many of whom served as a vital source of improving the University's finances.

His indefatigable efforts resulted in increased financial support from WCUU alumni. In 1944, alumni contributions alone made up 35.3 per cent of the Uuniversity's income. This provided a solid assurance for future plans to re-establish WCUU as a comprehensive University.

June 1935 the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang visiting WCUU

Left first is Dr. Sparling, vice-Chancellor of WCUU; in the middle are Chiang Kai-shek and wife Song Meiling, P. B. Mullett, wife of Dr. Mullett on the right.

(Source: 华西坝朋友的天空 The Sky of Friends of WCUU, https://www.myhxf.org/)



Dickinson, third from right, with his students and his cow

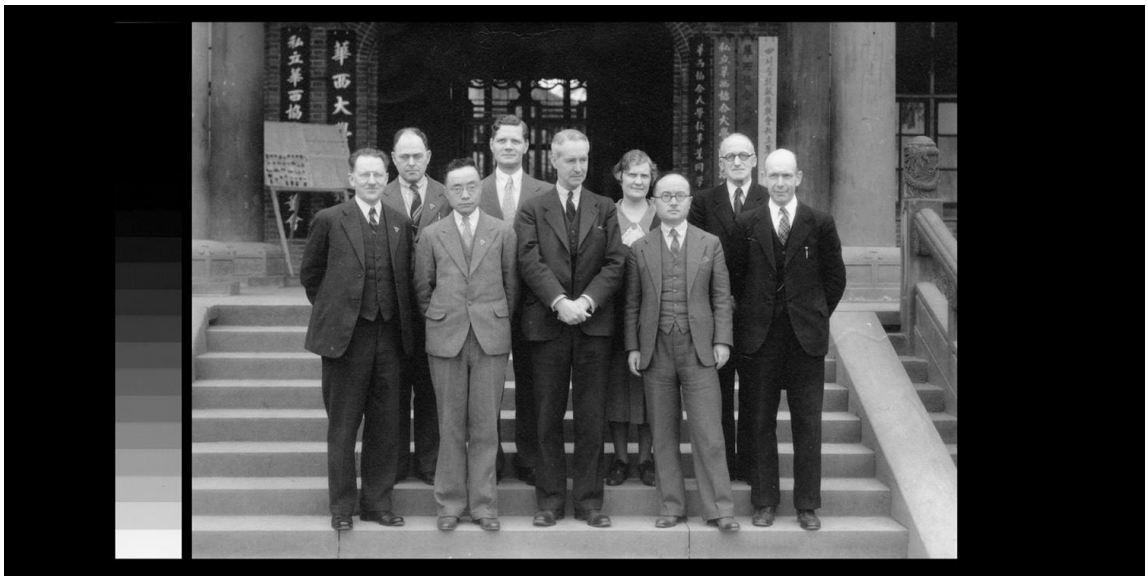
(Source: Yale Archives, RG 11-417-5424)

WCUU Campus: Student dormitory, 1938

(Source: Yale Archives, RG 11-417-3040)

Dr. Joseph Beech, one of the founders of WCUU. He was the President of WCUU from 1914-1930

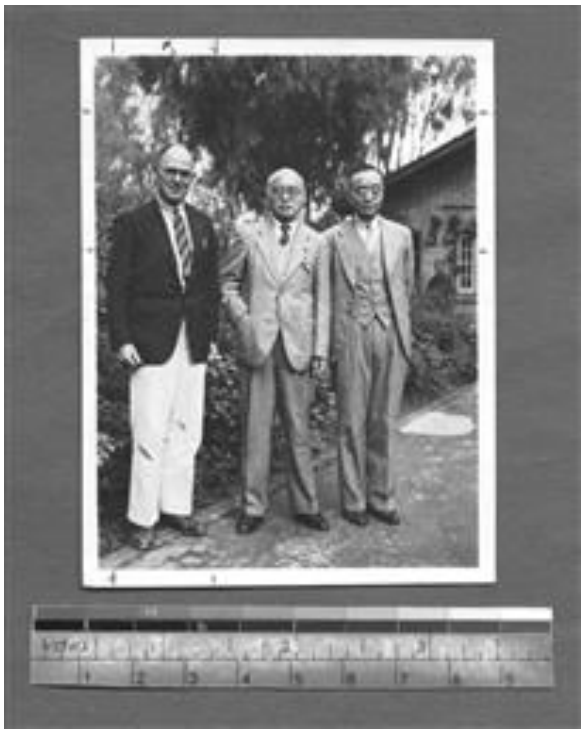
(Source: Yale Archives, RG11-5688-222)



The University Cabinet, 1938

The first row from left to right: Dr. Mullett, Lincoln Zhang, Dr. Sparling, Zhang Jia'ao, and Mr. D. S. Dye; the second row from left to right: Dr. Killborn, Dr. D. L. Phelps, Miss. Ward, and Mr. G. Swell.

(Source: Yale University Archives, RG 11-283)



Dr. Lesile G. Killborn, Minister Zhang Jia'ao (Chang Kia-ngau), with President Lincoln Zhang on West China Campus in 1939

(Source: Yale University Archives, RG 11-5404)

Zhang Qun, the governor of Sichuan, giving a speech at WCUU in 1939

(Source: Yale University Archives)

In January 1938 General Feng Yuxiang gave a speech at WCUU and had a photo with five university staff and students

Feng holding a banner in the middle, Lincoln Zhang standing beside Feng

(Source: Sichuan University History editorial committee, ed. *History of Sichuan University-West China Union University, 1910-1949,* Vol. 4, Chengdu: Sichuan University Press, 2006.)

Chapter Six: Wartime University Indigenization and Program Expansion

Introduction

Eight years of war against the Japanese invaders resulted in tremendous challenges to China and its people. Millions were destitute and homeless, and as a result, WCUU became a shelter that hosted faculty, students, and members of five Christian universities in China.

The severe scarcity of basic necessities, skyrocketing inflation, and a shortage of housing challenged Lincoln Zhang's leadership abilities and put his determination for developing the University to the test.

During the difficult years between 1937 and 1945, the most significant task that Lincoln Zhang took on was indigenizing the University faculty. To support the nation's war against the invaders, he also pushed hard to expand university programs to serve war effort and postwar reconstruction. In the process, the University's indigenization and program expansion transformed WCUU, a Christian college, into a comprehensive, research-focused modern educational institution.

Lincoln Zhang and his colleagues were part of a broader process whereby Chinese actors themselves were taking ownership of the design, education, and modernization of societal institutions. The result let to increased progress for the nation.

The Political and Social Situation During Wartime

The participation of the United States and Canada in World War I had slowed the Christian student movement in these countries, which eventually led to reduced manpower and financial support for Protestant institutions in West China. The missions' shift in focus from evangelical efforts to medical and educational work further discouraged many missionaries from coming to and staying in China.

From late 1926 to late 1929, as we have seen, mass missionary evacuations reduced the number of missionaries in West China to one third of its manpower from 1914. The Great Depression then forced churches and educational boards in both the United States and Canada to make deeps cuts to the West China mission budgets. In the

late 1920s, various boards, boards of trustees, boards of governors, boards of founders, and boards of control, felt the need to develop a committee to coordinate and promote what remained of Christian education in China. The purpose was two-fold: to coordinate activities and development of all Christian educational institutions in China to avoid program duplication, and to coordinate efforts to secure funds for these colleges. In early 1929, the Committee for Christian Colleges in China, with its headquarters in New York, united most college boards and mission boards and planned a Correlated Program for an ambitious educational development plan in China. Unfortunately, the program encountered great challenges right off the bat. In 1931, during the Great Depression, the Committee's fundraising campaign proposals in America received little support, and as a result, Christian missions in West China were forced to sell their properties, further reducing precious manpower.

In the early 1930s the newly established Nationalist Government in China launched its "New Life Movement 新生活运动", among other things, to fight growing corruption within the party. For Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, this movement served as a means to strengthen the Nationalist Party, whose integrity was being threatened by foreign and domestic powers. Western imperialism and Japanese militarism, as well as Communist ideologies and reckless internal corruption were all factors that could compromise the unified Nationalist values of the state. Chiang also considered the New Life Movement essential in carrying out the "principle of the people's livelihood" as outlined in Dr. Sun Yat-sen's "Three Principles of the People." Chiang wanted the Chinese people to live a life guided by the four Confucian virtues: a principled attitude (Li 礼), righteous conduct (Yi 义), moral clarity (Lian 廉), and a sense of right versus wrong, guided by the feeling of shame (Chi 耻). He emphasized the functions of the four virtues, stating that they "are the essential principles for the promotion of morality. They form the major rules for dealing with men and human affairs, for cultivating oneself and for adjustment to one's surroundings. Whoever violates these rules is bound to fail, and a nation that neglects them will not survive."[763]

[763] Chiang Kai-shek, *"On The Need For a New Life Movement,"* (Speech 1934). 蒋介石,《新生活运动之要义》

Under the stimulation of the New Life Movement, in West China the local governments started building more schools and hospitals, improving road conditions, and beautifying streets.[764] As usual, local military power saw the opportunity to make profit and decided to impose extreme taxes in any way possible. Some mission properties were torn down in order to widen roads and streets; some were forced to pay 5 to 45 years of property taxes in advance. This added pressure to the missionary society in West China, which was already in dire financial straits further reducing the influence of their West China Missions.

Having witnessed the benefits of Western medicine and education for the local Chinese people, governments at all levels in West China were motivated to develop their own medical and health services. Some cities and counties started building their own hospitals, recruiting mission-trained doctors, and even purchasing previously established mission hospitals. In cities like Leshan 乐山 and Ziliujing 自流井, the church lacked sufficient funding and doctors to maintain hospitals, so the government took over running them.

Seeing the rapid development of Chinese local health and medical services, Dr. Gerald Bell, the General Secretary of the West China Mission of Canada, painted a bleak but authentic picture about what was happening under his watch. In his letter to the top leader of the United Church of Canada's West China Mission, he questioned:

> What will be the effect [of the new Chinese initiative] on ours? Can Kiating support two [hospitals]? Could we possibly make ours go against one that will have heavy government, provincial and local support? I think the obvious answer is, 'No.' It is the proper course for us then to look into this whole matter with a view of cooperating with the government and perhaps eventually selling out, perhaps at a less than market value price, to them.... Changes do take

[764] There are many scholarly discussion and debate about the New Life Movement. Most believe that the New Life Movement ended in failure. To know more about the object, principles and the result of the New Life Movement, please take reference of Ch'en Han-ming, *New Life for Kiangsi* (Shanghai: The China Publishing Company, 1935); James C. Thomson, *While China Faced West: American Reformers in Nationalist China, 1928-1937* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1969); and Arif Dirlik, "The Ideological Foundations of the New Life Movement: A Study in Counterrevolution," *Journal of Asian Studies*, 34:4, Aug. (1975): 945–980.

place here with almost kaleidoscopic rapidity. What is our best course of action? [765]

The same thing was happening to the mission's educational enterprise as well. In the early 1930s, modern elementary and middle schools run by the Sichuan government already outnumbered the mission schools. Without enough manpower and funding, the missions had to close their stations along with mission schools and hospitals. By the late 1930s most mission schools outside of Chengdu and Chongqing were closed, except for those schools run by the Woman's Missionary Society of Canada.

Equipped with Western educational knowledge and experience and motivated by their ambitions for China's modernization, many liberal Chinese intellectuals, like Hu Shi (Hu Shih 胡适) and Fu Sinian 傅斯年, undertook a Chinese educational enterprise in the context of the May Fourth Movement in the 1920s and 1930s. They took on cultural leadership roles with the determination to train China's future generation. Through their efforts, the number of China's public educational institutes increased rapidly between the 1920s to the late 1930s, and Christian colleges were no longer the sole providers of higher education in China. China's public and private colleges competed with Christian schools to attract young talent to teach at public educational institutions and recruited patriotic youth to study at public colleges. Although the anti-foreign and anti-Christian movement had quieted down, nationalist sentiments were still pervasive among the young and educated Chinese.

The eruption of the anti-Japanese war in 1937 presented more difficulties for the West China Missionary society. North America was still recovering from the Great Depression. The Associated Boards continued to struggle financially through the 1930s. During wartime, many Christian colleges in China needed funds from the Associated Boards to keep running. The Boards mobilized financial sources from "endowments, mission boards, foundations, and other groups or individuals, with endowments providing roughly thirty percent and mission boards over fifty percent…"[766], and the

[765] Bell to Arnup, Feb. 20th, 1942. UCCA 83.047C Box 9 File 196.
[766] Ibid. , 43.

Associated Boards were barely able to make up the leftover twenty percent. From 1937 to 1938, amidst a continued need for financial support, the Associated Boards were able to raise $130,000. However, between 1941-1942, the fundraising total slowly petered out to only $19,000.[767]

Budget cuts did not come only from the Associated Boards; every other mission board drastically reduced its funding as well. In West China, these cuts resulted in fewer missionaries staying in the field. Daily financial struggles left the personnel who remained physically and mentally exhausted. Reporting on the departure of missionaries became a recurring theme of Dr. Bell's letters to Canadian mission board members. In 1945, after 30 years of service in West China, Dr. Bell gave up his position as General Secretary of Canada's West China Mission and left China permanently.

The continuously diminishing numbers of missionaries, especially medical and educational personnel, radically decreased the shortage of teaching staff at the University. Lincoln Zhang wrote to the Board of Governors to discuss the impacts caused by the departure of Drs. Kilborn, Williams, Millar, Crawford, Liljestrand, Mullett and Lindsay on furlough. He asked the Board to send replacement teachers in the arts, sciences, medicine and dentistry. "During the past twenty years [there have been] only a very few new appointments,"[768] he pointed out frankly.

Lincoln Zhang knew that unstable political and social conditions in both North America and China were the primary reasons for the missionaries' departure, as he had witnessed such circumstances many times. He was determined to build up a strong Chinese faculty team at WCUU.

To indigenize faculty required time, money, careful planning, and steady implementation. Although challenges presented themselves at every step, Lincoln Zhang never lost sight of his goal.

As we have seen, ever since 1927, indigenization of the WCUU faculty had been a priority on Lincoln Zhang's University development agenda. In his first Vice-presidential report to the Board of Governors, he laid out his first faculty indigenization plan, stating "We must train our own graduates…if we can set aside a certain sum to

[767] Fenn. *Ever New Horizons.*
[768] Lincoln Zhang to the Board of Governors May 5th, 1944. UBCHEA RG011-286-4489. P. 307-08.

send our graduates to other institutions for post-graduate training, so as to fit them for teaching in the future…we believe that before long the university will be just as strong as other big universities elsewhere in China."[769] Ensuring that Chinese faculty would be the predominant force of University teaching also happened to be in line with the Nationalist Government's registration requirements.

Lincoln Zhang, of course, was realistic, knowing that at the time Chinese society on its own had neither the financial means nor educated personnel to support a university like WCUU, especially the WCUU he envisioned. Practically speaking, the survival of the University relied heavily on educational missionaries. At the same time, he realized that if he wanted to make WCUU a Chinese University, counting on the churches to replenish the shortage of faculty was not a practical option in the long run.

Lincoln Zhang's indigenization plan gained support from several missionaries, such as Dr. Kilborn and Dr. Lindsay in particular. They agreed with Lincoln Zhang that, compared to missionary instructors, Chinese teachers had the advantage of not being burdened by language barriers, not needing to interrupt their teaching with furloughs, and not needing to evacuate their posts when social or political crises occurred. To have a majority Chinese faculty would therefore benefit the University's development in every possible way. However, Lincoln Zhang faced many difficulties in effecting this change. His limited hiring power, given the meagre financial sources at his disposal, was the first barrier he needed to overcome.

Although Lincoln Zhang was the President of the University, and there were Chinese members on the Board of Directors, it did not mean the Chinese held executive power. Some degree of power continued to be held by missionary authorities, as stated above. Since a major proportion of finance was provided by the various mission boards and the Associated Boards, strings were usually attached to the allocation of money from these sources. Plus, most of the time, the Associated Boards had a poor grasp of the extent of the University's needs.

Moreover, the positions of chief financial officer and accountant at WCUU were still held by missionaries as a matter of entrenched practice, even Lincoln Zhang could

[769] Lincoln Zhang, "Vice-President's Report for the Year 1927-1928 to the Board of Governors of the West China Union University," July 1928. UBCHEA RG-011-272-4329. P. 93.

not change that. Zhang and the University affairs office had no say in the hiring of missionary teachers. These decisions belonged entirely to the mission headquarters, with reference or recommendations from field missionaries, because the church paid their salaries and other expenses.

What's more, some missionaries communicated with their mission boards and the Associated Board members directly about University policy and conditions, bypassing Lincoln Zhang and the President's office. The problems associated with this were apparent even to Western administrators. At a certain point, Bettis A. Garside, the General Secretary of the Associated Boards suggested to Dr. Frank Anderson, the secretary of the United Church of Canada West China Mission (UCCWCM)[770] that he should remind Canadian missionaries that the Boards wished to discuss University affairs through the proper channel. "It seems to me that this policy of using a single channel of correspondence has rapidly proven itself to be the wise one in each of our universities and colleges. Whenever a number of channels of communication are followed, there is always danger of misunderstanding and confusion."[771] It also undermined Lincoln Zhang's implementation of his University development plans.

Although the President and the majority of the WCUU Board of Directors members were Chinese, in some aspects, WCUU still remained a missionary-dominated University. According to the statistics of China's Ministry of Education in 1933, the West China Union University had the largest number of Western faculty – 73 in total – of all higher educational institutions in China, private or public. At the time, there were only 94 foreigners altogether teaching at China's public colleges.[772]

Chengdu's remote geographical location and relatively conservative culture presented another challenge for the University in attempting to attract instructors from big cities like Shanghai and Beijing. Plus, the salary offered to the faculty paled in comparison to both government universities and other Christian schools. The most

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[770] Before June 1925, the United Church of Canada West China Mission was named as Canadian Methodist Mission. In June 1925 four Protestant denominations of Canada, the Methodist Church of Canada, the Congregational Union of Ontario and Quebec, the congregations of the Presbyterian Church of Canada, and the Association of Local Union Churches, merged as the United Church of Canada. The name of Canadian Methodist Mission was changed to the United Church of Canada West China Mission (UCCWCM).

[771] Garside to Anderson, June 12th, 1939. UBCHEA RG 011-283-4443.

[772] Zhang Liping. 393.

feasible measure for the University, therefore, cultivate its own graduates and to indigenize the faculty at WCUU.

Other challenges that prevented Lincoln Zhang from establishing more Chinese-led instruction at WCUU included, for example, the need to upgrade WCUU graduates' training to meet university standards, to increase faculty salaries to attract new teachers and retain current one, and to improve living conditions to raise the university's quality of education. These were not easy tasks to achieve, especially when the country was at war.

Not long after the eruption of the war, the Japanese occupied the richest regions of China and soon cut communications with places outside of China. By the end of 1938, the Japanese held one-third of China's territory, including regions producing 40 percent of China's agricultural yield, and holding 92 percent China's prewar industrial capacity. In March 1939, with the fall of Hankou, China had lost 80 percent of its transportation capacity. In April 1939, the Japanese also occupied Hainan Island, which effectively blocked transportation into China from the Pacific Ocean. At the same time, the fall of Nanning to the enemy further devastated China's communications systems. In total, the GMD government revenue declined about 63 percent compared to prewar times, and the government's deficit rose by more than a third in 1939.[773]

Fortunately, in 1937 and 1938, Sichuan produced good harvests, and the relocation of the nationalist Government brought wartime capital construction and work opportunities to Chongqing and Chengdu, transforming these two previously rural areas into urban enclaves. As other organizations and institutions from coastal cities then moved to Chongqing and Chengdu, it became obvious that rural places had low tolerance for inflation. With the high volume of refugees continuing to pour into these two cities, the demand for accommodation, goods, and food skyrocketed. The situation was made worse by a poor harvest in Sichuan in 1939.

Since the beginning of the anti-Japanese war, the majority of the government's spending had been on transportation. The demand for financial support overwhelmed the Ministry of Education. Relocating universities to safe locations like Chongqing,

[773] The statistics in this paragraph come from Chang Kia-Ngau (Zhang Jia'ao), *The Inflationary Spiral: The Experience in China, 1939-1950* (Chapman & Hall, Limited, London: The Technology Press of Massachusetts Institute of Technology and John Wiley & Sons, Inc., New York. 1958), 16.

Chengdu, Changsha, Kunming and other places took a lion's share of the government's educational funding. Ensuring that students from enemy-occupied areas could continue their education in free China (places not occupied by Japanese forces) was another urgent need.

The Initiative to Improve the Living Conditions of Chinese Faculty

Lincoln Zhang and the University took several steps between 1927 and 1946[774] to both indigenize faculty, and resolve the shortage of faculty members. They did this by first improving Chinese faculty's living conditions; second, by training and hiring more quality Chinese instructors; and third, by sending as many instructors as possible to upgrade their knowledge and advance their credentials both domestically and overseas.

To achieve those goals, Zhang needed support from the multinational mission boards, the Associated Boards for Christian Colleges in China, and the Chinese government at all levels.[775]

The first challenge Lincoln Zhang took on was to increase salaries and provide accommodations for faculty members.

For many years, WCUU Chinese faculty salaries were only half those of their public university counterparts, one-third less than those of missionary faculty, and significantly less than those of the evangelical missionaries. Starting from 1938, as the war raged on in China, continuously rising prices of rice and other household necessities pushed the University faculty, staff and their families to the verge of starvation.

According to the Chinese economist Zhang Jia'ao (aka Zhang Gongquan, Chang Kia-Ngau), the Chair of the Board of Directors of WCUU, wartime inflation increased from 40 to 50 per cent per year between 1937 to mid-1939. By mid-1939 to 1941 inflation reached 160 per cent per year, and from December 1945 until 1949, it

774 After Lincoln Zhang left WCUU, the University continued sending its graduates and faculties to overseas studies and upgrade unite 1950.
775 The Associated Boards for Christian Colleges in China formed in 1932.

increased 300 per cent per year.[776] Out-of-control inflation in non-occupied parts of China was caused by three important "lags", according to Zhang Jia'ao. "The lag in the cost of food and consumer goods behind general price levels; the lag in wages, salaries, and agricultural income behind the cost of food and consumer goods; and the lag of consumer spending behind income."[777] All of these lags were caused by Japan's seizing of all of China's industrial cities, and, as a result, a large part of "China's war economy was principally based on the rural sector."[778] Since the Japanese cut most of China's railways and cargoes inland from the Pacific Ocean in early 1938, transportation barriers led to a severe shortage of raw materials needed to produce durable industrial goods. Altogether, these circumstances undermined the government's ability to control inflation, and in any event the priority of the government was the funding of the army.

On the other side of the Pacific Ocean, the churches and the Associated Boards had exhausted their funding sources. Looking for alternative sources for university development was a task Lincoln Zhang had undertaken since 1935. The Policy Committee's recommendation further strengthened his determination to expand financial sources, and the newly reformed administrative system allowed him more time to build a network of influential people in order to solve the University's financial challenges.

In his annual report of 1937 to the Board of Governors in New York, Zhang urged the Board to pay attention to the poor living conditions of Chinese faculty and to mitigate the situation. In July 7th, 1937 as the war was ramping up, Zhang wrote to Drs. Beech, Anderson, Garside,[779] Mr. Silcock, and Mr. Castleton, the essential members of the Board, to remind them that "for the past three or four years we have not been able to raise salaries; the value of paper money has been decreasing; the cost of living has been increasing; and our faculty members find conditions very difficult."[780] Therefore, the salary issue needed to be dealt with immediately, since the situation was "aggravated by the fact that the National Szechwan University is becoming more established and is

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[776] Chang Kia-Ngau*, The Inflationary Spiral.*

[777] Ibid. , 32-33.

[778] Ibid.

[779] B. A. Garside received an honorary Doctor of Humane Letters degree from College of the Ozarks in 1935.

[780] Lincoln Zhang to Dr. J. Beech, Dr. Frank Anderson, Dr. B. A. Garside, Mr. H. T. Silcock, and Mr. A. G. Castleton, July 7th, 1937. UBCHEA RG011-286-4486. P. 6-9.

offering good salaries; also Middle School teachers are receiving $120-$160 per month."[781]

The salary discrepancy between foreign teachers and Chinese faculty was also considerable. According to WCUU faculty reports in 1930, the salary for each faculty were, respectively: $500 for Dr. Beech, the Chancellor of the University; $200 for Lincoln Zhang, the Acting-president; $500 for Vice-chancellor Sparling; $135 for Vice-president Fang Shuxuan. The Accountant, Mr. W. B. Albertson's salary was $500, but the salaries of Chinese teachers and staff ranged from $70 to $110.

Since the average earning of WCUU staff was $100 per month, some faculty members found positions in government-run public educational institutions more appealing. In June 1936, Lincoln Zhang tried to convince Dr. Huang Duanfang 黄端方, his early colleague and the first Chinese female dentist with a Ph.D. to stay at WCUU, but he was unable to compete with the salary offered by the National University. Seeing many bright WCUU graduates refusing to teach at the University because of low salaries, Lincoln Zhang scrambled for money, and managed to increase faculty salaries to $240, but it was still lower than the $400 offered by other universities.

Out of frustration and desperation, Zhang notified the Board of Governors that he was going to go against the Board's regulations for budget spending, taking "$2,000 for salary increases, and about $1,400 to initiate the group insurance scheme."[782] He also asked the Board to "increase in our budget for these two items to about $ 4,000" for the next year.

In April of 1940, the price of rice rose sharply, from $20 to $40 for 60 kilograms. In the summer, the price increased to $70, soon $280, then $300, and as high as $400 per 60 kg. Most faculty members' salary was not enough to buy food for their families. They demanded salary increases almost daily, and a proposal for a strike was on the table. The Dean of the College of Science, Dr. Zhang Xiaoli 张孝礼, warned Lincoln Zhang to take quick action to solve the issue, otherwise he would face even more severe challenges. Lincoln Zhang confessed to Zhang Xiaoli that his hands were tied since the

[781] Ibid.
[782] Ibid.

budget was extremely tight, that the Board of Governors always earmarked funds for specific purposes, and that he had exhausted all his resources.

Lincoln Zhang asked Zhang Xiaoli to be his assistant to tackle the problem. Working with other faculty members, Zhang Xiaoli put together some strategies to increase faculty salaries. After discussing details with Zhang Xiaoli, Lincoln Zhang took the proposal to the salary committee and negotiated with them for months, but no agreement was reached. With food prices running higher day-by-day, the patience of the staff ran thin as well. Eventually, University staff confronted Lincoln Zhang, demanding immediate action to increase their salaries or they would go on strike. Already exhausted and frustrated by many failed attempts, Lincoln Zhang told them to give him a little bit more time to work things out. What he didn't share with the staff was that he also shared in their hardship. He had difficulty putting food on the table for his children, had accumulated a big debt, and just sold his property in Lichuan to make ends meet. He was considering moving to Chongqing where he might be able to afford his children's tuition fees.[783]

After this confrontation, Zhang left the University the next day for a meeting in Chongqing, looking for help to fix the situation. Having failed to obtain a satisfying answer from Lincoln Zhang, the faculty felt that their request had been ignored, and a strike proposal was put forward. Zhang Xiaoli persuaded the staff to give Lincoln Zhang more time, and then went to Chongqing to see the Chairman of the Board of Directors, Mr. Zhang Jia'ao. He asked Zhang Jia'ao to discuss the urgent issue with Lincoln Zhang and to deal with it immediately.

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[783] On July 15, 1942, Yang Shaocheng (also Yang Sou-chwan) G. S. Bell, H. D. Robertson, Lincoln Zhang, S.H. Fong attended the meeting; Yang raised the problems of Lincoln Zhang's financial difficulties. Yang said, "the President had a big family burden and due to inflation in the last five years he was in debt to the sum of $20,000.00 although he had sold part of his estate. He planned to move to Chiu-chin Middle School in Chungking since it was more convenient for his children to go to school." Mr. Yang then added, "the University as well as the associate universities all needed the President's services and hoped that some solution would be found for the President's difficulties." Lincoln Zhang admitted, "In the pre-war years although his salary was low still he was able to provide for his family frugally. Since the par prices had risen thirty times and his income could not cover the expenses of his family, the only way out was to move to Chiu-chin Middle School in Chungking where it was more convenient for his children to go to school. After the was he could come back if the University still needed his services." Minutes of Executive Committee Meeting July 15, 1942. UBCHEA RG 011-276-4377.

After the WCUU Salary Committee approved the proposal to increase faculty salaries, Lincoln Zhang took it to the University Joint Management Committee,[784] and informed the four presidents of the guest universities. The presidents worried that if WCUU increased its faculty's salaries, it would leave them with no choice but to hike wages as well. The problem was that they did not have the budget for providing such raises. Working with the Accountant of WCUU, Lincoln Zhang and Zhang Xiaoli calculated the raises and compared them carefully with other universities. Eventually, they convinced other university presidents that the salary of WCUU faculty would be very close to that of their own schools.[785]

In the Summer of 1942, Yenching University moved to Chengdu from Beijing, joining the WCUU campus with other refugee universities. The salary of Yenching faculty members was higher than other university faculty members by a significant amount. The Joint Administrative Committee together discussed the issue of salaries with Harvard-Yenching Institute (HYI) trustees and suggested using some of HYI funds for salary increases for the other five universities. From November 1942 onwards, the five Christian universities faculties shared a unified salary scale, which the director of HYI "regarded as an important step toward effective coordination."[786] For these university presidents, one headache was solved, in that at least the faculty of their own university wouldn't always compare their salaries to that of other university faculty and complain about it.

The equal salary payment reduced the anxiety of faculty temporarily. However, inflation caused by the government's on-going military expenditures, swelling civil servant numbers, and extreme dependence on imports from abroad, and transportation difficulties meant that the solution was not sustainable. Between 1940 and 1945, University staff threatened to go on strike eight times as their incomes lagged behind inflation.

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[784] In 1938, WCUU with the other four refugee universities established the University Joint Management Committee. It was composed of all presidents of the five universities. It met at least once a week to discuss related matters such as administration, finance, faculty treatment, and public affairs. The university affairs meeting was held at least once a month, and the provosts and registrars of each university discussed their teaching schedule, enrollment, examinations and other issues.

[785] Zhang Xiaoli, "25 Years of Science College at WCUU: A Remark for Lincoln Zhang as President of WCUU 20 Years Anniversary," *The West China Union University News*, April 30, 1946. The combined issue 6-7 was the third issue of resumed publication.

[786] Fan Shuhua, *The Harvard-Yenching Institute and Cultural Engineering,* 109

According to Maxwell Stewart, an American economist and consultant to the War Manpower Commission, who spent considerable time in China from the early 1920s to the mid-1940s, "college professors were perhaps hit the hardest" during the inflation.[787] "Early in 1943 it was estimated that the salaries of full professors in the Chinese universities, despite some increase, had a purchasing power only about one-twentieth as great as their pre-war salaries…"[788]

From June 1941 to September 1943, the Nationalist Government issued various subsidy programs to improve the lives of civil servants. These included providing public dormitories and canteens for government staff, cheap rice as low as $60 per 60 kg, and a monthly allowance. After the government subsidies were announced, Lincoln Zhang took several trips to Chongqing. He made a request to the officers of the Food Control Bureau to ask for a special allowance for WCUU and other universities. He wrote to the Ministers of Education and Finance, visited honorary Board members to ask for their support and appealed to the government to provide the same subsidy for the faculty.

Thanks to his efforts, the government finally granted Lincoln Zhang's request. On November 22nd, 1941, at the Executive Committee meeting, Lincoln Zhang reported the "successful outcome of the negotiations with the Food Control Bureau. A year's of supply of rice is assured at a price of $45.00 per dou[789] with payment on a monthly basis rather than immediate payment for the total quantity required by the university and hospitals."[790] The five universities' professors, staff, and students who resided in Chengdu were all able to enjoy the government's allowance.[791]

Lincoln Zhang told the committee that he took "the result of inflation and continued rise in all the commodity prices" seriously, and he would make another appeal to "the Board of Governors and to the Government for special assistance for the

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[787] Maxwell Slutz Stewart, *War-Time China* (New York, San Francisco, and Honolulu: American Council Institute of Pacific Relations, 1944).
[788] Ibid.
[789] Dou 斗 is a traditional Chinese measure unit. One Deo roughly equals seven kilograms.
[790] Minutes of Executive Committee Meeting November 22nd, 1941. UBCHEA RG 011-276-4377.
[791] Ruth Zhang and Stephen Yang, "The Life of the President of The West China Union University Zhang Linggao," 23-24.

staff."[792] He was also going to appeal to the China Foundation for more grants. He updated the Executive Committee members that the Chairman of the Board of Director Zhang Jia'ao assured him that he would secure another grant for the United Hospital of N.C.$100,000 for the year 1941-1942.[793]

Another urgent issue that Lincoln Zhang needed to deal with was the severe shortage of accommodation.

Before the Japanese invasion, faculty housing was not a big issue. The biggest complaint from Chinese staff was that all missionary teachers lived in Western style housing for free, but the University took no responsibility for housing Chinese staff.[794] In 1936, the University policy committee recommended that "the housing of the staff, both Chinese and Westerner, be regularized, the Missions being requested to allow the their teachers' residence to be centralized under the University."[795] However, the resistance against allowing the University to control the mission houses was too strong. What's more, before the refugee schools moved to Chengdu, Lincoln Zhang's attention was not focused on staff housing, but on assembling a powerful group of individuals to raise funds for the University's development. He failed to pay attention to staff housing. The Dean of the College of Science, Zhang Xiaoli, reminded Lincoln Zhang of the issue, but he initially dismissed these concerns, for he believed the Chinese staff "have shown a spirit of cooperation during a difficult period,"[796] and trusted they could live with the challenges. Consequently, he missed the opportunity to secure more and better accommodation for faculty members, especially the younger instructors. After the War began, the influx of refugees swamped the Chengdu housing market and worsened the University's housing issue.

In late 1937, with the four guest universities have moved into the WCUU campus, the shortage of classrooms, labs, offices, and student and staff accommodation heavily impacted the school's quality of teaching and learning. On December 26, 1937, Dr. Kilborn wrote an annual report about the College of Medicine and Dentistry. He

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[792] Minutes of Executive Committee Meeting November 22nd, 1941. UBCHEA RG 011-276-4377.
[793] Ibid.
[794] The West China Union University Report of the policy Committee, 1936. UBCHEA RG 011-277-4380.
[795] Ibid.
[796] H. D. Robertson to B.A. Garside, July 8, 1936. UCCA 83.047C Box 16 File 23.

admitted that nobody was "prepared for so many refugee students swelling in," the University became so crowded, "there are no classrooms available for our students."[797]

According to Lincoln Zhang's daughter, as soon as the first group of refugee students and teachers arrived in Chengdu, other university faculty members squeezed into the Zhang family home.[798]

On the evening of December 31st, Lincoln Zhang wrote his last letter of 1937 to the Associated Boards to express his concern about wartime university work. He appealed to the Boards' Executive Committee to provide emergency funds to build accommodations for refugee students and Chinese staff. With more universities on the way to Chengdu, he had exhausted his funds for housing more people.[799]

With the help of Dr. Ashley Lindsay,[800] Lincoln Zhang appealed to the Board of Governors to pay attention to the vital needs of the faculty members, including more accommodation for married and single staff. Since the Board of Governors' budget allocations and funding were always strictly regulated, Zhang and Lindsay let the Boards know their solution was to "borrow money to build immediately…the housing accommodation for staff members preference should be given to full-time teachers," and money borrowed would be used to "erect a staff residence for single teachers."[801]

Following the 1936 Policy Committee's recommendations for putting the allocation of the missions' houses under the University's administration, Lincoln Zhang tried convincing the Board of Governors to increase accommodation for Chinese staff, not only to help stabilize the University's current situation, but also, as he pointed out, because it would be a "great value to the University that teachers should live on the campus and add their influence to the life of the students." This, he maintained would "be a unique contribution of Christian institutions in China."[802]

Besides urging the Board of Governors to provide financial support, Lincoln Zhang sought help domestically. He convinced Zhang Jia'ao to make increasing

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[797] Kilborn, "Report on College of Medicine and Dentistry", Dec. 26th, 1937. UCCA 83.047C Box 16 File 23.

[798] Ruth Zhang and Stephen Yang, "The Life of the President of The West China Union University Zhang Linggao," P. 20.

[799] Lincoln Zhang to Garside, Anderson, Beech, and Silcock, Dec. 31st, 1937. UCCA 83.047C Box 16 File 24.

[800] When Dr. Beech, the Chancellor of WCUU, as absent, Dr. Lindsay was Acting-Chancellor of the University.

[801] Lincoln Zhang and Lindsay to Endicott, Frank Anderson, Garside, Beech, H. T. Silcock and Rev. A. G. Castleton, June 30th, 1938. UBCHEA RG011-286-4486. P.0028-39.

[802] President's Report to the Board of Directors, Feb. 6th, 1939. UBCHEA RG 011-297-4625. P. 5.

availability and access to housing at the University his personal mission. Zhang Jia'ao squeezed time from his busy schedule to meet with WCUU alumni and propose a "campaign for raising N.C. $250,000 for the purpose of putting up more houses for the faculty," and personally "promised to obtain $50,000 for this fund."[803]

Relentless bombing by the Japanese worsened the shortage of accommodations throughout Chengdu city during wartime. On June 11, 1939, the bombs damaged WCUU classrooms and a student dormitory. The bombs flatted Lincoln Zhang's first residence at the campus; the destruction left only two gingko trees indicating the location of the old Zhang house, according to Yang Guangxi, the grandson of Lincoln Zhang.[804]

On September 20th, 1943, Lincoln Zhang wrote to the Board to explain why the staff's housing problem had been such a stubborn issue. "In former times it was possible for residential accommodation to be secured in the city or near to the University. Since the bombing of the city which destroyed so much of the residential areas and because of the great increase in rentals for any kind of residence, housing has become a very acute problem."[805]

Although Lincoln Zhang and the University pushed hard to get the faculty housing project moving, as the war went on, difficulties mounted. The continuously increasing price of materials and labour, extremely high costs of transportation, and a severe lack of materials slowed down the faculty residential building project. This delay put a lot of pressure on University administrators and created much anxiety for faculty and staff. Still, the missions refused to allow the University to make use of missionary teachers' residences, even though they were empty.

With so little supply, so much demand, and such an unfair distribution between Chinese and Western staff, some faculty took extreme actions to fight for a place to stay for their family members, and such fights became constant and intensive.[806] Lincoln

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[803] Chang Kia Ngan's [Zhang Jia'ao's] letter titled "A Tribute to the University" which appealed for funding and expressed a personal commitment, No date available, probably December 1940, UBCHEA RG011-286-4488, P.0242-0244.

[804] Yang Guangxi, 我家住在华西坝 "My Family Lived in The West China Union University Campus". https://www.myhxf.org/history.htm.

[805] Lincoln Zhang to the Board of Governors, September 20th, 1943. UBCHEA RG 011-297-4626. P. 58-60.

[806] In his article to mark Lincoln Zhang's 20 years WCUU anniversary service, Mr. Zhang Xiaoli wrote, "because of the challenges of house allocation, an unfortunate incident almost happened." In his account, he didn't give details

Zhang set up an Accommodation Committee to come up with solutions. The Committee proposed a point system to make housing distribution plans more transparent. This strategy quieted down some frustrated staff, but the shortage of housing stubbornly persisted until the five refugee universities moved back to their campuses in early 1946.

Campus and program expansion projects, the increased volume of staff and students, insufficiency of resources such as finances and accommodation, and an accumulation of personal debt consumed Lincoln Zhang's energy and exhausted him both physically and mentally. In the late Summer 1943, persistent asthma put Lincoln Zhang in bed for weeks. The illness "came on earlier than usual this year and made me feel rather miserable." What bothered him most was the problem the University was facing. Lincoln Zhang wrote to the Acting Executive Secretary of the Associated Boards, Dr. Evans, "Unfortunately, it is still with us, finding accommodation for students and accommodation for faculty."[807]

The shortage of accommodation during such a period of difficulty jeopardized the University's ability to hire the best professors. Thankfully, the pressure of the housing shortage was lessened slightly, when "the United Church of Canada allowed us [the university faculty] to use two or three houses during the absence of the missionaries."[808] This step forward resulted from the intervention of the Chinese refugee historian Qian Mu 钱穆.[809]

In 1943, when Dean of the Liberal Arts Luo Zhongshu invited the historian Qian Mu to join the faculty team at WCUU, Qian agreed, but under the condition that he live on campus in one of the residences reserved for Western faculty members.[810]

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about what the unfortunate incident was. Zhang Xiaoli, "The Recent Twenty Years History of WCUU," *West China Union University News*, April 30th 1946, 8. 张孝礼,"华大理学院近二十年来概况—本文乃应编者之约为纪念张校长主校二十周年而作",[华西协合大学校刊],中华民国三十五年四月三十日出版.

807 Lincoln Zhang to Evans, Oct. 20th, 1943. UBCHEA RG011-286-4489. P. 0283-4.

808 Ibid.

809 Qian Mu, also Ch'ien Mu 钱穆, July 30th 1895-August 30th 1990, was one of the four greatest historians of modern China. He was born to a prestigious family in Wuxi, Jiangsu Province. Qian didn't receive formal education. In 1930 he was recommended by a famous historian Gu Jiegang to teach at Yenching University. He left the mainland of China in 1949 and then taught at the Chinese University of Hong Kong until relocating to Taiwan in 1967. Qian was a prolific scholar who published more than 70 works. His representative works are: *A General History of China, A New Biography of Zhu Xi's Academic Life,* and *A History of Scholarship in China in the Last 300 Years*.

810 Qian Mu, "The West China Union University and Sichuan University," in *Eighty Memories of Parents, Teachers and Friends: A Miscellaneous Note* (Beijing: Sanlian Publish House, 2005). 钱穆,"华西大学和四川大学" [八十忆双亲.师友杂记], 北京：生活，读书，新知三联书店.

Most of the Chinese faculty's houses were built off-campus. Only the President and missionaries' residences were inside the campus, and they were usually large, western style houses. They also fell into the category of church property. The scarcity of accommodation was already a great source of anxiety for the administrators, and Qian Mu's request put Luo in a great predicament. Desperately hoping to have Qian Mu teach in the Departments of History and Philosophy, Luo pressed Lincoln Zhang to look for a solution. Inside the campus, there were two missionary houses unoccupied because the owners were on furlough.

Although the 1936 Policy Committee suggested allowing university authorities to distribute mission houses, Lincoln Zhang did not receive support from either the missions or the Board of Governors for him to assume power over church properties on campus. Approaching Dr. Bell, however, Lincoln Zhang suggested using missionary housing for two reasons. First, it was a waste to not use the property under such circumstances since housing was so scarce; second, the empty houses drastically highlighted the difference in living conditions between missionary and Chinese faculty members. Some Chinese staff were bitterly resentful about the housing issue at WCUU, not because of the shortage, but because of the inequality of the allocation.[811] Under these circumstances, the privileges of Westerners were boldly demonstrated, which further aroused tensions between the Chinese and the missionaries.

With Lincoln Zhang's persistence, Qian Mu was given permission to move into the empty missionary home on the south side of campus. Qian immediately invited six professors to live in the house with him. These professors, in turn gave their places to others who badly needed places to stay. Dr. Meng Wentong 蒙文通, a professor at WCUU, and the Director of Sichuan Provincial Library immediately approached Qian Mu, asking him to give space to store some newly collected books of the provincial library.[812]

After Qian Mu moved into the missionary residence, WCUU was able to use other missionary houses as a temporary remedial measure to deal with the emergency situation. This reduced some pressure on Lincoln Zhang. Qian Mu's memoirs indicate

[811] Zhang Xiaoli, "The Recent Twenty Years History of WCUU," *West China Union University News*, April 30th, 1946, 8.
[812] Qian Mu, "The West China Union University and Sichuan University."

he was proud to set an example for the equal treatment of Western and Chinese faculty members at WCUU.[813]

Advancing the Quality of the University Teaching and Research

Indigenizing the University faculty, to Lincoln Zhang, was a decisive step in transforming WCUU into a genuinely Chinese educational institution. This process was an essential part of modernizing China's education. This realization struck Lincoln Zhang as early as 1927 when he took the Vice-president position. At the time, the University's dire financial situation compelled Zhang to hire Chinese instructors, which eventually became one of the primary avenues of university indigenization. Training and hiring a sufficient number of Chinese instructors served two purposes: to prevent the University from shutting down again due to the shortage of instructors, and to transform the WCUU into a truly Chinese university.

In order to achieve this goal, in 1927, Lincoln Zhang took three major steps to carefully cultivate a quality team of young Chinese instructors. Between 1927 and 1930, while hiring WCUU's own graduate students to teach, he sought opportunities to send the school's promising instructors and graduates to upgrade their educational credentials at the reputable universities, such as Yenching, Qilu and Nanjing University. In 1928, for instance, Zhang sought support from the Rockefeller Foundation to send several WCUU graduates to Peking Union Medical College for postgraduate study and work.[814]

Dr. Beech was impressed with the result, expressing the view that "Lincoln Dsang did a good job on having a large number of Chinese faculty"[815] after he returned to Chengdu in early 1930.

Starting from the 1930's, with the support of the mission boards and the Associated Boards, the University made an effort to send larger numbers of faculty members abroad, including Lincoln Zhang himself, to advance their knowledge and enhance their academic credentials. His own Drew University study experience during

[813] Ibid.
[814] *The Missionary News*, December 1928.
[815] *The Missionary News*, January 1929.

1932 and 1933 strengthened his determination to cultivate a quality team of faculty with higher degrees of education.

In early 1933, as soon as Lincoln Zhang procured his Ph.D. degree from Drew University, he proposed that the University set up clear guidelines on providing subsidies to its faculty for overseas studies. On June 12th, 1933, the Board of Directors passed the regulations for prioritizing staff requests for overseas studies. The faculty members who were favoured for support had strong moral principles, had worked at the University for 5 or more years, and had proposed subjects of study that would advance university development. The regulations also required faculty to work at WCUU for at least one year after completing their overseas training. For faculty who had worked at WCUU for 5 years, the University provided a 40 percent salary during training; for 10 years, a 60 percent salary was provided; for 15 years, an 80 percent salary was provided; for 20 years, 100 percent salary was provided.[816] To implement this undertaking, Lincoln Zhang needed support from the mission boards, the Associated Boards, and the national government.

Zhang kept his eyes on the WCUU graduates who had an overseas education. If they worked at other universities, he tried to convince them to come back to WCUU, particularly scholars with outstanding achievements. One notable case was Dr. Li Hang 李珩 who had graduated from WCUU in 1923. In 1925, he went to the University of Paris to study astronomy, earning his Ph.D. in 1933. After returning to China, Li Hang went to teach at Shandong University while also working as a leading researcher at the Qingdao Observatory. Zhang tried many times to convince Dr. Li to come to teach at WCUU. In 1937 the University was finally able to recruit him to teach math and physics. In time he would become the Dean of the College of Science, and eventually Provost.[817]

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816 "Record of Board of Directors Meeting." June 5th and June 12th 1933. UBCHEA RG-011-297-4631.

817 Dr. Li Hang, also known as Li Xiaofang 李晓舫 (Dec. 22, 1898-August 19, 1989), was born in Chengdu to a merchant family. His father wanted him to study business, but he was determined to study astronomy. When his father cut him off financially, he worked part time to pay his tuition fees to study mathematics at WCUU. After graduating in 1923, he taught briefly at WCUU. From 1925 to 1933 he studied astronomy at a University in Paris and earned his Ph.D. He taught at Shandong University, then West China Union University from 1937 to 1948. That same year he was sent to Princeton University to upgrade his qualifications. He left the United States in 1950 to return to China. He was appointed as a leading researcher at the Purple Mountain Observatory, Chinese Academy of Sciences. In 1962, he was appointed as the first Director of the Shanghai Astronomical Observatory and served in that capacity until 1982. He published many astronomical books, *Statistical Research on Cultural Variable Stars, Models of Red Giant Stars,*

As noted, the shortage of quality instructors was a common challenge for many universities. Surveying the Chinese educational sector as a whole, Zhang explored sources to develop collaborative university programs. As the Policy Committee recommended, in 1936, WCUU established a joint program with the National University in Nanjing.

> The National University is responsible for a general educational programme, and the Union University develops certain aspects with which the National University is not so concerned, thus avoiding unnecessary duplication and competition, and making for economy. It is our plan and policy to develop the College of Medicine and Dentistry, the English and Chinese Departments as our special contribution.[818]

Following that strategy, in the Fall of 1936, WCUU accepted 391 students in total, among them 113 students in Arts, 121 in Science, and 157 in Medicine and Dentistry. Science and medicine were still the strongest disciplines of WCUU, but the Liberal Arts started catching up.

During wartime, the Nationalist government faced a distressing financial situation. It needed every penny it could muster, especially in foreign currency, for the fight against the Japanese. With the plan to rebuild the country in mind, in 1939, the government issued several decrees to ban the use of public funding to send students for overseas study. In addition, students who were majoring in medicine, biology, and chemistry were not allowed to leave the country.

Lincoln Zhang understood the government's decision but believed that its reasons were shortsighted. The restriction on studying abroad greatly challenged

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Photographic Studies of Five Galaxy Clusters, A Brief History of Astronomy, Theory of the Universe System, Theoretical Mechanics Outline and "Artificial Satellites, etc. He also translated some important books in the field of astronomy, like, *General Astrophysics, Universal System Theory, A Brief History of Astronomy,* and *Popular Astronomy*. *Popular Astronomy* is the most comprehensive, the largest, and the most illustrated classic astronomy science book in Chinese history. Dr. Li was an editor-in-chief of several major astronomical journals and magazines in China. He was a highly regarded astronomer in China, and one of the founders of China's modern astronomy. This summary reference draws on Dr. Li Hang's daughter, Li Xiaoyu's article, "In Memory of My Father Li Hang."

[818] Lincoln Zhang, "Report to the Board of Directors," March 1st, 1937. UBCHEA RG 011-297-4624.

Lincoln Zhang's faculty upgrade plans. Lincoln Zhang sought funding outside China to sponsor WCUU faculty studying overseas and circumvent government regulations. Zhang and his office wrote countless letters to the Ministries of Education, Finance, and Foreign Affairs, in order to convince authorities to issue passports for several faculties to upgrade their credentials at foreign universities or hospitals. In some cases, sending a faculty member to study overseas took more than twenty rounds of letter exchanges and more than two or three years of discussion and negotiation between the University and various ministries. Lincoln Zhang never failed to write to support university faculty members seeking to study abroad.[819]

Although North America had begun to emerge from the shadow of the Great Depression during World War II, people's passion for Christianizing China had by then ebbed. In the late 1930s, the Associated Boards already had a hard time raising funds, obtaining gifts, and securing pledges for their West China missions. Understanding the tight financial situation faced by the Associated Boards, Lincoln Zhang did not ask directly for funding, but suggested that the Board of Governors and the Associated Boards approach American and Canadian universities and hospitals to provide opportunities for WCUU faculty to upgrade. Zhang rationalized his approach to the Boards by arguing, "We feel it is most important that we should have highly trained Christian scholars on the staff of a Christian institution such as ours, and this seems to be the best way to provide for them."[820]

On September 27th, 1940, for example, Lincoln Zhang wrote to ask the Board of Governors to help Mr. John Kao, a math graduate from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) and Mr. Meng Ziming (Meng Szu-ming 蒙自明) a graduate in history, to pursue their overseas studies. Over the next several years, Lincoln Zhang wrote more than twenty letters to the board, the host universities, and the Guomindang Minister of Education to facilitate the overseas study of Meng Ziming. Zhang finally

819 Collection of Lincoln Zhang letters, the Sichuan University Archives. "张凌高信件", 四川大学档案馆.

820 Lincoln Zhang to the Board, April 12th, 1941. UBCHEA RG011-286-4488/GR011-297-4626.

located a scholarship from the Harvard-Yenching Institute to fund Meng for his studies at Harvard University.[821]

To improve opportunities for faculty upgrades, Zhang cultivated relationships with visiting university professors from Northern America. He approached Dr. Penfield of McGill University to ask for support during his visit to WCUU. In 1944, Dr. Penfield arranged for several members of the WCUU junior medical staff to continue their studies at McGill." Zhang also convinced Dr. George Cressey and Mr. Lenig Sweet, the representatives of the United China Relief Fund, to help send students abroad to improve their knowledge and teaching ability. As a result, Syracuse University in New York set up a China Scholarship Fund to finance students from WCUU.

On February 28, 1945, having just returned to his office after a leave of absence due to illness, Lincoln Zhang sent out two letters. The first letter, to the Student Organization of Syracuse in China, thanked them "with great appreciation" for the $1600 donated for five scholarships for WCUU students. The second letter was to Dr. Earle H. Ballou, an American missionary who spent 32 years in China as the Executive Secretary of the Congregational Christian Service Committee and Special Council of the Department of International Affairs. "We are so delighted and grateful for this expression of the interest of the student organization of Syracuse in China and for the recommendation of Dr. George Cressy that the Scholarship fund be made available for students of our university. The money arrived in good time…"[822]

Zhang closely followed the progress of the WCUU scholars who were overseas. He was sad when he learned that Mr. John Kao decided not to return to China after finishing his studies. On the other hand, on December 10, 1943, Mr. Evans informed Lincoln Zhang that one of the WCUU faculty Dr. David Dai (Dai Shugu 戴述古)[823] was greatly admired by some American dentists, and "many organizations are anxious to secure Dr. David Dai's service, but he has determined to return to WCUU. We would

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[821] Lincoln Zhang's letters to various members of Board of Governors, Associated Boards, and Chinese Government officials. UBCHEA and Sichuan University Archives.

[822] Lincoln Zhang to Dr. Earle H. Ballou, February 28th, 1945. UBCHEA RG011-286-4489.

[823] Dr. David Dai (also Dai Shugu) 戴述古 graduated from the WCUU dentistry department in 1934. With the help of Dr. A. Lindsay he was sent to the United States to study Preventive Dentistry. His talent made the university and the American Dental Association desire to keep him, but Dr. Dai was determined to return to China. After returning to WCUU, he focused on establishing and developing the study of preventive dentistry and public health in dentistry. In time, he became the founder of the field of preventive dentistry in China.

help with him to return to China."[824] After Dr. Dai left the United States, Evans wrote in a separate letter, "The decisions which Dr. Dai was called upon to make while in America showed him to possess an extraordinary sense of loyalty to the University and for its aims and purposes."[825] Lincoln Zhang was overjoyed with the accomplishments of WCUU scholars and had high expectations for them to raise the standards of the University's instruction and research. "We are glad for the returning of some our faculty from the overseas study and they will increase our standards…we feel that now the staff in all three colleges is much more near the standard we have had in our mind and what is of even more importance that all are united in the same spirit of service."[826]

Lincoln Zhang's plan to cultivate Chinese faculty won strong support from many missionaries. Dr. Beech secured ten scholarships from his Alma Mater, Wesleyan University. Dr. Meuser was always ready to solicit universities in the United States and Canada for funding and opportunities for Chinese students. He carried several printed lists of graduates of the Pharmacy Department with him, and whenever it was possible, he would push hard to convince other colleges in North America to take his students.[827]

Dr. Kilborn worked diligently with other Canadian medical missionaries to look for opportunities for WCUU graduates to advance their practice at hospitals and universities in Canada. In 1941, he secured a house staff position at the Sick Kids Hospital in Toronto for Lincoln Zhang's daughter, Dr. Ruth Zhang, a 1937 WCUU

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[824] Evans to Lincoln Zhang and Robertson, December 10th, 1943. UBCHEA RG011-286-4489. P. 0292-296.

[825] Evans to Lincoln Zhang and Robertson, April 25th, 1944. UBCHEA RG011-286-4489. P. 0305-06.

[826] Lincoln Zhang to Board members, September 30th, 1941. UBCHEA RG011-286-4488. P. 0230-0233.

[827] Dr. Edwin Meuser's efforts to help the graduates of the Pharmacy Department of WCUU to upgrade in North America continued to the end of his life. In the late 1950s and early 1960s he continued working hard to help his students and their family members to come to Canada. From 1950 to 1957, in order to help his student, Paul I. Sun 孙博义, a pharmacy department graduate in 1942, and his family to come to Canada, he wrote hundreds of letters to his friends and colleagues, local politicians, and to the Minister of Immigration and Citizenship of Canada. Eventually the Suns were able to escape the persecution of the Communist government and were reunited in Toronto. From 1957 to 1966, he helped another 1944 pharmacy graduate, Ms. Julia Zixin Chen 陈自信, come to Canada. Dr. Meuser travelled to Ottawa several times to appeal for the reinstatement of Ms. Chen's denied entrance visa, hoping to allow Ms. Chen to enter Canada. He wrote to the Prime Minister John Diefenbaker, and then the Minister of Immigration and Citizenship to ask for explanations about her denial. The reasons immigration gave to Dr. Meuser were that he sponsored too many of his students to study in Canada. They even gave Dr. Meuser a full list of his students who were sponsored to study in Canada and those who stayed. Correspondence between Mr. Paul Sun and Ms. Julia Chen from 1957 to 1976. Thanks to Dr. Charles Sun for allowing me the privilege of accessing and using the family's private archives.

graduate.[828] In 1944 alone, more than ten promising Chinese medical graduates from WCUU found their way to Canada for further study.

On November 4, 1944, Dr. Kilborn wrote to Dr. Edwin. C. Lobenstine, the President of the Yale-in-China Association, to criticize the Rockefeller Foundation for failing to provide financial support to WCUU medical staff for their overseas studies. Dr. Kilborn, famous for his professionalism and gentle manner, was frank and direct in his letter.

> We feel very sensitive about…the Rockefeller Foundation, for No assistance has ever been received from the Foundation to send a medical graduate of the W.C.U.U. abroad for advanced study, whereas we have believed (perhaps mistaken) that such aid to medical schools in the preparation of their staffs was a part of the Foundation's program, and had been liberally extended to nearly all other medical schools in China.[829]

Fully supporting Lincoln Zhang's vision and efforts to build a team of advanced faculty, Dr. Ashley Lindsay, the Dean of the College of Dentistry, approached the issue differently. Besides seeking pledges to send promising dental students and faculty to Canada and the United States, he himself provided opportunities and trained Chinese faculty in developing their teaching, clinical practice, and leadership abilities. Although he wasn't much given to writing letters, Dr. Lindsay wrote a long "appeal to the Rockefeller Foundation for grants to some (our) dental graduates to study abroad, and possibly grants to carry on (our) project on a more extended scale."[830]

When he was on furlough in Canada in 1936, Dr. Lindsay heard that his student Dr. Huang Duanfang took a teaching position at the National University. He wrote to convince her to return to WCUU. In 1938, in his travels back to China, he paid a visit to Dr. Huang in Nanjing and promised her a leadership position at the WCUU dental

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[828] Due to the ill health of Ruth Zhang in 1941and later on the wartime difficulties of travel across the Pacific Ocean, Dr. Ruth Zhang's fellowship at Toronto Sick Kids Hospital was postponed several times. She finally made it in 1946 and returned to China in 1950.

[829] Dr. Leslie G. Kilborn to Dr. Edwin. C. Lobenstine. Nov. 4th, 1944. UBCHEA RG 011-297-4627. P.13-4. The underline was Dr. Kilborn.

[830] Lindsay to Arnup, March 19th, 1941. UCCA 83.047C Box 8 File 186.

department along with opportunities for upgrading her education and training overseas.[831]

In a private letter to Dr. Arnup, Dr. Lindsay shared his concerns about the Canadian West China missions. He informed Arnup that it was time for the United Church of Canada to approach its mission differently, because Chinese personnel now were able to fill the academic positions of missionaries, stating: "The time has come when our students can take over many positions of responsibility and have a say as to what, why and how dentistry shall develop."[832] He told his superior and his friend that he "reorganized the teaching and clinic programs so that our young Chinese staff will in the future be in charge of the practice departments of the College, leaving to the older members and the foreign staff headship of didactic teaching and research."[833] He explained the reason he still held the position of the Chair of the College "was the hope of producing a Chinese dental staff and of contributing my experience to the development of a worthy and capable Chinese leadership."[834] And at that time, the young Chinese dentists still needed protection, guidance, and support to help them build a solid foundation for their future work. Lindsay stated, "We have need for someone who can bring to our staff the latest methods and technical procedures, and to enlarge the capabilities of those who must teach the routines of every-day practice; this he can do successfully because of a wider knowledge of the principles to be taught." He said that if we all wanted success, "our Chinese colleagues must also be considered; indeed the time is here when they must increase while we decrease…They have not been unworthy as heads of their departments; it has given me untold pleasure to watch their development in pedagogical methods and in responsibility."[835] Thanks to his efforts, the

831 Chen Zexian, "Uprightness and Integrity: My Mother, Huang Daunfang, the Earliest Female Doctor of Dentistry in China," *History of Chinese Dentistry*, Nov. 14, 2021. "端方正直-母亲：中国最早的牙科女博士之黄端方," 口腔文史, Nov, 14, 2021.

832 Lindsay to Arnup, August 11th, 1941. UCCA 83.047C Box 8 File 186.

833 Ibid.

834 Ibid.

835 Ibid.

College of Dentistry at WCUU produced the most capable dentists in teaching, researching, practice, and leadership in all of China.[836]

Lindsay had just sent this letter out, when a telegram came from Dr. Arnup to inform Dr. Lindsay that his father had passed away. He confessed his sadness to Dr. Arnup, saying: "We have always feared that Father would not be alive to receive us when our next furlough became due…now that both Father and Mother have gone we have no Canadian home to look forward to. This is one of the penalties which we who leave our homeland have to expect."[837] At the end of the letter, however, his tone lightened up, "Let me take advantage of this letter to inform you that we have sent to the Murray and Leonie Guggenheim Dental Clinic…one of our outstanding dental staff…a leader in both social and dental fields… I trust that you will get in contact with him and will take occasion to meet him when you are in New York."[838] His dedication to the cause of his Chinese enterprise was vividly reflected in his writings.

The WCUU administrators' collective effort was rewarded. In 1944 alone, WCUU was able to send more than 15 medical staff abroad for advanced work. These staff included:

- Dr. T. R. Lu to Toronto for Pediatrics.
- Dr. C. L. Li to London, England for Ophthalmology
- Dr. H. H. Hsie to Toronto and Los Angeles for Surgery.
- Dr. Helen Yoh to Toronto and Los Angeles for Obstetrics and Gynecology
- Mr. D. F. Pen to Toronto for Physiology.

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836 In the book, *Hundred Years of Stomatology in West China,* published by People's Health Publishing House, Beijing, China, it states, "West China Stomatology College is the earliest specialty of higher stomatology in China, which has had a profound influence on the development of higher education in stomatology in the country. For a long time after its establishment, it was the only high-level dental school in China. For a long time, it is also the only professional school qualified for post-graduation training. Because the College of Dentistry of West China Union University is in the unique position, the only dental college in China, its graduates are in short supply in many central cities in China, and most of the national dental talents come from this college. In 1943, the National Government entrusted the West China Dental College to draft a long-term plan for national dental educationIt can be seen that the heavy responsibility it shouldered." *Hundred Years of Stomatology in West China*, Ed. Zhou, Xuedong and Jing Tan. (People's Health Publishing House, Beijing, China, 2016), 23. "华西口腔是我国最早的高等口腔医学专业，对我国高等口腔医学教育的发展产生了深远影响。在成立后的很长时间，都是中国唯一的高等牙学院，在后来很长一段时间也是唯一有资格进行毕业后培训的专科学校。由于华西协和大学牙学院处于中国唯一牙科学院的独特地位，其毕业生在中国许多中心城市供不应求，全国口腔学科的人才多由此院产生。1943 年，国民政府委托华西牙学院草拟全国牙科教育的长远规划，可见其肩负的重任。"[华西口腔百年史], 周学东, 谭静 主编, 人民卫生出版社, 北京, 2016. 第 23 页.

837 Lindsay to Arnup, August 12th, 1941. UCCA 83.047C Box 8 File 186

838 Ibid. The student Dr. Lindsay mentioned was Dr. David Dai.

- Dr. S. T. Du to Philadelphia and Toronto for Pediatrics.
- Dr. Y. T. Beh to Toronto for Histology and Embryology.
- Dr. C. L. Yang to Montreal for Surgery.
- Dr. Janet Wang to Toronto for Obstetrics and Gynecology.
- Dr. C. J. Chen to Montreal for Neurology.[839]

In addition, there were two more WCUU medical students who obtained fellowships (in medicine and X-ray), which were awarded at McGill, and two in pathology in Winnipeg.

The Effect of Faculty Indigenization

The earliest Canadian medical missionary in West China, Dr. Omar Kilborn, father of Dr. Leslie Kilborn, was the first person to stress the importance of training Chinese Christian medical assistants. In this way, he argued, the medical missionary could "multiply himself by making medical missionaries among the Chinese."[840] Dr. Charles Service explained the benefits of teaching medical Chinese Christians from an evangelizing perspective. He believed that native medical assistants and native physicians could have a significant influence on their countrymen through work in the West China missions. Therefore, it was important "train young men of good character and fair education for the great work of going forth as efficient healers among their fellows." Also "the missionary doctor is not here merely to cure individuals, but rather to cure conditions, and to do this on a large scale he must be able to reproduce himself among China's young men."[841]

However, neither Omar Kilborn nor Service foresaw how quickly and to what extent their vision would come to fruition.

In the early 1910s, the new government of the Republic of China started its Educational Sovereignty Recovery efforts, and from the mid-1920s, Chinese students

[839] This list comes from Dr. Leslie G. Kilborn's letter to Dr. Edwin. C. Lobenstine, Nov. 4th, 1944. UBCHEA RG 011-297-4627. P. 13-14.
[840] Omar. M. Kilborn. *Heal the Sick*, 223. Document of the United Church of Canada Archives.
[841] Methodist Church Canada, *Our West China Mission* (Toronto: Frederick Clarke Stephenson, 1920), 395.

became major voices for the educational sovereignty recovery campaign. As we have seen above, the Nationalist Government's request for registration of all educational institutions in the late 1920s required the majority of faculty, staff, and administrators to be Chinese. This requirement changed the dynamic of Christian education in China.

Since the early 1930s, the decrease in educational missionaries at WCUU led to a corresponding decrease in the religious tone of life on campus. Also, as the University program quickly expanded, not enough Chinese Christians could be found to meet the standard of educational and the teaching for the University. As a result, the Universities stopped requiring religious belief as a qualification for incoming faculty. The arrival of guest university professors who joined in the task of teaching at WCUU after 1937 meant that the faculty shortage was no longer an issue, and returning scholars from abroad greatly reduced the demand for foreign professionals.

In early 1943, Dr. William Fenn, the General Secretary of the Associated Boards of Christian Higher Education in Asia, visited several Christian colleges in China. On September 7, 1943, he sent a report to Dr. Charles Corbett, the Chairman of the Associated Boards for Christian Colleges in China. In the report, he warned the educational board of two salient changes that had happened at Christian colleges in China. First, the decline in the numbers of Christian staff had led to a fading in the religious tone on campus; second, the majority of faculty members at most Christian universities were now Chinese. The reasons, he believed were, due to "rising academic standards" and "the excessive tasks imposed on Western staff members by the war—added responsibilities for mission work, and even assistance to their own government."[842] Therefore, he felt, "the dilution of the Chinese staff is almost entirely the result of supply and demand,"[843] for there were not enough quality Western representatives on campus and not enough good Chinese Christian educators to meet the demand. Dr. Fenn's investigation into this matter led to his championing an ambitious postwar planning process for Christian colleges in China.[844] Unfortunately, his evaluation of the declining Christian influence at these colleges missed a crucial point–

[842] William P. Fenn to Charles H. Corbett, "The Decreased Christian Influences on Campus," September 7th, 1943. UCCA 83. 047C Box17 File 48.
[843] Ibid.
[844] To know more details about the Postwar Planning for Christian Colleges in China, please see Chapter Eight.

that the leaders of Chinese higher education institutions were determined to transform the Christian colleges into Chinese universities to serve the purpose of China's modernization.

That outlook belonged not only to university leaders who were Chinese. Before leaving China for the United States for his retirement in April 1940, Dr. Beech himself had made clear his vision of the future of the University. He said, "The West China Union University was established for Chinese youth, it is a Chinese University. I hope it will gradually reduce Western faculty and increase greatly of Chinese faculty. It was our original plan that this University would eventually be for Chinese, by Chinese, and of Chinese. I believe that we are approaching to our goal…"[845]

Dr. Beech's vision for the future of WCUU was based on his observation of the changes that had taken place at the University for the foreseeable future under the efforts of the Chinese administrators and staff at the time of his departure. This realization reflected Dr. Beech's final attitude toward the University; it was also an indication that his ideas about WCUU and its future experienced considerable changes over time.

On November 18, 1941, a party was held at WCUU to welcome Dr. Long Zhesan 龙哲三 and other scholars who had returned to West China recently.[846] The list of faculty who recently returned from overseas studies was long. It included: Peng Zifu, who studied agriculture, Pu Baomin, He Wenjun, and Peng Ronghua, who all studied science, Le Yichang and Xi Xiyao, who studied Medicine, Chen Siwei and Chen Fang, who studied literature, Zhang Shaoying and Tang Yulian, who studied Administration, as well as Long Zhesan in Dentistry, and Luo Wenbing, Ling Bochang, Zhou Shiyi, Wang Junxian, and Li Mingliang, who studied Sociology and Agriculture.[847]

The November 1941 issue of the *WCUU Journal* reported that the University had recently hired 28 new faculty members, which were mostly professors returning from foreign training. Among them, 17 returned from the United States, Canada, and

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[845] "Dr. Beech's Grand Ceremony," *Journal of the West China Union University*, April 1940. "毕校务长启受勋典礼前后盛况", 私立华西协合大学校刊, 1940 年 4 月出版.

[846] Dr. Long Zhesan spent four years studying at the Department of Dentistry of the Lancaster University. *WCUU Journal,* November 15, 1941.

[847] *WCUU Journal,* November 15, 1941.

Britain. Despite the government ban on sending faculty and students to study overseas, even with the return of these faculty members from overseas, more still remained in Canada and the United States to upgrade their credentials and gain advanced learning.

In 1941, WCUU added 82 Chinese names to the University faculty list. The significance of this hiring marked a great improvement in the quality of the faculty, for these scholars were not only experts in their own respective fields,[848] but had also made strong connections with the countries they were visiting, where they had been striving to gain support for their home country.

Later in 1941, David Dai (Dai Shugu 戴述古), whose return was discussed above, wrote home to report his experience meeting Canadians and Americans, and engaging their interest in and support for China's war against the Japanese.

> On August 5th, 1941, I arrived in Toronto. I, soon, went to visit the neighboring cities and gave speeches at local churches. I was invited to observe Canada's National Financial meeting, had nice encounters with A. E. Johns and C. R. Carscallen and other church leaders in Ottawa. On September 4th, in Toronto I attended the Canadian National Exhibition party and met with the mayor of Toronto and other politicians and local notables. I gave a speech about China's anti-Japanese efforts that received warm applaud and cheers. With this letter I included two newspaper clips about the reactions of Canadians to my speech and their keen hopes for us to win the war…[849]

The WCUU faculty members sent to study overseas appear to have left excellent impressions at the North American universities. On April 25, 1944, the Acting Executive Secretary and Associate Treasurer of the Associate Boards Evans,[850] wrote to

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[848] Ibid. , 27.

[849] Ibid. , 28.

[850] Dr. Garside left the position of Chief Executive of the Associated Boards on January 31, 1942. Mr. Evans was appointed as the Acting Executive Secretary and Associate Treasurer until May 1st, 1944 when the Boards elected Earle H. Ballou as the Executive Secretary.

Lincoln Zhang, praising Dr. David Dai's achievements in America and the fine impressions he made.

In April 1945, the WCUU Journal published a letter from the Medical School of the University of Toronto to Dr. Kilborn. It thanked Dr. Kilborn for sending four excellent WCUU medical students, Bai Yingcai 白英才, Yang Jialiang 杨嘉良, Wang Yuhua 王煜华， and Zuo Lidong 左立栋 to Toronto to study. It stated that during their time at the University, "they demonstrated outstanding ability of learning and practice."[851]

From the late 1930s to the mid-1940's, the University sent more than 100 faculty members to study in Western countries. Lincoln Zhang's many years of perseverance in indigenizing WCUU faculty brought fruitful results.

In the early 1940s, with the return of faculty members like Dr. David Dai, Dr. Lan Tianhe 蓝天鹤, and many others, WCUU came to be equipped with a strong team of Chinese faculty members who were the backbone of the University's teaching and research. Some were leading scientists of their fields in China, and their presence guaranteed the future prosperity and development of the University. Collectively, these WCUU faculty members changed the social and physical fabric of local society and the intellectual landscapes of Sichuan.

An incomplete list of WCUU faculty members who studied overseas from the late 1920s to 1940s demonstrates the efforts that Lincoln Zhang took to improve the quality and credentials of the University's indigenized faculty.[852]

1920s to 1930s

- Dr. Huang Tianqi, 1926-1928, Dentistry, University of Toronto
- Shao, 1926-1928, Theology, University of Toronto

[851] *WCUU Journal*, April 30th, 1945.

[852] The list is collected by the author of this paper and comes from various sources. They are, the *WCUU Journal* from 1939-1949, documents from the archives of the United Church of Canada, Dr. Killborn letter to Dr. E. C. Lobenstine, Nov.4th, 1944, UBCHEA RG-011-297-4627, Dr. Lindsay to Board of Governors, September 7th, 1949, UBCHEA RG-011-297-4629, and correspondence between the University administrators and mission boards and Associated Boards. Again, it is an incomplete list, for example, female faculty members sent by Women's Missionary Society of Canada were not included in it.

- Dr. Lincoln Zhang, 1921-1922/1933-1934, Sociology, University of Northwest and Drew University, USA
- Fang Shuxuan, 1934-1935, Master of Education, University of Cambridge, UK.
- Luo, Zhongshu, Master of Literature, University of Oxford, UK.

1940s

- Dr. Stella Cheng 郑元英, 1941-42 University of Toronto; 1942-44, Columbia University, USA
- Dr. David Dai, 戴述古 University of Michigan, 1941-1943
- Meng Ziming 蒙自明 Sociology, Harvard University, 1943-1944
- We Kwei-Chang (K. C. Wu), Radio-Physics, University of Toronto, 1945
- Dr. Yang Gialiang, Medicine, McGill University
- Dr. Bai Yingcai 白英才, Medicine, University of Toronto
- Dr. Janet Wang: Obstetrics and Gynaecology, Women's College Hospital, Toronto
- Dr. Chen Chao-jen: Medicine, McGill University
- Dr. Dzo Li-Liang, Radiology, McGill University
- Dr. Cao Zhongliang 曹钟樑 (Clifford Tsao, Tsao Chong-liang), Medicine, McGill University[853]
- Dr. Lan Tianhe 蓝天鹤, Biochemistry, University of Rochester, 1940-1943
- Dr. Marian Cheng, Royal Victoria Hospital, Montreal.
- Ho, Wei-fa, (no detail information)
- Dr. He Wen Jun 何文俊, Science, 1939-1941, USA
- Dr. Hu Pengrong, Science, 1939-1941, USA
- Li Mingling 李明良, Agriculture, Canada
- Wu Chunxi, Britain
- Dr. T. R. Lu, Paediatrics, University of Toronto. He died in Canada

[853] 1962 Dr. Cao Zhongliang was appointed as the Vice-president of the Sichuan Medical University and then President.

- Dr. C. L. Li, Ophthalmology, London, England.
- Dr. H. H. Hsie, Surgery, Toronto, Canada and Los Angeles, USA.
- Dr. Le Yicheng 乐以成 Helen Yoh, Obstetrics, 1939-1940,Women's College Hospital, Toronto; Gynaecology, 1940-1941, Los Angeles Hospital; and 1949-1950, Royal College of Medicine in London for Obstetrics and Gynaecology.
- Mr. D. F. Pan, Physiology, University of Toronto
- Dr. S. T. Du Paediatrics, Toronto and Philadelphia
- Dr. Y.T. Beh, Histology and Embryology, Toronto.
- Dr. C. L. Yang, Surgery, University and Hospital of Montreal
- Dr. C. J. Chen to Neurology, University and Hospital of Montreal
- Dr. Wang Yuhua, University of Toronto
- Dr. Zuo Lidong, University of Toronto
- Dr. Yang Jialiang, Unversity of Toronto
- Dr. Ruth Zhang, 张君儒 Sick Children hospital, Toronto, 1946-1950
- Dr. Stephen Yang 杨振华, University of Michigan, USA, 1946-1949 and University of Toronto General Hospital, 1949-1950, Canada
- Zhang Yudian 张玉钿, 1947, McGill University, Canada
- Dr. Li Hen 李珩 (also Li Xiao-fang 李晓舫), Dean of Studies, 1948, Princeton University,
- Pu Bao-min 蒲葆民, Not clear which university
- Dr. Li Anche 李安宅, Anthropology, Yale University, 1947-1949
- Dr. Yu Shiyu, 于式玉, Anthropology, Yale University, 1947-1949
- Dr. Zheng Dekun 郑德坤, History, Harvard University, 1938-1941
- Li Xian Long 李兴隆, Pharmacy, University of Toronto,
- Kuan, Hsiang-hua, Agronomy, USA
- Yu, Wen-hua, Education, England, 1947-1949,

- Dr. Hou, studied pathology, especially tissue diagnostic.[854]
- Dr. Sadie Kaing, studied in Canada Red Cross, 1948-1949.
- Dr. Wang Kueh-sen, Surgery, Sioux Falla Hospital, Dakota, USA
- Dr. Wang Min-fan 王民范, Odontology, University of Toronto
- Dr. Hu Yin-chen, Oral Surgery, Columbia University, N.Y.
- Dr. Den Shu-kao, Oral Morphology and Physiology, Eastman Dental Dispensary, University of Rochester, N. Y
- Dr. Cheng Wkang-ru, Internist, Blumgart Bethisrael Hospital, Harvard Medical School
- Dr. Peter Kao, Dental Clinician, Guggenheim Dental Clinic, NY
- Dr. Chi, Hsiu-hsiang, Ophthalmology.
- Dr. Fu Baochen 傅葆琛, Rural Education, Cornell University, USA
- Dr. Lee, Chang-lin, Chicago Hospital, USA.
- Dr. Chen Siyi 陈思义, Pharmacy, University of Wisconsin, USA
- Xie, Chengke 谢成科, Pharmacy, University of Toronto
- Zhu, Tingru 朱廷儒, Pharmacy, University of Toronto

From the list we can tell that most of the faculty's overseas studies took place during wartime. As well, Lincoln Zhang took advantage of the availability of instructors from refugee colleges to offer courses at the University, sparing WCUU faculty longer periods of time to study abroad. He also made requests to the mission boards to send more missionary teachers to WCUU to mitigate the financial struggles of WCUU.

This list shows Lincoln Zhang's efforts to improve the educational quality of faculty members to transform WCUU into a leading Chinese university, but also provides a brief glimpse into a tremendous undertaking. Despite the government's restriction on sending students to study overseas, and the limits of an extremely tight financial situation, Zhang and his team aspired to push his faculty indigenization plans through. Because the archives of Sichuan University (WCUU's successor institution) are not publicly accessible, it is not clear how much time and energy Lincoln Zhang and

[854] The first name of Dr. Hou and which medical institute Dr. Hou studied are not clear. The name and partial information come from Dr. Killborn letter to Dr. E. C. Lobenstine, Nov.4th, 1944, UBCHEA RG-011-297-4627.

the University staff spent negotiating with and convincing the national authorities to give the green light for its faculty to study abroad. This significant accomplishment happened during the most challenging time, when the nation was at war and material and financial resources were in very short supply.

With an increasing number of faculty members returning from aboard, WCUU was able to strengthen its teaching and research ability. By November 1941, the College of Science hired 28 new faculty members, bringing its staff and faculty to 82 in total, with 18 full professors and 11 assistant professors.[855]

In 1941 the Department of Pharmacy had 15 faculty members, and apart from Dr. Meuser, who was from Canada, the other 14 were Chinese. Among them, Dr. Tang Tenghan 汤腾汉 had graduated from University of Berlin and Lin Zaozong had a Master's degree from the University of London. Eight instructors were graduates of WCUU, and of these, Li Xianlong 李兴隆, Xie Chengke 谢成科 and Zhu Tingru 朱廷儒, upgraded their degrees at the University of Toronto. After 1942 seven more WCUU graduates joined the faculty team, bringing the Department of Pharmacy personnel to 22 instructors, including one Canadian and 21 Chinese.[856]

In 1943, the *WCUU Journal* reported that the College of Liberal Arts had 83 faculties in total, among whom 68 were Chinese and 15 were foreigners. 10 Western instructors taught in the Foreign Literature and Language department, 2 in History, one in Education, and 2 in Fine Arts.[857]

By 1944, WCUU had about 230 faculty members, including 81 full professors, 44 associate professors, 65 lecturers and 27 teaching assistants. Among them, 53 had Ph.D. degrees, and 33 had Masters degrees. In 1946, WCUU had about 50 faculty members studying overseas.

Moreover, WCUU not only carefully cultivated its own quality faculty team, but also trained excellent teachers for other universities in specific fields, especially in Dentistry. According to the *WCUU Journal*, June 1945 Issue, since the inception of the

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855 *WCUU Journal*, November 1941.

856 Wu Peng, Zheng Hu & Zhang Zhirong, ed. *The History of West China School of Pharmacy: 1918-2010* (Chengdu, Sichuan University Publishing House, 2010), 37. 吴蓬, 郑虎, 张志荣 主编，*四川大学华西药学院史稿: 1918-2010*. 成都，四川大学出版社, 2010.

857 *WCUU Journal*, March 1943 and November 1943.

Department of Dentistry, it had 130 graduates in total. Among them, one fifth had upgraded their education abroad. Most graduates were working at China's major universities and hospitals as leading figures. The WCUU Dentistry Department was the cradle and center of China's dental teaching, learning, clinical practice, and research.

Even today, the West China Dentistry College and Hospital is known as one of the best of China.[858]

Recalling the tremendous changes that had taken place since Lincoln Zhang entered the university's top administration, Professor Jiang Wengang observed during the anti-Japanese war that many WCUU graduates had returned to the University from their overseas study and gradually took over the teaching positions held by missionaries. They held higher educational credentials and were equipped with better teaching abilities than most Western teachers, especially in the fields of Chinese literature and philosophy. The Chinese teachers also demonstrated excellent teaching and research abilities in the sciences and other subjects. As a result, the Christian atmosphere had almost disappeared from campus, and the professors enjoyed academic discussions and arguments without reservation, while the students and instructors had respectful communications and interactions as equals, and most importantly, the influence and control of Westerners had decreased considerably.[859]

While improving the quality of faculty at WCUU, Lincoln Zhang strongly rejected partisanship and political prejudice. In the early 1940s, WCUU gathered a group of scholars who were the core members of the Young China Party.[860] Their

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858 *WCUU Journal*, June 1945, and Wu Peng, Zheng Hu & Zhang Zhirong, ed. *The History of West China School of Pharmacy: 1918-2010.*

859 According to Jiang Wengang, Luo Zhongshu, the Dean of the College of Liberal Arts, hired Dr. Ma Gong, a Catholic priest, from Leuven University, Belgium to teach philosophy at WCUU. I have a hard time identifying the English name of Dr. Ma Gong who is a Belgian citizen. Dr. Ma Gong's Chinese character name is 马恭. 姜蕴刚: "我对华西大学的回忆", [成都文史资料选辑], 第三辑, 四川人民出版社, 1982. Jiang Wengang, "My Reminiscence of West China Union University", *Selected Collections of Chengdu Literature and History*, Series 3 (Sichuan People's Publishing House, China, 1982), 82-85.

860 The Young China Party (YCP) was founded by a group of Chinese Students in Paris in December 1923, and its primary platform was to advocate the elimination of China's warlords, to establish a strong central government, and promote nationalism in China. Zeng Qi, Li Huang, He Luzhi were the major founders of the party. In 1928 since the Party refused to merge with the Nationalist Party, Chiang Kai-shek banned the party. After the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931, the YCP called for an immediate declaration of war against Japan. The YCP joined the anti-Japanese United Front in 1937 to support the national government. After the initiation of the full-scale war, the YCP cooperated closely with the Nationalist govenment in fighting the Japanese military aggression. After the Communist Party took over China, many of the YCP's leadership and members moved overseas or relocated to Taiwan with the Nationalist government.

political opinions and activities greatly worried the Minister of Education, Chen Lifu.[861] Chen, a key figure in the New Life Movement, wrote to Lincoln Zhang to express his concerns. Adhering to his principle of respecting independent thinking, and academic and personal freedoms, Zhang wrote a long letter back to Chen Lifu to explain his understanding of faculty members' political opinions and their intellectual activities. He responded to Chen by stating, "the school has employed non-KMT members Jiang Wengang and Chang Yansheng to teach for many years. Therefore, the school is committed to its leniency, and it strives for its academic cooperation."[862]

In 1946, of the three colleges at WCUU, two were under Chinese deans. In the College of Liberal Arts, all heads of departments were Chinese, except for the Department of English. In the College of Science, the heads of three of the five departments were Chinese (Biology, Physics and Mathematics, and Home Economics). In Medicine and Dentistry, the majority of the department heads were Chinese, as were all hospital unit superintendents.[863]

The most salient result of faculty indigenization in the interwar period and the wartime years was the shifting of power from the missionaries to the Chinese. With an increasing numbers of Chinese taking over leadership in almost all department and research institutes, their sense of equality gradually developed and their voices became as loud as those of their foreign counterparts, if not louder. This changed dynamic between the foreign instructors and the Chinese further strengthened the confidence of Chinese faculty members. By the late 1940s, the influence of the Christian missions had become far less significant at WCUU.

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[861] Chen Lifu, 陈立夫 August 8, 1900 – February 2001, a Chinese politician. He obtained his Master's degree in mining engineering from the University of Pittsburgh. He was the Minister of Education from 1938 to 1944. Chen Lifu was a key figure in the New Life Movement. According to Arif Dirlik, Chen "believed that one of the basic purposes of the New Life Movement was to make the masses realize the insufficiency of old customs for the present and to transform the whole society." And "Li 礼, Yi 义, Lian 廉, Chi 耻, guaranteed proper conduct in 'accordance with natural law, social rule, or national discipline.' Li, Yi, Lian, Chi, were both the 'native morality' of China and also the 'basic conditions of national unification." And "Chen Lifu posited 'efficiency' as the central goal of political organization; the complexity of New Life organization was itself justified in terms of greater 'efficiency' in achieving its goals." Arif Dirlik, "The Ideological Foundation and New Life Movement: A Study in Counterrevolution."—*The Journal of Asian Studies,* Vol. 34, no. 4 (August 1975): 954-980.

[862] From Dr. Zhang Liping, "The Archives of Sichuan University, Letters of Lincoln Zhang," 429.

[863] Dr. Leslie Kilborn held the position of Dean of the College of Medicine until 1947. However committed they were to building the University, according to Dr. Karen Minden, passing the positions of Dean of Medicine, Superintendent of the University Hospital, and Head of Biochemistry to a Chinese in 1947, "was embarrassingly late." Karen Minden. *Bamboo Stone: The Evolution of a Chinese Medical Elite* (Toronto, Buffalo, and London: University of Toronto Press. 1994), 69.

Expanding Pharmaceutical Studies to Support Wartime China

On July 7th, 1937, Lincoln Zhang wrote to the members of the Associated Boards to lay out his ambitious plan for the university. The eruption of the Marco Polo Incident the same day, which marked the beginning of the full scale Japanese invasion of China proper, changed the entire country and the world, but it did not change Zhang's determination.

On November 18, 1937, the president of Nanjing University, Dr. Chen Yuguang 陈裕光[864] cabled Lincoln Zhang asking to move three departments – medicine, agriculture, and animal husbandry and veterinary medicine – to the campus of WCUU. Without hesitation, Zhang replied immediately, "Welcome!"

On Monday, November 22, the WCUU executive committee held an emergency meeting to discuss the preparations for accommodating the Nanjing University students and staff. In the meeting, WCUU decided immediately to erect a row of one-story buildings, and a two-story building of three sections comprising dormitories and kitchens for the university. Half of the dormitories were for female students and another dormitory building for male students. The Mingde middle school dormitory would be the residence for the staff of Nanjing University, the University gymnasium became the students' dining hall, and the newly built hospital laundry rooms were to be converted to classrooms. The unoccupied basements became laboratories, and every building had corridors sealed to serve as offices for professors.

The geographical features of Sichuan provided some protection from Japanese attacks. The war suddenly turned the remoteness of Chengdu into a cultural center of China as a whole. The concept of Chengdu as a remote city was thus changed by the war. The older idea that "the roads leading to Sichuan were so challenging that is harder than to reach to the sky", quotation from a poem by Li Bai, no longer applied to the

[864] Dr. Yuguan Chen 陈裕光 (March 7th, 1893-April19th, 1989) was born in Ningbo, Zhenjiang province. He studied chemistry in Jinling University from 1911 to 1915. He was sent by the university to study Organic Chemistry at the Columbia University and gained his PhD in 1922. He taught at the Beijing Normal University from 1923-1924. He was hired by the Jinling University in 1925, and then appointed as President in October 1927 until 1950. He established the Chinese Chemistry Association in 1932 and was elected as the Chairman of the association from 1932 to 1936. He was granted a Honourary Doctorate in Education by the University of California in 1945.

province. After the war broke out, the isolation and remoteness of Chengdu became synonymous with safety, protection, and prosperity.

Soon, Nanjing University, Jinling Woman's College, Qilu University, and Yenching University moved to Chengdu and shared the WCUU campus.[865] A University Joint Management Committee was soon formed. After escaping war-torn regions of the country, many scholars praised the WCUU campus for being a safe haven.[866] What's more, the Nationalist government's wartime capital Chongqing was only a two-hour flight away from Chengdu, allowing prominent international figures to visit this new cultural center conveniently.

Zhang and his colleagues knew that hosting other universities at the WCUU campus would boost its reputation and benefit its future development. "It has become increasingly clear to the Chinese authorities that the University is meeting a real need in China…and our friends are becoming increasingly willing to come out in the open in our support,"[867] Zhang and Dr. Lindsay, the Vice-chancellor of the University, shared with the other members of the Associated Boards. They wrote, "The University feels that it is fortunate in being able to act as host in these critical days, and we are relying on the support, sympathy and financial assistance of our Board of Founders."[868] Although shortages of staff housing, student dormitories and classrooms presented a tremendous challenge to the University, Lincoln Zhang was encouraged by the opportunity to work with his counterparts from the guest universities. He wrote:

> We would like to emphasize how much we feel the spirit of the presidents of the three other institutions has helped in the solving of our common problems. Each of us realizes the magnitude of the trust which is ours under these wartime conditions, and together we consult and plan for our common

[865] Yenching University moved to Chengdu in 1941.

[866] During their times in Chengdu Chen Yinke, Gu Jigang, Qian Mu, Wu Bi, Hou Baozhang, and many more scholars wrote poems and essays to praise the peacefulness, beautiful landscapes, and friendly atmosphere of WCUU and Chengdu.

[867] Lincoln Zhang and Vice-Chancellor Lindsay to Anderson, Garside, Beech, Silcock and Castleton: War time arrangement for more universities move to Chengdu, Nov. 24th, 1937. UBCHEA RG011-286-4486. P.14-15.

[868] Ibid.

cause. The cooperation we have achieved is deep in spirit if not as wide as we might have wished.[869]

At the same time, faculty from the guest universities lessened the pressure of staff shortages at WCUU. By saving University resources, the University Joint Management Committee allowed students to take courses offered by any of the other universities, and the universities accepted the credits all together. As noted above, this policy helped Lincoln Zhang to send his own faculty members for further educational endeavors overseas.

With the arrival of guest universities also came with more funding. In a report to the Board of Governors, Zhang noted, "Several departments have been strengthened by the grant to the University of five Chairs from the British Boxer Indemnity Fund and the appointment of highly qualified professors to fill them."[870]

In short, the presence of other university faculty and students enriched WCUU intellectually and institutionally. The four guest universities brought outstanding scholars, some of whom WCUU desperately wanted to have. In addition, students from the provinces of Guangdong, Hubei, Anhui, Zhejiang, and Guizhou brought different cultural practices. The colleges of medicine and dentistry attracted students from Southeast Asian countries and even the Soviet Union. In 1936, before the war started, there were 335 registered students at WCUU. In September 1937, this number rose to 560; in 1940, there were 640; in 1942, more than 900 students were registered.

In the Spring term of 1945, WCUU had 1300 students. That is, within 10 years, WCUU's student numbers had increased by a factor of three. By then, WCUU was attracting students nationwide; it was no longer a provincial college, but a national one.

The development of Pharmacy Department illustrated the University's intentions to both expand programs and serving the needs of the nation during the wartime.

The Pharmacy Department was front and center in servicing the anti-Japanese War efforts, which fostered its rapid development

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[869] Lincoln Zhang to the Board of Governors, September 30th, 1941. UBCHEA RG 011-286-4488. P. 230-0233 & RG 011-297-4626. P. 12-13.

[870] Lincoln Zhang to the Board of Governors, April 22nd, 1940. UBCHEA RG 011-286-4487. P. 112-115.

Maintaining a sufficient supply of medicines was an urgent issue during wartime. Antibiotic medicines like penicillin and streptomycin were difficult to obtain since China did not have the capacity to produce them. After 1938, the Japanese cut off most of the domestic and international transportations systems, so access to antibiotics became more and more difficult. As a result, the Ministry of Health centralized its control of antibiotics distribution and allocation.

Compared to other hospitals and medical centers, WCUU hospitals enjoyed several advantages in obtaining precious medicines from aboard. Donations from churches, mission boards, and foreign hospitals provided a partial added supply for the University hospitals. Missionaries and overseas students were also able to purchase and bring urgently needed medicines to the University for much lower prices. However, those channels could not lessen the severe shortage of medicine, so the University hospitals still appealed to the Ministry of Health for medicines.

The goal for establishing the Department of Pharmacy in 1932 had been to train pharmaceutical teaching professionals and quality pharmacists for Chinese society. In late 1938, the Department shifted its focus to teaching students specialized knowledge about the use of pharmaceutical technology, as well as building and developing pharmaceutical businesses in West China. The school also encouraged students to participate in the research and manufacture of medicines for medical applications in order to meet public and national needs. In other words, pharmaceutical research, teaching, experiment, and production became the priority.

Because West China had the richest supply of raw natural medicines in China, the Department added new courses that related to the production of Chinese medicines and drugs to its core curriculum. Courses like Pharmaceutical Chemistry, Pharmaceutics, Pharmacognostics, Phytochemistry, Research of Chinese Medicine, and Documentation Retrieval of Medicine, became mandatory.[871]

In 1939, the Boxer Indemnity Scholar[872] Dr. Tang Tenghan 汤腾汉[873] joined the Department of Pharmacy. His arrival marked the point of takeoff for pharmaceutical

[871] Wu Peng, Zheng Hu, and Zhang Zhirong, Ed. *History of West China School of Pharmacy: 1918-2010* (Chengdu: Sichuan University Publishing House, 2010), 36-43.

[872] After the "Boxer Uprising" of 1899-1901, the Eight Western Allied Forces forced the Qing government to sign the "Xin Chou Treaty" which forced the Qing government to pay a total indemnity up to 450 million taels of silver. Based

studies for the University and for China as a whole. Dr. Tang divided his time between teaching and promoting the study of Chinese natural medicines. In teaching, he strongly emphasized teaching students foundational courses, training them, and improving their experimental and operational skills. In terms of research, on the initiative of Dr. Tang, the Institute of Pharmacology was established in 1939.[874] It first focused on the investigation of the origin of medicinal materials, the analysis of local raw materials, and the identification, extraction and analysis of the active ingredients of traditional Chinese medicines. Under Dr. Tang's leadership, the investigation and analysis of Chinese herbal medicines and their extraction filled major gaps in herbal medical studies in China.

The Institute of Pharmacology rented a small room from a Canadian mission middle school as its laboratory, and the financial resources for this work came from Dr. Tang's fundraising efforts. He strove to get support from the China Foundation, and soon the Wellcome Foundation, a British organization for medical research, gave 1000 pounds to support its studies. In 1944, the Stokes Machine Co. of the United States donated $5000 worth of pharmaceutical machinery and equipment to the institute. Due to the efforts of Dr. Joseph Needham during 1942-46, the Sino-British Science

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on the "Open Door to China" policy, the United States decided to refund part of the money to guide Chinese students to the United States and develop China's educational and cultural undertakings. Therefore, the "China Education and Culture Fund" was established. In September 1924, the "China Education and Culture Fund Board of Directors" was established in Beijing. Based on the two principles of "developing scientific knowledge" and "promoting permanent cultural undertakings", the American Indemnity Fund was mainly used for scientific research, applied scientific, scientific teaching and cultural undertakings. Among them, the "Indeminity Professorship" was a means adopted by the Foundation to support university teaching and researching. The "Indemnity Professorship" was split into two categories, a science professorship and a scientific research professorship. The first focused on teaching, and the second one on research. The China Education Foundation employed well-known scholars at home and abroad and sent them to six selected colleges and universities across the country each year. The scholars worked at the assigned educational institutions for 1-5 years, and their salaries were directly paid by the foundation. Dr. Tang Tenghan was an Indemnity Professor assigned to WCUU from 1939 to 1946. WCUU was able to have 5 Indemnity Professors, one in the humanities and four in the science. He Luzhi, Li Xiaofang, Zhang Quan, Zhang Xiaoli, Xu Shoutang, Chen Zhilin and Zhou Rusong were all Indemnity Professors at WCUU.

[873] Dr. Tang Tenghan 汤腾汉, May 2nd, 1900-June 23rd, 1988, was born in Indonesia. In 1922 he went to Germany to study pharmaceutics in Berlin University. He gained his Ph.D. in Pharmacy in 1929. He taught at Shandong University from 1930, and then was appointed as Dean of the College of Science. He started teaching at West China Union University in 1939 and then became Dean of the College of Pharmaceutics. He was one of the founders of the National pharmaceutical factory in Chongqing, which worked to support the anti-Japanese War. In October 1951, he started participating in national defense medical studies at China's Academy of Military Medical Sciences. From 1963-1969 he was the deputy director of the Academy. He was the pioneer of Chinese pharmaceutics, in the study of military chemical agents.

[874] The Institute of Pharmacology was part of the Department of Pharmacy.

Cooperation Office donated substantial numbers of pharmaceutical books and documents to support the Department's research.

In 1940, the West China Experiment Pharmaceutical Factory came into being. Instructors from the Department took on administrative and engineering roles at the factory, guiding students in the production of medicines. Soon, the factory started providing medicines for the University hospitals and drugstores in the entire province.

In 1942, the Pharmacy Building was completed, which meant that more space was available to house the entire Department, including its research institute, labs, and factory. The completion of the Pharmacy Building was the result of a collective effort of the University, educational missionaries, the Canadian mission board, and the Associated Boards. Besides the above, Dr. E. D. Meuser's vision for China's future pharmacy teaching, experimentation, and research was decisive.

In late 1936, Dr. Meuser had returned from furlough as the head of the WCUU Pharmacy Department. He was determined to make his Department a model for pharmacy education in China, because WCUU was the only university offering pharmaceutical studies in the country. In early 1937, he proposed to build a Pharmacy Building, but his proposition was set aside. At the time, Dr. Meuser was the only pharmaceutical missionary and only person to run pharmacological studies in China, and the University did not have the budget for this project.

After many conversations with Lincoln Zhang about the development of the Pharmacy Department, on April 13th, 1937, the Cabinet of WCUU passed the motion made by Dr. Meuser to "refer the matter of a Pharmacy Building to the Property Committee…for investigation and recommendation." The Executive Committee suggested the building could be a new wing of the Medical-Dental building. The purpose of the building was to provide adequate space for teaching, researching, and doing laboratory work for both faculty and students of the pharmacy department. On May 3rd, 1937, the Executive Committee further recommended the project to the Board of Directors and to the Board of Governors. The Cabinet appointed Dr. Meuser to prepare the necessary data for their considerations. On May 31st, all faculties of the Colleges of Science, Medicine and Dentistry were notified and agreed to support the Pharmacy-Building proposal.

The eruption of the war, however, meant that the original plan for focusing on teaching, research, and laboratory work for the Pharmacy Department was too conservative. Both the University and Dr. Meuser realized that the anti-Japanese war required the Department to train high-grade pharmacists "to provide adequate leadership for the profession."

With the nation engaged in the war and China's major transportation routes cut off by the Japanese, purchasing medicines from abroad could only be done at "great cost"; therefore, the "research in the crude drugs of West China and their subsequent utilization in the local manufacture of many of the medicines used here"[875] became an urgent priority.

The necessity for the Pharmaceutical Department to expand its programs became obvious: to train more professionals in pharmacology, to study Chinese natural drugs to meet the needs of the war, and to manufacture drugs. Based on that scheme, another action was taken to separate the department from the College of Science so it became an independent Department.

All these new developments meant not only that the Department would explore new territories, but it would be also focus on serving in the war against the Japanese and aiding in China's future reconstruction.

Dr. Meuser acted quickly to present the proposal to the Board of Governors and the Associated Boards. He wrote to Dr. Beech for advice, but the response he received was not very encouraging. Beech told Dr. Meuser that the Board of Governors was not going to refer his proposal to the Associated Boards' annual meeting. This meant they were not going to consider it because the "proposal constitutes an appeal for funds in the United States and Canada, and the Executive cannot take action unless they have the approval of those boards. This in particular applies to the Canadian Board, especially since the work in pharmacy has been so largely a Canadian Board project."[876]

Anything involving money usually became a challenge during such a sensitive time. Dr. Beech advised Dr. Meuser to approach the Board of the United Church of Canada West China Missions for financial support and approval. Beech promised he

[875] Dr. Edwin Meuser to Arnup, July 23rd, 1939. UCCA 83.047C Box 16 File 30.
[876] Dr. Beech to Dr. Meuser, September 13th, 1937. UCCA 83.047C Box 16 File 24.

would then take it to the Board of Governors. In other words, as a Canadian missionary, Dr. Meuser's plan was treated as a Canadian project and the responsibility of the United Church of Canada. If the Canadian Mission Board could provide financial support, the Associated Boards would consider being part of it.

The rejection didn't discourage Dr. Meuser but made him more determined to make the Pharmacy Building his immediate goal. He started contacting major drug companies in North America, Europe, and China to ask for support. All his relatives and associates received his appeal letters, which emphasized the importance of the project. In December 1937, news reached Chengdu that both Bayer Pharmacy Co. and Mercks Chemical Co. in Shanghai pledged to support the project.[877] Their support was encouraging but utterly inadequate for meeting the budgets of the Pharmacy Building.

The project moved forward slowly but steadily under Dr. Meuser's tireless exertion and in early 1938, the Board of Canada West China Mission approved his proposal. On April 26, 1938, Dr. Meuser wrote to thank Dr. Arnup and the mission board for their support. Wasting no time, Dr. Meuser submitted his proposal to the Executive Committee of the Associated Boards.

He explained why "West China was a source area of pharmaceutical and medical supplies"[878] due to its vast mountainous ranges, which made its resources unique.

> Crude drug resources [are] rarely to be found in any other part of the world. This, accordingly, marks it out as an area in which the study of pharmacy in general and the investigation and in varying degrees the manufacture of drugs and medicinal preparations are destined to form a most important part in West China's future development, supplying employment, wealth, and healing to the people.[879]

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[877] *University News*, Dec. 1937. UBCHEA RG011-297-4624. P.127.
[878] Dr. Meuser to Frank Anderson, April 26th, 1938. UCCA 83.047C Box 16 File 24.
[879] Ibid.

He pointed out that since the pharmaceutics program was the only school of pharmacy functioning in all of China, demands for its services were ramping up; therefore, adequate housing and equipment for the work were imperatively needed. Now the proposal for erecting a pharmacy building was supported by all faculties and students of the University. He said, "It has met the enthusiastic approval of the Chinese government and people, and has attracted a constantly growing stream of students, both young men and women."

Before the Canadian Mission Board approved the project, Lincoln Zhang's office already had the land ready. The Board of Directors appointed Dr. Beech, Mr. Small and Dr. Meuser to form the building committee, and "recommend[ed] to the Board of Founders[880] that permission be secured for Dr. Meuser to raise funds in U.S.A. and Canada for the erection of the Pharmacy Building."[881] The cost of the building was estimated at about Mex. $40,000, and, through personal connections with pharmaceutical groups and individuals, Meuser had already secured Mex. $20,000. However, what he needed was another $20,000. He told the Board that he was going "to utilize my services while on furlough in soliciting support for the Pharmacy Building project," requesting that "authorization be given to Dr. Beech and myself to proceed immediately in the solicitation of funds and equipment."[882]

The Board of Governors promptly approved the project since it didn't need the Boards to provide any financial support. On May 10th, 1938, Arnup wrote to notify Meuser that the Executive Committee would take action to support the pharmacy-building project. Dr. Beech and Mr. Small sent a similar message. On May 31st, 1938, Meuser wrote to thank Arnup for his support; he also expressed his disappointment that the Board of Governors neither took action to support him directly nor allowed Dr. Beech to help him with fundraising. He decided to spend the months of August, September, and October campaigning for "the necessary funds with or without the help of Dr. Beech."[883]

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[880] Here the "Board of Founders" indicates the Board of Governors, which was composed by the representatives of the original founders of the University.

[881] Dr. Meuser to Dr. Anderson, April 26th, 1938. UCCA 83.047C Box 16 File 24.

[882] Ibid.

[883] Dr. Mesuer to Arnup, May 31st, 1938. UCCA 83. 047C Box16 File 30.

In early 1939, the Department of Pharmacy received N.C. $20,000 from the International Red Cross, and the same amount of money from the New Life Movement run by Madam Chiang. However, the money was not for the building but for research into the unprocessed drug materials and for manufacturing medicines.

Dr. Meuser was therefore quite anxious to secure the rest of funds. On July 23rd, 1939, He wrote a desperate letter to Dr. Arunp and asked for $7,000 American dollars. He wrote,

> About $7,000 only would be required to supply our department with the necessary buildings to carry on a really worthwhile work making, I believe, a very worthwhile contribution toward China's need and toward our missionary cause. This is not more than the cost of a normal sized house in Canada or U.S.A. Would it not be possible that someone might be interested in this project sufficiently to make a contribution of this amount, and thus make possible the realization of not only our dream of years, but supplying the means through which this work maybe carried on throughout the years through the men and women students who will pass from this institution into the great living Chinese society.[884]

He then started another round of letter writing. All his relatives and associates received his appeals for support again. His hard work paid off one year later, in late 1940. As the College of Science Newsletter put it, "Dr. Meuser has received a generous gift of N.C. $ 36,000, from a friend, Rev. W. R. Morrison in Canada. Mr. Morrison was formerly connected with the Canadian Mission in their work in Szechwan."[885] The money was more than sufficient for the building. After many rounds of discussion about the pros and cons, the Board of Directors decided to erect two buildings for the Department of Pharmacy. The buildings were completed in 1942.

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[884] Dr. Edwin Mesuer to Arnup, July 23rd, 1939. UCCA 83. 047C Box16 File 30.

[885] *The College of Science Newsletter*, First issue, 1940. UCCA 83.047C Box 16 File 34.

The completion of the Pharmacy Buildings greatly spurred the enthusiasm and productivity of the faculty members, and provided much needed space for the expansion of the Department programs. In 1942, the Department published its *1939-1941 Research Directory* with 56 research papers in both Chinese and English. Two papers were published in the *Newsletter of American Chemistry*.

On March 8, 1943, the WCUU Pharmacy Society was founded. It was an academic organization with four committees: academic, communications, friendship, and careers. Dr. Tang was elected as director of the society. Soon it started publishing a monthly magazine, the *WCUU Pharmacy Society* 华大药学社社讯, to introduce the newest pharmaceutical science and technology information and to publish research papers by WCUU faculty and students. The Magazine became one of the most important academic outlets for students and faculty. *The WCUU Pharmacy Society* also organized 16 large-scale academic workshops, lectures, and discussions from 1943 to 1946.

The growth of the Pharmacy Department served not only to advance pharmaceutical research and medicinal drug production, but also to further Lincoln Zhang's efforts to indigenize the University with Chinese faculty. The Department applied two methods to train young instructors: assigning senior scholars to guide younger faculty in teaching and research, and sending new instructors to the labs and factories to participate in and learn from experiments. Drs. Tang Tenghan, Chen Siyi 陈思义[886] and Meuser each took two or three new instructors and provided them with specific guidance, while also encouraging them to learn from their work in the lab and the factory. In 1946, apart from Dr. Meuser, all nineteen-faculty members were Chinese, and seven among them had overseas learning experience and credentials.

In 1944, the Department of Pharmacy doubled the number of students from the previous year, and the number of female students markedly increased as well.[887] The faculty increased to four times the pre-1937 number, directly benefitting in particular

[886] Dr. Chen Siyi obtained his Ph. D. in Pharmacy from the University of Wisconsin, USA.

[887] To know more about the female students enrollment of the department of Pharmacy, please see chapter seven.

from the return of professors with overseas learning experiences who had been WCUU graduates.

In the Spring of 1944, the University pharmacy was taken over by the experimental pharmaceutical factory as the factory streamlined the production, distribution, and marketing of its own medicines. It was able to produce much-needed antibiotic drugs and thirty categories of other medicines to the tune of 40,000 pills daily. It became one of the major suppliers of China's Red Cross and pharmacies across Sichuan.

Meanwhile, while the teaching, research and production of the Department of Pharmacy provided direct support to the war, so did the College of Medicine and Dentistry. During wartime, a large percentage of medical graduates joined the army and worked at frontline hospitals.

The dramatic expansion of the Pharmacy Department in its curriculum, faculty and student numbers, classrooms, and factory facilities reflected the growth of the entire University during the wartime. Lincoln Zhang's determination, together with the Chinese staff's hard work and the tireless support of missionary faculty, were pivotal factors in accomplishing the expansion. The enlarged program strengthened the University. Most importantly, the graduates of this program came to form the backbone of pharmacy teaching, researching, and drug production in China from the 1940s onward, establising a solid foundation for the modern Chinese pharmacy sector.

Wartime Program Expansion and Postwar Reconstruction Preparation

The development and expansion of the Pharmacy Department reflected the substantial advancements of other disciplines at WCUU.

Before the war, the fields of Medicine and Dentistry were the dominant programs at WCUU. In 1936, the College of Medicine and Dentistry had 113 students, or 30 percent of the total enrolment of the school. In 1934, with the expansion of university programs on his mind, Lincoln Zhang discussed his University development plans with Luo Zhongshu, the newly appointed Dean of the College of Liberal Arts, a returned scholar from Oxford University. They both agreed that China would need

educated people with various kinds of expertise for its future modernization, therefore, the University should aim to offer new disciplines and programs to make it a healthy and comprehensive educational institution rather than one focusing only on medicine and dentistry.[888] Based on this understanding, WCUU made it mandatory for science students to take Chinese history and cultural studies.[889]

The presence of university professors and programs from other universities provided opportunities during the war for WCUU to develop new programs to serve in the fight against the Japanese, while also expanding new disciplines to prepare for postwar reconstruction. With Chongqing and Chengdu becoming the new cultural hubs, the University was able to attract reputable scientists, scholars, and writers to give lectures and presentations at the university, which greatly spurred faculty members' and students' spirit and enthusiasm for productive nation-building.

A brief examination of each major discipline's development during wartime reveals examples of the school's patriotism and dedication.

Dentistry: The Department of Dentistry carried out similar duties and responsibilities as the Pharmacy Department. It was the earliest such department established in China and is known as probably one of the best in East Asia.[890] Its graduates have served as the backbone of dentistry in the Dr. Sun Yat-sen Medical School, the Central Army Medical College, and the Central Dental Institute. In 1943, the central government commissioned the Department of Dentistry to draw up a long-term plan for a national program of dental education. The affiliated hospital of the School of Dentistry housed state-of-the-art equipment, and during the anti-Japanese war, their X-ray machines were used for diagnosis, and radium was used to treat cancer.

Agricultural Studies: Promoting and expanding agricultural studies was on the University agenda but its progress was initially slow. The severe shortage of food

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888 Luo Zhongshu, "The Postwar Contribution of the College of Humanities," *Journal of West China Union University,* June 1945. 罗忠恕,"文学院战后应有之贡献",[华西协和大学校刊], 1945 年 6 月.

889 Li Changhua, *A Traveler's Memoir: My Journey From Mingxian to Huaxi (2017),* 323. 李长华, 旅客萍踪: 从铭贤到华西-李长华回忆录, (2017), 323. It is a self-published book by Mr. Li Changhua.

890 *Hundred Years of Stomatology in West China,* 23.

supplies and the move of Nanjing University during the war (where John Lossing Buck had established a cutting-edge institute in the 1930s) were catalysts for program development in this field.

In 1940, as more students became interested in agricultural studies, Dr. Frank Dickinson, the agricultural program director, proposed to extend a one-year agricultural training program into a special two-year program. He aimed to promote agricultural education, facilitate the dissemination of agricultural technology, and cultivate higher-level talents. His goal was to meet the needs of the War of Resistance, and more importantly, of the eventual postwar construction.

In the Fall of 1940, the two-year agricultural program accepted 20 students. Since there were too many enthusiastic students signing up, the program admitted another 20 students in the Spring term. The University actively coordinated the extension of the program, provided a two-hectares experimental farm and a large fruit garden that same year. Very soon it located another 2.7 hectares of paddy fields and two hectares of land for the research study.[891] Dickinson donated his private dairy farm with thirty high quality dairy cattle and more than two hundred sheep and chickens for the study.[892] The University signed contracts with several private farms and dairy farms to serve as learning sites for the students' experiments.

At the time, these were the best agricultural experts in China when it came to both teaching students in the classroom and guiding them in the field. The program was able to secure some top scholars in the field to teach at the University, such as Wang Qiyu 汪啓愚, Hu Changchi 胡昌熾, Qiao Qiming 乔啓明, Wei Jingchao 魏景超, Shan Shoufu 单寿父, Yu Jingrang 于景让, Zhang Songyin 张松荫, and Guan Xianghuan 管相桓 were the best agricultural experts at the time teaching students in the classroom and guiding them at the field. Dr. John L. Buck, an American missionary and Agricultural Economist, taught the agricultural studies survey course.

In 1941, the Institute of Agricultural Studies was established, with Dr. He Wenjun 何文俊 as the Director of the Institute. Its focuses were agronomy, horticulture,

[891] *WCUU Journal*, (October 1941): 17-18.
[892] Ibid.

and livestock. Its research and experiments resulted in the introduction of superior crop varieties, fruit trees, vegetables and livestock to Sichuan, increasing provincial production levels.

On Saturday, November 22, 1941, the Department of Agriculture held an agricultural products exhibition at WCUU. The exhibition was divided into four categories: livestock, horticulture, agricultural products, and processing. The exhibition showcased the accomplishments of nineteen years of developing WCUU agricultural products, especially fruit trees and improved breeds of cattle. It highlighted improved methods of animal husbandry, horticulture, and food processing. These practices were imported from Europe and the United States, using cross-breeding methods, after experimentation in local environments, and subsequently promoted and tested in Sichuan and the border provinces. Agricultural experimentation and modernization served two purposes, namely, to help China catch up with the most advanced agricultural developments in Europe and North America and to meet domestic demands.

The foods, facts and photos displayed in the exhibition spoke to the increased output and improved quality of the products brought about by years of scientific effort at WCUU and in Sichuan. What reportedly attracted the audience the most were the live specimens (small dairy cows, chickens, long-haired rabbits) and various fruits. The agricultural products, such as sherbet, plum jam and wine, were sold out immediately. The exhibition on the second day was even m ore crowded with people coming to buy seeds, fruit saplings, and agricultural products. Everything sold out quickly and people still poured in even as the exhibition, which attracted more than 1400 visitors, was closing. Lincoln Zhang and Dr. Dickinson were reported to be extremely happy and proud of the exhibition, with Zhang declaring in his speech that the success of the exhibition was symbolic of the value of the scientific agricultural education.[893]

With more researchers joining the Institute of Agricultural Studies and the increase and expansion of its research scope in the ensuing years, more national and private agricultural institutions sought to cooperate with the WCUU Institute. These included the National Fisheries and Animal Husbandry Department of the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, the National Committee for Increasing Grain Production, the

[893] *WCUU Journal*, January (1942): 18-19.

Sichuan Extension and Breeding Station, the Ministry of Education, and Sichuan's provincial government. Besides publishing its research results, the Institute focused on using its findings to develop new products. The institute's fruitful results led to ever greater support from the community and generous donations coming in from various funding channels.[894] The Institute's faculty members increased from one in 1936 to eighteen in 1943, and the number of Chinese instructors rose from zero in 1936 to seventeen in 1943.

Rural Construction: If the purpose of developing Agricultural Studies was training specialists for China's agricultural operation, the University's strategy to develop and strengthen the Department of Rural Construction aspired to provide immediate support and expertise to fill in the developmental blanks in China's massive rural sector, which had been largely left behind in almost every way.

In 1931, WCUU started its Rural Construction studies program within the Department of Education. It aimed to cultivate teachers and public health and agricultural personnel to change the backward condition of China's countryside.

In order to promote teachers' education for China's public schools, in the early 1930s, the GMD government prohibited private educational institutions from running educational programs. This policy greatly undermined the expansion of teaching and research in the Rural Construction field at WCUU. Nonetheless, Lincoln Zhang was determined to expand the Rural Construction program.

Intending to get ahead of other universities in rural construction, he aimed to promote ways of enhancing the livelihood of rural communities. Accordingly, in the Summer of 1941, Lincoln Zhang made a trip to Chongqing, accompanied by the head of the educational department. Lincoln Zhang convinced Zhang Jia'ao to be on his side, and together they tried to persuade the Ministry of Education to permit WCUU to run its Department of Education with a focus on rural construction. That attempt failed, however.

894 *WCUU Journal*, November (1943): 6.

Lincoln Zhang made a second attempt in the Spring of 1942, again with the help of Zhang Jia'ao. The two of them successfully convinced the Ministry of Education to grant WCUU a permit for a one-year experimental program. Taking advantage of this unique opportunity, Lincoln Zhang appointed Dr. Fu Baochen 傅葆琛,[895] a Cornell University graduate specialized in Rural Education, to be the Director of the Rural Education program. It focused solely on the rural areas of Sichuan and Xikang provinces with special attention to six fields (transportation, water conservancy, finances, special products, local finances and rural economy) and their relationships with the country's South-western provinces and North-western provinces.[896] The report of the one-year experiment impressed the Ministry of Education enough; in the Spring 1944, the Ministry granted the University permission to establish the Department of Rural Construction, with Fu Baochen as the department chair.

In September 1944, the Department of Rural Construction began to accept students nationwide. While the general purpose of Rural Construction Studies in China was to serve the development of China's vast countryside, its special priority was to train educational personnel and workers. Since it was a pioneer program for the discipline, building up practical curricula was its first task. With the building of a modern Chinese countryside in mind, the University intended to make it a multidisciplinary program that would include education, local management, public health, phycology, and geology. It aimed to attract students by providing promising broad employment opportunities.[897]

In 1942, the Fujiaba 傅家坝 field study station was established as a center for carrying out case-studies of the rural community; it also provided a field study base for the students. In 1943 Shiyangchang Social Study Center 石羊场社会研习站, a place ten kilometers away from Chengdu, was set up. It was a base for five university students to undertake field studies investigations, and experiments. It was also a place where students provided medical services, early childhood support, and literacy education for

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[895] A native Sichuanese, Dr. Fu Baochen graduated from Qinghua University in 1916 and studied in the universities of Yale and Cornell between 1918 and 1924. He procured his Ph.D. in Rural Education from Cornell University.

[896] "Outline of the work plan of the Institute of Economics of WCUU," *Journal of West China Union University* (March 1942): 5-6. "华西协合大学经济研究所工作计划纲要"

[897] "The future of the Department of Rural Construction," *Journal of West China Union University* (June (1945): 3-4. "本校乡村建设学系之前途"

the village people. Since the University believed that the problem of Chinese society was a cultural issue, the purpose of the Social Study Center aimed to explore topics on Chinese cultural development. Scholars discussed questions such as, how can the foreign culture be integrated into Chinese society, and how can the inherent Chinese culture develop itself in an international situation. They believed the answers could be found in China's rural society.[898]

The inception of the Department of Rural Construction was the epitome of successful program expansion at the University. It focused on training talented students to understand social problems, and to develop solutions for creating a healthy and robust Chinese society.

Frontier and Border Studies: To complement the Rural Construction Studies program, the University set up an Institute of Frontier Research. Its focus was on the culture, customs, and geographical features that would bring the uniqueness of Sichuan's border areas and neighbouring provinces into the study. To emphasize the importance of frontier research, Lincoln Zhang took on the position of Director of the Institute.[899] In 1922, certain Canadian and American missionaries were fascinated by the unique characteristics of the cultures and lives of tribal minorities, many of whom lived on the borders of Sichuan, Guizhou, Yunnan, and Tibet. With the initiation of the Frontier Studies Institute at WCUU, scholars from guest universities offered their expertise on the study of tribal peoples' distinct languages, culture and customs, and geographical surroundings. In February 1942, on the initiative of the institute, Ninety-four Chinese scholars started the Chinese Frontier Research Association. Its mission was to unite minority peoples, build a strong national defense force, and develop rural resources. After the university museum joined in on the cooperative explorations, the Institute divided its work into four major parts: field studies, research lectures, analysis of cultural relics and historical sites, and the publication of a journal. Its publications and public lectures on this research brought the Institute national attention.

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898 *Journal of the West China Union University* (December 1943).

899 "The Draft Constitution of the Frontier Research Institute," *Journal of West China Union University* (March 1942): 7-8. "华西边疆研究所组织章程草案"

In 1943, the Educational Research Institute was set up and soon carried out a major project on Northwest China Social Studies. Scholars from the departments of education and public health conducted studies of public education, medical care, livestock rearing, agricultural economy, and forest and transportation in the provinces of Shanxi, Gansu, Ningxia, and Qinghai. The interdisciplinary studies provided vital information for the national military committee as well.

Economics: WCUU's Department of Economics was founded on the same principle of strengthening Chinese society that underlined the development of Rural Construction Studies. Courses like Finance, Statistics, Accounting, International Finance and Trade, and the History of Economics were offered by Cheng Yingqi 程英祺, Pan Yuanlai 潘源来, Yang Youzhi 杨佑之, Xie Lipu 谢霖甫 and Peng Dixian 彭迪先, the best scholars in the field in China. This program soon became extremely popular at WCUU. In early 1941, Zhang Jia'ao expressed his interest in establishing a Research Institute for Economic Studies and promised to secure funding to support it.[900] In the Fall of 1943, the Research Institute for Economic Studies was set up, with Mr. Pan Yuanlai, the director of the Economics Department of National Hunan University and a Sino-British Indemnity scholar, appointed as the research director and professor of Economics, and with Mr. Wang Gongwei 王公维 from the Lixin Accounting College 立信会计学校, as the lecturer and person in charge of publishing matters. Both Pan Yuanlai and Wang Gongwei had excellent academic qualifications in Economics, and both contributed strongly to the development of the Institute. At the same time, the Institute started accepting graduate students and began to publish the *WCUU Economics Journal*, starting from the Spring of 1944. In July 1944 the Institute's first issue of the academic Journal *West China Economics* was published.[901]

History and Philosophy: In 1942, the Center for the Study of History was founded. China's most prominent historian, Qian Mu 钱穆 served as the director of the

[900] Minutes of Executive Committee Meeting November 22nd, 1941. UBCHEA RG 011-276-4377.
[901] *WCUU Journal*. (July 1944): 2.

center. The next year, the Center for Studies of Ancient Chinese Civilization took shape, under the leadership of its director Li Peifu 李培甫.[902]

It is not an exaggeration to say the Departments of Philosophy and History gathered a galaxy of Chinese talent. The Chair of the Department was Luo Zhongshu, the Dean of the College of Liberal Arts. Other teachers were Gu Jiegang 顾颉刚,[903] Qian Mu, Zhang Dongsun 张东荪, He Luzhi 何鲁之, Meng Wentong 蒙文通, Xu Zhongshu 徐中舒, and Chang Yansheng 常燕生. Their courses were popular among students, and the lecture series organized by the college attracted not only students from the five universities, but also a greater audience of people from many different communities.

In the Fall term of 1944, the University hired 32 new faculty members, among them, Shen Zufen 沈祖棻[904] and Wu Yaozong 吴耀宗[905] who were two of the top Chinese scholars in the field of classical Chinese and religious studies.[906]

In the Spring of 1944, The Institute of Chinese Social History was established, with Jiang Wengang as director. The Institute focused on research, publication, and teaching, and it also accepted two graduate students.[907] In November 1944, it published the book 社会学原理 *Principles of Sociology* and in January 1945, *Sociology History of Zhou and Qin*.[908]

In order to boost Chinese people's anti-Japanese spirit, the Nationalist Government invited internationally known intellectuals to visit the wartime capital, Chongqing. Since the flight from Chongqing to Chengdu was only two hours, taking

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[902] Li Peifu 李培甫 (1885-1975) was born in Dianjiang county 垫江县, Sichuan. He studied in Waseda University in Japan and was one of the earliest members of Chinese Revolutionary League 同盟会. He was by turns the professor and Dean of Chinese Language and Literature Department at WCUU, Chengdu University, and Sichuan University. He was considered a person of outstanding talent in Sichuan and in Chinese literature studies.

[903] Gu Jiegang, 1893-1980, a Chinese historian. He was best known for his seven-volume work, *Debates on Ancient History*. He and his work had great influence on the 20th century development of Chinese history studies.

[904] Shen Zufen, 1909-1977, was an established poet, author and scholar of Classic Chinese Literature. She taught at Jinling University, West China Union University, Nanjing Normal College, and Wuhan University. She suffered greatly during the Cultural Revolution and died of a car accident.

[905] Wu Yaozong, also Y.T. Wu or Wu Yao-tsung, 1893-1979, was a Protestant leader in China who played a key role in the establishment of the Three-Self Patriotic Movement in China. He graduated from the Union Theological Seminary (affiliated with the Columbia University) in New York City, from which he earned a Master's degree in Philosophy.

[906] *WCUU Journal*. (September 1944): 2.

[907] Ibid. , 7.

[908] *WCUU Journal*. (November 1944): 4.

advantage of the geographic convenience, WCUU invited many prominent celebrities to give lectures at the University. For instance, in April 1941, the American writer Ernest Hemingway was invited to give a speech. Thousands packed the university gymnasium to hear him.[909] At the same year, Henry Luce, the founder of Time Magazine, also lectured at WCUU.[910]

Hemingway's lecture inspired the University to have some of China's own top scholars give workshops and lectures at WCUU. The most notable were historians Qian Mu, Chen Yinke 陈寅恪, Meng Wentong 蒙文通, philosophers Feng Youlan 冯友兰, Zhang Dongsun 张东荪, medical doctor and researchers Cheng Yulin 程玉麐 Zheng Ji 郑集, Hou Baozhang 侯宝璋, agriculturist Zhang Ziwen 章之汶, sociologists Li Anzha 李安宅 and Pan Guangdan 潘光旦, and authors Wang Yunwu 王云五 and Zhang Hengshui 张恨水.

The Spring of 1943 was especially exciting for faculty and students. The University invited Dr. E. R. Hughes from the Oxford University Sino-British Academic Cooperation Committee, Dr. E. R. Dodds from Oxford University, Dr. Joseph Needham from Cambridge, and Frederic Eggleston from Australia to give lectures.[911] Their presentations covered a wide range of topics: war, international relations, embryology, life science, biology, political science, philosophy, and West and East civilizations. Dr. Joseph Needham spent the entire month of May at WCUU and gave twelve lectures.

Needham's first lecture took place on May 3rd. The topic was "International Status and Responsibility of Science in Wartime and Peacetime". Like Hemingway's, Needham's lectures attracted a wide audience, especially young people. Students from other universities, even outside of Chengdu, came to these lectures.

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[909] Wang Danhong "West China Union University: A glorious page in the history of China's war education". https://daydaynews.cc/en/history/664861.html.

[910] Zhang Liping. Henry Luce visited WCUU on May 14th, 1941. 456.

[911] Zhang Liping, *History of Sichuan University*: *West China Union University, 1910-1949,* 125

For the entire month of May, Chengdu was immersed in the excitement of the "Needham whirlwind". His series of lectures along with those of other scholars made May a cultural festival month in Chengdu.[912]

The lectures of Sir Frederic W. Eggleston, Australia's newly appointed first Ambassador to China, also attracted a big audience.[913]

The Institute's featured lectures and visiting scholars brought tremendous encouragement to the students, university faculty members and staff. Needham and Eggleston enjoyed the scholarly atmosphere at WCUU as well. Visiting the University made them believe that those "scholars are generally more articulate than other sections of the community," Eggleston commented, "I learned much about China and her ways from them." When interviewed by the editors of *Near North,* Eggleston praised the new generation of Chinese scholars.

During and after the lectures, Needham, Eggleston, and the University administrators had a serious discussion about post-war academic program exchanges. They agreed that post-war China, not only needed science, as Needham advocated, but also social sciences as Eggleston stressed, meaning fields such as law, economics, political science and finance, statistics, and taxation. Through the Sino-British Science Cooperation Office, Needham sent equipment to Chinese scientists in order to support their researches and efforts to rebuild China. After he returned to Chongqing, Eggleston wrote to Canberra to suggest that Australia establishing a school of Chinese Studies and a student exchange program in the country's capital.[914] The Australia National University established its College of Asia and the Pacific in 1946.

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[912] The lectures of Needham were, May 4th: Living crystal long molecules and shrinkable enzymes; May 5th Self-sufficiency and embryo reactivity; May 6th Science organizations in the UK during wartime and peacetime; May 7th the relations of Chemistry and Biology; May 9th Living Matter and Soul; May 10th The Evolution of the Western Science Association in the UK; May 11th The Biography of Biochemist Frederick Gowland Hopkins; May 12th Review of Chinese Science History and Thoughts; May 17th Science and the World; May 21st The Origin and Progress of the Western Ideology; May 24th Thoughts on the 400th Anniversary of the Death of Copernicus.

[913] According to William Sima, in his book, *China & ANU: Diplomats, Adventurers, Scholars*, Frederic Eggleston was invited by Dr. Frank Dickinson and Luo Zhongshu. In his book, William Sima mis-identifies this Frank Dickinson as someone who "was involved in a British Government mission to provide aid to Chinese Universities during the war." (p. 47) In fact, Frank Dickinson was a Canadian Missionary in China from 1913 to 1947. He was a missionary evangelist first. Because of his passion for farming and rearing livestock he was able to gain financial support from Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and his wife, Dickinson was able to extend his agricultural and livestock rearing in Chengdu. During his furlough, Dickinson gained his Ph.D. in Agriculture. He taught in the department of agriculture in 1943. His invitation for Eggleston to give lectures at WCUU was not part of the British government mission, but his own efforts to gain support for the West China Union University as part of his duty and responsibility.

[914] *History of Sichuan University: West China Union University, 1910-1949,* 126.

From the early 1940s onward, WCUU was no longer a university that focused solely on teaching; research had become an integral part of its mission as well. With the increase in its programs, WCUU was on the way to becoming a comprehensive university, and one of the best universities in China. Lincoln Zhang had long argued to the Associated Boards, Board of Governors, and the Harvard-Yenching Institute about the importance of improving WCUU's research capacity. Given their limitations in funding, the Boards had been strongly against his ambitious proposals. Yet Zhang pushed hard, and many of his schemes achieved great success, especially during the years of the war.

Conclusion:

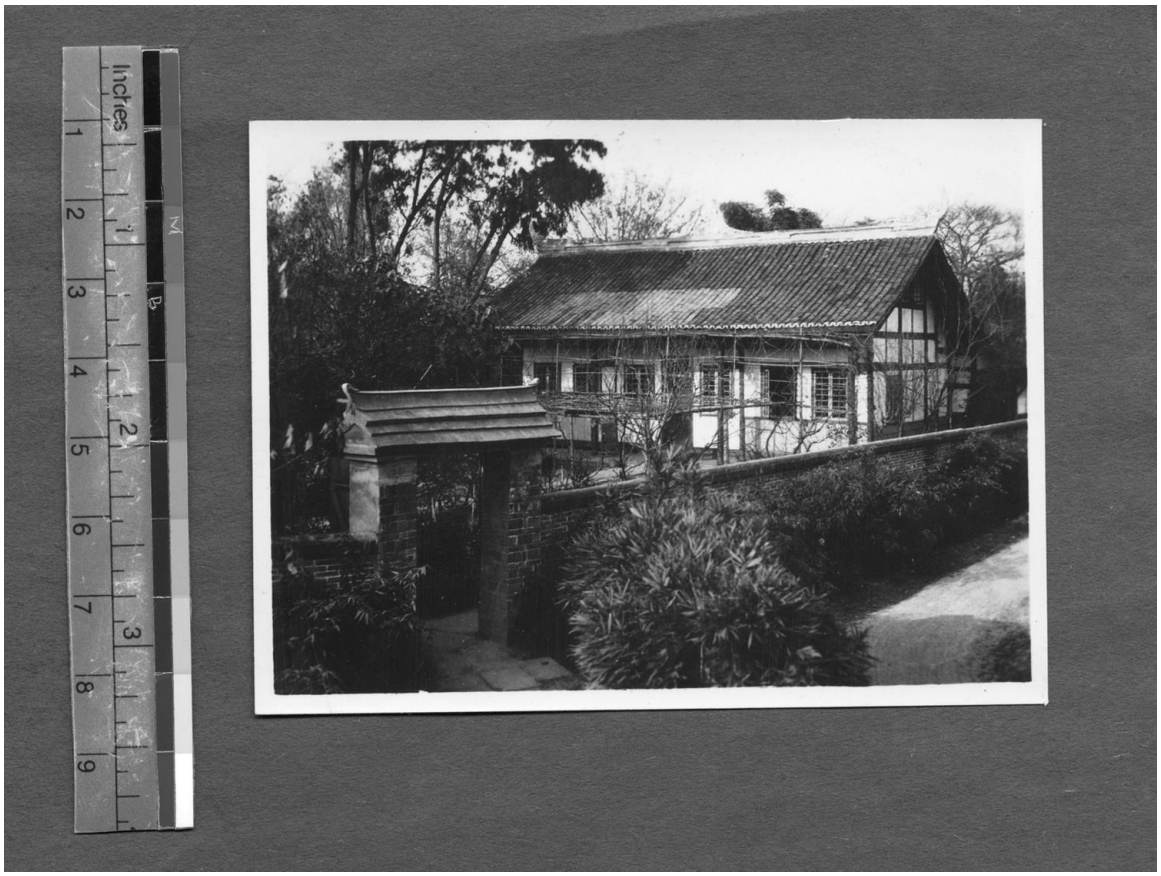
Eight years of anti-Japanese war brought tremendous damage to China's higher education sector. In late 1937, out of a total of 109 educational institutions, 91 had left their own campuses and moved into the country's interior in the west, southwest and northwest, and in doing so the refugee institutions all suffered various losses. In contrast, WCUU enjoyed geographical advantages that provided opportunities for its expansion and development. Amidst unprecedented hardship, Lincoln Zhang was able to indigenize the University staff while greatly improving the quality of the faculty in terms of credentials and research abilities.

For the purposes of meeting the nation's need to fight against the Japanese and prepare for future reconstruction, his efforts to expand the University programs transformed the medicine-focused Christian missionary school into a Chinese-dominated comprehensive university. The progress and accomplishments the University made at this time were a strong demonstration of Lincoln Zhang's perseverance and dedication towards China's higher education sector and his faith in the future of a modern Chinese society.

September 1944 Presidents of five Christian universities in Chengdu discuss university budget

From left to right, Mr. Ma Kiem 马增, Dean of Discipline, representing Y. P. 梅贻琦 the Acting President of Yenching; Dr. Wu Yi-fang 吴贻芳, President of Jinling; Dr. Y. G. Chen 陈裕光, President of Nanking; Dr. Lincoln Zhang, President of WCUU; Edgar C. Tang 汤吉禾, President of Qilu University

(Source: Yale University Archives, RG 11-416-5414)

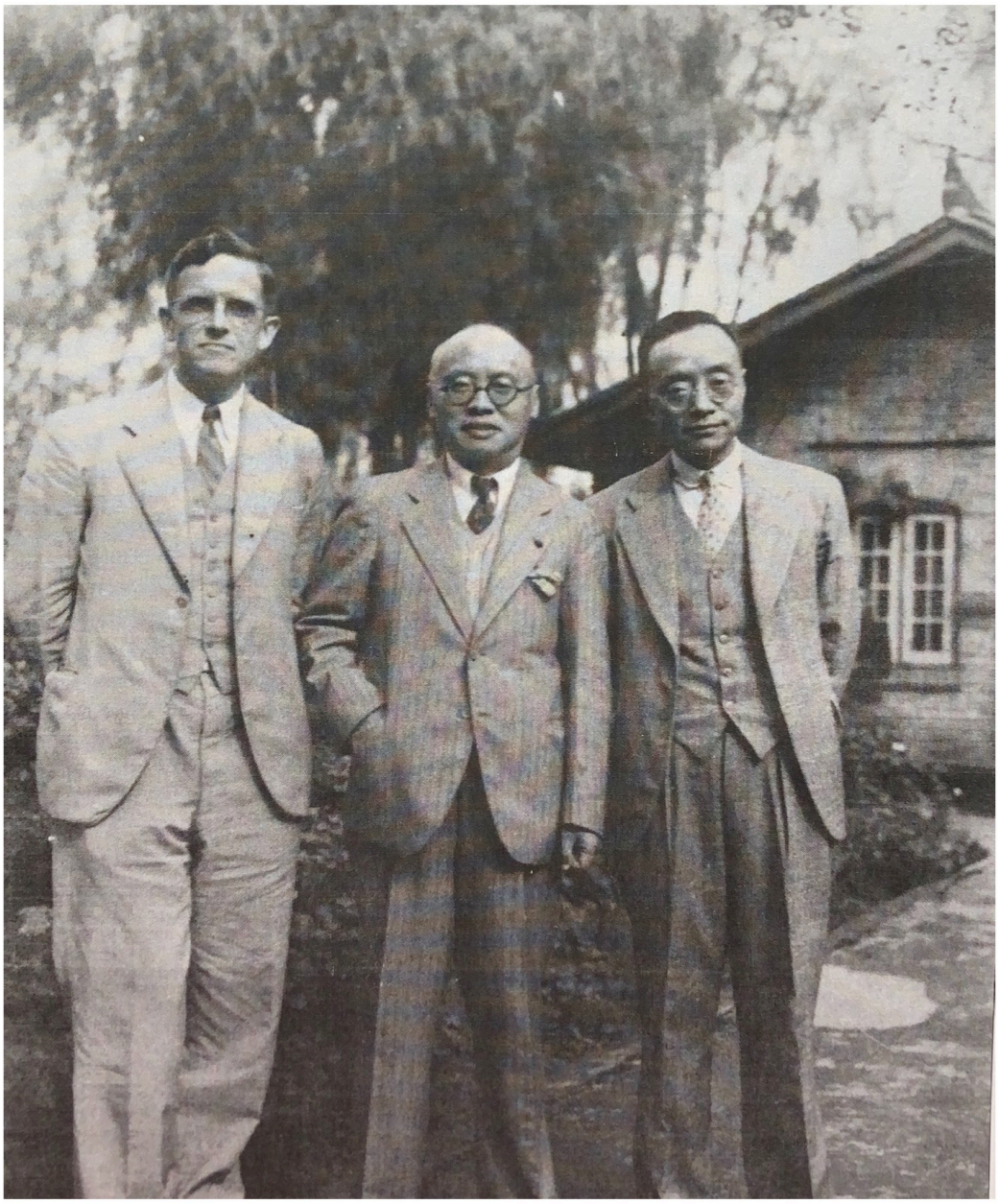


Teachers' house at WCUU, 1939

(Source: Yale University Archives, RG 11-416-5167)

June 11, 1939, after the University building was damaged in a Japanese air raid

(Source: Yale University Archives, RG 11-5364-381)



Dr. John L. Buck (?) with Minister Zhang Jia'ao (Chang Kia-ngau) and President Lincoln Zhang on West China Campus in 1939

(Source: Yale University Archives, RG 11-5406)

September 1945 American Vice-president Wallace visiting U. S. Army hospital which is sharing buildings of the University hospital

From left to right: Dr. Edgar C. Tang, Dr. Wu Yifang, Vice-president Wallace, Dr. T. V. Soong, Governor of Sichuan Zhang Qun, and Lincoln Zhang

(Source: Yale University Archives, RG 11-5567)

Dr. David Dai with a dental patient, 1937-1945

(Source: Yale University Archives, RG 11- 417-5500)

Five universities joint graduation ceremony, unknown date, possibly between 1938-1945

From left to right: two unidentified men, Dr. Edgar Tang Jihe, unidentified woman, Mr. Ma Kiem, Lincoln Zhang, Mr. Wu Yaozong (?), Dr. Wu Yifang, Dr. Sparling"

(Source: Yale University Archives, RG 11- 417-5500)

Dr. Meuser with the faculty, students and graduates of Department of Pharmacy
June 1943

(Source: Wu Peng, Zheng Hu and Zhang Zhirong, eds. *History of West China School of Pharmacy*, Chengdu: Sichuan University Publishing House, 2010)

Dr. Joseph Needham with WCUU faculty, date unknown, possibly between May 1st and May 24th, 1943

(Source: Needham Research Institute, www.nri.org. UK)

Chapter Seven: Promoting Women's Education and Chinese Cultural Studies

Introduction

Starting in the late Qing dynasty, missionaries had begun promoting education for women. Their original aim was to train Bible women and convert more Christian followers, but the undertaking led to unexpected results. The growth of women's education challenged traditional social norms about a woman's submissive role in the existing social structure. From the May Fourth Movement onward, there existed a strong trend of promoting women's participation in social changes and other aspects of public life through education. This included expanding opportunities for higher education for women across the country. Influenced by that trend and working together with the Canadian Women's Missionary Society, Lincoln Zhang dedicated significant time and energy to nurturing women's education and career development and made WCUU a place for women to cultivate and advance their intellectual pursuits.

In the 1920s and early 1930s, some prominent Chinese intellectuals who had been educated overseas, figures like Hu Shi, Fu Sinian and Liang Sicheng, introduced new forms of Western social thought back to China. They applied a Western lens to Chinese society in order to re-examine and re-interpret Chinese culture, history, and philosophy. To these scholars, cultural studies allowed China to reflect on how it's social, cultural and historical identity fit into the changing world.

At the same time, a number of American educators and philanthropists focused their attention after the First World War on studying foreign cultures, especially Asian history, language, and religion. The Harvard-Yenching Institute was one such product. The Institute, which was built on a belief that understanding Asian cultures and histories was "the best chance to incorporate new ideas into our civilization and to reap the benefits of the attainments of others,"[915] helped validate the academic study of Chinese culture internationally.

[915] Wallace B. Donham, "A Proposed Institute of Oriental Education and Research." The Harvard-Yenching Institute Office Archives (HYIOA).

In the mid-1930s, Lincoln Zhang initiated a program for Chinese Cultural Studies at WCUU. A renewed emphasis on studying China's own history and culture signified confidence and faith in the future of their country. The Harvard-Yenching Institute, despite financially supporting the Chinese cultural studies programs at WCUU, also complicated its development due to colonialist mentalities and paternalistic management styles within its administration.

This chapter examines Lincoln Zhang's efforts both to promote women's education and career development and to develop the Chinese Cultural Studies program at WCUU.

The WMS Efforts to Educate Girls in West China

In late 19th and early 20th centuries, most Chinese women, like their female ancestors in many other centuries, lived under the patriarchal social order that was characterized by the Confucian teachings of filial piety. Women's position in their family reflected China's political social structure in which everyone was to be loyal to the emperor and women were to obey to their husbands. Discrimination against the female sex was a long-time social practice that led to high rates of female infanticide. The strong tradition of restricting women's freedom of movement was reflected in the practice of foot binding, as well as other practices that limited women's options. Women, in general, were forbidden to access education, and their marriages had to be arranged by their parents. Spouse selection was based on family needs and socioeconomic status rather than love. Women had no right to leave the marriage even if husbands were violent, abusive or had concubines. Women were not permitted to remarry if their husband passed away, and committing suicide to show their total dedication towards their husband was greatly encouraged.[916]

In 1880, the Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada (WMS) was formed in Hamilton, Ontario. In 1891, the first female Canadian missionary, Miss Amelia Brown, a registered nurse, left Toronto for China. Before

[916] To understand better about the traditional Chinese social and cultural restrictions on women, Jonathan D. Spence's book, *The Death of Woman Wang*, gives detailed records, especially in chapter five, "The Woman Who Ran Away." Jonathan D. Spence, *The Death of Woman Wang* (New York: Penguin Books, 1978).

deciding to send Miss Brown, the WMS had intended to send a woman doctor to China. They couldn't locate one at the time since Canada had only 36 female doctors, and the WMS wanted to provide the best of the best to their West China mission.

It was assumed that medical work was essential to convert women and their family members to Christianity in West China. However, after a few years of experimental work in Sichuan, the WMS and field missionaries realized that promoting female education was a more realistic and effective means to convert Chinese women and improve their social circumstances.

In 1893, Dr. Alfretta Gifford, later known as Dr. Retta Kilborn, and Miss Sara Brackbill, a young female teacher, arrived in Sichuan. Together, they shaped the Canadian WMS work in West China in decisive ways.

Passionate about education, Brackbill was the first woman to build a school for girls in Sichuan. In 1897, Dr. Maud Killam and another teacher Mary Foster arrived in Chengdu. In 1901, the Board of Managers of WMS stated that education was the foundation of its mission in China. With this goal in mind, the WMS Board sent seven female missionaries to west China in 1901: four teachers, two doctors, and one nurse. In 1906, a third women's mission station was established at Renshou 仁寿 (Jenshow), and a day-school for 20 girls was set up in the same location. Four years later, Renshou opened a girls' boarding school. In the same year, a WMS boarding school for girls was established in Chengdu as well.

The idea to "build a complete system of education for these three western provinces"[917] was embraced by leading missionaries from different countries and denominations in West China. In 1909 at a college preparation meeting, Miss Sara Brackbill introduced the subject of a college for women. However, Dr. E. D. Burton insisted that the efforts of female missionaries would be better directed towards opening and supporting middle schools. The members of the Board of Managers believed that the possibility of setting up a college for Chinese women would exist only in the distant future.

[917] Joseph Taylor, *History of the West China Union University: 1910-1935*, 12. The three western provinces were Sichuan, Guizhou and Yunnan, the most remote and poor provinces in China at the time.

With female missionaries' help and financial support, several women were able to complete their mission-led middle school education and become "Bible women", or assistants to the female missionaries. At the time, there were no opportunities for higher education, no job availability, and no social activities for these women. The majority of women who finished middle school were forced to go back to where they came from, to get married, and to raise children. Many female missionaries asked themselves: what was the point of these girls completing middle school if they were only to return to their hometown and get married, just like their mothers and generations of women before them?

After almost two decades of work in West China, female missionaries came to believe that it was essential to provide further professional training for women in West China and to help them find professional jobs and establish financial independence. They argued that if a kindergarten was to be opened, then a teacher training college would be needed as well, for both boys and girls. With this concept in mind, the field missionaries from WMS proposed the establishment of a woman's normal school in West China. The best arrangement at the time was deemed by the WMS to be to cooperate with WCUU.

The Senate of WCUU, however, said that women would have to wait.

The WMS didn't want to wait. They decided to take the issue at their own hands. As a result, in January of 1915, the Union Christian Normal School opened with the cooperation of other missionary societies in West China.[918] Alice Estabrook, a certified teacher from WMS, was selected as the first principal. By the early 1920s, there were more than 30 young female Chinese graduates from the Normal School; many who were hired to teach in WMS mission schools.

In 1920, WMS had sent thirty women missionaries to West China, thirteen of whom were teachers. As more educational missionaries arrived in Sichuan, more schools for girls were set up. In 1916, the fourth WMS station was established in Ziliujing 自流井 with a boarding school for girls. More schools were then set up in Leshan 乐山 and Pengxian 彭县.

[918] The Union Christian Normal School cooperated with the Baptist, Methodist Episcopal, and Canadian Methodist churches, as well as the Society of Friends and the Woman's Missionary Society of Canada missions in West China.

Joseph Taylor[919] reported to the Board of Governors about the November 1920 WCUU Senate meeting regarding the progress on the expansion of women's education in West China. "A communication from the Committee of Promotion of A Woman's College was received giving an outline plan for the establishment of a Women's College associated with the University, if that can be arranged, and if not then as an independent institution."[920] These female missionaries were determined to promote higher education for women in West China.

In 1924, the Women's College was opened and became part of West China Union University. In 1924 it accepted its first eight female students "as a carefully conducted experiment."[921] In 1927, Vice-president Lincoln Zhang decided to increase the spots for the number of female students to 30, and in 1928, and another 26 women students were accepted. The increase in enrolment capacity was a significant advancement for the University. Among these accepted female students, one-third studied medicine.[922] They were the first group of Chinese women entering a male-dominated career field.

Zhang's bold actions represented a substantial leap forward in providing opportunities for local women in higher education and career development, and for their own independence. WCUU's advancements in women's education brought positive influences in Sichuan and its neighboring provinces of Guizhou and Yunnan. "In 1932 the first woman graduated with M.D. degree"[923] from the University, and in the history of Sichuan province.

Since the inception of the West China mission, the WMS emphasized women's education, based on a belief that women were more virtuous than men both at home and

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[919] Joseph Taylor was a missionary from the American Baptist Foreign Missionary Society (A.B.F.M.S.) with a Ph. D. degree in English Literature. He was the earliest English instructor at WCUU, Dean of Arts Department, and a member of Cabinet of WCUU. According to Lewis C. Walmsley in *West China Union University*, "In 1921 the Senate of (WCUU) created a Cabinet, composed of the President, the Vice-President, and a member of the Senate. This body streamlined the handling of the increasing body of business, dealing with many minor issues without involving the more unwieldy Senate. It made recommendations of important matters to the Senate." (P. 45.) Dr. Joseph Taylor published two books, *West of the Yangtze Gorges* and *History of the West China Union University: 1910-1935* in 1936.

[920] Joseph Taylor, *History of the West China Union University,* 39.

[921] Lincoln Zhang, "The President's Foreword: West China Union University, 1910-1939." UBCHEA RG 011-297-4625

[922] Lincoln Zhang, "Vice-President's Report for the Year 1927-1928 to the Board of Governors of the West China Union University", July 1928, UBCHEA RG-011-272-4329

[923] Lewis C. Walmsley, *West China Union University.*

in the larger society. This confidence in the woman's role in society directly challenged the pre-existing Chinese patriarchal social order and existing ideas about women's inferior social status compared to men. Missionaries were assured that education would increase opportunities for women's education, career development and personal independence. They also believed that education would bring fundamental changes to one's conventional concept of a woman, to women's social status, and to Chinese women's lives as well.

The WMS missionaries believed that the aims of women's education were not only to convert Chinese women to Christianity, but also to help them lead a healthier life and maintain a dignified social status; therefore, they determined to change the custom of foot-binding that had long been imposed on women. From the beginning, WMS schools only accepted women with natural and unbound feet. Women who wanted to get an education had to be brave enough to challenge the tradition. They either had to come from families that didn't bind girls' feet, or the girls had to convince their family members to allow them to unbind their feet and go to school, and risk facing discrimination from society. Women who accomplished this demonstrated their determination to break from traditional customs. The WMS reported, "During the year several girls have unbound their feet. They always agree to do so when they come and usually set about it themselves, unbinding gradually."[924] In 1900, Miss Mary Foster wrote home about the pressure their families put on the girls, "One student left and her mother re-bound her feet again."[925]

Pressure for women to follow tradition came not only from families, but from their immediate community as well. Nevertheless, the community itself was changed when new ideas were introduced, though not without resistance. With the missionaries' support and the girls' self-determination, they bore negative judgments bravely. As the WMS reported, "When the girls would go out on the street…they were constantly called on [sic] slave girls because of their large feet. Now, instead of this term of reproach, we

[924] "Woman's Missionary Society Annual Report, 1908-1909." UCCA BV 2550.28, W6 1907/1908-1911/1912 PS REF C. 2.
[925] UCCA BV2550. 28, W 6 1897-1898PS of 1900-1901, page: Ixxiv-Ixxix.

very often hear people say as they pass, 'Oh, they are scholars; they study books,' and then remark as to how clean they are."[926]

Compared to women from poor families and marginalized backgrounds, girls from well-to-do families faced different challenges because they were expected to comply all the more strictly with conventional rules and societal expectations. Le Yicheng 乐以诚, the first female student to be accepted and to graduate from the WCUU medical school was determined to have an education like her brothers and male cousins. She ran away from home to escape a marriage arranged by her father. The furious father sent servants to find her and take her home, but her mother bribed them instead to safely accompany Le to Chengdu.

Traditional customs and social pressure were only one part of the hardships Chinese female students had to face to study at WCUU. Some encountered physical obstacles in terms of travel and terrain. In 1921, Miss Minnie Brimstin wrote "nine…graduated in June from the Normal School. Miss Wang came to us two years ago from Yunnan, travelling for a month in order to reach the school."[927] "We have five graduate nurses and eighteen nurses in training. Two of these girls are very interesting, as they walked twenty-one days' journey to study nursing. They have proved themselves capable of becoming splendid nurses during the year they have been with us."[928] Distance and difficult travel conditions didn't prevent these young women from pursuing education but made them cherish the opportunity more.

The Women's Missionary Society annual report of 1923 includes a paragraph stating that: "One is constantly being impressed with the fact that the difficulties confronting a married woman who wishes to secure a little education are many and real…and many times we see one forced to give up the thing she so longs for."[929] However, many strong-willed women were able plough through.

Strong motivations and high ambitions appear to have been common characteristics of the Chinese Christian women who came to pursue higher education. They seized learning opportunities and worked diligently to succeed. According to

[926] "WMS Annual Report 1901." UCCA BV2550. 28, W 6 1897-1898 PS of 1900-1901, page Ixxiii-Ixxvii), Ixxiii
[927] Minnie Brimstin, "WMS Annual Report", 1921. UCCA eiv.

[928] Martha Barnett, WMS Annual Report 1922, UCCA xeiii
[929] The WMS Annual Report of 1923, UCCA xeix.

annual reports from the Women's Missionary Society, in 1923, almost all teachers in the out-station schools were Chinese women, and their performance was superlative. Missionary Laura Hambley wrote of one, "Miss Loh has been nearly three years with us and has developed wonderfully. Although only of second year middle school standing, she is easily the head teacher, as well as acting superintendent for the day schools."[930]

In the mission school programs, the newly graduated Chinese women proved to be excellent assistants for missionaries. "This year," reported Constance Ward, "a [Chinese] graduate nurse from the Chengtu Hospital was appointed to the boarding school in Ziliujing. Besides her duties and teaching in the boarding school she has had time to visit four 'Day Schools' each week to give hygiene lessons. In this way a lesson is given every two weeks in each Day School."[931] All together, they started becoming professionals and authorities in the teaching and medical fields. "Miss Loh, the Chinese supervisor, has done good work in visiting the schools, teaching some of the harder lessons, and helping the teachers in different ways. The boarding school nurse, Miss Pan, has contributed valuable help in giving the children of the several schools lessons in hygiene."[932]

Miss Thexton wrote in her 1921 WMS annual report, "in our routine teaching we are putting the classes more and more into the hands of our Chinese girl teachers, a large proportion of whom were middle school graduates. One cannot speak highly enough of their splendid work, and even finer spirit of these girls."[933]

These young Chinese women's performances deeply impressed the missionaries. In their reports home, missionaries gave tremendous praise to the women's courage in challenging traditional social norms, their efforts to overcome unimaginable hardships, and their determination to reach their educational and career goals. Although some missionaries' writings were cherry picking and self-interested, their records are generally very credible about the local Chinese women's diligence and dedication to their educational efforts, both for themselves and for girls like them.

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[930] Laura H. Hambley, "WMS Annual Report", 1923, UCCA eic.
[931] Constance Ward, "WMS Annual Report." 1920. UCCA exviii.
[932] E. B. Dolmage, "WMS Annual Report." 1923. UCCA ex
[933] A. Thexton, "WMS Annual Report." 1921. UCCA eiv.

Female missionaries themselves were the inspiration for Chinese women to take their learning opportunities seriously. Under missionary guidance, most local Christian women worked hard to gain new knowledge and skills, and followed their lead to become accomplished teachers, doctors and social workers. Female missionaries were role models for those pioneering Chinese women; in turn, the WMS missionaries found satisfaction in their efforts. On May 20, 1920, Miss Mary Lamb wrote about her thoughts on missionary work in her diary, "I am coming to see that the WMS is the place for me…The WMS puts the work first, last and always…"[934] Canadian scholar Rosemary Gagan argues that Canadian female missionaries were pioneers of women's independence, and fought for women's career opportunities, financial independence, and equal gender rights.[935]

Beyond female teachers and community care workers, the mission schools nurtured a number of individual Chinese women to become Christian leaders and workers as well. During the early decades of Protestant missions in China, Chinese evangelists, rather than Western missionaries, were responsible for most conversions among the Chinese.

There is no data available on the number of women who became professionals under the influence of WMS in Sichuan, Guizhou and Yunnan. However, a survey conducted in 1919 from 25 mission schools for girls in Shanghai shows that among 992 girls, 303 wanted to be teachers, 227 desired further education, 66 hoped to become doctors, and 40 planned to be evangelists.[936] Teachers, doctors, musicians, social workers, and nurses were high on the list of those girls' career choices. Interestingly, these professions had not existed in China before 1919 for women to access.

The Woman's Missionary Society of Canada prepared a significant number of young women from humble family backgrounds for higher education, and they became the first generation of Chinese women to be doctors, dentists, teachers and university professors. According to data from late 1928, some 80 percent of WCUU students,

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[934] Mary Lamb, *Mary Lamb Diary*, May 20, 1920. UCCA.

[935] Rosemary Gagan, *A Sensitive Independence: Canadian Methodist Women Missionaries in Canada, and the Orient, 1881-1925* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992).

[936] Ida B. Lewis, *The Education of Girls in China* (New York: Columbia University, 1919).

including girls, were from mission schools.[937] In the fall of 1928, with Lincoln Zhang as vice-president, WCUU had 56 female students, 22 percent of the University enrolment.

The potential that some Chinese women demonstrated made missionaries believe that they deserved more opportunities, and that they could bring enormous contributions to their community. Canadian female missionaries encouraged and inspired Chinese women in Sichuan to reach higher.

Since 1924 the Woman's College had been part of the WCUU, and it made a tremendous contribution to building the University. Unfortunately, the college's role in educational institution building and its other accomplishments have never been properly acknowledged.

Effort to Support Women's Education and Career Development

While working as a pastor at the American Methodist Episcopal missionary stations in Zizhong from 1921, Lincoln Zhang held views about women, women's education and women's life in society that were deeply influenced by his missionary colleagues. As an early graduate from a Christian high school and university, Lincoln Zhang got to know many talented women, including Huang Duanfang 黄端方 (1903-1978), Zheng Yuanying 郑元英 (also Stella Cheng, 1909-1991), and Jiang Gaodi 蒋高弟 (1906-2005),[938] all of whom, although coming from humble backgrounds, demonstrated great potential and a high level of achievement. From their performance he was convinced they deserved opportunities similar to his own.

His experience studying in America, his understanding of Chinese culture and social customs about women, and his dream of saving China through education made him a strong supporter of women's education.

Already during his time in Zizhong from 1924 to 1927, Lincoln Zhang took substantial steps to support women's education. He organized literacy classes and

[937] *Missionary News*, (Dec. 1928): 13-17.

[938] Dr. Huang Duanfang was the first Chinese woman to gain Ph.D. in dentistry in China; she worked as a high school teacher in Zizhong girls' school when Lincoln Zhang was the Principal of the school. Dr. Zheng Yuanying was from Pengxian, Sichuan, and came from a poor family with five girls and two boys. She was the first woman to gain a Ph.D. in nutrition from Columbia University and later became Dean of the Department of Home Economics at WCUU. As the eldest of her six siblings, she supported all their education. Dr. Jiang Gaodi became the head of the Internal Medicine Department of Chengdu People's Second Hospital, the first woman to hold the position.

workshops for women, established a girls' middle school, and taught English at the school. When his students reached out to him, he used his own funds to help them escape an arranged marriage or the control of local warlords. Zhang left many legacies in Zizhong, but what impressed people most was the selfless generosity he offered to powerless young women.[939]

The WCUU accepted its first eight female students in 1924, but there are no records of female student enrolment in 1925 and 1926. Having accepted the position of Vice-president of WCUU in the years of 1927, Zhang took a bold step in accepting 36 female students the same year and 20 more the next year. This number represented about 22 percent of overall university enrolment for the year, which was the largest percentage of female students the University had ever accepted. In the Medical Department, there were 32 students in total, 11 of whom were women - more than 30 percent. The Department of Dentistry accepted 4 students - one man and three women, so 75 percent were women.[940]

WCUU was not the earliest Christian college to accept female students, but was the only university in remote inland China to accept women for college studies. With the effort and support of Lincoln Zhang, it became a university with a large proportion of female students and faculty.

With Lincoln Zhang holding the top administrative job at WCUU, accepting female students to study medicine, dentistry and science became a WCUU tradition. In 1932, Le Yicheng became the first woman to graduate with an M.D. degree from WCUU. She became a pioneer of Chinese obstetrics and gynaecology, an outstanding medical educator and an expert in her field. Many women followed her footsteps in Sichuan. Dr. Le worked until her early 90's before retiring.

Recalling her long career, Dr. Le said she was grateful to the University for giving her the opportunity to learn, otherwise, her "hometown would have one more woman landlord, but China would have one less gynecologist." Dr. Le was modest

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[939] Liu Gang, "Zhang Linggao: the First Chinese President of the West China Union University," in *The Biographies of the Outstanding Cultural figures of Modern Sichuan*. Ed. Cultural and Historical Materials Committee of Sichuan Provincial Political Consultative Conference. Chengdu: Sichuan People's Publishing House, 1995.

[940] *Missionary News,* (Dec. 1928): 13-17.

about her contribution and accomplishments. Her story encouraged countless women to be independent and pursue respectable careers. Her teaching cultivated several generations of Chinese female doctors, including her own daughters. Dr. Le and her female colleagues changed the intellectual landscape of Sichuan province.[941]

In 1935, one year after returning from his studies abroad, Lincoln Zhang began to include the number of female students enrolled in his President's annual report to the Board of Governors. "Last year we had 385 students, of whom about one-third were women…the number of graduates has been increasing year by year. Last year we had 42, while this year there were 58, including 20 girls. …This is the largest graduating class we have ever had, and the largest number of girls."[942] His attitude of emphasizing women's education and being proud of women's accomplishments was clearly demonstrated in his writing.

October 13th, 1936, the University held a series of activities to celebrate the 25th Anniversary of the founding of the WCUU. In his first ever national radio broadcast speech, Zhang talked about the female students at WCUU. He sent a clear and strong message advocating for women's education. "At present we have 367 students, of whom about one-third are women. Their distribution among the Colleges is about one-third in Science, one-quarter in Arts, and 45 per cent in Medicine and Dentistry. 90 per cent of them come from Szechwan province."[943] Most female students at WCUU studied medicine, dentistry and science, professions that were traditionally male-

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941 There is an anecdote about the honesty and professionalism of Dr. Le Yicheng according to Baidu 百度.
One day in July 1980, Le Yicheng, who was nearly 80 years old, visiting a special patient Zhuo Lin 卓琳, Deng Xiaoping's 邓小平 wife, at Jinniu Hotel in Chengdu. Because Le Yicheng was a member of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, she had known Zhuo Lin for a long time. After greeting each other, Le Yicheng was not in a hurry to see Zhuo Lin, but instead asked, "I want to see Comrade Xiaoping." Zhuo Lin told her that Deng Xiaoping was discussing work with Tan Qilong, then the first Secretary of the Sichuan Provincial Party Committee. Unexpectedly, Le Yicheng insisted, "Secretary Tan sees Comrade Xiaoping often. I am a doctor and have little opportunity to speak with Comrade Xiaoping. I just want to say a few words to him." Zhuo Lin did not expect Le Yicheng to be so stubborn, Zhuo Lin bit the bullet and called out Deng Xiaoping at work from the back room. Zhuo Lin was curious about what "important matter" Le Yicheng was going to talk about. Surprised her, Le said to Deng Xiaoping bluntly: "Comrade Xiaoping, I am very happy to see you in such good health. However, as a doctor, I have the responsibility to advise you, for your health and longevity, you should smoke less!" Deng Xiaoping quit smoke a few years later. https://baike.baidu.com/item/%E4%B9%90%E4%BB%A5%E6%88%90/3224463

942 Lincoln Zhang to the Board of Governors, "The President Report of 1935-1936," July 1936, UBCHEA RG011-297-4624, P. 93-103.

943 Lincoln Zhang's broadcast message, speech in honour of the 25th Anniversary of the founding of the WCUU, October 13th, Tuesday, 1936, UBCHEA RG011-297-4624.

dominated. WCUU had the highest percentage of women who studied medicine, dentistry, and pharmacy among all Christian universities in China at the time.[944]

The reason for most of the mission colleges' high acceptance rates for women was due to the missionaries' own self interest. Missionaries always bore their evangelical mission in mind. Knowing that most Chinese families had reservations about male doctors treating women, the missionaries realized that training more female medical students killed two birds with one stone. With more mission-educated female doctors, not only could women comfortably treat women, but also even more Chinese women would convert to Christianity.[945] What's more, female missionaries hoped to add intelligent, well-educated female Church members to their mission. As a result, many Christian colleges gave priority to female students studying medicine and its related disciplines.[946] This argument may describe early Christian aims in China, but it does not seem to apply in the case of WCUU, especially after it registered with the Nationalist Government.

WCUU's first female medical graduate, Dr. Le Yiching, did not come from a Christian family. Before Lincoln Zhang took on a leadership role at WCUU in 1927, the WMS pushed hard for greater female enrolment. However, the administration was unwilling to do so, because "similar colleges in the city have trouble [with taking female students] nearly all the time."[947] However, Zhang wanted WCUU to pioneer women's education and career opportunities. He believed that women should not serve only as Bible women and capable housewives, but play an essential role in the building of the modern nation. In his 1928 annual report to the Board of Governors, he stated

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[944] There were two woman's colleges in China at the time, Jinling Woman's College and Huanan Woman's college, which accepted female students only. Jinlin had high percentage of women studying science, but it didn't offer subjects of medicine, dentistry and pharmacy. Huanan Woman's college had high percentage of women studying Theology and Liberal Arts.

[945] Dr. Charles Service's letters to family. Thanks to Dr. Service's granddaughter for sharing the family documents with me.

[946] Lutz, Jessie Gregory, *China and the Christian Colleges: 1850-1950* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1971), Chapter V: Special Emphases.

[947] Lincoln Zhang. "Vice-President's Report for the Year 1927-1928 to the Board of Governors of the West China Union University," July 1928. UBCEA RG-011-272-4329. According to some missionaries correspondence and person writings, "have trouble with taking female students" at the time indicates that the schools had to hire chaperones to accompany and protect the female students; the male students were distracted by their female classmates, and some warlords tried to force some students to be their concubines that all gave headaches to the schools' administrators at the time.

that to accept thirty female students was "one of the most glorious things we have [done] this year."[948]

In 1939, the percentage of female students increased to 38 percent of the entire student population. "You may be glad to hear that this term we still open our university with a registration of 295 boys and 178 girls,"[949] Lincoln Zhang wrote to Dr. Garside with great pleasure. From then up until the early 1940's, the enrolment rate of female students remained at about 40 percent. In the mid-1940s, the admission rate for women was on par with that of male students.

A 1941 university survey showed that among 53 new female students, only one student came from a Christian family background; the majority, 27 women, more that 50 percent, came from non-Christian family backgrounds in business, education and government service.[950]

When the Nationalist Government made postwar plans for the country's reconstruction in 1940, the Ministry of Education requested that educational institutions increase their student enrolments. The WCUU at that point received a large number of incoming female students, about 42 percent of total intake. In medicine, women outnumbered men 17 to 9. In science, the number of female students edged close to that of their male counterparts.

- Science: 24 men, 21 women;
- Dentistry: 10 men, 5 women;
- Medicine: 9 men, 17 women[951]

A survey of the University revealed that most female students were younger than male students; the average age for girls was 18, for boys 20.[952]

The same survey shows that girls were happier than boys regarding their university lives. Among the 53 new female students, 42 girls, about 79 percent, said they were very happy with their university life, while 65.7 percent of the boys agreed. Only 0.03 percent of girls experienced anxiety compared to 13.6 percent of boys. The

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948 Ibid.
949 Lincoln Zhang to Garside, October 7th, 1939, UBCHEA RG011-286-4487, P. 0092-93.
950 *WCUU Journal,* no. 3 (1941): 3-5.
951 Ibid.
952 Ibid.

reasons for the difference in responses varied, but overall, the survey showed that women enjoyed their learning experiences and campus life tremendously.[953]

In 1941 the University admitted 225 new students; 141 were boys, and 84 were girls; the female enrolment rate was 37 percent. School statistics indicate that girls had higher university entrance marks than boys. Among 84 female students, 18 percent were awarded a "first degree distinction" for their entrance examination results, compared to 0.56 percent of the boys; 36 percent of the girls had "excellent" for their entrance examination marks compared to 27.6 percent of the boys. [954]

WMS reports and other missionary documents provided strong indications that compared to men, women had stronger motivation and cherished their educational opportunities more.[955] They seem to have never taken their learning opportunities for granted.

Statistics from other sources also support evidence of female success compared to their male peers. The United Church of Canada's Statistical Report of their West China Missions in 1933 states that the West China Mission schools had a total of 3891 male students and 2817 female students. There were 655 girls who finished high school compared to 586 boys, so a higher percentage of girls completed their high school education. The same year, 10 out of 43 boys who wrote their finals passed; 31 girls out of 71 passed. Consequently, the pass rate was about 44 per cent for girls and 23 per cent for boys. Other numbers show similar results.[956]

It is not clear if the University set higher academic standards for girls, or if girls in general performed better than their male counterparts in their high school and university entrance examinations. In college, however, the WCUU student graduate records clearly indicate that on average women had better academic performance and results than men. This helps explain why WCUU hired so many of its own female graduates.

On October 4th, 1942, Lincoln Zhang cabled the Board of Governors to report on student enrolment for the five universities in the 1942 academic year. Qilu University

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[953] Ibid.
[954] *WCUU Journal,* no. 11 (1941): 8-10.
[955] UCCA 83.059C Box 61 File 5.
[956] Ibid.

had accepted 208 male and 150 female students; Nanjing accepted 939 male and 100 female students; Yenching accepted 203 male and no female students; Jinling Women's College accepted 296 female and no male students; and WCUU accepted 506 male and 385 female students. In other words, among all universities, West China Union University accepted the highest number and percentage of female students, which was 76 percent. As a women-only educational institution, Jinling Women's College didn't accept any male students.

From the Department of Pharmacy's student enrolment records, we can see the steady increase in female students at WCUU since the year 1932:

Year	Male	Female	Total
1933	13	6	19
1934	17	11	28
1935	25	8	33
1936	22	11	33
1937	31	23	54
1938	25	20	45
1939	28	20	48
1940	33	48	81
1941	39	46	85
1942	51	51	102
1943	49	50	99
1944	81	61	142
1945	71	56	127
1946	110	97	207
1947	111	83	194
1948	96	79	175
1949	102	73	174[957]

[957] Dr. Edwin N. Meuser, "General Historical Data Regarding the Work of Edwin N. Meuser as Overseas Missionary-Pharmacist to West China, 1909-1950", Dr. Meuser family archives.

From 1940 to 1943, for four years in a row, the Department of Pharmacy had female students in numbers either equal to or higher than that of male students. From 1944 to 1949, the period when Lincoln Zhang left WCUU, female student enrolment was slightly lower than that of their male counterparts.

Another document from Dr. Meuser shows that from 1933 to 1950, the College of Pharmacy accepted 1747 students in total, among them 1004 male and 743 female. However, from 1933 to 1950, there were 127 male graduates and 142 female graduates. The female graduation rate was 19 per cent compared to 12 per cent for males.[958]

Other statistics also show that female students from WCUU were not left behind in other areas. In 1943, China's anti-Japanese war entered a decisive time, and the nationalist government encouraged students to join the fight for the nation. Many WCUU graduates enthusiastically joined the army. In 1944, 79 WCUU graduates from medicine, dentistry, and pharmacy enlisted; 43 were male students and 36 were female students. Among the female graduates, 16 were medical doctors; 5 were from the dental department, and 15 were from pharmacy.[959] In other words, women did not shy away from hardship and challenges; they seemed to believe that they could shoulder the same duties and responsibilities as men.

The University administration, represented by Lincoln Zhang, highly valued women's academic performance, professionalism, and their potential for excellence. As we saw in chapter 6, the school hired its own outstanding students to be university teachers and staff based on their academic performance, personality, and ability to serve greater society.

In 1945, the University hired more female graduates than males as staff and faculty. The Department of Pharmacy graduated 23 students, 8 men and 15 women. The University hired 4 female pharmacy graduates, which represented 27 percent of the overall female graduates in the department. No male graduates were hired. The Department of Medicine had 46 graduates, 16 women and 30 men. Among them, the University hired 3 women and 5 men, representing 19 percent of the female graduates and 16.7 percent of the male graduates respectively. The Dentistry Department had 9

[958] UCCA 83. 059C. Box 61-X. Meuser File.
[959] *WCUU Journal*, no. 11 (1944).

graduates, 4 men and 5 women. The university hired 2 male dentistry graduates and all 5 female dentistry graduates, representing 50 percent of the men and 100 percent of the women.[960]

These three departments had the best academic programs in their disciplines in China; that was especially the case in pharmacy and dentistry. Naturally, they were also the very best programs in Sichuan, Yunnan, and Guizhou provinces, and had an extremely high percentage of female faculty members. Their gender equality policy meant that WCUU had the most female medical professors of any university in China.[961]

These numbers underline several facts. First, in 1940, Chinese middle class families were eager to send their daughters to school to obtain higher education. Second, women were encouraged to choose subjects and careers that were traditionally considered prestigious men's domains, and women themselves were confident and prepared to work with and compete with men. Third, educational institutions like WCUU tended to provide equal opportunities for women and men. And finally, many female students did significantly better than males, at least in the Pharmacy Department. Actually, at WCUU, the graduation rate for women in general was higher than that for men. This phenomenon is worth further study.

Lincoln Zhang's advocacy for gender equality originated from his unwavering belief in the value of education. He believed that China needed educated youth to build a modern and strong country.[962] On September 21, 1944, Zhang wrote to the Board to reveal the purpose of his educational efforts. During the years of the war, WCUU awarded degrees to 379 men and 237 women. "It is our hope that each one of these will live fuller lives and be of greater service to their community and their country because of their training received while at the University."[963] To develop women's potential and

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960 "List of the 31st WCUU graduate students and employments," *WCUU Journal*, no. 6 (1945): 17-20. "第三十一级毕业生".

961 Both Jinling Woman's College and Huanan Woman's college didn't offer any medical related programs. St. John's University accepted more Chinese Christians to study medicine but it accepted male students only. Yenching didn't have a medical department or accept female students at the time. Other universities, like Qilu, did receive a limited number of female medical students, but didn't offer other medical related studies like dentistry and pharmacy.

962 With his cultivation and encouragement, his two daughters became medical practitioners. His older daughter Ruth Zhang (Zhang Junru 张君儒) was a paediatrician, and his second daughter Mary Zhang (Zhang Zhongxian 张仲贤) was a pharmacist." Also interestingly, Lincoln Zhang gave his two daughters' names usually for to men.

963 Lincoln Zhang to Board of Governors, September 21st, 1944. UBCHEA RG011-286-4489.

to serve the nation reflected Zhang's understanding of women's role in society. He saw women as equals.

Besides accepting more female students, Lincoln Zhang also devoted himself to promoting women's independence and social status. One instance of his attempting to do this proved controversial and actually embroiled him in a long-running dispute with the WCUU's Board of Governors in New York. On March 20th, 1943, he wrote to Mr. Evans, acting executive secretary of the Board of Governors, with a proposal to grant an honorary degree in Home Economics from WCUU to Mrs. Lan, the wife of Mr. Lan Wenbing 蓝文斌.[964]

The rationale behind the proposal was that for the past fifteen years, Mrs. Lan had been in charge of a successful mining operation in rural Sichuan. Lincoln Zhang explained that she was a good example for women to develop agency and to exercise their potential outside the domestic sphere. Moreover, Mrs. Lan's generous support towards education was another reason for Zhang's suggestion. She and her husband had donated more than one million dollars (N.C.) to various educational institutions in Sichuan and another one million to WCUU. Of that amount, half a million was to become an Endowment Fund for the Department of Home Economics. Zhang wrote, "Mrs. Lan specially wishes to promote the standing of Chinese women and the training of women leaders for the future reconstruction work of the nation."[965] He was convinced that Mrs. Lan's intention was well-aligned with the mission of the University.

Mr. Evans' reply, direct and frank as usual, was that the West China Union University "does not carry this authority" to grant an honorary degree to anybody.[966] His justification was that, "It has been our understanding that this is entirely against Chinese customs and, although it is quite generally done in America, we very much dislike to see

[964] I have had a hard time identifying the given name of Mrs. Lan. For the entire negotiations with the Board of Governors, Lincoln Zhang didn't give the full name of Mrs. Lan. Although she was considerably accomplished, she was still a nameless woman attached to her husband. Mr. Lan Wenbing was born 19887 in Zizhong, Sichuan and served local warlords Liu Chengxun, Liu Xiang and Liu Wenhui. Since 1930s he became a wealthy businessman. Lan had six wives. It is difficult to tell which Mrs. Lan was granted the honorary degree; however, according to the general cultural practice, it could be assumed that she was the first wife of Mr. Lan.

[965] Lincoln Zhang to Evans, October 29th, 1943. UBCHEA RG011-286-4489. P. 281.

[966] Evans to Lincoln Zhang, July 12th, 1943. UBCHEA RG011-286-4489. P. 278.

the custom inaugurated in China if it is to follow the same pattern so often adopted in America."[967]

The conflict between Zhang and the Board over the honorary degree for Mrs. Lan, as detailed in the earlier chapter, was not only about issues of who had the power to grant honorary degrees and why, but was also about Lincoln Zhang's interest in honoring strong and successful women as role models for female students.

WCUU Women's Education Changed the Intellectual Landscape of Sichuan

In her study of Canadian missionary women's work in China, Rosemary Gagan suggests that WMS' West China mission was an expensive and un-worthwhile venture. Be that as it may, WMS sent its most educated, strong-willed and dedicated female church members to China. Suggesting that their West China work was a waste of effort only holds water if one's criterion is the number of conversions achieved. If instead we consider the broader impact on Chinese society, a very different judgment is called for. Although missionary women brought Victorian ideas about women to West China, they nonetheless helped Chinese women escape domestic tyranny. As the first generation of Canadian career women that came to China, the female missionaries pushed society to accept educated career women, providing the option for women to be self-sufficient and independent. They fought to obtain dignified lives for Chinese women through education, and to improve social conditions for women in a traditional culture that oppressed women in almost every respect. They were the catalyst to a significant paradigm shift in women's rights in Sichuan province. The list of female students and instructors at WCUU serves as evidence.

As a strong supporter of women's education and liberation, Lincoln Zhang made tremendous efforts to provide educational opportunities for young and illiterate women and help already educated women to build confidence in performing in a male-dominated workforce. His commitment to female empowerment was essential for the reconstruction of the intellectual landscape of Sichuan, and for putting women on a more equal footing with men.

[967] Ibid.

In an article regarding women's education, Lincoln Zhang laid out his personal understanding about the importance of woman's education and educated woman's role in Chinese society. He suggested that the concept of females as the submissive sex was an obstacle that needed to be removed from Chinese society,[968] because "Under this system no true community can develop."[969]

He strongly believed that providing opportunities for women's education and having women achieve their full potential were essential goals for social advancement. He wrote, that if China was determined to "become a strong and democratic member-state" and to contribute to "the world civilizations", it would be "possible only when her daughters have become self-determined women, aware and capable of taking up responsibilities in every aspect of her life."[970] To accomplish that, "these daughters will have to be trained first"; therefore, women's college education was desirable to help a woman "identify her own interests" and build her own character.[971] When women are able to develop their own interests and personalities, they would gain the ability and confidence to break away from traditional cultural practices and social structures that limit their role to domestic activities only.

Lincoln Zhang trusted that, given the opportunity, women could take on a substantial amount of social responsibilities and make a myriad of contributions to the nation. He wrote, "It does not need saying that university education should not aim at producing professional doctors and teachers only, but leaders and workers in every kind of service for the welfare of the community, as well as pure scholars."[972] He hoped China could produce women like Florence Nightingale, Elizabeth Fry, Ellen Terry, Marie Curie, Frances Perkins and many others,[973] and believed that it was the educational institution's duty and responsibility to cultivate and produce creative, initiative, innovative and revolutionary Chinese women. By doing so, he said, "Two conditions must be fulfilled by an institution of higher education: the one is a certain

[968] Lincoln Zhang, "West China Union University 1910-1939—the President's Forward," UBCHEA RG 011-297-4625. P.29.
[969] Ibid.
[970] Ibid. , 30.
[971] Ibid.
[972] Ibid.
[973] Ibid.

amount of freedom in the choice of subjects and time for study by oneself and the other is a good deal of individual supervision."[974] He thought that "it is our privilege and in our power to provide" proper nurture to female students, in order for them to "find their own way in the world of learning."[975] It seems that Lincoln Zhang felt personally responsible to help and support women to become an integral part of China's efforts to strengthen its democracy and modernization.

Lincoln Zhang's effort to promote woman's education at WCUU was fruitful. "It had contributed inestimably to the enrichment of Chinese womanhood and to society in general."[976]

Dr. Karen Minden, author of *Bamboo Stone: The Evolution of a Chinese Medical Elite*, conducted a survey of West China Union University alumni in the Colleges of Medicine, Pharmacy and Dentistry in 1984. Survey participants were students at WCUU from the mid-1930s to the late 1940s. The results of the survey are rather inspiring.

My analysis of Dr. Minden's survey shows that more than 92 per cent of the mothers of the participants did not have any education, and that "housewife" was their predominant occupation. Only two had limited education. However, 100 percent of the wives of male participants had a college education, and most of them worked as doctors, dentists, and pharmacists. Some of these wives were high school and university teachers. Only one man's wife was listed as a housewife.[977] Dr. Minden's survey also indicates that the second generation of these families performed similarly to their parents, and was accomplished in the fields of education, science research, and medicine.

Other statistics signify that between the 1920s and the 1940s, ideas about women's education changed drastically. After the 1919 May Fourth Movement, Chinese universities began accepting female students, and women were able to access

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[974] Ibid.
[975] Ibid.
[976] Lewis C.Walmsley, *West China Union University* (New York: United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia, 1974), 85.
[977] The statistics come from Dr. Karen Minden's personal archives. I am grateful to Dr. Minden for allowing me to use her personal archives, and for her adamant support and encouragement.

education at various levels. The analysis from Dr. Minden's questionnaires strongly suggests substantial positive changes to women's education, as women became professionals and gained social status, locally and in Chinese society at large.

Dr. Minden's survey demonstrates that from the early 1940s and onwards, China produced the first generation of Chinese spouses in which both husband and wife had college educations, and both worked in professional fields such as medicine and education. The survey also shows that not only were Chinese women beginning to take on professional jobs in positions of authority, but educated men were also accepting and appreciative of women's education and career advancements. It was an unprecedented phenomenon in Chinese history. Since 80 percent of survey participants were WCUU alumni from Sichuan, it is safe to attribute their accomplishments to the training they received from local WMS West China missionaries and their tremendous contributions to expanding women's access to education and instilling a spirit of professional development.

Needless to say, it was Chinese women themselves who courageously demonstrated their ability to accept new ideas, embrace learning opportunities, and break free from traditional gender roles and oppressive customs.

Access to education allowed for considerable changes for Chinese women. Knowledge and self-development not only allowed some women to wrestle themselves free of societal shackles that had previously rendered women submissive and home-bound, but also transformed them from housewives to professional women. They left behind their previous role as the secondary gender in society, instead becoming a primary force in serving the nation.

Although the increase in women's educational and career development in West China and WCUU directly involved only a limited number of women, it was a strong marker of major social changes. In the late 1940s and early 1950s, China might have had a higher proportion of female university professors, doctors, dentists, and pharmacists than North America, thanks in part to the educational efforts of Christians, including women missionaries as well as Chinese educators like Lincoln Zhang.

The Early Years of Chinese Cultural Studies at WCUU

The Departments of Liberal Arts and Education were established with the inception of the University in 1910. These two disciplines aimed to introduce Christianity and Western thought to younger Chinese, and to cultivate high-quality Chinese Christian educators and church leaders in the next generation. Of the school's first ten WCUU graduates, nine studied theology and education, and one majored in science. The future university presidents Lincoln Zhang and Fang Shuxuan were among the earliest graduates.

Ten years later in 1920, the program of Chinese Culture and Language was set up at WCUU, and only one Chinese instructor was appointed. It took another five years for the Chinese studies program to hire two part-time instructors, Mr. Li Zhi and Mr. Lin Sijin in 1925. In 1927, after Lincoln Zhang took charge of the University, two more established Chinese cultural experts were added as Chinese Studies faculty. In 1929, funds from the Harvard-Yenching Institute increased the capacity of the Department to accept more students.

The scope of the Chinese Studies improved substantially in 1933 after the University registered with the Nationalist Government. In line with registration policies, WCUU established the College of Liberal Arts, which was composed of the departments of Chinese Language and Literature, Foreign Language and Literature, Sociology, History, Philosophy, and Education. However, Chinese Studies were still an insignificant part of the University curriculum.

In the early 1930s, WCUU's medical school was top in the province. The Department of Dentistry attracted the attention of the nation's educational institutions and major hospitals. With the return of Dr. Meuser, the Department of Pharmacy showed great promise in its teaching and development, but Chinese Studies and the University's humanities programs remained weak compared to those at other Christian colleges such as Yenching and Qilu. This was in line with the belief of modernizing Chinese intellectuals, influenced by the May Fourth Movement, who believed that China would be saved through democracy, science, and industrialization, and that out of date traditional Chinese customs were barriers to China's modernization.

Lincoln Zhang had a different interpretation of Chinese Studies and the University curriculum. He considered liberal arts to be the backbone of a modern institution of higher education. He saw the arts as a channel for the younger generation to tune into their own cultural, social, and historical identities, to confidently fit into a Western-style thinking and learning environment, and to be able to relate to their family, society, and past from the perspective of the West. He aspired to make WCUU a place where future Chinese leaders and quality citizens would be trained.

His thoughts on such issues aligned with some accomplished modern Chinese intellectuals.

In the late 1920s and early 1930s, the leading figures and representatives of the May Fourth generation, returned from their overseas studies and started the New Culture Movement in Beijing and Shanghai. Their ideas quickly spread and had strong influences on younger Chinese and intellectuals. They advocated applying Western ideology, technology, and methodology as a lens to re-examine traditional Chinese philosophy, to re-interpret Chinese culture and history, and to re-create a prominent position for China in contemporary world civilization. They believed that the younger Chinese generation should be guided by the spirit of individualism and liberal thought when it came to academic learning and pursuing.

Some accomplished Chinese culture scholars, for example, Tang Wenzhi 唐文治, believed that ancient Chinese civilization was part of the world's civilization, and that Chinese cultural studies could contribute to human civilization.[978] Their advocacy of free thinking excited and encouraged Chinese intellectual society, especially educators who welcomed Western technologies; but many conservative scholars also worried that Chinese traditional culture would be lost. The modern Chinese intellectuals and educators wanted the young Chinese to master Western technology, but were afraid of them losing confidence in their own nation. Therefore, emphasis on studying Chinese ancient civilization, history and culture became a tool for promoting national

[978] Tang Wenzhi 唐文治, December 1865-April 1954, a renowned expert in Chinese cultural studies, an educator, and the President of Shanghai Higher School of Science and Engineering (today's Shanghai Jiaotong University). When he was the President of the Shanghai Higher School of Science and Engineering from 1907 to 1920, he emphasized classic Chinese learning and believed that the Chinese civilization was valuable part of the world civilizations. Interestingly his three sons all studied abroad.

confidence, carrying forward Chinese traditions, and cultivating personal virtues with Chinese characteristics.

Zhang decided to make efforts to strengthen the Chinese Studies program. Using his travels around the country to contact established scholars, he was, in a short period of time, able to hire some top Liberal Arts professors for the University. These included: Lin Shanyu 林山腴 a famous poet and established Classic Chinese scholar, Gong Xiangnong 龚向农 a specialist of Confucian classics, Li Peifu 李培甫, Pang Shizu 庞石帚, and Zhu Shaobin 朱少滨, just to name a few, as specialists in Chinese literature. Others, like Fu Baochen 傅葆琛, Bi Tianmin 毕天民, Wei Shizhen 魏时珍, Wen Zaiyou 文在宥, Zhou Taixuan 周太玄, Yang Youzhi 杨佑之, Shen Sizhuan 沈嗣庄, Jiang Wengang 姜蘊刚, and Li Sichun 李思纯, were well established scholars and researchers.

To improve teaching standards and attract more quality students to study Chinese Classics, he recruited professors from other universities in Chengdu to teach part-time at the University. In the mid-1930s, Liu Borong 刘柏荣[979] and Lu Jiye, 卢冀野[980], along with many other celebrated scholars, were hired to teach at WCUU. Since no missionary was qualified to teach Chinese studies and HYI Chinese studies funding was not fully distributed to the University by the Associated Board, WCUU had to take money from its own funds to hire Chinese instructors from an already very tight budget.

Lincoln Zhang discussed his ideas to strengthen the humanities with Luo Zhongshu 罗忠恕, a Cambridge educated philosopher.[981] They both agreed that a modern China needed diverse talents now and for the near future, and that the University should be prepared to meet the demands of cultivating such talents. In

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979 Liu Borong was a scholar, painter and journalist who was very active from the 1930s to 1950. He was a professional teaching in Sichuan University, and then worked at the Sichuan Social Science Research Institute. There are very few records about his life and work.

980 Lu Jiye (March, 1905-April 17th, 1951) was born in Nanjing to a scholarly family. He graduated from the Southeast University in 1927. He was an author, scholar and expert in Chinese poetry, music, folk and countryside literature. He taught in various Chinese universities.

981 Qian Mu 钱穆, July 30th, 1895-August 30th, 1990, a Chinese historian, philosopher and writer, believed that Luo Zhongxu had strong influence on Dr. Joseph Needham's writing of *Science and Civilization in China*. In his article he wrote, "英人李约瑟亦常与会。他年李约瑟之撰写中国科技史，亦不得不谓受有当时之影响", [华西大学四川大学], [八十忆双亲 师友杂忆], 北京：生活 读书 新知三联书店, 2005. In his article, "Miscellaneous Memories of Teachers and Friends", Qian Mu wrote, "The British Joseph Needham met Luo often (when he was studying in Cambridge). It had to be said that at the time, he had a strong influence on Needham's writing of *Science and Civilization in China.*" "West China Union University and Sichuan University," *Memories of My Parents When Turning to Eighty Years Old,* Beijing: Sanlian Publishing House, 2005.

addition, as was the duty and responsibility of educators, the school should provide opportunities to nurture and support young Chinese students with varied talents beyond medicine and engineering.[982]

Lincoln Zhang brought up his ideas during faculty meetings. In the beginning, his proposal didn't win much support, however, as debates continued, the idea of developing new comprehensive university programs gradually gained acceptance and support. The recommendation from the Policy Committee in 1936 gave him confidence that a comprehensive university needed balanced programs. He believed that the applied science program alone couldn't realize the mission; therefore, strengthening Liberal Arts studies would be a necessary step to take.[983]

In 1934, the University took three steps to strengthen Chinese Cultural Studies. First, Lincoln Zhang appointed Luo Zhongshu as the Dean of the College of Liberal Arts. Second, the University obtained a $4,000 special fund from the Ministry of Education to improve Chinese cultural studies. Third, through tremendous efforts, the department was able to recruit the distinguished Chinese classic scholar Zhu Shizhe 朱师辙 from Beijing to teach at the Chinese Cultural and Language department at WCUU.[984]

As soon as Luo became Dean of the Liberal Arts College, he and Lincoln Zhang held long discussions about strategies to effectively expand the program. With the support of Lincoln Zhang and ten other professors who were interested in educational

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[982] Luo, Zhongxu, "The Postwar Contribution of the College of Humanities," *Journal of West China Union University,* June 1945.

[983] Jiang Wengang, "My Reminiscence of West China Union University," *Selected Collections of Chengdu Literature and History*, Series 3, Sichuan People's Publishing House, China, 1982.

[984] According Zhu Shiche 朱师辙, after Lincoln Zhang and Luo Zhongxu decided to have a strong Chinese cultural study department, Lincoln Zhang asked for the advice of Cheng Zhixuan 程芝轩. With Lincoln Zhang's encouragement, Cheng wrote to invite Meng Wentong 蒙文通, a professor at Beijing University to teach at WCUU. Meng Wentong asked Zhu Shiche to join him, but Zhu declined the invitation because of the remoteness and poor transportation conditions of Sichuan. Determined to have Zhu teach with him at WCUU, Meng wrote to Cheng Zhixuan, Zhu's teacher to stress the importance of teaching at WCUU. In his letter, Cheng stressed to Zhu that he needed to put his duty and responsibility for carrying on the Chinese studies above his personal comfort; he also believed that Zhu should cultivate more Chinese cultural scholars, serve the cause of social reform, and thus help save the country. Finally, Zhu was touched by his mentor's passion for that program and his dedication to the future of the country. He packed to move to Chengdu the same day after reading his teacher's letter. With his mentor, Cheng Zhixuan, he designed Chinese history, classics and writing courses for students and was very happy to see the improvement of the Chinese Cultural Studies students and the program. Zhu Shiche, "The Brief Biography of the Master of Nengguan," in Master Jinghui, ed. *The Buddhist Figures in Ancient and Modern Times.* Vol. 1st. (Beijing: Chinese Buddhist Association Press, 1967): 403-4. 朱师辙：能观法师传略， 载净慧主编：佛教人物古今谈（上册），北京：中国佛教协会出版社，1967 年版，第 403-404 页.

development, Luo Zhongshu organized a "University Educational Development Group". They met weekly to research and discuss the characteristics of universities around the world and the ways they approached education in the Liberal Arts.

Lincoln Zhang and Luo Zhongshu agreed that strengthening Chinese Cultural Studies research and hiring top Chinese culture scholars would make WCUU a comprehensive university.[985] With these goals in mind, the department of Chinese Cultural Studies developed exponentially. By 1937, the department hired 18 well-established scholars of Chinese culture, of which 17 were Chinese and one was American. Student numbers increased from 18 in 1930 to 48 in 1937.

However, the geographical inconvenience of WCUU continued to limit the expansion of Lincoln Zhang's ambitious Chinese Cultural Studies program. Until 1937, the very best scholars were still hesitant to come to Chengdu due to challenges of transportation and its relatively conservative cultural environment. The change was brought by the eruption of the anti-Japanese war that unexpectedly made Chengdu the cultural hub of unoccupied China. Top Chinese scholars began to gather in Chengdu, providing Lincoln Zhang with an opportunity for the University to approach some of the most reputable scholars.

Taking advantage of the situation, WCUU established the Chinese Cultural Studies Research Institute in 1939 and recruited some leading China scholars in their respective fields. They included: Wen Zaiyou 文在宥, Han Rulin 韩儒林, Lǚ Shuxiang 吕叔湘, Gu Jiegang 顾颉刚 Liu Zhaoyang 刘朝阳, Chen Yinke 陈寅恪, Liu Xian 刘咸, Li Fanggui,李方桂, Teng Gu 藤固, and Dong Zuobin 董作宾; later on, Qian Mu 钱穆, Guo Zhusong 顾祝崧 Yang Qiusheng 杨秋声, Wang Weiming 王维明, Jiang Wengang 姜蕴刚, just to name a few.

The Harvard-Yenching Institute Chinese Cultural Study Funds and Allocations

As we have seen, building a robust and modern university had been Lincoln Zhang's ambition since returning from the United States in 1934; he took reformative and strategic actions to indigenize and Sinicize the University administrative system,

[985] Luo, Zhongxu, "The Postwar Contribution of the College of Humanities," *Journal of West China Union University,* no. 6 (1945): 1-2.

teaching and curriculum, following the 1936 WCUU Policy. He identified that the subjects of medicine and dentistry had gained maturity and national reputation; compared to other well-developed universities, Zhang believed that the liberal arts were an essential component of a modern education, but the programs was insubstantial at WCUU. He planned to strengthen the Chinese Cultural Studies program and ensure its survival.

From its inception, the Chinese Cultural Studies program faced a bumpy road. The reasons were multiple. First of all, the Board of Governors aimed to promote Christian learning, not Chinese studies. As such, the Board allocated its funds accordingly. Most of the time, it was inclined to use its financial resources as a tool to steer the University's development. The primary funder of the Chinese Studies program at WCUU was the Harvard-Yenching Institute (HYI)[986] from the United States. As we shall see in due course, the management style of its Director, the Franco-Russian scholar Dr. Serge Elisséeff,[987] proved challenging for the smooth running of the Chinese Studies program at WCUU. However, even bigger problems arose from the attitude of the missionary bodies abroad.

On March 30, 1929, the chairman of the HYI Board of Trustees, Roland W. Boyden formally notified the WCUU Board of Governors that the annual income of $1,900,000 from the HYI fund "is to be used for the purpose of strengthening your instruction in Chinese language, literature, and history and purposes which in the judgment of your Board for Trustees are incidental thereto."[988] In response, however,

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[986] The Harvard–Yenching Institute (HYI) was founded in 1928 by Yenching University President John Leighton Stuart with funding provided solely from the estate of Charles Martin Hall. From 1929, the institute started directing financial support to five Christian colleges in China, namely, the Jinling College, Fujian Christian University, Lingnan University, Qilu University and West China Union University. While HYI has close ties to Harvard University and historically funded the development of East Asian Studies there, it has always been an independent public charitable trust, dedicated to advance higher education in Asia in the humanities and social sciences, with special attention to the study of Asian culture.

[987] Dr. Serge Elisséeff, January 13th, 1889–April 13th, 1975, was a Russian-French scholar, Japanologist, and professor at Harvard University. He was born to a wealthy Russian family; in the fall of 1917, the Bolshevik Revolution seized all the Elisséeff family fortune. In the summer of 1920, Elisséeff his wife and two sons fled to Finland, and then settled in Paris. In 1932, Elisséeff was hired by Harvard University as a lecturer in Japanese and Chinese Studies. Elisséeff was the first director of the Harvard–Yenching Institute (HYI), an independent, non-profit organization founded in 1928 to further the spread of knowledge and scholarship on East and Southeast Asia. Dr. Elisséeff held the director position of HYI from 1936 to 1956.

[988] Roland W. Boyden to Board of Trustees of West China Union University, March 30th, 1929. UBCHEA RG011-287-4501.

Dr. Garside, the Executive Secretary of the WCUU Board of Governors[989] wrote to assistant secretary Dr. Frank Anderson to hold the payment to WCUU before the first remittance arrived on May 1st 1929. In his letter, Garside wrote, "If you think it wise to have him (Henry L. Shattuck, a member of HYI Board of Trustees) hold up this payment until the Executive Committee has held its meeting on May 16 and has taken formal action on the Institute matter, will you send him work to that effect?"[990]

With the HYI funds already remitted to the Board of Trustees of the five Christian Colleges in China,[991] the Secretary of HYI, Howard C. Hollis wrote to WCUU on July 2nd 1929 to reinforce the purpose of the funds, stating that:

> It was the intention of the Trustees that funds from the institute should in general be used to strengthen departments of Chinese Language, literature and history. The Institute further assumes that over a period of years the department thus enlarged will grow and be strengthened with the other departments of the institutions. The Trustees of the Institute do not wish this year to impose any definitive limitations other than those expressed in the original communication, but they feel that they should call attention to the dangers involved in starting on a policy inconsistent with that defined above.[992]

The general principle was clear: HYI did not want the money to be spent long-term on items other than Chinese cultural and historical studies.

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[989] The Board of HYI is called the Board of Trustees; the Board of Governors was responsible for the West China Union University's matters of policy and general administration. The first meeting of the Board of Governors was held in New York on December 13, 1911. The Associated Boards came into being in late 1932. On October 27th, 1932, forty-eight representatives of the Boards of Directors, Founders and Trustees of ten Christian educational institutions in New York participated in an Organization Meeting of the Associated Boards for Christian Colleges in China. WCUU was among the ten Christian Colleges in China. Dr. G. A. Garside as the Chief Executive Secretary of the Associated Boards until January 31, 1942.

[990] Garside to Dr. Frank Anderson, April 24th, 1929. UBCHEA RG011-287-4501.

[991] The Board of Trustees of Christian Colleges in China changed its name to the Associated Boards on December 30th, 1932.

[992] Secretary of HYI Board of Trustees, Howard C. Hollis to WCUU July 2nd, 1929. UBCHEA RG011-287-4501.

In 1930, the HYI gave $80,000 to the Associated Boards in order to support the Chinese Cultural Study program at the five Christian Colleges: Yenching in present-day Beijing, Jinling in Nanjing, Qilu in Jinan, Lingnan in Guangzhou (Canton), and WCUU. West China Union University was allocated $10,000.

Although the Chinese Cultural Study program was in its early stages, Lincoln Zhang was excited about its potential for growth and planned to hire more staff for their Chinese studies program. After six months of waiting, however, the money failed to appear in the WCUU account.

On February 5, 1930, Dr. Beech, the President of WCUU, telegrammed the Board and requested a remittance of up to $10,000 from the HYI monies in order to fund WCUU and take advantage of the favorable rate of exchange.[993] On February 10th, Garside informed Dr. Beech that the Board would wait for WCUU to report its expenditure before sending the money. He also informed Beech that "$852 of the income from the Harvard-Yenching Institute Trust Fund for 1930 be tentatively assigned to the 1930 budget," and "the balance of this income be held in reserve for the present…"[994] In other words, the Board used $852 for the WCUU's annual budget, and the remaining $9,148, the Board planned to either reimburse as expenditures of the program or withhold it. The problem was, without sending money to WCUU, the University was unable to make plans for program development; therefore, no expenditures could be reported to the Board for reimbursement. The Board ended up keeping more than 91 percent of HYI funds for the Chinese cultural study program.

The Board of Governors' actions directly violated HYI regulations. Furthermore, their behavior greatly limited and jeopardized the development of the Chinese studies program at WCUU. Without the funding, the University would have a hard time establishing development plans and hiring instructors, purchasing books, and setting up a library. Thirdly, failing to follow HYI policy created tension between the HYI and WCUU. Since no adequate HYI funding was received from the Board, WCUU was unable to provide annual program reports to HYI. The Board's actions gave the

[993] Dr. Beech's telegram to the Board on February 5, 1930 is not in the collections of Yale archives, but Garside's letter to Dr. Beech on February 10th, 1930 gives a good summary of the contents of Dr. Beech's telegram. See Garside to Beech, Feb. 10th, 1930. UBCHEA RG011-287-4501.

[994] Garside to Beech, Feb. 10th, 1930. UBCHEA RG011-287-4501.

HYI an impression that WCUU had no interest in developing the program, and made it impossible to meet HYI's expectations.

From the very beginning, for two reasons, the Board of Governors withheld WCUU's HYI funds. First, when the HYI funds became available, the Great Depression had just hit North American hard, making securing funds, gifts, and pledges for the Christian Mission in China extremely challenging. It was natural for the Board to put aside a fund for emergencies. At the time WCUU was ready to register with the Nationalist Government. Registration meant that Christian teaching and learning would be optional. The Board of Governors did not wish to encourage expansion of the Chinese Cultural Studies program, although this was against the regulations of the HYI.

A further wrinkle in the story came in 1931, with the discovery of Three Star Mound (Sanxingdui 三星堆) in Guanghan 广汉, Sichuan, about 40 miles away from Chengdu, which drew great interest from several Christian missionaries. Daniel S. Dye, a Canadian missionary-geologist at WCUU measured, photographed, and examined the site, and was able to secure several items for the WCUU museum. 1932, the Board of Governors appointed Dr. David Crockett Graham[995] as the Director of the Museum and allocated a portion of the HYI funds to Dr. Graham for archeological work.

Between May 1931 and August 1938, the Board of Governors allocated part of the HYI funds for WCUU Chinese Cultural Studies. The money went to the museum for equipment, books, and Chinese cultural relics, rather than to "strengthen departments of Chinese Language, literature and history." The WCUU report for the HYI Chinese Studies program was prepared by Dr. Graham, the Director of the Museum, but not by the Chinese Literature and Language Department. In March 1934, Graham reported to HYI, "our latest figures showed that we now have 11,000 objects in the museum, about five thousand being added in less than two years since my arrival…When I first arrived I wrote that Peabody Museum had a better Tibetan

[995] Dr. David C. Graham, March 21st, 1884 –September 15th, 1961, a Canadian missionary, archaeologist, anthropologist and author worked in West China from 1911 to 1948. He was ordained at the First Baptist Church in Fairport, New York. He earned his degree of Master of Arts in 1919 from the School of Divinity at the University of Chicago in 1927. He completed his Ph.D. Between 1931 and 1932 he studied archaeology and anthropology at Harvard University and returned to WCUU in September 1932. He was appointed the director of WCUU museum, and organized the first archaeological excavation of Three Star Mound. He was considered the most important contributor to the establishment of WCUU museum.

collection than we had. We now have one of the best Tibetan collections in the world."[996]As expected, Dr. Graham requested more money and special grants for the museum. The early HYI funds mostly went to archeological studies and to purchasing ancient Chinese artifacts in China. The HYI funds were applied in the same way by the other four universities as well.

The distribution of HYI funds was heavily impacted by the emerging interest in Sinology in the 1920s and early 1930s. The Western Sinologists were the earliest and most influential scholars in the field of Chinese ancient artifacts, scriptures, and archaeology, like explorers and Sinologists Langdon Warner, an employee of Harvard Fogg Museum, Aurel Stein, an Austrian, and Paul Pelliot, a French scholar. Some American missionaries and European aristocrats, like Baron A. von Stael, were high profile Sinologists by this time. Their passion for archeological collections of ancient Chinese scripts carried a lot of clout with Western Sinologists and they all had strong connections with Harvard. Langdon Warner was hired by Harvard to steal Dunhuang scripts; Pelliot and Stael-Holstein were invited to teach and give lectures at Harvard. The first and long-term Director of the Yenching-Harvard Institute, Serge Elisséeff was a proudly trained student of Paul Pelliot. It was natural that the HYI zealously steered Chinese studies toward the field of their interests early on and funds allocated to their high priority field accordingly. At the time, the most accomplished Chinese scholars just began applying their newly learned Western methodologies in their studies in Chinese culture, philosophy and history.

On May 9, 1934 Dr. Garside notified the presidents of six Christian Chinese colleges (Yenching, Jinling, WCUU, Lingnan, Qilu and Fujian) of the HYI fund distribution. Out of the total $80,000, Yenching took a lion's share of $15,789.47; Jinling, WCUU, and Lingnan received equal amounts of $9,473.69.

In mid-June, Dr. Beech asked the Board of Governors to explain why WCUU received only $5000 of the HYI funds, and not the expected $9,473.69. On June 15th, 1934, Dr. Beech wrote to the Board and requested the balance of HYI funds be sent to

[996] Graham to Dr. Chase of HYI, March 26th, 1934. UBCHEA RG011-287-4501.

WCUU.[997] The Assistant Treasurer, Dr. Evans replied frankly, "I note what you say regarding the unexpended balance in the HYI account, and we will govern ourselves accordingly."[998] To silence Beech, Evans added, "You will receive the announcement regarding the distribution of HYI restricted appropriation, so no further comment is required."[999] Knowing Evans' explanation did not satisfy Beech, Garside himself wrote to remind Beech that the WCUU "didn't account for the $US 4500 which is a part of the regular budget remittances…"[1000] Garside told Beech that he noted the WCUU account showed only US$ 3000 received from HYI in 1932 and not $5075, because it didn't account for the $2075 of HYI funds included in the WCUU's annual budget.

Every year, the Board of Governors diverted close to half of the HYI funds that were earmarked for Chinese Studies to the overall WCUU budget, and kept up this practice from 1929 to 1942.[1001] This practice contravened the HYI stipulation that its funds should specifically be used only to fund Chinese Studies. The University tried several times to let HYI and Elisséeff know of the fact that Board was withholding HYI funding, but HYI paid no attention and did not respond to WCUU complaints.[1002]

On January 19, 1935, the four executive members of the Board of Directors of WCUU, Yang Chongxi, Lincoln Zhang, Sparling, and Beech wrote to both the Board of Trustees of HYI and the Board of Governors of WCUU to ask for a special fund to increase faculty members' salaries.[1003] Their letter explained that in the past two years the University had difficulty finding financial resources to sufficiently compensate its instructors. The Nationalist Government funds were directed towards the programs of

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997 Assistant Treasurer of the Board of Governors Dr. Carl Evans to Beech, July 19th, 1934. UBCHEA RG011-287-4501.

998 Ibid.

999 Ibid.

1000 Garside to Beech, Aug 16th, 1934. UBCHEA RG011-287-4501.

1001 Correspondence between the HYI Board of Trustees, the Associated Boards and WCUU from March 1929 to December 1941. UBCHEA RG011-287-4501, 4502, and 4503, about 300 pages documents in total.

1002 Lincoln Zhang to Elisséeff, October 14th, 1942. UBCHEA RG011-287-4503. In the letter to Elisséeff, Lincoln Zhang wrote, "I don't wish to comment on your 'amazement that practically every year since 1929 a large proportion of the HYI funds due West China has been retained in New York,' more than to call to your attention that we have tried several times to make you familiar with this fact."

1003 Yong Chongxi, Lincoln Zhang, Sparling and Beech to Board of Governors and HYI, January 19th, 1935. UBCHEA RG011-287-4501.

Dentistry and Pharmacy only. "We are, consequently, approaching the HYI to ascertain if they would permit us to use LC $2000 for general salary increase."[1004]

The Trustees of the HYI declined WCUU's request "principally on the ground that the Trustees do not feel justified in taking on expenses which naturally would recur."[1005]

According to the Board of Governors' 1935 ledger, the Board withheld $75,114. 40 of HYI funds from WCUU,[1006] WCUU asked for LC $2000, which equaled US $66.66, a small fraction of the sum of HYI funds that were available. On April 22, 1935, Garside wrote to Lincoln Zhang, saying, "I am sorry that the Trustees found it impossible to grant this request."[1007] During a time when the WCUU's financial resources were dire, the Board of Governors withheld a large sum of money and watched the school struggle to procure funds. In this particular case, their words failed to live up to their own rhetoric.

The Tensions Between Dr. Elisséeff and the Chinese Cultural Studies Program at WCUU

In late 1934, Serge Elisséeff was appointed the Director of the Harvard-Yenching Institute. As an acclaimed ethnologist, Elisséeff brought his high standards and years of academic training to HYI management. Compared to previous approaches where tremendous freedom was given to each college or university in establishing their program priorities, Elisséeff was inclined to micro-manage the program.

Unaware of how the Board of Governors had been retaining most of the HYI's funds, Elisséeff stated in his first letter to Dr. Beech on December 2, 1935 that he was not satisfied with the WCUU's annual report for 1934-35, because it contained only information on the Museum. No records were included in the report on Chinese Studies

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[1004] Ibid.

[1005] George H. Chase, Dean of HYI, to Garside, April 12th, 1935. UBCHEA RG011-287-4501.

[1006] "Summary By the New York Treasurer: West China Union University/Harvard-Yenching Institutes Accounts January 1st, 1929 to June 30th, 1934 (all amounts in U. S. Dollars)." UBCHEA RG011-287-4501.P.1042.

[1007] Garside to Lincoln Zhang, April 22nd, 1935. UBCHEA RG011-287-4501.

courses offered, library items purchased, and research published.[1008] The financial report was not in accordance with the HYI's requested format, and he thought the WCUU emphasized museum work too much.[1009] As a result, Elisséeff informed the HYI Board of Trustees to withhold WCUU payment until a satisfactory report was received.[1010]

Elisséeff letter's to Dr. James M. Menzies,[1011] the Director of the Qilu University Museum was equally pointed. He instructed Menzies to send him a list of books that the University had purchased in both Chinese and English, because he would "like to know whether they are histories of Shantung Province or of the entire Chinese territory."[1012] He also requested that Menzies send him "the list of publications and completed projects" with "additional information as to where the book was published and the number of pages."[1013]

Elisséeff also requested that the Chinese Studies program share all their research information with him, even the spelling system they used. "I should like to have details as to how the work is done. What literary sources are used and how archaeological objects are studied...I should like to know what transcription you are using for the ethnological texts, songs, legends, proverbs, etc."[1014] His letter to Beech demanded to know, in their ethnological studies, which transcription method was used, and whether it was international or Standard English spelling.[1015]

As an ethnologist, Elisséeff had an insatiable curiosity about Chinese history. His strong personality and authoritative lecturing style combined with a critical attitude created tension among university administrators. In his letter to Dr. Graham, the Director of WCUU Museum, written the same day as his letter to Beech, Elisséeff demanded to know on what principles he based his purchases of items. "From my eight

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[1008] Elisséeff to Beech, December 2, 1935. UBCHEA RG011-287-4501.
[1009] Ibid.
[1010] Ibid.
[1011] James Mellon Menzies, February 23, 1885 – March 16, 1957, was a Canadian missionary, archaeologist, professor, and author. He was the first Western scholar to study the Shang dynasty oracle bone script. He was considered a leading authority on the Shang dynasty studies. Menzies collected 30 to 40 thousand oracle bones, the largest private collection in the world. About 5,100 pieces are stored in Museums in Ontario.
[1012] Elisséeff to Dr. James M. Menzies, Dec. 6, 1935. UBCHEA RG011-287-4501.
[1013] Ibid.
[1014] Elisséeff to Beech, December 9, 1935. UBCHEA RG011-287-4501.
[1015] Ibid.

years' experience in the Musée Guimet in Paris, I know what a good plan it is to establish a balanced program and to try to fill in gaps, so as to have a complete picture of the material culture of a country or district."[1016] He criticized Graham's report "in regard to details of the excavation and about the way in which the man was buried and whether the place was mentioned in local gazetteers."[1017] Therefore, he probed, "these problems, which I have already mentioned in my previous letter, may not be solved very easily, but I hope that, as soon as convenient, I shall receive an answer from you in regard to them."[1018]

He informed Beech that WCUU Chinese program report was "not in accordance with the forms and vote of the educational committee and trustees,"[1019] and that it lacked details, clarity, and financial integrity. He urged Beech to provide more information in the next report. Elisséeff's paternalistic attitude steered the program away from the original intent of the HYI Chinese Studies program, which allowed each institution to decide their own focus, and created tremendous tension between the HYI and the colleges and universities.

From 1936 to 1937, Elisséeff visited the five Christian college beneficiaries of the HYI fund in China. He was dissatisfied with the Chinese Studies programs' lack of operational efficiency, and was determined to restructure and appoint what he considered more capable people to lead them. At Yenching University, Elisséeff thus arranged for William Hung[1020] to replace Lucius Porter[1021] as the Executive Secretary of the HYI's Peiping office. At WCUU, he was impressed with Zheng Dekun's 郑德坤

[1016] Elisséeff to David C. Graham, December 9th, 1935. UBCHEA RG011-287-4501.

[1017] Ibid.

[1018] Ibid.

[1019] Elisséeff to Beech, March 23rd, 1936. UBCHEA RG011-287-4502.

[1020] William Hung, 洪業, also 洪煨莲; October 27th, 1893 – December 22nd, 1980, was a Chinese historian and sinologist who taught for many years at Yenching University and at Harvard University. He is known for bringing modern standards of scholarship to the study of Chinese classical writings, for editing the *Harvard-Yenching Index Series*, and for his biography of Du Fu. He was the Executive Secretary of the HYI Beijing Office from 1939 to 1946. He returned thereafter to the United States and worked at the Harvard-Yenching Institute until his retirement.

[1021] Lucius Chapin Porter, 1880-1958, was born in Tianjin to missionary parents. He graduated from Yale Divinity School in 1906 and received his M. A. at Columbia University in 1916. He was a professor teaching Philosophy at Yenching University from 1923 to 1950, and the Executive Secretary of the HYI from 1930 to 1939.

meticulous arrangement of the archaeological collections at the University Museum.[1022] Zheng's detail-oriented manner impressed Elisséeff, and they hit it off right away.

Not long after returning to the United States, Elisséeff arranged for Zheng Dekun to study Archaeology and Museum Management at Harvard University, sponsored by HYI.

In November 1937, Elisséeff wrote to Garside that HYI would decide whether to appoint Dr. Graham as Director of the WCUU Museum or not.[1023] Garside suggested sending Dr. Graham to Harvard University for upgrading if he was not qualified for the job, but Elisséeff already had a candidate ready for the role. Realizing there was no way to keep Graham for the position, Garside informed Beech that Dr. Elisséeff was "inclined to favor having the Harvard-Yenching Institute discontinue any support for him (Dr. Graham) after close of the academic year 1937-38."[1024] Feeling uncomfortable with Elisséeff's intrusive management style, Garside suggested to Beech, "you and Dr. Elisséeff should have a frank understanding on this point before we attempt to reach definite decisions as to Dr. Graham's future connection with this work at WCUU."[1025] Two weeks later, powerless against Elisséeff, Garside asked Beech and the Executive Committee of WCUU to give consideration to seeing if it could provide for "Dr. Graham's position, support, and future at West China Union University?"[1026]

Despite his enthusiasm for the program, Lincoln Zhang was excluded from the HYI Chinese Cultural Studies program's decision-making process until early 1938.[1027] The possible explanation is that Dr. Beech handled most the University financial matters, and the HYI funds occupied big proportions of the University budget.

[1022] Dr. Zheng Dekun, aka Cheng Te-k'un 郑德坤, May 6th, 1907-April 6th, 2001, was a Chinese archaeologist. He was born in Xiamen and graduated from Yenching University. From 1936 he worked at WCUU until 1946. In 1938 the HYI arranged him to study at Harvard University. He gained his Ph.D. in 1941 and was the Curator of the West China Union University Museum. In 1951, he went to teach at the University of Cambridge, UK, where he was lecturer in Far Eastern Art and Archaeology. In 1974, he was appointed visiting professor of Fine Arts at the Chinese University of Hong Kong, and later became Dean of Art and Pro-Vice Chancellor. He published many books on Chinese archaeology.

[1023] Elisséeff to Garside, November 1st, 1937. UBCHEA RG011-287-4502.

[1024] Garside to Beech, November 30th, 1937. UBCHEA RG011-287-4502.

[1025] Ibid.

[1026] Garside to Beech, December 15th, 1937. UBCHEA RG011-287-4502.

[1027] Between 1929 and 1937 all WCUU correspondence with HYI Board of Trustees, Board of Governors, and Board of Trustees (later the Associated Boards) related to the HYI Chinese Cultural Study Program was conducted by Dr. Beech. Lincoln Zhang's first correspondence regarding this program started from January 25, 1938. It was a letter Dr. Garside wrote to Lincoln Zhang and Albertson, the Bursar of WCUU. UBCHEA RG-011-287-4501.

Nonetheless, in early 1938, two letters, one written by Garside on January 25th and another written by Evans on February 2nd were addressed to Lincoln Zhang and the University bursar Albertson. In a harsh tone, Garside pointed out that failing to send the HYI's annual report from 1936-37 was "incomprehensible" and "seriously an issue."[1028] Evans' letter blamed WCUU for spoiling the HYI's good will and their amicable relations with the Board, which took special efforts to build.[1029] As a consequence, he pointed out to Zhang, "A resolution was passed which withheld further payment from West China." He added, "We have said enough."[1030]

In February 1938, Dr. Lindsay, who took over Beech's position as Acting-chancellor, wrote to the HYI and apologized for the delay in supplying information on the Chinese Studies Program. He explained that "West China has been greatly over-crowded this year by the influx of students from northern and eastern China, so much of the regular work has been greatly delayed."[1031]

In 1939, after the guest universities and new programs were established at WCUU, Lincoln Zhang was able to spare energy to make plans for the Chinese Cultural Studies program. With several of the best Chinese cultural study experts gathering in Chengdu at the time, he took advantage of their presence to establish the Chinese Cultural Study Research Institute at the WCUU.

In January 1939, Dr. Elisséeff took a special trip to New York to meet with members of the Associated Boards to discuss the seven Chinese universities receiving support from HYI in the field of Chinese Cultural Studies.[1032] With the Board members, Elisséeff settled the amount of total program funding for Chinese Studies to be US $ 60,000 annually. The Associated Boards decided that if Qilu and Jinling Universities remained on the WCUU campus from 1939 to 1940, then the "institutional lines in the field of Chinese Cultural Studies might be largely or wholly eliminated" and they

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[1028] Garside to Lincoln Zhang and Albertson, January 25th, 1938. UBCHEA RG011-287-4502.

[1029] C. A. Evans to Albertson and Lincoln Zhang, February 2nd, 1938. UBCHEA RG011-287-4502.

[1030] Ibid.

[1031] Dr. Lindsay to George H. Chase, Dean of HYI Chinese Study Program, February 28th, 1938. UBCHEA RG011-287-4502.

[1032] There were six Christian Universities in China received the HYI Chinese Study funds, Yenching, Nanjing, Qilu, Fujian, Lingnan, and West China Union University from 1928 to 1937. After relocated to its wartime refuge in Yunnan, Huachung University started receiving HYI funding for the study of ethnic cultures in the Southwest China in 1938.

preferred "that the work to be conducted as a single enterprise."[1033] This meant that the Chinese Cultural Studies programs at Qilu and Jinling would continue receiving financial support, but the WCUU would not. The Associated Boards intended to withhold more funds from WCUU.

Lincoln Zhang agreed that WCUU's Chinese studies program should closely collaborate with guest universities. However, the situation in Chengdu could not be sufficiently managed through amalgamation. The guest universities formed a Joint Council and Joint Committee to coordinate the courses offering for all schools, but each university had its own aim. Out of the five colleges, only Nanjing University's Institute of Chinese Cultural Studies was in Chengdu. Qilu's Harvard-Yenching Research Department remained in Jinan 济南 (Tsinan) and the lion's share of Qilu's funding went to Jinan, not Chengdu. The Board wouldn't take Lincoln Zhang's argument into consideration. Their understanding of the Chinese Christian colleges' day-to-day operations in Chengdu seem to have been even farther removed than the physical distance between the Board and the University.

Most members of the Associated Boards had strong connections with China, either through their parents or by working in China as missionaries themselves. Some were born in China and spoke fluent Mandarin. However, because the majority had spent limited time in China – and because most had resided in compounds where Chinese servants and Bible assistants tended to their needs -- the members' understanding of Chinese cultural, social and political conditions was limited. Their primary aims were to make China a Christian country and convert the Chinese into Christians, not to build a modern China for Chinese people. Although the Chinese people's well being was no doubt important to them, missionaries believed that they could only achieve it through the channel of Christianity. The missionaries thought they knew better than the Chinese despite their outdated colonialist thinking. They were intent on satisfying their own visions for China, and were careless about the concerns of the people they served. Therefore, they usually lacked a real understanding of the challenges that Chinese university educators like Lincoln Zhang faced.

[1033] Garside to presidents of four universities: Lincoln Zhang, Y. G. Chen, Shuming T. Liu, and Wu Yi-fang, January 24th, 1939. UBCHEA RG011-286-4487. P. 0075-78.

Describing the American wartime policymakers' attitude towards the American Chinese policies in 1940s, John Fairbank pointed out that their "lack of imagination springs directly from lack of contact with the realities of life in China,"[1034] an attitude similar to that of missionaries' approach to the Chinese-Christian educational enterprise.

Left with a meager amount of money, WCUU and Nanjing nonetheless worked together to offer Chinese Cultural Studies courses for all four colleges in Chengdu. While Nanjing's strength was in archaeological studies, West China's focus was on the language and culture of the people living in the border regions. Because of the war, as Lincoln Zhang and other concerned administrators wrote, many Chinese educational centers were destroyed, and therefore "there is even greater need for opportunities for post-graduate and research work at our universities (in Chengdu)."[1035] Because of this, the presidents of the four universities, Nanjing, Jinling, Qilu and WCUU, wrote to Garside to appeal for more funding for Chinese Cultural Studies in both undergraduate and graduate programs in Chengdu.[1036]

Before their appeal reached New York, however, the Associated Boards had already decided to close the Chinese Cultural Studies Research Institute at WCUU. Garside explained the reason for the decision: "We must at all costs avoid any unduly rapid expansion of the work supported from this source, or embarking upon any over-expanded program that could not and should not be maintained."[1037] In response to Garside's rationale, Lincoln Zhang believed that WCUU was unique "in the languages of the peoples of the border regions,"[1038] and he was not about to give it up.

Drs. Serge Elisséeff, Carl Evans, and Zheng Dekun

In terms of the HYI Chinese Studies Program at Chinese universities, the Associated Boards and the Board of Governors echoed the thoughts of Elisséeff.

[1034] John King Fairbank, *Chinabound: A Fifty-Year Memoir* (New York: Harper & Row, 1982), 197.

[1035] Shuming T. Liu (Qilu), Yi-fang Wu (Jinling), Y. G. Chen (Nanjing) and Lincoln Zhang to Garside, April 6th, 1939. UBCHEA RG011-286-4487. P. 86-87.

[1036] Ibid.

[1037] Garside to Lincoln Zhang, February 7th, 1940. UBCHEA RG011-287-4502.

[1038] Lincoln Zhang to the Board of Governors, April 12th, 1941. UBCHEA RG011-286-4488.

Limited financial resource gave the Boards no choice but to accept the prescribed monetary limits; as a result, nobody at the Board of Governors could afford to spoil their relationship with the HYI.

Therefore, Elisséeff ordered the funds at WCUU to be used on maintaining Museum collections, expanding the library, and carrying out undergraduate teaching, rather than for the Chinese Cultural Research Institute. The Board of Governors had no intention of running counter to Elisséeff 's decision. In the area of research, Elisséeff greatly favored supporting Dr. Zheng Dekun's archaeological specialty and research at WCUU; therefore, funds for the program had to lean toward Dr. Zheng's preferences.

In late December 1940, before procuring his Ph.D. from Harvard University, Zheng Dekun paid a visit to Evans' New York office, hoping to find out the budget for departments of History, Political Science and Social Science at WCUU.[1039] Zheng then wrote to Dr. Beech on January 1st 1941 to obtain more financial details, and to have Beech's opinion about securing a desirable position at WCUU.

The ideal position that Zheng wanted was the Dean of the Liberal Arts College. Knowing Zheng was backed by Elisséeff, Beech was in a delicate position in providing advice to Zheng. With the interests of WCUU foremost in mind, Beech hinted to Zheng that WCUU was equipped with many talents; he suggested Zheng be realistic about his future position at WCUU. "Perhaps I should have stated this when I first surmised that your studies at Harvard seemed to be directed toward the museum field…I am of the opinion that it would be well for you to go to West China with an open mind."[1040]

What Dr. Zheng had was a strong will and a determined mind that aimed high.

In the summer of 1941, Zheng Dekun was appointed Director of the WCUU Museum. With his return to Chengdu, the relationships between the HYI, the Board of Governors, and the WCUU became more complicated. Dr. Zheng was carried away by his prestigious degree from the most esteemed university in the world, and his friendship with Dr. Elisséeff, the most important patron of WCUU.

In October 1941, HYI received a report from the WCUU about the Chinese Studies programs. It was not clear who sent the report, whether it was Dr. Zheng or the

[1039] Evans to Beech, January 2nd, 1941. UBCHEA RG011-287-4502.
[1040] Beech to Zheng Dekun, January 3rd, 1941. UBCHEA RG011-287-4502.

University. From this report, Elisséeff "noticed that they reported only $4,752,95 as received from the Treasurer in New York," whereas he "knew that the Treasurer of the [HY] Institute had stated in his own account that he paid over $13,421.06 for the University account."[1041] He realized that only less than one third of the designated HYI funds had been sent to the University and the Board of Governors withheld the remaining two-thirds.

On November 5, 1941, Elisséeff asked Evans to send him the HYI appropriations for WCUU and explain why there was a big discrepancy between the Board of Governor's account and the funds received by the University.[1042]

Knowing exactly what Elisséeff was asking for, and knowing clearly that an imminent storm would be unavoidable, Evans responded defensively. He tried his best to beat around the bush, saying. "The local currency rate was approximately seventeen and the total amount equivalent to the $80,800.00 was paid by draft upon our office. The balance is held in hand here in New York City."[1043] He didn't give the specifics of how much the Board had withheld of the HYI funds for WCUU, but he justified the rationale of withholding the HYI funds on the grounds that "West China could not possibly utilize the entire appropriation" and the Board of Governors in New York could access a "favorable gain in exchange."[1044]

Realizing that Elisséeff wouldn't be convinced by the justification, two days later, Evans wrote to him again. Along with the letter, he sent "a transcript of the H-Y-I account on our ledger" to Elisséeff,[1045] but reinforced his position that the Board had withheld HYI funds from WCUU because "the University could not entirely absorb the total amount of income, and that it would not be wise to send it all to China."[1046] The fact was that over the past 13 years since HYI started its Chinese Cultural Studies program, WCUU had desperately needed financial support. Evans also told Elisséeff that the WCUU account didn't include "any cost for administration", and "the Board of Governors could therefore charge to the accumulated surpluses the $US1, 400,

[1041] Serge Elisséeff to the Board of Governors of WCUU, December 23rd, 1941. UBCHEA RG011-287-4502.
[1042] Elisséeff to Evans, November 5th, 1941. UBCHEA RG011-287-4502.
[1043] Evans to Elisséeff, November 12th, 1941. UBCHEA RG011-287-4502.
[1044] Ibid.
[1045] Evans to Elisséeff, November 14th, 1941. UBCHEA RG011-287-4502.
[1046] Ibid.

expended on this item."[1047] Although apologetic Evans still avoided giving the specific figure that the Board withheld, only saying, "The past three years the balances have accumulated rapidly…"[1048]

Evans' explanations clearly demonstrated that the Board had lacked trust in University leadership and therefore intended to ignore WCUU's urgent funding needs. Consequently, it had withheld funding for false reasons, and exploited both WCUU and HYI. One can thus argue that the Board had abused its power by not only neglecting the University's decade-long financial hardships, but also by creating more challenges for the Christian mission field. Board members lacked the courage and integrity to admit to mistakes, while creating an untrustworthy image for the University and its administration. The situation revealed the arrogant, bureaucratic, and hypocritical sides of certain Board leaders, especially when dealing with the HYI and WCUU Chinese Cultural Study Program.

The Board of Trustees of the HYI did not take the Board of Governors' misconduct lightly. On December 17, 1941, the HYI Board of Trustees held its own meeting to discuss the WCUU Board of Governors' misbehavior and voted for:

> The Board of Governors of West China Union University in New York to explain the policy whereby they maintain in New York a considerable balance of the Restricted Fund income received from the Harvard-Yenching Institute and yet the authorities of the field continue to send request for additional appropriations to the Institute and also when the field of Chinese Undergraduate studies in inadequately developed at the University. The Board would also appreciate information as to why they were not notified of the existence of these free balances in New York.[1049]

[1047] Ibid.
[1048] Ibid.
[1049] Serge Elisséeff to the Board of Governors of WCUU, December 23rd, 1941. UBCHEA RG011-287-4502.

Nearly every year since 1929, WCUU administrators had asked many times for supplementary aid from HYI trustees and the Board of Governors, but the Board of Governors had done nothing to help. Elisséeff asked Evans, why WCUU had "asked for a fellowship for Dr. Graham in 1931-32, and he received $1500 from the [HYI] Trustees, when in New York there was a balance of $14,920.60. The next year he had received $375 as a supplementary fellowship grant for three months and a special grant for $400 to purchase technical equipment, when there had been a balance of $15,627.18 retained in New York."[1050]

What apparently irritated Elisséeff the most was the fact that in 1938, Dr. Beech said WCUU had a hard time paying travel expenses for Zheng Dekun. However, the HYI made a grant of $500 towards Zheng's travel expenses, which was contrary to the well-established policy of the Trustee that the first year of fellowship should be subsidized by the affiliated university. At the time, there was a balance held in New York of $9,977.55, and that money should have covered Zheng's travel. In late 1941, Mr. Robertson, Vice-Chancellor of WCUU, had also asked the Trustees if they could make a special annual grant toward a larger salary for Zheng Dekun as Director of the Museum; the board had refused, but the balance on hand with the Board of Governors was $31,110.95.[1051]

During the years between 1929 and 1942, the HYI had allocated to WCUU a share of HYI funds totalling about US $80,000 under the Board's management and supervision. However, communication records and financial reports from the Board show that substantial funds were unjustly withheld from WCUU, with scant explanation to both the University and HYI executives. As a result, WCUU administrators during Lincoln Zhang's Presidency were repeatedly forced to request additional funding from HYI, complicating not only financial matters, but personal and professional relations between the three parties as well. The Board's misconduct and weak explanations for their actions reflected a deep lack of trust in the Chinese administration headed by Lincoln Zhang, as well as an arrogant belief that the authority of the Board of

[1050] Ibid.
[1051] Ibid.

Governors trumped the needs of the people and the Christian mission they claimed to serve.

When the subterfuge became apparent, the HYI sent an informal message to the Board of Governors that a legal case was possible for the Board of Governors' betrayal of the trust of HYI by illegally withholding the funds for WCUU.[1052] It suggested Evans should be prepared for it.

Evans begged Dr. Beech to pay Elisséeff a visit to explain; then he sent a sympathetic Dr. Eric North[1053] to try to persuade the HYI trustees to be lenient toward the Board of Governors.[1054] Evans confessed to Beech what worried him the most; "Our chief weakness lies in the fact that we made applications from the Institute for additional funds when we had on hand balances which might have been used under the approval of the Institute. As I view it, the chief difficulty lies in this direction and some sort of a statement must be made to justify such procedure."[1055]

There were so many occasions when WCUU was in extreme financial hardship and desperately needed the Board's support, but the Board just ignored their appeals. In 1935, when the WCUU Board of Directors asked for only $ 66.6 to give some compensation to University faculty, the Board declined flatly; In 1936 when Beech's bad investments had put WCUU in serious financial jeopardy, the Board provided no support; in 1938 when Dr. Meuser begged for money to erect the pharmacy building, the Board refused to discuss Meuser's proposal; in the early 1940s when China's inflation skyrocketed, the Board told Lincoln Zhang to expect more budget cutting. Throughout the entire time the Board of Governors carried through their withholding of funds when WCUU needed financial support so direly. One just wonders how Evans could justify their actions.

[1052] I have a hard time locating the HYI's message to the Board of Governors, but from the letter Evans sent to Beech on January 14th, 1942, it indicated that the possibility of the HYI could take legal action. In his letter, Evans said, "were this a court case, we could readily develop argument which would completely smother opposition. Our chief weakness lies in the fact that we made applications from the Institute for additional funds when we had on hand balances which might have been used under the approval of the Institute." Evans to Beech, January 14th, 1942. UBCHEA RG011-287-4503.

[1053] Dr. Eric North was a member of Board of Trustees of HYI. He worked at Yenching University for many years before returning to the United States.

[1054] Evans to Beech, January 14th, 1942. UBCHEA RG011-287-4503.

[1055] Ibid.

With the mediation of Dr. Beech and other parties, the tensions between HYI and the Board of Governors dissipated. Evans and Elisséeff, for inexplicable reasons, started taking Lincoln Zhang on. On June 22, 1942, Evans telegraphed Lincoln Zhang in a very harsh tone to blame WCUU's undergraduate Chinese Studies program, saying that WCUU was "destroy[ing] (HY) Institute support" to the Board of Governors, and asked WCUU to make "adjustment to meet institute standards."[1056] The very next day, Evans sent a long letter to Lincoln Zhang and Vice-chancellor Robertson to reinforce his request from the telegram, and asked the University to give special treatment to Dr. Zheng Dekun. Evans threated Lincoln Zhang that if Zheng Dekun was not satisfied in his working condition at WCUU, "you can well understand the implications involved in this situation did it come to pass that the Restricted Funds should be withdrawn from West China."[1057]

Evans informed Zhang that Zheng Dekun complained to the HYI Board of Trustees that the University authorities had failed to carry out the program and wishes of the HYI, and that "the Chinese Cultural Research Institute organized three years ago refuses to cooperate with the Chinese Department…treats the library with contempt…correlates material with no collaboration with the Museum… and lack of interest [shows] on the part of the President and Chancellor…"[1058] Zheng demanded to dissolve the Chinese Cultural Research Institute, appropriate half of the HYI funding to the Museum and increase his salary considerably.[1059] Based on the "substantial statement made by Dr. Cheng Te-k'un",[1060] the HYI came up with a memorandum, it included seven points that came from "an analysis of the situation as developed in Dr. Cheng's letter follows."[1061]

The HYI Memo noted, "Dr. Serge Elisséeff has given careful study of Dr. Cheng's letter, and regarding the salary, suggested LC$ 5,000.00 for Dr. Cheng, plus an

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[1056] Evans telegram to Lincoln Zhang, June 22nd, 1942. UBCHEA RG011-287-4503.
[1057] Evans to Lincoln Zhang and Robertson, June 23rd, 1942. UBCHEA RG011-287-4503.
[1058] HYI memorandum RE: use of Harvard-Yenching Restricted Funds at West China. UCCA. 83.047C Box 17 File 43.
[1059] Ibid.
[1060] Ibid.
[1061] Ibid.

unmentioned amount for the Museum. Dr. Elisséeff indicates the necessity of retaining the service and interest of Dr. Cheng."[1062]

From the Memo, it sounded like Dr. Zheng Dekun was Dr. Elisséeff's superior, one who expected his exact orders to be followed. Without delay, Elisséeff ordered Lincoln Zhang to shut down the Chinese Cultural Research Institute.[1063]

On June 25th, two days after sending his own letter to Lincoln Zhang, Evans cabled Zhang again. This time, he wanted to know the details of Dr. Zheng Dekun's salary. On June 27th, two days later, Evans wrote Lincoln Zhang and Robertson again to emphasize, "As the [HY] Institute desires that the services of Dr. Cheng Te-kun be used to the best advantage and that he receive proper compensation, Dr. Elisséeff requested information as to Dr. Cheng's exact salary."[1064] He added, "no further comments are needed as this raises the question which you will answer by cable."[1065]

Throughout June 1942 Evans wrote to Lincoln Zhang intensively, but mentioned nothing of the Board of Governors withholding large amounts of HYI funds from the University since 1929. He continued keeping Lincoln Zhang in the dark, letting him face baseless accusations and unreasonable demands from the HYI, many of which Evans gathered from Zheng Dekun's letters and complaints. Evans knew clearly that HYI had crossed a line when they interfered with the University's jurisdiction, and that it should be the Board of Governors' responsibility to protect and support WCUU's freedom of exercising their administrative autonomy. Instead, Evans played the role of accomplice along with the HYI to cover his own wrongdoing.

Dr. Serge Elisséeff wrote his letter to Lincoln Zhang on July 6, 1942, several days after that of Evans. The tone of the letter was scolding and imperious. Elisséeff was obviously irritated and unhappy that the University "started a new research institute without consulting the Trustees and myself…I see that the Chinese Cultural Studies Research Institute has a higher allocation than the museum, which is unacceptable to the

[1062] Ibid.
[1063] Serge Elisséeff to Lincoln Zhang and Harold Robertson, July 6, 1942. UBCHEA RG011-287-4501
[1064] Evans to Lincoln Zhang and Harold Robertson, June 27th, 1942. UCCA 83.047C Box 17 File 43.
[1065] Ibid.

Trustees and to me."[1066] Elisséeff was upset that Zhang allowed Chinese Studies to use up to 27% of total funding when the trustees voted for WCUU's research and publication program to receive only 19%. As a result of his frustrations, he chose to make the case of Chinese Cultural Study Research Institute personal, "I am averse to having a special research institute at West China."[1067] He shared the exact same aversion as Dr. Zheng Dekun.

In a letter to Lincoln Zhang, Elisséeff ordered, "every new proposition for any considerable expenditure of the [HY] Institute's funds which changes the organization at West China or for the appointment of any important member of the faculty be submitted here for consideration."[1068] He added, "I had in mind specifically the publications of Mr. Cheng Te-kun and Professor Wen. From this money, also, the subsidy to the joint journal should be made."[1069] Besides exercising his overbearing micromanagement style, his attitude towards the WCUU Chinese Cultural Studies Program was intrusive and paternalistic with a tremendous sense of institutional classism. He simply believed that nobody was equipped with the competence to complete their work except himself and the person or persons he favored.

At the end of his letter, Elisséeff ordered Lincoln Zhang to appoint Dr. Zheng Dekun as full professor and Director for the year 1941-42 with a salary of LC $7,000, and budget his salary to be LC $10,000 in 1942-43. Elisséeff explained that the need for increasing Zheng's salary, "Because LC $ 10,000 does not mean anything to me here now on account of the inflationary prices in Szechuan..."[1070] Elisséeff must have known that Dr. Zheng Dekun already enjoyed the highest salary at WCUU.

He wanted Zhang to give Dr. Zheng "medical allowance and other prerequisites" and make sure "Mr. Cheng [Zheng] be adequately compensated."[1071] He ended the letter by saying, "I do insist, however, that because of the large outlay which the Institute has made on his training to fit him for museum work at West China, it

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[1066] Serge Elisséeff to Lincoln Zhang and Harold Robertson, July 6, 1942. 83.047C Box 17 File 43/ UBCHEA RG011-287-4501.
[1067] Ibid.
[1068] Ibid.
[1069] Ibid.
[1070] Ibid. In 1942, the exchange rate of American dollar to Chinese currency LC was one to 23.
[1071] Ibid.

would be deplorable, if because of an inadequate salary, he should leave the University."[1072] In other words, Lincoln Zhang would be held responsible if Dr. Zheng decided to go work somewhere else if Zheng's demands were not satisfied. Strikingly, it seemed like all of Elisséeff's unhappiness echoed the unhappiness of Dr. Zheng's time at WCUU.

Elisséeff must also have known that during the wartime, in China most faculty members had "an inadequate salary". From 1938 to 1941, Lincoln Zhang was "in debt to the sum of LC $20,000 although he had sold part of his estate."[1073]

Money and power spoke in voices that were loud, insolent, and imposing, especially to the University's administration, although Elisséeff's letter was an extreme case. Most of the funds, gifts, and financial support from outside the University and the country came with strings attached. Sometimes, the lack of trust become obvious if we examine these attached strings closely. Often, the funders' outdated colonialist mentalities towards financial administration led to an air of arrogance and superiority throughout their communications with the University. Unfortunately, Lincoln Zhang was the person who had to handle such interactions head-on. He had no choice but to put up with it.

The response Lincoln Zhang gave to the Board was simple and direct. Since the Board's instructions to close the Chinese Cultural Studies Research Institute came late, contracts for faculty had already been sent out and accepted. Therefore, Zhang told Evans, "We are definitely committed to close the Institute of Chinese Cultural Research at the end of the current academic year."[1074] He also notified Elisséeff that the "letters are received" and that "our careful attention and replies will be forwarded at an early date."[1075]

Zhang's response to Elisséeff accusations and demands came three months later. On October 14, 1942, in his usual calm tone, Zhang reported the University's various

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[1072] Ibid.

[1073] "Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Board of Directors, July 15, 1942." UBCHEA RG 011-276-4377. P.390.

[1074] Zhang to Evans, September 23rd, 1942. UBCHEA RG011-286-4488. P. 0251.

[1075] Lincoln Zhang to Elisséeff, September 4th, 1942. UBCHEA RG011-287-4503 and UCCA 83.047C Box 17 File 43.

changes, and provided a detailed summary of the HYI budget and WCUU expenditure for the year of 1942-43. Zhang wrote,

> From this budget you will see that the percentage distribution as compared to that you request is as follows:
> Teaching, 25.35 percent; your requirement, 25.0 percent
> Library, 25.25 percent; your requirement, 25.0 percent
> Museum, 20.91 percent; your requirement, 25.0 percent
> Research and publication, 27.53 percent; your requirement, 19.0 percent
> Scholarship, 0.27 percent; your requirement, 1.0 percent
> General Administration, 0.65 percent; your requirement, 5.0 percent
>
> From the above you will see that our proposed expenditure for the current academic year did not vary greatly from that expected of us.[1076]

He didn't mention the misinformation that Dr. Zheng Dekun had spread to the Board and Dr. Elisséeff. Instead, he explained why the budget for the Museum was less than it should be. "That funds were reduced during the period of study abroad of Mr. Cheng Te-kun (Zheng Dekun) was due to the fact that for a large part of the time there was no one here well qualified to develop the work or to make purchases of museum articles, and hence [we] wished to await Mr. Cheng's return."[1077]

Zhang reminded Elisséeff that he sent detailed reports about the Chinese Cultural Studies Research Institute since its inception, and never before received "any intimation of official disapproval." He informed Elisséeff, "We are ready to close this Institute at the end of this academic year if that is your requirement." He also made it clear however that this University wouldn't stop carrying on the Chinese Cultural Studies project even if it needed to seek funds from different sources.[1078] The message he apparently wanted to convey to Elisséeff was that the University had no intention of living under his thumb. He would not allow Elisséeff to decide the fate of the Chinese

[1076] Lincoln Zhang to Elisséeff, October 14th, 1942. UBCHEA RG011-287-4503.
[1077] Ibid.
[1078] Ibid.

Cultural Studies project despite his authority over the HYI's funds. Zhang firmly held his ground on this point.

Zhang assured Elisséeff that the Museum was an integral part of the University; therefore, it would receive full support. He added, "Mr. Cheng is being treated similarly to other members of the staffs of the five universities on our campus."[1079] In other words, Elisséeff was in no position to give orders to Lincoln Zhang and dictate how to treat the faculty at his school. His message implied that Dr. Zheng would be treated fairly but not differently under his authority.

He updated Elisséeff on the news that the quality and scope of undergraduate instruction in the Chinese department had greatly improved. In 1942 alone, the Chinese Literature and Language department had the largest enrolment in the entire province. The University was working hard to train and hire quality teachers and "modernize its teaching methods." By mentioning modernized teaching methods, Lincoln Zhang intended to remind Elisséeff of the principle that the HYI Chinese program stressed from the very beginning, in placing emphasis on Chinese Cultural research.[1080]

Zhang had no intention of getting into the already complicated relationship between the Associated Boards and the HYI. He told Elisséeff flatly, "I don't wish to comment on your 'amazement that practically every year since 1929 a large proportion of the HYI funds due West China has been retained in New York', more than to call to your attention that we have tried several times to make you familiar with this fact." [1081]

He ended his letter by suggesting, "In the future we [will] have more frequent direct communication with the Institute and [hope] that you feel free to instruct us as well as comment freely upon our yearly reports."[1082]

There is no document available to indicate how Elisséeff responded to Lincoln Zhang's suggestions. However, it was clear that WCUU's Board of Governors in New York continued pressing WCUU to shut down the Chinese Cultural Studies Institute.

[1079] Ibid.

[1080] Dr. Fan, Shuhua, in her study of *The Harvard-Yenching Institute and Cultural Engineering: Remaking the Humanities in China, 1924-1951* (Lanham, Boulder, New York, and London: Lexington Books, 2014) states the aims of HYI. "They stressed from the outset the study of Chinese culture in a broad sense by both Western and Chinese scholars and the necessity of using Western scientific research methods to study, preserve, and understand Asian/Chinese civilizations."

[1081] Lincoln Zhang to Elisséeff, October 14th, 1942. UBCHEA RG011-287-4503.

[1082] Ibid.

On December 10th, 1943, Evans wrote to Lincoln Zhang, reinforcing their request for WCUU to close the Chinese Cultural Studies Institute. "It is always to be remembered that the primary use of institute funds is for the undergraduate work…"[1083] It was truly an irony that Evans wanted Lincoln Zhang to "remember the primary use of the institute funds". Evans conveniently did not remember that he was the person who originally misappropriated WCUU funds. He wrote, in a falsely sympathetic tone, "We are fully cognizant of the difficulties involved in carrying on the work in China and sympathize with you all most deeply, in fact we have felt repeatedly like congratulating you in carrying on so well under such untoward conditions."[1084] Again, his words hardly lived up to his actual practice.

Lincoln Zhang believed that the quality of the University's research ability and accomplishments should be properly recognized. He pointed out, "At the present time we believe that a comparison of our individual departments with those of our associated universities will show that the quality of our work is as high as and in some cases higher than that of the departments in any other institution."[1085]

Taking his point further, Zhang reminded the Board that reducing or downplaying the research efforts of WCUU might jeopardize the future of the University, as "some of our best qualified teachers will not be willing to remain with us" if research opportunities would be lacking.[1086] To make his argument more convincing, Lincoln Zhang summarized the progress and achievements the University had made to date.

The Board of Governors' correspondence with the University shed light on how the Chinese Cultural Studies Institute survived and tensions on this score eased with the HYI. On August 19, 1943, Evans wrote to Elisséeff to complain about Lincoln Zhang. He said the Board members "have been forced to give way because of West China not definitely conforming to the use of the Restricted Fund. This has been annoying and at

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[1083] Evans to Lincoln Zhang, December 7th, 1943. UBCHEA RG 011-287-4503.
[1084] Ibid.
[1085] Lincoln Zhang to the Associated Boards for Christian Colleges in China: *West China Union University,* October 29th, 1945. UBCHEA RG011-084-2194.
[1086] Ibid.

one time menacing."[1087] He, again, conveniently glossed over the way he had dealt with the HYI Funds for WCUU. The apparently sympathetic tone Evans had adopted in his earlier correspondence with Lincoln Zhang disappeared. Instead, Evans was cunning about the tension with HYI.

Lincoln Zhang's calm manner and down-to-earth approach de-escalated the tension. Over time, Zhang grew more sophisticated in dealing with people with a sense of superiority or entitlement. Zhang's matter-of-fact approach also came from his desire to improve the Chinese Studies Research Institute. He knew that part of his job description was to seek both domestic and overseas financial support, and he resolutely accepted this task.

The management style of Elisséeff created tension not only between himself and the WCUU administrators, but also with other university administrators as well, such as John Lieghton Stuart at Yenching and Francis Wei at Huachung University.[1088] In fact, several HYI Board of Trustees members strongly voiced their disagreements with Elisséeff over his management style and his approach to Chinese Studies. Regarding the University's administration, Edward H. Hume, a medical missionary to China and member of the HYI Board of Trustees, believed that "indigenous control and local interpretation" should be the proper approach for the Chinese Cultural program. He strongly opposed the way Elisséeff run the HYI. As such, Hume "advocated for a less intrusive, less paternalistic attitude on the part of HYI toward its Chinese beneficiaries."[1089]

Hume's argument for "less detailed supervision of its sponsored programs" in Chinese studies won more support from other members of the HYI Board of Trustees. On March 10th, 1943, Dr. Wallace B. Donham, the Chairman of the HYI Board of Trustees, along with Elisséeff, sent a joint letter to the six Christian College presidents in China. The central point of the letter was that "the Trustees have set forth, in the

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[1087] Evans to Elisséeff, August 19th, 1943. UBCHEA RG011-287-4503.

[1088] In *The Harvard-Yenching Institute and Cultural Engineering: Remaking the Humanities in China, 1924-1951,*chapter three, "Operating under Wartime Adversity, 1937-1945", Dr. Fan Shuhua vividly records the tensions between Elisséeff and other Christian Colleges in China caused by Elisséeff 's management style and personality. P.81-122.

[1089] Elizabeth Perry, "Edward H. Hume and the Harvard-Yenching Institute: The Positive Power of Friendship," Harvard-Yenching Institute Working Paper Series, 2020. https://www.harvard-yenching.org/research/edward-h-hume-and-the-harvard-yenching-institute-the-positive-power-of-friendship/

Memorandum on Policy and Procedure, issued in 1940, what they feel to be the general policies involved in the use of the funds for which they are Trustees, but the real power for actual achievement rests with the faculties and administrations of the college."[1090]

Donham believed that the 1940 Trustees Memorandum on Policy and Procedure was wrong. In other words, he thought the Trustees had no power to intervene in the college's administration of the Chinese Studies program. His letter was a clarification on the 1940 Memorandum on Policy and Procedures, as well as an apology. Most importantly, his message served as encouragement to the colleges to exercise their autonomy and authority for producing their own plans for the Chinese Cultural Studies Research Institute and beyond.

Donham's approach to the Chinese Studies program was also a direct contrast to that of Elisséeff. It was Dr. Donham's practical and realistic manner that prevailed over Elisséeff controlling style towards the Universities and their administrators, which ultimately lessened the tension between the HYI and the universities.

Elisséeff complied with the Chairman's practice towards the Chinese Studies program, but had a hard time giving up his intention to focus on classical Sinology studies. When Dr. William Fenn was visiting WCUU, Elisséeff asked him to meet Dr. Zheng Dekun not only to help Zheng secure more financial sources for the Museum, but also send his personal comfort Dr. Zheng.[1091] Elisséeff also helped to secure a research grant of $500 from the Academia Sinica[1092] for Dr. Zheng, noting "this grant will be paid from a special appropriation which the [HY] Institute has made to the Academia Sinica to aid research scholars in Chinese Studies in China."[1093]

The support of Elisséeff empowered Dr. Zheng's research, also fed his arrogance towards his colleagues at the same time. Evans couldn't help but complain to

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[1090] Wallace B. Donham, Chairman of HYI Board of Trustees and Elisséeff to six university presidents, March 10th, 1943. UBCHEA RG011-287-4503.

[1091] Elisséeff to William Fenn, July 6th, 1943. UBCHEA RG011-287-4503.

[1092] Academia Sinica, 中央研究院 Central Research Academy, was founded in 1928 in Nanjing, then capital of the Republic of China, with its first meeting held in Shanghai. The Academy supports research activities in a wide variety of disciplines, ranging from mathematical and physical sciences, to life sciences, and to humanities and social sciences. In December 1948, it moved to Taiwan. The presidents of the Academia Sinica were Cai Yuanpei, 1928-1940, Zhu Jiahua (acting) 1940-1957, and Hu Shi, 1958-1962. Fu Sinian (Fu Ssu-nien) 傅斯年, March 26 1896-December 20, 1950, was a Chinese historian, linguist, and writer who was one of the creators of the Academia Sinica, and who served as the director of the Institute of History and Philology from 1928.

[1093] Elisséeff to William Fenn, July 6th, 1943. UBCHEA RG011-287-4503.

Elisséeff about "Dr. Cheng's own attitude, for with him returning with educational advantages far above that of many of his colleagues, it is quite understandable that his attitude might well be that of a condescending nature to other less fortunate or able. I am convinced that he has learned an excellent lesson."[1094] However, Evans may have been ignoring Dr. Zheng's arrogance in order to get into Elisséeff 's good graces, suggesting, "Probably Dr. Cheng would make a better President than Lincoln Dsang, but far be it from the Trustees to start any such procedure from this side of the Pacific."[1095] He shared Dr. Zheng's disappointment with Elisséeff, "I also have a three-page letter from Cheng Te-kun, reviewing the situation at West China but with particular emphasis on the failure of the Trustees to give him absolute authority to proceed in clearing up what he characterizes as a very weak situation."[1096]

Elisséeff responded to Evans right away to say that his hands were tied with regards to making Dr. Zheng the President of WCUU, because he was in "doubt if the Trustees of the Institute, even if they had the power, would be willing to give to Mr. Cheng absolute authority at the University."[1097]

After March 1943, when the HYI Board made it clear that it was the administrators of the colleges who would have the real power to run the Chinese program, Elisséeff knew that he could no longer cross certain boundaries. "I do not think that we here can interfere with the election of the President of a university."[1098] However, he hinted that Evans might nonetheless try to pull some strings, suggesting "If Mr. Dsang is not satisfactory—and he has never seemed to me to be very capable, imaginative or cooperative—it is the Trustees of West China University who should take action."[1099]

Correspondence between Evans and Elisséeff from November 1941 to January 1943 suggests that the objections they continuously set forth against Lincoln Zhang and the WCUU only served a single purpose: to allow Dr. Zheng Dekun to replace Lincoln Zhang. Their correspondence also suggests the possibility (although the evidence is not

[1094] Evans to Elisséeff, January 18th, 1944. UBCHEA RG011-287-4503.
[1095] Ibid.
[1096] Ibid.
[1097] Elisséeff to Evans, January 20th, 1944. UBCHEA RG011-287-4503.
[1098] Ibid.
[1099] Ibid.

definitive) that Evans and Elisséeff reached a deal that was Elisséeff wouldn't take legal action against Evans over the case of the Board of Governors withholding HYI funds from WCUU if Evans cooperated with Elisséeff to challenge Lincoln Zhang and eventually establish Zheng Dekun the President of WCUU.

It took tremendous egotism and arrogance for Evans and Elisséeff to attack Lincoln Zhang in order to satisfy their personal preferences and Zheng Dekun's ambition. Elisséeff and Evans' conceit seem to have been imbued with a strong colonialist mentality; money and power further fanned the flames.

The realization that their mission might fail seems to have led Elisséeff and Evans to change their attitudes towards WCUU and Lincoln Zhang, notably, from one of harsh criticism to apparent friendliness. In a letter to Lincoln Zhang, Evans wrote, "You have been filling a difficult position calling for applying of tact and energy. The manner in which you performed has been appreciated all who are connected with the Board here in America."[1100] However, after what happened, one cannot help but reserve doubts about his sincerity.

The battle to sustain or dissolve the Institute of Chinese Cultural Studies was one of the fiercest that Lincoln Zhang fought. He was battling against a deeply ingrained distrust on the part of certain Westerners. At first, the issues of whether the Chinese people and authorities could be trusted, and whether Chinese culture was worth studying were open questions that mission authorities, field missionaries, and members of the Board of Governors had debated since they arrived in China. Overt questioning had faded after the University's registration with the Chinese government in 1928, but doubts stubbornly remained. They subsided and resurfaced from time to time, but never fully went away.

On the other hand, one can argue that the later conflict between the Board of Governors, the HYI trustees, and Lincoln Zhang was not truly about the Chinese Cultural Studies Program, rather, it was over divergent goals for the University. In 1924, the key members of the Harvard-Yenching fundraising committee drafted "A Proposed Institute of Oriental Education and Research". The proposal outlined the committee's interests in Chinese history, archaeology, religion, literature, ethnology,

[1100] Evans to Lincoln Zhang, February 1st, 1945. UBCHEA RG 011-286-4489.

art, linguistics, and philosophy, and was closely aligned with the wishes laid out in Mr. Charles Hall's will.

In January 1928, the HYI's mission statement prioritized exploring, excavating, collecting and preserving Chinese cultural and ancient artifacts and funding museums to do so. Most major researchers financed by the HYI were Western archaeologists and anthropologists, and not Chinese scholars.

Under HYI funding many ancient Chinese artifacts were shipped out of the country. With Chinese scholars eventually taking part in HYI leadership positions and researcher roles, the fever for studying Chinese archaeology simmered down, and the numbers of ancient artifacts leaving China were gradually reduced.[1101]

For the Chinese Cultural Studies Research Institute to survive attempts from the Board of Governors and the HYI to dismantle it was a significant achievement secured through Lincoln Zhang's academic diplomacy.

Despite external pressures, the Institute made steady efforts to expand its program, from focusing on collecting ancient Chinese artifacts, to applying Western scientific methods to Chinese history, art, linguistics and cultural studies. The Cultural Studies Research Institute was further able to recruit modern Chinese scholars who were more concerned with cultural studies than with archaeology.

The Fruitful Results of The Chinese Cultural Research Institute

The wartime arrival of many established Chinese scholars at the Chinese Cultural Research Institute at WCUU, combined with Lincoln Zhang's dedicated promotion of Chinese cultural studies, quickly brought the institute to a peak of productivity and social value. Its research journals published many groundbreaking papers and work, especially on topics related to language studies, and ancient and modern Sichuanese and Tibetan history.

[1101] Susan Chan Egan, *A Latterday Confucian: Reminiscences of William Hung, 1893-1980* (Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1987) provides some details about how William Hung and John L. Stuart with some Chinese scholars and government officials stopped some Westerners sponsored by HYI from stealing Chinese ancient artifacts from Dunhuang Mogao Caves.

The first issue of 华西协和大学中国文化研究集刊 *Studia Serica* (*Journal of the Chinese Cultural Studies Research Institute)* was published in 1940. In 1941, the Institute published three issues with 18 articles, and over the next three years in the midst of the anti-Japanese war it published 20 articles. The publication covered a broad range of research topics, including: ancient Chinese jade, Sichuan pottery, Chinese stone work, types of Chinese paper, famous springs in Sichuan, inscriptions of Dunhuang portraits, and Chinese minority tribes in Southwest China. The focus of the journal was on local and southwestern areas, and many of issues included research into items related to people's daily artistic life.

Working with scholars from Jinling and Qilu universities, the Research Institute published the *Bulletin of Chinese Studies* from 1941 to 1945, with a total of 42 articles. The articles focused on four categories: research papers, investigative reports, important historical materials, and book reviews.

The series of monographs the WCUU scholars published included still more significant research accomplishment than the two Journals. In 1942, two volumes of *The Collection of Historical Materials on the Relationship between Han and Tibetan Buddhism* were printed. The first volume, *Chinese Translations of Three Tibetan Sacred Books*, was a translation of essential Tibetan sacred classics. The second volume, *The Origins of Tibetan Buddhism in China*, was written from the perspective of Tibetans, and explained how Buddhism came to be disseminated in China. Both books were translated from Tibetan into Chinese, and the author and editor, Mr. Lŭ Cheng 吕澄, examined various editions of the literature, made a detailed collation, and traced countless changes and revisions to explain the influence of Tibetan Buddhism on Buddhist practices within China. Upon its publication, the book received overwhelmingly positive reviews. Even today, these two books are still must-have reference books for scholars of Asian religious studies.

In 1944, the institute published Mr. Liu Zhaoyang's 刘朝阳 original research, *The Origins of the Chinese Calendar in the Early Zhou Dynasty.* The next year, he added his second book, *The Long Calendar in the Later Yin Dynasty,* to the institute's collection, to the delight of scholars at the University.

Publications from the Chinese Cultural Studies Research Institute quickly attracted international attention. Right after the first issue of the *Journal of the Chinese Cultural Studies Research Institute* was printed, the University of Chicago subscribed to it. Soon, the Royal Anthropological Society of Britain, the Peabody Museum of Harvard University, Cornell University Library, and Tokyo Institute of Oriental Culture Institute of Japan all requested copies, subscriptions and journal exchanges.[1102]

The Institute gathered the most brilliant minds for groundbreaking work on Chinese ethnicities. The authors who published at the Institute became leading scholars in their respective fields. The first issue printed in 1942 was three times the volume of that of earlier issues. Not only was the content original, it was highly rich and focused on the studies of Chinese ethnic groups and their dialects. Key articles included:[1103]

1. Wu Dingliang: A Preliminary Study of the Chinese Itdemrus[1104] 吴定良:中国人肱骨之初步研究
2. Yan Yan: Preliminary Report on the Measurements of the Miao 颜言:苗族测量报告
3. Dong Zuobin: A Dialectical Study of the Theory of Quarter of Month 董作宾:四分之一月说辩证
4. Han Rulin: Research on the Palace Banquet in the Yuan Dynasty 韩儒林:元代宫廷宴餐考
5. Lv Cheng: Research of the Origin of Zen 吕澂:禅学考原
6. Bao Kelan: Ueber die keh hao in Anshun Hsien der Provinz Kweichow 鲍克阑:贵州安顺县之犵狫
7. Liu Xian: Research on the Masks of Li People in Hainan 刘咸:海南黎人面具考
8. Yang Hanguan: A Research on the Legend of the Migration of the Big Flower Miao Tribe in Yunnan and Guizhou Provinces 杨汉光:滇黔大花苗迁徙传说考

1102 "Two News about Our Chinese Cultural Studies Research Institute", *West China Union University Journal,* Oct. 1941. P. 11-12.

1103 Among the 11 articles three articles were in Western language. They were: Wu Dingliang: A Preliminary Study of the Chinese Itdemrus, Yan Yan: Preliminary Report on the Measurements of the Miao, and Bao Kelan: Ueber die keh hao in Anshun Hsien der Provinz Kweichow. The rest articles were in Mandarin.

1104 "Two News about Our Chinese Cultural Studies Research Institute", *West China Union University Journal,* Oct. 1941. The English title of this article is original. The term of "Itdemrus" is a bone in the upper arm.

9. Lu Shuxiang: Characteristics of the Two Characters of "Xiang" and "Jian" as Quasi-pronouns 吕叔湘: 论"相""见"两字之准代名词性
10. Zheng Shangxian: Analysis of Harmonic Characters in the Book of Shuowen jiezi 甄尚先: 说文谐声字之分析
11. Wen You: A Preliminary Analysis of Qiang Language in West Sichuan[1105] 闻宥:川西羌语之初步分析

With the institute's growing prominence, more distinguished scholars sought to join. Historian Qian Mu 钱穆 was one of them. Seeking further development, the institute hired new researchers to focus on Chinese dialect studies, anthropology and Tibetan classics. Working with the Department of Chinese Language and Literature, scholars from the institute held a series of cultural workshops geared to undergraduate students interested in the study of Chinese civilization. In 1941, from the first Wednesday of October to the last Wednesday of January the following year, workshops were held weekly. The workshops focused on Chinese culture, but covered a broad spectrum of topics such as different variants of cultures and civilization in China, culture and race, the place of philosophy in culture, the relationship between Chinese culture and Greek culture, and more.[1106]

Through the war years, the reputation of the Department of Chinese Language and Literature and the College of Liberal Arts continued to attract even more youth to WCUU to study Chinese literature, philosophy, and sociology. In 1945, 1400 young people took the entrance examination to gain entry to the College of Liberal Arts, and the number of students increased from 150 in 1937 to 550 in 1945.[1107]

In short, Lincoln Zhang's efforts to develop Chinese cultural studies brought fruitful results.

[1105] Ibid.
[1106] Ibid. , 13.
[1107] Luo Zhongshu, "What the College of Liberal Arts can contribute to the after War China's Re-construction?" *West China Union University Journal* June (1945): 1.

Conclusion

If women's access to education and social status are yardsticks to measure the progress and modernity of a society, then Lincoln Zhang actively participated in the modernization of China, as well as providing major opportunities for many Chinese women who sought to expand their roles.

At the same time, by expanding the capacity for Chinese people to study their own culture and history, Lincoln Zhang fought back against Western-central mentalities. Establishing the Chinese Cultural Studies program at WCUU transformed Chengdu from a stronghold of cultural conservatism to a hub of modern Chinese cultural change and investigation.

The first group of eight female students enrolled at WCUU in 1924, the woman who wears hat on the back was the chaperone for the girls

(Source: Sichuan University History editorial committee, ed. *History of Sichuan University-West China Union University, 1910-1949,* Vol. 4, Chengdu: Sichuan University Press, 2006.)

Three female dental and medical graduates with their instructor, 1937

(Source: Yale University Archives, RG 11-5597)

Dr. Meuser with the first four students to graduate in Pharmacy in 1934, from left to right, they were: Tan Suyun 谭素云, Zeng Fengyi 曾凤仪, Yang Huichang 杨慧裳 and Li Xinglong 李兴隆

(Source: Yale University Archives, RG 11-5645-237)

WCUU Girls' archery team, 1937-1945

(Source: Yale University Archives, RG 11-417-5440)

WCUU University choir, 1947

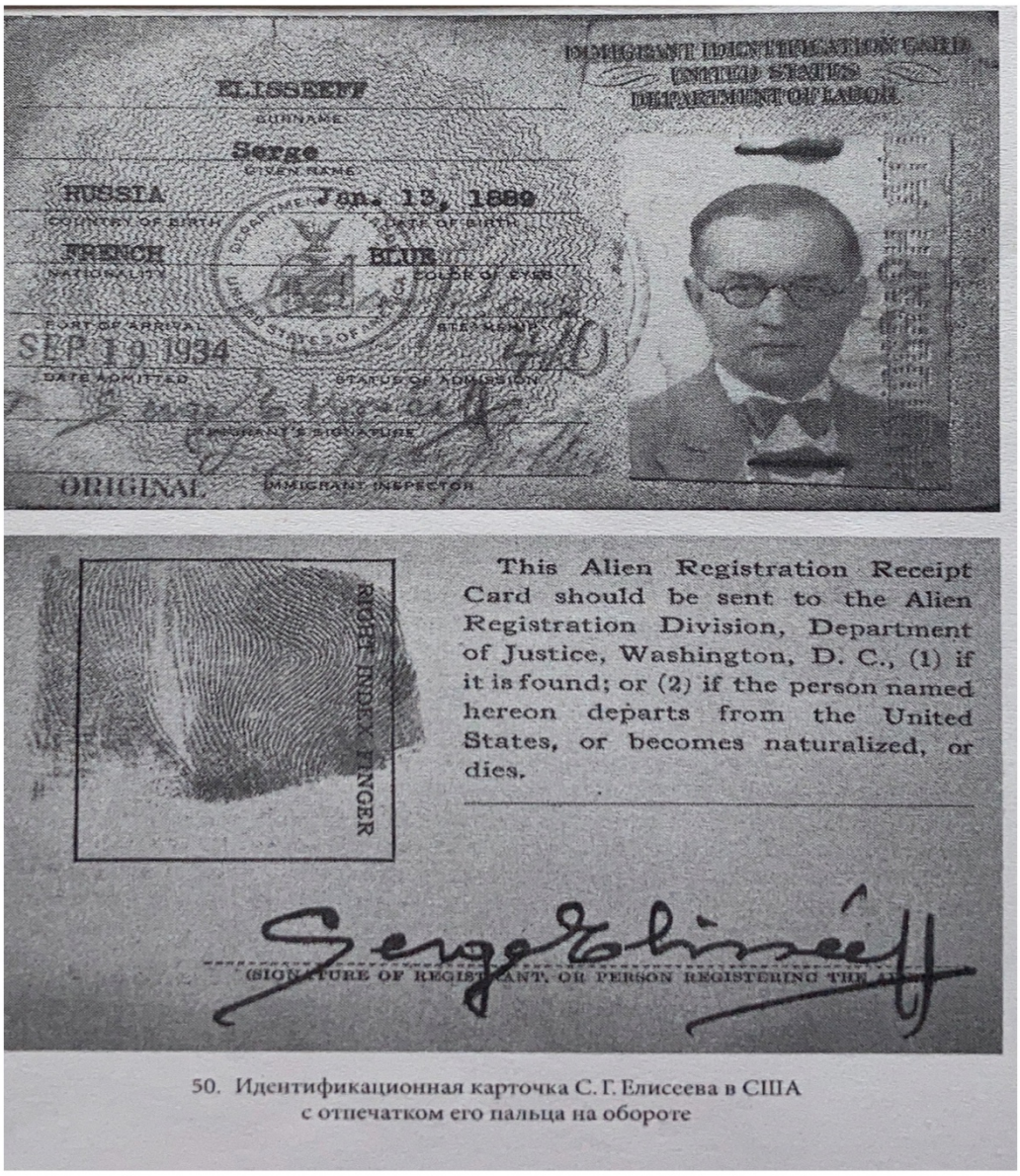
(Source: Yale University Archives, RG11-3302-895)

Staff and students of the faculty of Arts, March 1937

(Source: Yale University Archives, RG 11-5596-233)

Pottery display in the museum of WCUU, 1944

(Source: Yale University Archives, RG 11-418-5887-5721)



50. Идентификационная карточка С. Г. Елисеева в США с отпечатком его пальца на обороте

Dr. Serge Elisséeff American work permit, 1934

(Source: Courtesy of Dr. Sevetana Marakhonove, from her book, *Serge Elisseeff's Order of the Sacred Treasure: How the Son of a Russian Merchant Became the "Father" of the American Japanology*.)

Chapter Eight: At Cross Purposes: The Postwar Planning of WCUU and Planning by the Associated Board

Introduction

When Christian missionaries entered China in the late 19th century, their aim was to Christianize China. They firmly adhered to their mission although China had experienced tremendous change. Be that as it may, the mission's educational efforts cultivated a group of early Chinese Christian intellectuals who acquired a strong sense of patriotism through their Western learning. If serving the nation was the primary commitment of these Chinese intellectuals, then building a modern China was their shared desire and goal. Their determination to build a modern China overpowered their faith in Christianity.

Inspired by Zhang Jia'ao's foresight in researching the process of China's postwar economic reconstruction, in 1942, Lincoln Zhang made a suggestion to the Associated Boards to form a postwar plan for the Christian Colleges in China. His advice would be taken by the Associated Boards, but in an unexpected direction. Disappointed by the Boards' postwar plans, Lincoln Zhang decided to make future development plans of his own for WCUU, plans that ran contrary to the aims of the Associated Boards.

The conflict between Lincoln Zhang's postwar development plan for WCUU and the Associated Boards' Postwar Plan for the Christian Colleges in China evolved into a running battle between different visions of postwar China: a Christianized nation or a modernizing one. Together, Lincoln Zhang and Chinese Christian college administrators fought to defend their universities' autonomy in order to guarantee the healthy development of higher educational institutions, and to nurture a nation of modern China-builders. Lincoln Zhang's view that his vision of WCUU's future and the Associated Boards' vision were irresoluble ultimately forced him to leave his post.

This chapter explores the irreconcilable divergence between the Associated Boards and the Chinese Christian university administrators.

Zhang Jia'ao: Action Based on Forethought

In late 1941, China's anti-Japanese war entered its fifth year, and the nation was exhausted physically, mentally, and materially. The long, dragged-out war resulted in severe shortages of food, shelter, and daily supplies, forcing most people to live in poverty. Out-of-control inflation rates made the situation unbearable. In December 1941, the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbour and the United States declared their official participation in the war. The world eagerly anticipated the end of the war, and the Chinese anxiously so.

Several Chinese visionaries began making postwar plans. Zhang Jia'ao, the Minister of Transportation of China and the Chairman of the Board of Directors of WCUU, was one of them. In late 1941, Zhang Jia'ao contemplated quitting his government post.[1108] He decided to approach his close friend Zhang Quan, the most loyal advisor of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, to seek his advice and also convey his decision of resignation to the Generalissimo.[1109]

The message was delivered. On November 26, Zhang Quan told Zhang Jia'ao the Generalissimo would like to know what he planned to do if his resignation was granted. Zhang Jia'ao said researching wartime economics and postwar economic reconstruction in North America and Europe was on his mind at the moment.[1110]

Zhang Jia'ao's resignation was not accepted. The participation of the United States in the war over the Pacific Ocean made transportation a more pressing matter

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[1108] In his diary, on November 20th, 1941, Zhang Jia'ao wrote, "数月来,目睹国际交通线日见阻塞,仅剩滇缅公路一线,而何日阻断,尚不可知.因汽车配件及汽油材料之难于进口,国内公路交通,亦日感困难.而军政方面,相率责难,于是集中于变更组织,转移管辖.交通行政,建设既非其时,应付目前,亦权责不专.拟早日引退,借免素餐尸位.适张岳军兄将自蓉来渝,当造访,请其斟酌,婉陈枢峰." Over the past few months, I have seen the international transportation line being blocked day by day, and only the first line of the Yunnan-Burma Road remains, but it could be blocked at any moment. Due to the difficulty in importing auto parts and gasoline materials, domestic road traffic is also becoming increasingly difficult. In terms of military and political affairs, people blame on each other and nobody takes responsibility; therefore they apply the methods of switching positions and transferring jurisdiction to escape their responsibility. Regarding the administration of transportation, there is neither the time for construction nor has an speycific power accountability in the present. I am thinking to leave my post sooner; I don't want to occupy the post but be unable to accomplish anything. My dear friend Zhang Yuejun (Zhang Qun) will come to Chongqing from Chengdu soon. When he is here, I want to have his advice and also deliver this message to the top leader. Yao Songling, Ed. *The First Draft Chronicle of Mr. Zhang Gongquan* (Beijing: Social Sciences Acedemic Press, China, 2014), 289. 姚崧龄编,[张公权先生年谱初稿],北京:社会科学文献出版社,2014.第 289 页.

[1109] Ibid.

[1110] Ibid. , 290.

than his other proposed plans. Zhang Jia'ao decided to put his personal plan aside and wait for the right moment to raise the issue again.

On October 12, 1942, Zhang Jia'ao took eight days off from his busy schedule to visit WCUU. His Chengdu travels served multiple purposes: first, to fulfill his duty as the Chairman of the Board of Directors and participate in planning for the University; second, to help with University fundraising activities; third, to seek oral health care and have his teeth thoroughly examined.

He spent his first night at the home of Dr. Lindsay, the Dean of the College of Dentistry, and he had his teeth examined. On the next day, October 13, he met Mr. Luo Zhongshu, the Dean of the College of Liberal Arts, and listened to Mr. Luo's plans for further development of the College. In the afternoon, Dr. Li Anzhai 李安宅, the Director of the Institute of Frontier Studies, visited Zhang. They discussed how to expand the research and field studies of the institute to broader areas including Xikang and Tibet.[1111] Since Zhang Jia'ao was the direct sponsor and initiator of the institute and was very familiar with the frontier provinces of Guizhou and Yunnan as well as the Northwest areas, he talked at length with Li about the budget, the extended research plan, and the institute's publications.[1112]

On October 15, Zhang Jia'ao met with directors in all departments of the Liberal Arts College and the director of the Department of Economics. He wanted to know the challenges they were facing now and their visions for postwar WCUU. His conversation with Cheng Yingqi 程英祺,[1113] the Director of the Department of Economics, was the most relaxing and in-depth one since they shared many similarities. Zhang Jia'ao had studied Money and Banking in Japan and worked in the top-ranking position at the Bank of China for more than twenty years. He was interested in knowing Chang

[1111] Ibid. , 314.

[1112] Zhang Jia'ao took money from his own pocket to support the Institute of Frontier Research. He also encouraged his close friend Zhang Qun to make a donation to the institute before it was included in the university budget.

[1113] Cheng Yingqi 程英祺 studied Economics in Britain and his specialty was Money and Banking. He was also the manager of the Yangzi Industrial Bank in Chengdu.

Yingqi's opinions about international wartime economics and possible methods to accelerate China's postwar economic recovery.[1114]

Zhang Jia'ao spent his next morning with the Deans and Directors of the Colleges of Medicine, Dentistry, Science, and other departments. He met with all the researchers in the Institute of Frontier Studies again to get to know the details of their research goals, progress and publications.[1115]

On October 17, his day was devoted to the Board of Directors meeting, which focused on the discussion of the 1942-1943 annual budgets. Zhang Jia'ao drafted a letter to the Board of Governors to request another one million (NC) to offset the shortage in revenue to cover the University's expenses.[1116] The next day he attended the alumni meeting and proposed raising NC$ 250,000 to help the University build more residences for faculty and staff.

His last day at the University was occupied by a meeting with students and again with faculty members. He gave a speech to the students, emphasizing the importance of education to the future of youth, society and China as a whole.[1117]

Zhang's audience for the evening tea party was the school's faculty and staff, both Chinese and foreigners. Zhang spoke to the audience from his point of view as a government official, and shared his reflections and analysis of the advantages and shortcomings of West China Union University. The disadvantages, he said, were that government authorities viewed it as non-compliant with official regulations. As a result, it had difficulties attracting financial support from broader society, leading to narrower employment opportunities for their graduates compared to students from public schools.

However, he emphasized, the advantages to WCUU, as a Christian college sponsored by Western society were tremendous. First, the school enjoyed great autonomy in its administrative authority, and therefore would not be interrupted by the government's constant interventions. Second, the school had some financial support from outside of China that was more stable than funding from government for public schools. The most import element was that WCUU had considerable freedom to

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[1114] *The First Draft Chronicle of Mr. Zhang Gongquan.* 314.
[1115] Ibid.
[1116] Ibid.
[1117] The topic of Zhang's speech was "The Importance of Education in China." Ibid.

establish its own educational philosophies and policies. He suggested that Western teachers try harder to understand the needs of China, and to lend their expertise and full manpower to China and its future reconstruction.[1118]

Before departing WCUU, Zhang Jia'ao invited Lincoln Zhang to visit him in Chongqing later that year.

Upon returning to Chongqing on October 22, on top of catching up on administrative work that piled up during his absence, Zhang Jia'ao reconsidered how to raise the topic of his resignation with Generalissimo.

In the Fall of 1940, Zhang Jia'ao decided to write a book about China's struggles for railway development and his vision about the future of transportation in China. He got up early every day to write one or two hours before going to the office. In Fall 1942, his book, *China's Struggle for Railroad Development*, was completed. The completion of the book made him want to know more about how China could effectively conduct postwar reconstruction.[1119] Having previously served as the Minister of Railway Transportation, and later the Minister of Communications, Zhang knew that after the victory of the anti-Japanese War, railway construction would be vital for national rejuvenation. The re-establishment of political order, improvement of cultural standards, and development of the national economy all depended on successful railway construction and transportation.

He believed that having a plan for China's postwar economic recovery would help with establishing transportation services. He wanted to be a step ahead and to know the experiences of America and Europe after World War One and their plans for the end of the current war.

He met Zhang Quan on November 8 and asked him to relay his resignation to the Generalissimo again. On November 14, edits for *China's Struggle for Railroad*

[1118] *The First Draft Chronicle of Mr. Zhang Gongquan.* 314.
[1119] Ibid. , 316.

Development were completed. He sent one copy of the manuscript to Hu Shi, and another copy to Henry R. Luce[1120] for feedback.

On December 3 of 1942, the Generalissimo accepted Zhang Jia'ao's resignation. The same day, Zhang Jia'ao visited Mr. Chen Bulei 陈布雷, the confidential assistant of the Generalissmo. Zhang shared his thoughts frankly with Chen. "I decided to go abroad to study post-war economic construction and I don't want the government to assign me another position. If the government is willing to give a title in order for me to facilitate foreign connections, that would be greatly appreciated." On December 7, the Generalissmo granted Zhang the title of Advisor to the Executive Office of the Government.

The Generalissimo wrote a personal letter to Zhang Jia'ao, praising his contributions to China's railways and transportations. In the letter, Chiang asked Zhang Jia'ao to "state his opinion freely at any time and correct his [Chiang's] mistakes without reservation."[1121] The next day, December 8, Chiang invited Zhang to have dinner with him.

On December 16, Lincoln Zhang went to Chongqing to meet Zhang Jia'ao.[1122] He updated Lincoln Zhang on his resignation, his plans to visit the United States and Europe to study wartime economics, and his ideas for China's postwar reconstruction.

Postwar development plans for WCUU came up naturally during their conversations. Zhang Jia'ao asked Lincoln Zhang to notify Dr. Beech of his trip to the United States.[1123] Lincoln Zhang suggested that Zhang Jia'ao attend the Board of Governors meetings in New York and Toronto as the representative of WCUU.[1124]

While greatly admiring Zhang Jia'ao's foresight and bold actions, Lincoln Zhang was also inspired by his forward-thinking plans for postwar China. He decided that both WCUU and all the Christian colleges in China also needed to plan ahead for postwar educational development.

[1120] Henry Robinson Luce, April 3rd, 1898 - Feburary18th, 1967, was the founder of American magazines of *Time, Life* and *Fortune*. He was born in Shandong, China, to Presbyterian missionary parents. He was a friend of Zhang Jia'ao.

[1121] *The First Draft Chronicle of Mr. Zhang Gongquan*. 317.

[1122] Ibid. , 318.

[1123] Ibid.

[1124] Lincoln Zhang, letter to the Board of Governors, March 23rd 1943. UBCHEA GR 011-286-4489.

Urging the Associated Boards to Create a Postwar Plan for Christian Colleges in China

Upon returning to WCUU, Lincoln Zhang wasted no time encouraging all departments of the University to draft postwar plans for development. He sent a letter to the Associated Boards, suggesting them to consider a similar plan for the Christian colleges in China. In the letter, he urged the Boards to send a representative to the field to develop a better understanding of the needs of the Christian colleges in China.[1125]

Lincoln Zhang's proposal was discussed in the Executive Committee meeting of the Associated Boards, held in New York on February 15th, 1943. Apparently, his proposal surprised the Board members. They understood the importance of planning for the future of the school beyond the war, but debated whether it was a priority.

Mr. Charles Hodge Corbett,[1126] a member of the Executive Committee of the Associated Boards who was responsible for fundraising and promotion, wrote to encourage Lincoln Zhang to continue contributing his thoughts about postwar plans for the Christian colleges in China.

> It is felt that you have no doubt done considerable thinking on the subject (postwar university development) already, and will do a great deal more before the war is over. The members of the Executive Committee will welcome at any time suggestions that you may have, and they hope you will not hesitate to write with the utmost freedom, and not wait for a deputation to be sent from here. Even should such a deputation materialise—and there is no certainty that it will—you should still be invited to send your ideas directly to this office.[1127]

[1125] Charles H. Corbett to Lincoln Zhang, February 23th, 1943. UBCHEA GR011-286-4489.
[1126] Charles H. Corbett was a professor of Physics teaching at Yenching University in Beijing for many years; he later was a fundraising promotional member of the Associated Boards.
[1127] Charles H. Corbett to Lincoln Zhang, February 23rd, 1943. UBCHEA GR011-286-4489.

Corbett also assured Zhang, "It is recognized as fundamental here that the major decisions must be made in China, in the light of the situation that prevails when the war is over."[1128]

After much debate, the Associated Boards for Christian Colleges in China appointed a Postwar Planning Committee, whose purpose was to "give thoughtful consideration to the future of the Christian College in postwar China, and to cooperate with a similar group in Great Britain as well as with Boards of Managers in China where the principal decisions would have to be made."[1129] Between 1943 and1944 the Committee set up offices in Chongqing, London, and New York, making a great show of force and demonstrating its commitment to Chinese educational institutions beyond the period of war.

On May 12, 1943, the Associated Boards invited twenty-five representatives of nine Christian colleges to attend the first Post-War Planning meeting in Chengdu. The meeting was held at the home of Dr. William Fenn, who was appointed Representative of the Associated Boards as the field investigator. Two weeks later, on June 7, fifteen representatives from three other colleges met in Chongqing to discuss the topic further. The meeting ended with the agreement that Dr. Fenn would visit the Christian universities in China to investigate their current situation and make recommendations for post-war plans.

The Post-War Planning Committee in New York that was organized in the Spring of 1943 consisted of 30 members. Although Lincoln Zhang repeatedly requested that the Committee send someone to China to meet with administrators, faculty members, and students of Christian colleges, the Committee decided to rely solely on Dr. William Fenn's investigation and recommendations.

On October 20, 1943, Lincoln Zhang asked for the Boards' permission to modify the U.S.$ 20,000 funding that the Board had allocated for building a student dormitory. He decided that if WCUU built a new dormitory it "might not be useful after the war when the other Universities return to their own campuses."[1130] Zhang proposed to allot U.S.$ 7000 for the construction of a guesthouse "to be used for the

[1128] Ibid.
[1129] "Report of the Planning Committee," May 8th, 1944. UBCHEA RG011-084-2195.
[1130] Lincoln Zhang to Evans, October 20th, 1943. UBCHEA GR011-286-4489.

entertainment of eminent Chinese scholars and visitors of the University coming from abroad."[1131] He wanted to make plans that fit into his vision for WCUU after the war.

He also felt that it was his obligation to follow the foresight that the Generalissimo laid out in his recent book, *The Future of China*. In the book, Chiang Kai-shek stressed that the nation needed hundreds of thousands of trained men and women for reconstruction after the war. The University therefore planned to hire and invite esteemed scholars from within and outside of China to bolster the University's teaching, learning and research. Zhang didn't want to put the University "in a most embarrassing position" of having no accommodations for the visiting scholars.

Taking the Associated Boards' encouragement to heart, Lincoln Zhang wrote to Dr. Henry Pitney Van Dusen, the newly appointed Chairman of the Postwar Planning Committee on March 11, 1944. In his letter, Zhang reinforced his two recommendations to the Committee: first, that the Committee should focus on the needs of China's reconstruction and modernization; second, that it was necessary to send an educator to China to understand the needs of the educational institutions and better support their plans for postwar development.

The Chairman's response to Lincoln Zhang's was polite, but vague and uncertain in meaning. He said, "Let me assure you also that the thought of the Planning Committee so far as it has yet taken shape, closely follows the suggestions in your own letter. What you said on these several points will be of great help to the Planning Committee, to whom your letter is being circulated at once."[1132]

On one thing, however, the Chairman was definite:

> We are sorry that it has not yet been possible to send out to China a distinguished American educator to visit the university centers and counsel the leaders as had been planned. This is so late due to the fact that we are unwilling to send any one other than an educator of outstanding eminence and ability,

[1131] Ibid.
[1132] Henry P. Van Dusen to Lincoln Zhang, April 22, 1944. UBCHEA GR011-286-4489.

and it is exceedingly difficult for such men to free themselves from responsibilities here in the midst of the war.[1133]

Refusing to take a clear hint from Dr. Van Dusen that the Planning Committee wouldn't send anybody to China soon, Lincoln Zhang wrote once again on May 5, 1944, to the Board of Governors to ask them to reconsider the educational missionary's role in the postwar China. This time, he took on a new angle, pointing out that during the past twenty years there were only a few new missionary appointments at WCUU and the Board should review and reflect on the missionary teachers' relationships with the University following the end of the war. He reminded the Board to take postwar China's educational effort into serious consideration.[1134] His letter said:

> Meanwhile, we are putting the whole question before you in this form because we think you will regard it as a very serious one and requiring very careful consideration before any action can be taken. The future of the Christian Colleges in China is still in the discussion stage and this statement is forwarded to you as expressing in general the normal expectations of the university in its three colleges and carrying on its work very much along present lines.[1135]

The response Lincoln Zhang received from the acting executive secretary of the Associated Boards was apologetic, but still remained vague and uncertain.

> Each letter I write makes me more thoroughly ashamed that we are unable to get things done more promptly. I have been saying for some time that there would be a change, only to find that the change was for the worst. For instance, the Planning Committee of the Associated Boards injected two full days of

[1133] Ibid.
[1134] Lincoln Zhang to the Board of Governors, May 5th, 1944. UBCHEA GR011-286-4489.
[1135] Ibid.

> deliberation into our schedule in advance of the Associated Boards' meeting and our staff is totally incapable of caring for this type of work.[1136]

On April 22, 1944, the Chairman of the Planning Committee told Lincoln Zhang the Planning Committee needed more time to process the planning issues since its thinking had not yet taken shape.[1137] However, by the summer, the first draft of the Postwar Planning report was delivered to the universities in China for feedback.

Based on correspondences between Lincoln Zhang, the Chairman of the Planning Committee, and the Associated Boards, one suspects that Dr. Van Dusen and Dr. Evans in the very beginning had no intention to send anybody to China. They may well have kept Post-War Planning in mind knowing that their direction on this matter wouldn't be popular among Chinese educators. Therefore, they decided to be vague about it to buy time.

Indeed, what they did eventually announce turned out to be quite at odds with the thinking of the college and university authorities in China. The Boards' goal in Post-War Planning was to reinforce the Christian character of higher education at all colleges, and the basic guiding principles for the universities were "cooperation and coordination," but on quite hierarchical lines.[1138]

The plan divided the thirteen Christian Colleges into two categories: undergraduate-focused and graduate-focused. Each university was assigned specific recommendations for programs according to their geographical location. For example, the focus of WCUU was undergraduate studies in the "Colleges of Arts, Science and Medicine and Dentistry."[1139] The rest of the plan focused on how to improve Christian teaching in the University.

After reading the first draft, Lincoln Zhang again firmly gave strong counter-suggestions to the Associated Boards and Planning Committee,

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[1136] Evans to Lincoln Zhang, July 17th, 1944. UBCHEA GR011-286-4489.

[1137] Henry P. Van Dusen to Lincoln Zhang, April 22, 1944. UBCHEA GR011-286-4489.

[1138] William P. Fenn, *Ever New Horizons: The Story of the United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia, 1922-1975* (Newton, Kansas: Mennonite Press, Inc. 1980), 48.

[1139] Ibid.

> The report of the Planning Committee has been studied with interest by all our associates here. We still think it most desirable that an educationist, representing the Associated Boards, should visit China before final decisions are taken; meanwhile the visit of Dr. William Fenn to the U.S.A. this autumn will afford an opportunity for consultation and perhaps lead to the appointment of some person to accompany him on his return. This should result in the most effective co-operation between the committee in China and that in the U.S.A.[1140]

From November 1943 to September 1944, Lincoln Zhang repeatedly asked the Associated Boards and the Postwar Planning Committee send an educational representative to West China to get to know the needs of China and the universities. His message clearly conveyed that the Christian Colleges' policies and principles as written by the Boards, were impractical. Unfortunately, his insistence fell on deaf ears.

The Boards and their Planning Committee repeatedly stressed the difficulties involved in sending a representative to China. The actual fact of the matter was that they had never planned to send one, nor did they take the needs of China and the universities into consideration as promised. Instead, their agenda was to use postwar planning as an opportunity to reinforce their original aims, which was to Christianize the Chinese universities and regain their administrative control. The kinds of results that Lincoln Zhang and other Chinese Christian educators hoped for and called for were not part of the Boards desire.

Using finances to control the universities was a practice the Associated Boards had been performing for decades. Several liberal-minded missionaries and Board members voiced their disagreements with the practice, believing that Chinese administrators should make their own administrative decisions based on the situation of each university. Edward Hume, a medical missionary and Board member of the HYI Trustees, wrote to Garside as early as 1937, urging that "China is moving forward and, at this significant period of transition, institutions must be given freedom to develop in

[1140] Lincoln Zhang to the Board of Governors, September 21st, 1944. UBCHEA GR011-286-4489.

ways that the environment requires. The correlation of the future must be constructed by the colleges themselves in China."[1141]

Garside came to understand Hume's point at a much slower pace. In early 1941, several days before leaving his post as the Executive Secretary of the Associated Boards that he held for 13 years,[1142] Garside wrote to Cressy to share his understanding of the relationship between the Boards and the Christian colleges in China.

> The last ten or fifteen years has demonstrated repeatedly that for organizations in America to attempt to find the answer to that question, or to help the Colleges in finding the answers, always has and always would result in disaster. It is fairly easy to work out any number of solutions that look well on paper but are out of the desire of the Colleges themselves.[1143]

His advice to Cressy was to allow the administrations of the Christian colleges in China the autonomy to make their own decisions.

Most of the universities soon sent their feedback on the first draft of the Planning to the Post-War Planning Committee and the Associated Boards, but few changes were made on Post-War endeavours. In May 1945 and December 1945, two more drafts were sent to China for further review and feedback.

The realization of the Boards' intentions disappointed Lincoln Zhang; it also forced him to modify his approach to postwar planning. Knowing that he was powerless to change the minds of the Missions and the Boards, he decided to put energy into WCUU development plans.

At the University, he asked each college and department to come up with its own postwar plan. When he communicated with the members of the Associated Boards, he strove to work in the best interests of WCUU. He wrote to Evans to emphasize the

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[1141] Edward H. Hume to B. Garside, February 25th 1937. UBCHEA RG11-012-289.

[1142] In February 1941, Garside was released from the Associated Boards for six months to serve as Vice-President and Secretary of United China Relief, Mr. Evans as Acting Executive Secretary of the Associated Boards. On January 31, 1942, Garside formally left the Associated Boards.

[1143] Garside to Earl H. Cressy, January 22nd, 1941. UBCHEA RG11-005-108.

geographical importance of WCUU both during the war and after, and hoped the Boards would take its contributions during the war into consideration.

The response he got was delivered with a bureaucratic politeness.

> There is no need of my dwelling upon the various subjects mentioned in your letter, but I do wish to say that West China has a most prominent place in the thinking of all of our planning of the Associated Boards and we are hoping and praying that the opportunity which belongs to this university will be cherished and nurtured so that it may rise to the pinnacle of usefulness for which was designed.[1144]

This seems to have meant that there was no need for Lincoln Zhang to make any more suggestions or arguments. Their decision was made, and they were not going to change their minds.

Lincoln Zhang would not comply with their decision. With the support of four other university presidents, Zhang sent another letter to the Associated Boards. It stated, "this is a period of great economic hardship for the institutions and for the individual staff members, and the only fair and just way to maintain the work is to place all institutions on the same basis and divide the funds…"[1145]

WCUU's Postwar Development Plans

In June 1945, the *Journal of West China Union University* published a special issue of WCUU postwar development plans. The opening article, "The Postwar Contribution of the College of Humanities", by Luo Zhongshu, the Dean of the College of Liberal Arts, took up the first three pages of the Journal. Other colleges, departments, and research institutes also detailed their own postwar development plans.

[1144] Evans to Lincoln Zhang, February 1st, 1945. UBCHEA GR011-286-4489.

[1145] Five University Presidents to the Associated Board, March 30th, 1945. UBCHEA GR011-286-4489.

In his article, Luo reviewed WCUU's previous two development plans. In 1928, Lincoln Zhang laid out his vision of WCUU in the coming years to the Board of Governors. In the late 1933 not long after Lincoln Zhang returned from his Ph.D. studies and the University registered with the government, Lincoln Zhang had a long conversation with Luo Zhongshu about overhauling the administrative structure, setting higher academic standards for teaching and learning, and the significance of humanities studies. Since the government was promoting the greater expansion of practical disciplines at the University like medicine and dentistry, and limiting humanities studies, Zhang wanted WCUU to offer balanced and well-rounded subjects because the nation needed a variety of talents. Zhang and Luo believed that students couldn't be forced to choose practical subjects, and that the school curricula should allow students to make choices based on their own interests and talents.[1146] Both Zhang and Luo were certain that a healthy nation needed diverse talents; therefore, it was their responsibility to take the country's future needs into consideration.

Lincoln Zhang repeatedly presented his suggestion to enrich humanities studies at the University affairs meeting. Supported by Zhang, Luo convinced the heads of science and other practical departments that it would be beneficial for practical, science-oriented students to take humanities courses like history, psychology, ethics, and literature.

With Lincoln Zhang's support, Luo gathered ten like-minded professors to meet regularly and study the strengths of universities in Europe and North America, discussing how to learn from them. Lincoln Zhang was impressed by these faculty members' ideas and opinions on university improvements. Taking Luo Zhongshu's educational seminar further, in 1934, Lincoln Zhang organized a University Policy Committee to examine the existing problems, changes to be made, and the ideal future of the University. In 1936, after more than one year of discussions, the Committee came up with a proposal for the University for the next twenty-five years. It detailed the structure of the University, the goal of each department, and actions the University should take. The report recommended employing more highly educated Chinese

[1146] Luo, Zhongshu, "The Postwar Contribution of the College of Humanities," *Journal of West China Union University* June (1945): 1-3

teachers, expanding university disciplines, strengthening its influence on the local community, and making the needs of China for the teaching and learning

By the summer of 1945, after almost ten years' worth of efforts, the University had fulfilled most of its initial goals. "It is relatively easier to reach the goal when one has a plan to follow",[1147] both Lincoln Zhang and Luo Zhongshu believed. Anticipating that the anti-Japanese war would soon be over, the University again decided to plan ahead.

Due to its geographical advantage, WCUU's wartime damage was limited compared to other universities. As a result, Lincoln Zhang believed that WCUU would develop faster than other universities, and he prepared even more ambitious post-war plans, compared to the University's other counterparts. Its post-war guidelines aimed to make WCUU a comprehensive university in curriculum, research, practical programs, teaching, faculty, and resources. Under this principle, the University hoped to cultivate even more quality students with a strong sense of community service in order to serve the ultimate goal of establishing WCUU as an active participant in the nation's reconstruction.

In order to make WCUU a well-rounded educational institution, it sought to improve research ability and to expand its range of liberal arts subjects. For nurturing students' sense of social responsibility, the University planned to provide students with opportunities for more social investigation and experimentation.

The University used three major strategies to bolster the students' spirit of community service. First, the school created a mentorship system to provide help and support to students. Second, it offered students guidance in understanding China's current situation and their responsibilities through speeches and lectures. Finally, students were provided with more opportunities for research and experimentation.

From September 1942 onward, the University's mentorship program had continued to show progress. In 1943, the University took the program further by appointing the most accomplished instructors, such as Li Hang, Li Anzha, Jiang Wengang, and Tang Tenghan, just to name a few, to meet with students regularly in small groups or individually. For first year students, the purpose of mentorship was to

[1147] Ibid.

help them explore their family situations, learning interests, and career plans, and adapt to university life, while spurring their motivation to learn. For second year students, the focus of mentorship was to guide their academic interests and encourage improvement in areas they desired to develop.[1148]

Seizing every possible occasion to motivate students, Lincoln Zhang repeatedly stressed to them that their opportunities for education resulted from the efforts of ordinary people sacrificing their lives to fight for the country. As such, it was their duty and responsibility to take up the mantle to serve the people and country.[1149] On June 8, 1941, at the University's student graduation ceremony, Lincoln Zhang declared in a speech to the graduates, "when this country is in danger and the people's livelihood is in turmoil, you should do your best to contribute to the country and the society, so as to achieve the goal of winning the war of resistance and building the nation."[1150]

WCUU held a series of lectures year-round to broaden students' horizons and help them to shape their roles in society. The University invited its own accomplished professors, as well as national celebrities and governmental officers, to share their research, societal concerns, and thoughts on the ever-changing international situation with students.[1151] In 1944 alone, from January 10th to December 27th, the University

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1148 *Journal of West China Union University,* (November 1943): 3-4.

1149 "Highlights of University Opening Ceremony," *Journal of West China Union University,* (October 1941): 5. "开学結要", [华西协和大学校刊], 1941 年 10 月.

1150 "President's Message to the Current Graduates," *Journal of West China Union University,* (June 1941): 2. "校长向本届毕业生训词", [华西协和大学校刊], 1941 年 6 月.

1151 *Journal of West China Union University,* June 1944, p. 6. On Jan. 10th, Dr. Lindsay talked about "Health" in general to open the series of lectures; Feb. 21st, the topic of Dr. Peng Ronghua was "From the International Grain Conference to China's Nutrition Problems" (从国际粮食会议说到我国营养问题); Feb. 28th, Dr. Li Anzha, the sociologist, discussed, "Youth and Social Construction" 青年与社会建设; followed Mr. Qi Buquan's 漆卜权 immediate concern of "The Spring time's China's agricultural situation during the War" (战时四月农) on March 6th, on March 20th, professor Lin Muguang continued Li Anzha's conversation with "What is the responsibility of Intellectuals?"林穆光: 什么是知识分子应付的责任. On March 20th three government officers focused on one topic, "Youth Issues in China" (徐恩平参谋长, 郭子李厅长, 李大民董事长:青年问题). On March 27th professor Jiang Wengang's lecture about "Spring" brought a scent of romantic 姜蕴刚 "春" that carried on his 1943 "Summer Outdoor Lecture Series". On the general topic "The Odes of Life", Jiang gave five lectures about love and life that attracted five university students and an audience from outside of campus. April 3rd, Dr. Ye discussed China's economics; on April 11th History professor He Luzhi "Where does the Bell Toll In the Deep Mountains" (何鲁之教授: 深山何处钟); April 17th astronomer Dr. Li Xiaofang gave "A Review of Chinese Science and Its Prospects" (李晓舫: 中国科学之回顾与前瞻); the lecture on April 24th was given by Dr. Guang from the State Department of USA; "The Relationship Between the Paper Industry and Human Life" was by professor Gu Xiaolan on May 1st (顾晓岚先生: 造纸业与人类生活之关系); the speech of economist Mr. Yang Youzhi's "How Should China Be Industrialized" (杨佑之:中国如何工业化) was on May 8th; May 15th, professor Lű Gaohui talked about "Animal Husbandry and National Welfare" (吕高辉: 畜牧业与民族福利); the director of Economics department Mr. Cheng Yingqi, "Economic National-building and Nation Building Economy" (程英祺主任: 经济建国与建国经济) was on May 20th, and professor Chen Zhengao, "Sexual Psychology" (陈正鏊教授: 性的心理) was on May 29th; the spring

held more than 26 lectures according to incomplete records. The topics were broad, and ranged from "From the International Grain Conference to China's Nutrition Problems" to "The Relationship Between the Paper Industry and Human Life", and "Economic National-building and Nation Building Economy". [1152]

The central topic of the lectures and presentations was on the duty of Chinese youth in serving their country after the war. The spring lecture series concluded on June 5 with a talk by the famous historian Qian Mu, on the topic "My Perspectives about University Students".[1153]

In late June, Lincoln Zhang spoke to students about "Why Educated Youth Should Join the Army".[1154] The purpose for students to join the army, Lincoln Zhang suggested, was not solely to fight against the Japanese, but to change the military culture. He believed that China's foremost enemies were dictatorship and the corruption of the government. In July 1944, Qian Mu published a long article discussing the role of educated youth in military careers, titled "The Historical Examples of the Excellent Youth in Military Careers".[1155] On September 18, 1944, Lincoln Zhang gave a long speech titled, "The Success and Failure of Youth". He emphasized that fame and wealth were not the definition of success, but serving the nation was. On November 13, the University invited Zhang Qun, the Governor of Sichuan Province and a WCUU Board member, to talk about the "Social Value of Youth". He gave a detailed analysis on the values of tranquility, patience, courage, and strength, four traits that he believed the youth must equip themselves with in order to serve the country. On December 4, the Chinese historian Wu Mi 吴宓 talked about "Literature and Morality". The final lecture of 1944 was delivered at the Wartime Academic Conference organized by the five

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lecture series ended up on June 5th with the famous historian Qian Mu, "My perspectives about university students" (钱穆:大学青年之我见). "In Memory of Dr. Sun Yat-set Lecture Series, Jan. 10th to June 5th".

1152 Ibid.

1153 Ibid.

1154 Lincoln Zhang, "Why Educated Youth Should Join the Army," *Journal of West China Union University* (June 1944): 7. 张校长谈青年从军, [华西协和大学校刊], 1944 年 6 月.

1155 Qian Mu, "The Historical Examples of the Excellent Youth in Military Career," *Journal of West China Union University* (June 1944): 1-8. 钱穆,"知识青年从军的历史先例", [华西协和大学校刊], 1944 年 6 月.

universities, where the Chinese linguist, Gu Jiegang 顾颉刚, presented his talk "Youth Should be Conscious".[1156]

As academic lectures and presentations continued in 1945, the University invited more pronounced scholars and celebrities to discuss their views on Chinese society and its relationship with the world. In April 1945, there were ten academic presentations held at WCUU with topics that covered geopolitical and geo-sociological studies. During this lecture series, the playwright Wu Zuxiang 吴组湘 talked about his recent visit to Xinjiang in his presentation "The Current Situation In Xinjiang" and James Endicott spoke on the "The San Francisco Conference and Peace in China". In May 1945, there were another ten lectures, including the presentation "Chinese Youth and Chinese Society" delivered by Xu Deheng, a scholar, a politician and a founder of the Jiusan Society,[1157] which attracted a large audience.[1158]

As a trained sociologist, Lincoln Zhang believed that social surveys, fieldwork, and social investigation were crucial in developing students' knowledge and sense of social duty. As early as the Summer of 1941, WCUU had conducted "the Northwest China Investigations" project in cooperation with the Northwest Transportation Bureau, which was supported by Zhang Jia'ao, and directed by Lincoln Zhang. As a sociologist Zhang sought to encourage students to understand the problems of Chinese society, and be prepared to bring positive changes to the nation.

For the Ministry of Transportation, the aims of the Northwest China Investigation were to promote the establishment of subsidiary businesses along the Northwest Highway. However, the goal of the University had been to thoroughly research and build a comprehensive understanding of the environment, road conditions, the public health situation, and the education status of China's Northwest region. To do

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[1156] Gu Jiegang, "Youth Should be Conscious," *Journal of West China Union University* (December 1944): 7. 顾颉刚, 青年应有之自觉, [华西协和大学校刊], 1944 年 12 月.

[1157] In November 1944, the Symposium on Democratic Science was established in Chongqing. On September 3rd, 1945, the Symposium held an enlarged meeting and decided to change its name to the Jiu San Symposium to commemorate China's victory in the Anti-Japanese War and World War II. On May 4th, 1946, it was reorganized again into the Jiusan Society. This was a political party with the characteristics of political alliance, mainly composed of high-level and middle-level intellectuals in scientific and technological circles. From 1949, it accepted the leadership of the Communist Party of China. Mr. Xu Deheng (1890-1990), one the leading founders of the Jiusan Society, was a Chinese scholar, educator and politician.

[1158] Xu Deheng, "Chinese Youth and Chinese Society," *Journal of West China Union University,* (May 1945): 5. 许德珩, "中国青年与中国社会", [华西协和大学校刊], 1945 年 5 月.

so, the project needed to gather sufficient information for government policy-making initiatives, and come up with practical methods for implementing such policies to further develop the region. Zhang viewed the investigation as part of the National Government's plans to develop China's Northwest, and he wanted WCUU to be part of it. On July 17, 1941, a team of sociologists, economists, agricultural specialists, medical and public health experts, animal husbandry specialists and veterinarians, and forest protectionists and students had left Chengdu for 48 days to traverse 32 cities and conduct 4000 kilometer's worth of field work.[1159]

Another wartime effort made by the University to help students to engage in social service was to establish a research site for sociological experimentation. After much debate over the location of the site, Shiyangchang 石羊场, a small town about 10 kilometers away from Chengdu was chosen. The Shiyangchang initiative emerged from a debate at the University over what China's most urgent challenge was. Most agreed that some traditional Chinese cultural practices were barriers to China's transformation and progress, and that the country's outdated social custom was fundamentally rooted in the countryside. Therefore, anyone who aspired to transform rural China should have a thorough understanding of China's countryside.[1160]

The site was primarily focused on research and the provision of services. University teachers led students to deliver books and medical services, as well as to provide financial support such as small loans to help the local people. Research was focused on understanding local culture and practice, exploring challenges the community faced, and collaborating with locals to develop solutions.

Experiments in the first six months resulted in rudimentary but fundamental conclusions. Students and faculty found that books helped improve literacy; social games encouraged people to spend time together; and medical workshops and clinic practices helped spread knowledge of public health among the fellow villagers. The students produced six reports on population analysis, political structure and land issues, and the organizational structures of the village, family life, and child-rearing. Following

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[1159] "Highlights of the Northwest Invesitagtions of the University," *Journal of West China Union University*, (October 1941): 21-26. "本校西北考察团結要," [华西协和大学校刊], 1941 年 10 月.

[1160] "Semi-annual Work Briefing of the Shiyangchang Social Study Station," *Journal of West China Union University*, (December 1943): 11-15. "石羊场社会研习站半年工作简报"

initial studies, instructors guided students to look deeper into the issues affecting the village for the purpose of even broader research and investigation.

In the second phase of the program, the site conducted an experimental study on the effects of small family loans on women with children at home and husbands in the armies. The results were encouraging: women who received loans used the money to undertake small business activities to support the family, and their husbands who fought in the frontlines were grateful for the support.[1161]

The third phase of the Shiyangchang sociological experimentation was to guide students to combine theory and practice to explore village people's cultural and economic custom. The Shiyangchang community's market system, land renting system and religious beliefs were carefully observed, studied, and analyzed. Students observed that the community market system served as an opportunity for locals to exchange household goods, gather and socialize, and entertain themselves. The honouring of oral agreements was still a traditional cultural practice followed at the community's market place, but gambling activities following market day were the downfall of several families, ultimately leading to family economic loss and domestic fighting.[1162]

For WCUU students, researching the land rental system at Shiyangchang required analyzing root causes that led to mass poverty among peasants. Through their investigations, students found that the unequal land distribution system brought many social problems. The dense population, shortage of arable land, and unfair rental system were the reasons that led to a decrease in quality of life and further social instability. High taxes levied by local and central governments pushed peasants to the edge of poverty, and out of control inflation made it almost impossible for tenants to survive. Students' researches concluded that the government's mismanagement not only distorted the traditional land rental system, but also destroyed the peasants' livelihood.[1163]

[1161] "The Recent Three Months Work Briefing of the Shiyangchang Social Study Station," *Journal of West China Union University* (February 1944): 6-7. "石羊场社会研习站最近三月工作简报"

[1162] "Summary of the Social Investigation Report of Shiyangchang Social Study Station," *Journal of West China Union University*, (April 1944): 6. "石羊场社会研习站社会调查报告提要"

[1163] "Summary of the Social Investigation Report of Shiyangchang Social Study Station: The Land Renting System in Shiyangchang," *Journal of West China Union University*, (May1944): 7-8. "石羊场社会研习站社会调查报告提要—石羊场的租赁体制".

Thrilled by the students' solid research of the land rental system, the University organized a special presentation to help them better understand rural land culture in Sichuan. On May 7th, 1944, at the Shiyangchang research site, students from Jinling Women's College and professors from WCUU and other universities attended the lecture of Ai Xiyou. Mr. Ai, the head of the research site, spoke on the demographics of Shiyangchang. Professor Wang Xunzhuang presented several topics on rural Sichuan, in talks titled "A Study of Peasants and Tenants in Penhua, Western Sichuan" and "The Land Right Form of Lichun Township", both geared to encourage students to examine land ownership beyond Shiyangchang.[1164]

WCUU research students believed that people's religious activities in Shiyangchang were a blend of spiritual enhancement and entertainment, originating partly from their reverence towards nature and partly from the initiatives of emperors who had used religion to manipulate the people.[1165]

The design for social study and experiment was to help students understand China's social reality and existing problems, encourage them to be a strong force of social change, and to enhance local capacities to provide social services.

Social research and experimentation was an effective way to encourage youth to become a force of social change and to build the ability and self-confidence to serve their people. The Shiyangchang Research Site served as an example of this, especially for other universities. As a result, Dr. Wu Yifang, the President of Jinling Women's College, was determined to introduce the same initiative to Jinling students.[1166]

Ever since the guest universities had moved to Chengdu, and especially after the arrival of Yenching University in 1941, the WCUU campus had become a place where many accomplished scholars came to teach, lecture, and do research. Their presence elevated the school's academic atmosphere and bolstered students' enthusiasm for learning. The growing vitality of the University strengthened Lincoln Zhang's

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1164 "Activities of WCUU Social Study Station," *Journal of West China Union University*, (May1944): 9.“华大社会研习站活跃姿态”

1165 "The People's Religious Beliefs in Shiyangchang," *Journal of West China Union University* (June 1944): 10.“石羊场社会研习站社会调查报告提要—石羊场之神会”

1166 Wu Yifang to Miss MacKinnon, Jan. 5th, 1946. UBCHEA RG-011-084-2194.

determination to expand the school's research capacity. Since the institution was already China's best in medical, dental and pharmacy training and had gathered together accomplished scholars in sociology and Chinese history, it was a matter of course for the University to expand humanities research next.

Out of WCUU's five colleges, the College of Liberal Arts' postwar development plan was the most ambitious. The College boldly and directly announced its goal of making a significant "contribution to postwar China."[1167] Its first step was to "add a Fine Arts Department when the war ends," Dean Luo Zhongshu stated, continuing, "We have seen more talented students who wanted to pursue their artistic education." His reasoning was that, "we expect an advance of China's reconstruction by leaps and bounds in every aspect; fine arts studying, learning and works would be greatly needed. We hope to build an artistic and beautified China."[1168] Luo also decided that the primary focus of study for the Department of Sociology would be on West China, stating: "Our research will aim to take our geographic features related to our bordering with remote provinces into consideration, so that we can make special contributions to the development of the frontier provinces."[1169] The Department of Philosophy, which already accepted graduate students, looked forward to accepting more to "establish a research institute… and expand it."

The Department of Economics post-war goal was simple: "Since economic development will be the priority of the reconstruction of the nation, we will accept more students to study Economics than ever. We have been offering divisive courses to make sure we can meet the needs of the nation."[1170] From the time when Luo took the Dean's position, the number of students who studied humanities had increased significantly from 120 in 1935 to 550 in 1945. Now he planned to increase spots in the program further in order to "accept 700 to 800 students annually."[1171] His reasoning was that

[1167] Luo Zhongshu, "What the College of Liberal Arts should contribute to the Postwar China," *Journal of West China Union University* (June 1945): 1-3.
[1168] Ibid.
[1169] Ibid.
[1170] Ibid.
[1171] Ibid.

after the war, "WCUU needs to take more responsibility and contribute more in Sichuan and West China."[1172]

The Pharmacy Department's postwar plans were aspirational, but failed to foresee various challenges in the industry. When the war started, poor transportation had prevented drugs from reaching China, and with the increase demand for drugs during the conflict, fake medicines had come to dominate China's drug markets.[1173]

With WCUU being the only University in China engaged in pharmaceutical teaching, research and manufacturing, the University's administrators felt it was WCUU's "duty-bound responsibility to make future develop plans for studies in the field of pharmacy, [taking into account that] the rich resources of raw medicine in southwest China provide us with great advantages."[1174] The Pharmacy Department set itself the lofty goal of "meeting the current America ratio of one pharmacist for every one thousand people."[1175] Recognizing that "the task of train pharmaceutical professionals is a formidable work," the department plan stated. "We plan to increase our number of new students to 100 per year,"[1176] because China needed more pharmacy professionals in universities, research institutes, pharmaceutical factories, and in every city, county and township.

To reach this goal, two actions would be taken; first, the Department would immediately hire more capable faculty members, both domestically and from abroad, to teach and conduct research. Second, it would select its own highest-performing graduates and train them to serve as instructors, and to this end it would create opportunities for them to upgrade within and outside of China, thus making WCUU a teacher-training center for China. To meet these goals, the school would need to construct a new medical building and research institute and further upgrade the Department of Pharmacy to a College of Pharmacy.[1177]

[1172] Ibid.
[1173] "Post-war development plans and programs of the Department of Pharmacy," *Journal of West China Union University,* (June 1945): 4-6. "药学系战后发展计划及方案".
[1174] Ibid.
[1175] Ibid.
[1176] Ibid.
[1177] Ibid.

The Department prepared specific action plans to fulfill each goal. Since sufficient finances usually help with action taken, the Department aimed to strengthen the management behind pharmaceutical manufacturing and make it a source of stable income. The Department also hoped to garner continued financial support from a British Pharmacy Company, the Wellcome Foundation, from which it had already received $1000 Pounds. Further, the Department sought to tighten its cooperative relationship with Eli Lilly & Company, the American pharmaceutical company, and secure its promise for further cooperation. Since the GMD government had strongly supported pharmaceutical studies, Dr. Meuser planned to visit Chongqing more often, striving to double the intake of students and secure appropriate extra funding. The Department aimed to work closely with China's manufacturers to provide new and advanced products and help them convert research results into marketable products.[1178]

Accepting that "the pharmacy education is not a private business; it is crucial to the people of a nation's health and culture," the Department stated frankly, "We are eager to be part of Chinese development of modernization," and it declared itself "determined to make continuous efforts to always move towards this goal. Although it cannot be expected to complete the ideal, it believes that the ideal will be realized."[1179]

The University decided that strengthening its research ability was a key element to improving the quality of teaching, advancing its reputation, and providing better service to the nation. As a result, almost every college and department planned to set up a research institute or give more attention to their faculty members' research work.

The Institute of Frontier Research published various books by its researchers. For example, In June 1944, Zheng Xiangxi 郑象铣, travelled to the northwest to investigate its geographical features and complete a report for the government. Between 1943 and 1944 Ren Naiqiang 任乃强 finished three books about land, economics, and the products of the Xikang 西康 region, and published the first book in China about *Tibetan Women*. At the same time, more scholarly research became publicly available. Wang Wenhua published *Northwest Folklore* 西北民俗; Chen Zongxiang 陈宗祥's *The Interpretations of the Bibliography of the Western Xikang and Tibet* 西文康藏书目题

[1178] Ibid.
[1179] Ibid.

解 became a classic of studies of the Western Xikang and Tibet. In early 1944 the Ministry of Social Bureaux published, *Frontier Social Work,* a collective work of the Institute, as part of *Social Administrative Series Books*.[1180]

The Department of Biology likewise wanted to provide better research time and conditions for faculty. It took advantage of West China's geographical location by focusing on collecting biological samples of local animals and plants, increasing intensive research for longer periods of time to larger areas and establishing a Natural History Museum.[1181]

Established in 1943, the Institute of the Social History of China raised funds to support research and to establish an editorial board for publications. The board was to be in charge of publishing and printing book series, collections, research papers, and reports.[1182]

The College of Dentistry also aimed to broaden its research and influence. To increase the knowledge and practice of dental health, it wanted to "accept more new students, offer more short-term training programs, and train dental nurses for the central government."[1183] It also planned to renovate the dental hospital, update its dental equipment, publish a dental magazine to disseminate new dental knowledge, build an awareness of dental hygiene in the general population, and establish a dental museum for popular education and research.[1184]

With the end of the war on the horizon, faculty members and administrators across WCUU were excited about the bright future of the University and the Nation. Their ambitious plans represented their postwar vision for not only the University, but also the Nation as a whole.

Unfortunately, very soon they would find out that their plans ran directly counter to the Associated Boards' Postwar Planning initiatives.

1180 *Journal of West China Union University,* (June 1944): 7-8.

1181 Zhang Mingjun, "Post-war Development Plans and Programs of the Department of Biology," *Journal of West China Union University,* (June 1945): 6-9. 张明俊,"生物学系战后发展计划及方案".

1182 Guo Zhusong, "Discussion on the Post-war Development Plan of the Institute of the History of Chinese Sociology," *Journal of West China Union University,* (June 1945): 9-12. 郭祝崧,"中国社会学史研究室战后发展计划与方案缘议".

1183 Dai Shugu (David Dai), "The Prospects of Dental Education at WCUU," *Journal of West China Union University,* (June 1945): 12-14. 戴述古,"华西牙科之展望".

1184 Ibid.

The Associated Board's Postwar Planning

Starting from the late 1920s up until the early 1940s, the Christian colleges in China became more secularized and indigenized, which concerned many evangelic-minded missionaries for two reasons. First, how would they maintain or restore their missionary aims and presence at the Christian colleges in China? Second, how would they regain power to control the future development of these colleges, especially during China's postwar reconstruction? Although liberal-minded missionaries were a dominant force for expanding Christian modern education, these missionaries always retained their primary mission purpose – to Christianize China. The continually decreasing numbers of Christian faculty and students at the Christian colleges concerned them.

The anti-Japanese wartime years saw Christian students' enrolment decline even more drastically. The relocation of Christian colleges from their local campus to WCUU cut off students' connections with Japanese-occupied Christian middle schools, which had been a major source of the Christian-educated student body. A 1942 statistic showed that the Christian student enrolment numbers for the four Christian colleges in Chengdu were: 28.4 percent in West China Union University, 45.3 percent in Qilu University (Cheeloo, also Shandong Christian University), 14.7 percent in the University of Nanjing (Nanking), and 47.8 percent in Jinling Women's College (Ginling).[1185] The same survey also showed that the majority of faculty members at WCUU and its hospitals were now non-Christians.

During wartime, most Christian universities cooperated with the government's requests to strengthen practical fields of study such as medicine and pharmacy, which resulted in less attention being placed on the humanities. The shifting focus from humanities to science concerned mission boards and many individual missionaries as well, because religion, literature, history and philosophy, as Ryan Dunch argues, were the foundations of the Christian learning.[1186]

[1185] "Report of Religious Activities of the Four Christian Universities, Chengtu," July 9th, 1942. UBCHEA RG11-297-4626.

[1186] Ryan Dunch, "Science, Religion, and the Classics in Christian Higher Education to 1920," Daniel Bays and Widmer, ed. *China's Christian Colleges: Cross-Cultural Connections, 1900-1950* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2009).

In early 1943, suggested by Lincoln Zhang, the Associated Boards conducted a postwar planning for the Christian colleges in China. Three planning committees, New York, London, and Shanghai, were set up. Most of the work for these was conducted by Dr. William P. Fenn, the General Secretary of the United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia, and Dr. E. H. Cressy, the Associated General Secretary of the National Christian Council of China and Secretary of the Commission on Christian Education in China.

The early version of the Postwar Plan was drafted by William Fenn and sent to the Associated Boards. In the Summer of 1944 it was distributed to all Christian colleges in China for feedback and comments. The revised "Postwar Planning" document was presented at the Council of Higher Education Meeting in Chengdu between October 2 and 8, 1945. Most of the Christian colleges sent presidents, vice-presidents or representatives to attend the conference. Lincoln Zhang was elected as the Chairman of the meeting.

The primary goal advanced in the Postwar Planning document was to re-introduce and re-enforce the Christian educational undertaking in China. The Postwar Planning Committee intended to renew the emphasis on religion at the Christian universities and colleges in China, to train Chinese Christian leaders in religious education, to build up Chinese students' Christian characters, to create a spiritual atmosphere on campus, and ultimately, to regain Christian control of the universities' administration.

Based on this principle, the "Postwar Planning" proposal categorized each of the colleges as either graduate- or undergraduate-focused. Among the 13 colleges, Yenching, Nanjing, and Lingnan universities were designated as research colleges with graduate programs. Therefore, the research focuses for these colleges were to be Christianity, Western ideas, and creativity.[1187]

The Planning Committee believed that "maintaining Christian Character is of even more importance than the administrative reorganization,"[1188] and it was prepared to put its money where its mouth was. The Committee thus presented plans to ensure

[1187] E. H. Cressy, the executive secretary of Boards and council of high education in China, to Ballou, Oct. 16th, 1945. UBCHEA, RG-011-084-2195.
[1188] Ibid.

that theological education held primary importance in Christian higher education institutions, that more HYI funding would be allotted to religious studies, and that funding was to be provided for missionaries to participate in theological seminars and conferences twice a year. All educational missionaries were encouraged to conduct research in Chinese studies in order to take over more teaching positions currently held by the Chinese.[1189]

To put its plan in action, the Committee suggested holding all Christian university administrators responsible for religious studies if the university failed to follow the guidelines, and every university had to have a certain proportion of Christian and non-Christian faculty and students to meet "the urgent need for missionaries of outstanding scholarship to head up the 'groups of courses in religion.'"[1190] To ensure that the universities operate according to Christian values, the Committee proposed capping student numbers at a maximum of 400 to 450 for each university.[1191] The Committee believed that the smaller the university, the better it could be controlled. The Committee also advised the Associated Boards to limit postgraduate training to a select few colleges, and to allow no further expansion in the fields of engineering, commerce or law at any Christian university.

Overall, the Planning Committee's "Postwar Planning" focused on two main issues: to make Christian education the dominant focus at the relevant universities, and to regain control of the colleges' administration, faculty, and student body in every possible way.

The Committee's approach was not well received. In October 1945 at the Council of Higher Education Meeting in Chengdu, representatives of the attending Christian universities voiced their strong oppositions against the Committee's "Postwar Planning". Their opinions were that, first, the Planning Committee categorized the colleges based only on their current state; neither their past achievements nor future potential were taken into consideration. Second, the Planning Committee had failed to give adequate consideration to the needs of each individual university and their future development, and to the needs of the nation. Third, the Committee's planning was based

[1189] Ibid.
[1190] Ibid.
[1191] Ibid.

only on American educational experience, not on China's social realities. The consensus was that the Committee's plans for postwar development were simply impractical.

These representatives' opinions, on the surface, made it seem, at least to Cressy, like each college was fighting for its own benefit – to obtain a better ranking and more funding opportunity. He viewed the reactions of each individual university's representative to Postwar Planning as personal, saying, "Each one feels that any more reduction of his department, or failure to include it with these that are to get more emphasis, is a reflection on him personally as well as on his department, and furthermore 'breaks the rice bowl' of some of his staff. He will therefore fight it."[1192]

Cressy's comment reflected his inability to understand the Chinese educators' honourable aims to build a better educational institution. These Chinese administrators of Christian colleges were fighting not for their personal gain but the future of the university and for the right to contribute to nation building as a whole.

Chinese University Administrators' Resistance to the Postwar Planning

After the Chengdu Postwar Planning Conference, each university sent their feedback, disagreements, criticisms, and suggestions regarding Postwar Planning directly to the Associated Boards. They requested the Boards to make major revisions on the planning.

Lincoln Zhang was the first university President to voice his disagreement to the Associated Boards. He wrote to the Boards on October 29, 1945, and soon thereafter Dr. Wu Yifang of Jinling Women's College mailed her criticisms to the Boards, on January 5, 1946. Dr. Lucy Wang from Huanan Women's College wrote to the Boards on January 9, 1946. John Leighton Stuart of Yenching University, Francis T. Wei of Huachang University,[1193] and Joseph Needham, the Director of the Sino-British Science Co-operation Office, Head of the British Scientific Mission in China, and Counsellor of

[1192] Ibid.

[1193] Huachang University is now 华中师范大学 Central China Normal University in Wuhan, Hubei Province.

the H.B.M. Embassy in Chungking at the time, all expressed their strong opposition to the Postwar Planning.

Francis Wei and Lucy Wang sent their letters to the Associated Boards on the same day. Wei criticized the Planning Committee for being subjective. According to him, the planning was "rigid", "inconsistent", had no vision of Christian universities' future development, and failed to take the needs of Chinese universities and Chinese society into account. He demanded to know "what data are available to show" the measurements and decision-making from the Associated Boards.[1194] He believed that Huachang University's past slow and careful growth wouldn't prevent it from expanding "rapidly as a central with the greatest potentialities commercially and industrially as well as culturally."[1195] His message to the Boards was that the Huachang was going to carry on its own 10-year development plan, no matter what the Postwar Planning Committee had planned for Huachang. In other words, the Boards and their plans had no power over his university's future development.

The feedback that Dr. Lucy Wang, the President of Huanan Women's College, gave to the Associated Boards was aligned with that of Francis Wei but was expressed with greater diplomacy. She gave no comments on the Postwar Planning at all, and just laid out her and her University's plans for the faculty upgrade for the next three years. At the same time, she asked the Boards for assistance.[1196] Although she did not mention the Board's Postwar Planning at all, her requests ran counter to their wishes in almost every aspect. Her letter sent a clear message that the Board's plans were not practical, and that Huanan Woman's College had no intention of following them.

Compared to the Huachang and Huanan colleges' reactions, the Jinling Women's College's comments and criticisms toward the Boards were direct, frank, and carried strong emotion.[1197] From the perspective of the University's structure, the Women's College complained that planning would remove six of its 10 academic departments from Jinling. Their plans would end the college's largest Sociology study,

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[1194] Francis C. Wei to the Associated Boards members. Jan. 18th, 1946. UBCHEA RG-011-084-2194.

[1195] Ibid.

[1196] Lucy Wang: letter to the Associated Boards members, Jan. 9th, 1946. UBCHEA RG-011-084-2194.

[1197] Ginling Colleges Comments on Associated Boards Postwar Planning for Christian Colleges in China, Nov. 28th, 1945. UBCHEA RG-011-084-2194.

and posited that with "only one female dean left and the other four gone, so is the influence of Jinling on the society and women."[1198] From a feminist and social-cultural perspective, the college protested that the Boards' plans left no equal opportunity for women in a co-educational system because "what is left as a woman's college is academically just odds and ends with no relation to each other", and Jinling's characteristics are "lost by the plan".[1199] As a result, "women's influence in China will be lost."[1200] The school claimed indignantly that if the Boards insisted on implementing their plans, "it would be far better and more dignified for Jinling to close entirely than to carry on that way."[1201] At the end of the letter, Dr. Wu insisted that a "more thorough study should be made" by the Boards and the Planning Committee. She attached an additional note to her letter, emphasizing, "These comments have been written after thorough consultation with the Faculty Executive Committee and other members of the faculty, and represent faculty opinion as fully as any one statement can do for a group people."[1202] In other words, the Boards' plan was a complete regression in terms of Chinese women's education, liberation, and social progress; no woman at the college would accept such changes from either an academic or societal stance.

On the same day of January 5, 1946, Wu Yifang wrote a letter to Miss Sallie Lou MacKinnon, the Chairman of Jinling College Committee of the Associated Boards, Recording Secretary of Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Board of Missions and Church Extension of the Methodist Church, and an early missionary to China. In her letter, Wu expressed her frustrations that the Planning Committee and the Associated Boards hadn't "consulted first"[1203] on the plans for Jinling.[1204] She

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[1198] Ibid.
[1199] Ibid.
[1200] Ibid.
[1201] Ibid.
[1202] Ibid.
[1203] Wu Yifang, letter to Miss MacKinnon, Jan. 5th, 1946. UBCHEA RG-011-084-2194.
[1204] The drafter of the Post-war Planning, Dr. William Fenn saw thing differently from Dr. Wu Yifang. In his book, *Ever New Horizons: The Story of the United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia, 1922-1975*, he claims, "The Post-War Planning Committee in New York, set up in the spring of 1943, had a membership of thirty, representing every college board and interested mission board, and including educators, leaders in the professions and in public service, and others with 'a detached perspective.' It had the benefit of visits from two members of the China Commission—Dean Kwei and Bishop Chen—and Presidents Wu Yifang of Ginling, Y. C. Yang of Soochow, and Y. G. Chen of Nanking, H. R. Williamson and Noel B. Slater of the China Universities Association of Great Britain were present at the March 1944 meeting of the Committee and were able to suggest modifications bringing the New York Committee's report more fully into accord with the judgment of 1944, May 1945, December 1945, and in March

confessed to Miss MacKinnon that she was determined to ignore the Postwar Planning document and to go ahead and carry on the University's own development plans. Her overall vision for Jinling Women's College was "to see it become a strong Liberal College of Arts and Science". She planned to establish a solid educational department to train teachers for Christian middle schools, to strengthen the Departments of English, Sociology, Music, Biology, Chemistry, and Home Economics, and to add a Nursery School. She had a three-fold curriculum: to serve different groups of people, to train students in practical application of skills, and to develop work-programs through research and study.[1205]

Dr. Wu believed that the Boards' Postwar Planning shouldn't focus on Christian learning and maintaining missionary control. Instead, in order to "forward the establishment of a real democratic government in China, the college should do its part in helping the common masses to become more intelligent citizens"[1206] and align with China's postwar reconstruction. She wanted Jinling students to "participate in women's activities in the community and in national women's movements, and to cooperate with international women leaders."[1207] She imagined that the influence of women in Chinese society should be to strengthen and expand, not be limited and lost, like the Boards had seemingly planned for them. Although she didn't articulate this at length in her letter, she did indicate that the evangelical mentality was the origin for the failure of the mission's postwar planning.

The evangelizing state of mind not only lagged behind the progress of Christianity, but also failed to understand the changes of Chinese society and its own educational institutions.

Lincoln Zhang made his first comments on the Postwar Planning Committee's proposals as early as September 1944. He wrote to ask the Board of Governors to reconsider the proposals the Planning Committee had made, stating "We still think it is most desirable that an educationist, representing the Associated Boards, should visit

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1946." *Ever New Horizons,* P.48. But Dr. Fenn, in his book, mentions neither how the Planning was devised nor what kinds of opinions those representatives gave nor their feedback and criticisms.

[1205] Wu Yifang to Miss MacKinnon, Jan. 5th, 1946. UBCHEA RG-011-084-2194.

[1206] Ibid.

[1207] Ibid.

China before final decisions are taken."[1208] In other words, he argued that the Board was under the strong influence of a preconceived notion, rather than guided by professional assessments of the day-to-day needs of the schools and the broader notion.

Unfortunately, his plea fell on deaf ears, and Lincoln Zhang eventually began to lose faith in the Boards. One year later on October 29, 1945, after reviewing the second draft of the plan, Zhang gave up on suggesting that the Committee take China's reality seriously. Instead, he focused on the well being of WCUU. He wrote to the Associated Boards again to urge the Postwar Planning Committee to be more objective, fact-based, and practical. "It is surprising," he wrote, "that the Planning Committee of the China Christian Universities didn't give consideration to the changes of the eight years war brought to the WCUU".[1209] He criticized the plan as it "lacks of understanding of the importance of West China."[1210] Then he argued more bluntly, "We are as good as other universities; in some cases, we are better than others."[1211] His argument sounded like he was fighting for WCUU to obtain better rankings, since the Postwar Planning had used a school's ranking to measure their accomplishments, reputation, opportunities to access funding and future development. Ensuring WCUU's place on the list of the graduate- and research-designated universities would mean more financial support and a better chance to make WCUU a comprehensive university.

He pointed out that excluding WCUU from research colleges was not only discrediting to its accomplishments and provision of support to other five Christian colleges during wartime, but would jeopardize its future development. Without research opportunities, he wrote, "Some of our best qualified teachers will not be willing to remain with us."[1212] His argument that WCUU should be categorized as a research-focused university was four-fold: first, Chengdu would be one of China's primary postwar educational centres as designated by the Chinese government. It bore great geographical significance to China as a whole. Second, not only did WCUU house the only full Department of Economics among the country's thirteen Christian Colleges, it

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[1208] Lincoln Zhang to the Board of Governors, September 21st, 1944. UBCHEA RG-011-297-4627.

[1209] Lincoln Zhang to the Associated Boards for Christian Colleges in China, October 29th, 1945. UCCA 83.047C Box17 File 59/ UBCHEA RG-011-084-2195.

[1210] Ibid.

[1211] Ibid.

[1212] Ibid.

boasted the highest student enrolment in both WCUU and its 13 colleges, despite its high academic standards. Its accomplishments had demonstrated its research ability, influence, and values. Third, the Fine Arts program had a long history of teaching, learning and graduation, and was qualified to become an official academic department, rather than to be cut off. Fourth, WCUU's Department of Sociology was the strongest such department among the Christian colleges and Chinese universities, and the only department with a strong social surveying and fieldwork component. Its faculty was nationally recognized and offered advanced graduate training. In addition, the West China Frontier Research Institute had accomplished much by studying rural people and their culture and linking China's most remote tribes and provinces together, without requesting a penny of financial support from the Associated Boards.[1213]

Lincoln Zhang reminded the Boards that impractical plans would immediately damage the future of the University. WCUU had demonstrated a higher and better research ability and results than other universities. To make it focus only on undergraduate teaching would force WCUU to regress, but would also waste the precious time and financial resources the University had already invested.[1214]

He cautioned the Boards that both himself and the WCUU Board of Directors had no plans to follow the Postwar Planning set out by the Associated Boards. They were determined instead to make WCUU the cultural centre of West China. He stated firmly that the University would continue carrying on its current plans to enlarge its research and graduate work. "This would enable us to command the work of major scholars in these fields and to make our own contribution in the field of scholarship and the program of Christian education."[1215] He urged the Boards to recognize WCUU as a strong research university, to allow research work to continue in every department, and to allow each university, not only WCUU, to establish a graduate school in its own strongest subjects.[1216]

That letter was the strongest opinion Lincoln Zhang had ever stated to any mission board, the strongest argument he had ever made with the Associated Boards,

[1213] Ibid.
[1214] Ibid.
[1215] Ibid.
[1216] Ibid.

and the strongest disagreement he had presented throughout his tenure. Zhang seems to have realized that the conflicts between himself and the Boards were unbridgeable and irreconcilable for they had opposing goals for the educational enterprise in China.

The Boards' planning for post-war developments had discouraged Lincoln Zhang tremendously. He came to the realization that, first, the Associated Boards had no appreciation of how the Chinese Christian wartime efforts had boosted the development of the Christian college education in China and that the Boards placed no value on the difficult fieldwork the colleges had overcame, instead stubbornly pushing for the primacy of evangelical work and exercising bureaucratic power. Second, assigning universities either a graduate or undergraduate focus from afar and capping the student enrolment number at 500 were ways the Boards were surreptitiously trying to control further development of each university.

Lincoln Zhang also seems to have realized that the Boards' mentality about their Chinese educational mission still remained stuck in the 1920s, for many points made during their post-war plan were contained in the 1928 Correlated Program. In 1928, according to Christian Colleges' geographical locations and resources in China, the Board of Trustees came up with the Correlated Program, which assigned each Christian college a different, particular role in an attempt to amalgamate and better manage the Christian educational mission in China. The Program also aimed to save manpower and financial expenditures, and to avoid university competition. China, Chinese society and Christian higher educational institutions had changed considerably in the past eighteen years since 1928, but the Boards' way of viewing its China mission had not.

Their postwar plan for Chinese educational institutions was a perfect example that the mission educational Boards were distanced from its fieldwork. The ability to be forward-looking was totally absent from the Associated Boards. As a result, their policies could jeopardize the healthy development of those universities.

Lincoln Zhang now became conscious that his efforts in the past 20 years ran directly counter to the Associated Boards' aims for Christian education in China. The Boards wanted religious studies and the Christian spirit to permeate and dominate Christian educational institutions in China, but Zhang wanted to build a strong modern

academic institution. The Boards wanted to hold onto more power from abroad over the Universities' administration, teaching, and research, but Zhang wanted the Chinese themselves to be dominant forces in the University's operation. The Boards wanted the Christian colleges to be places devoted primarily to training Chinese Christians and civilian leaders, but Lincoln Zhang aimed to make WCUU an institution where high-quality modern citizens committed to nation-building could be cultivated. The Boards wanted to limit the further development of the Christian universities in order to manoeuvre them to their own will, and wanted to assign WCUU to a narrow niche, but Lincoln Zhang planned to make WCUU one of the best of the Chinese universities and a cultural centre of West China. The Boards wanted to leverage their finances to control the reins of power over Chinese faculty, staff and students, but Lincoln Zhang was fed up with its attempts at ubiquitous control.

Their differences had become irreconcilable.

Lincoln Zhang possibly hatched the idea of leaving his post when the first draft of Postwar Planning circulated among the presidents of the Christian colleges in early 1944. The Associated Boards' rigid response to the Chinese educators' criticisms of their plan in 1945 might have given further impetus for Zhang's decision to leave. His decision was solidified as he wrote his letter to the Associated Board members in October 1945. Since taking on the Vice-president position in February 1927, he had been working tirelessly to build a modern university, to serve the community, and to be an active part of China's national construction. The Boards' Postwar Planning would make his goals impossible.

Zhang's fight with the Boards for an ideal post-war scenario triggered a flare up of his chronic illness. He had difficulties breathing, sleeping, and functioning well throughout his daily work. In a letter to the Chairman of the Associated Boards, the Vice-chancellor of WCUU, H. D. Robertson wrote, "Dr. Dsang has been in anything but good health for some time and despite short leaves of absence at different times is still much bothered by his asthma. He is the only one of the presidents who has carried on through the war years without a change in the form of an extended absence from Chengdu."[1217]

[1217] Robertson to Evans, December 14th, 1945. UBCHEA RG11-297-4627

On November 1, 1945, Zhang notified the Board of Directors that he was going on a sick leave. On December 5, 1945, the WCUU's extended Executive Committee met at Lincoln Zhang's residence. It elected Bishop Chen Wen-yuan as the Acting Chairman of the Board of Directors, since Zhang Jia'ao was in Northeast China negotiating with the Soviet Union regarding the Manchuria transfer issue.[1218] At the meeting, Lincoln Zhang stressed two issues. He expressed, again, his "complete disagreement and that of the University staff with the report on Postwar Planning for the Christian Universities."[1219] He suggested, and the committee agreed, to have the advice of Drs. Killborn and Lindsay in drafting their report to the Associated Boards. Then Zhang gave an update on the state of his health, "which prevents him from having sufficient energy to deal with the problems of the University."[1220] Zhang was tempted to submit his resignation, but the Executive Committee resolved to grant Zhang one year of leave of absence, starting from June 1946.[1221]

On January 9, 1946, the Executive Committee of the Board of Directors of WCUU sent its statement to the Associated Boards. The statement re-emphasized points and arguments that Lincoln Zhang had made, as described above. Moreover, the Board went one step further in providing the Associated Boards with the University's own development plan.[1222] The plan stated that since Chengdu was the cultural centre of West China, the University foresaw an imminent increase in student enrolment numbers. For that reason, WCUU would not comply with the student enrolment cap of 400 to 450 as requested by the Planning Committee, but planned to double its student enrolment to 900-1000. WCUU aimed to become a well-balanced university, not only focusing on medicine and dentistry; therefore, the University would retain all high-

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[1218] To know more about Zhang Jia'ao's Northeast Negotiations with the Soviet Union, please see Ibara Sawa, *Documentary of Negotiations in the Northeast after the War II-based on Zhang Jiaao's Diary* (Beijing: People's University Press, China, 2012). 伊原泽周,[战后东北接收交涉纪实－以张嘉璈日记为中心]. 中国人民大学出版社,北京, 2012.

[1219] "Minutes of enlarged meeting of Executive committee of the Board of Directors", D. N. Sargent to Associated Boards, December, 5th, 1945. UBCHEA RG11-297-4627. Mr. Sargent was a British missionary and an executive committee member of WCUU; he worked at WCUU from 1934-1947.

[1220] Ibid.

[1221] Ibid.

[1222] "Statement of the Executive Committee of the Board of Directors of West China Union University to the Associated Boards." Jan.9th 1946. UBCHEA RG-011-084-2194

quality faculty members, and continue strengthening graduate programs and research work.[1223] With this statement, the Board of Directors submitted a proposal for establishing a new Natural History Museum, and proposed to include the Frontier Research Institute in the WCUU budget. These two proposals differed directly from what the Postwar Planning Committee had designed for WCUU.[1224]

On February 18, 1946, Joseph Needham, the Director of the Sino-British Science Co-operation Office, Head of the British Scientific Mission in China, and Counsellor of H.B.M. Embassy in Chongqing at the time, wrote to Rev. N. B. Slater, the Secretary of China Christian Universities and Associated Boards for Christian Colleges in China of London, and to the Secretary of the New York office to express his opinion about Postwar Planning.

Needham said he had carefully reviewed all the Planning Committee documents and relevant materials prepared by the WCUU Executive Committee.[1225] Confining his remarks to two points, he said: First, "the proposed division into Research Universities and Non-Research Universities will never work," and second, "If, nevertheless, it be preceded with, West China Union University at Chengtu should on no account be classed among the Non-Research Universities."[1226] He pointed out that if the Boards decided to stick with the division of the Christian Colleges into research and non-research universities and still excluded WCUU, "it will be, in my opinion, a most retrograde step…"[1227] He called the Boards' attention to WCUU's geographical importance and to the specialists who were doing research at WCUU, and to the established research institutes at WCUU. He also stressed that he completely agreed with the arguments Lincoln Zhang had made.[1228]

Rev. N. B. Slater, the Secretary of China Christian Universities and Associated Boards for Christian Colleges in China of London, agreed with Needham thoroughly. He wrote to the Associated Board members to voice his opinion regarding Postwar

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[1223] Ibid.

[1224] Ibid.

[1225] Joseph Needham, letter to Rev. N. B. Slater, Secretary of China Christian Universities and Association Associated Boards for Christian Colleges in China of London Office and to Secretary of New York Office, February 18th, 1946. UBCHEA RG-011-084-2195.

[1226] Ibid.

[1227] Ibid.

[1228] Ibid.

Planning. "We are not to assume that these institutions are foreign Colleges, foreign supported in China—they are Chinese Colleges fitting into the Chinese system."[1229] He further suggested that the function of the Boards was not to control the universities but to provide support. "The implementation of that plan does not mean foreign control, but control by a group in China which has accepted it. Our main task is to advise and give support as we are able."[1230]

However, his voice was muzzled.

On March 22-24, 1946, the Planning Committee of the Associated Boards spent an intensive weekend in New York reviewing all responses from the Christian Colleges in China. On March 30, Dr. Charles H. Corbett, Secretary to the Planning Committee, wrote to the presidents of the universities to notify them of the Boards final decision. First, the new version of the Postwar Planning had only minor changes; second, for financial reasons, no new institutes or departments were to be set up at the moment.[1231] The Associated Boards held their ground firmly, and the universities' opinions were not taken into consideration.

The news reached Chengdu in April 1946. In the same month, Lincoln Zhang finalized his decision to leave his post at WCUU.

Conclusion

The tension between the Christian colleges in China and the Associated Boards over Postwar Planning was a continuing conflict between the aims of the Board to maintain the Christian character of colleges in China and the intentions of Chinese Christian university administrators to develop the nation post war. The Boards' neglect of the needs of China, their focus on evangelical work, and their attempt to re-assert overall control over Christian institutions disappointed the Chinese authorities within the Christian colleges. The Board's mission-driven and colonialist mentalities failed to garner the trust and cooperation of Chinese educators. The Board's lack of

[1229] "Comments," Rev. Noel B. Slater letter to the Associated Boards, January 3rd, 1946. UBCHEA RG11-084-2194.
[1230] Ibid.
[1231] Charles H. Corbett, secretary of the Planning Committee letter to all Christian Colleges in China, March 30th, 1946. RG-011-084-2194

understanding and imagination toward their educational mission in China simultaneously reflected the distance that separated them from developments on the ground of China and increased that distance.

Zhang Jia'ao and Lincoln Zhang, unknown date, possibly between 1939-1943

(Source: Yale University Archives, RG11-416-5405)

Students in the library reading room, 1938-1945

(Source: Yale University Archives, RG 11-416-5174)

Some five-university faculties with the members of Associated Boards of Christian Higher Education in China, 1945

The first row second from left to right: Mr. Luo Zhongshu, Dr. Wu Yifang, Dr. Decker, Dr. Chen Yuguang, and Dr. Cressy

(Source: Yale University Archives, RG 11-418-5883-5685)

Dr. He Wenjun, Dr. Pend Shuhua, Dr. Needham and Luo Zhongshu, 1943

(Source: Needham Research Institute, www.nri.org.uk)

Zhang Jia'ao, Needham, Luo Zhongshu and two unidentified persons at WCUU campus, 1943

(Source: Needham Research Institute, www. Nri.org.uk)

Chapter Nine: The Last Years of Lincoln Zhang's Life

Introduction

The last decade of Lincoln Zhang's life was a turbulent period of drastic social and political changes within and outside of China.

The year Lincoln Zhang left the University in 1946, the civil war between the Nationalist Government and the Communist Party began. As the Communist Party largely completed its take over of the mainland of China in late 1949, the closest associates of Lincoln Zhang, such as Zhang Jia'ao and Carsun Zhang, left the country. The eruption of the Korean War in June 1950 resulted in the newly established People's Republic of China forcing all foreigners, including missionaries, to leave China. Starting from 1951 many colleges and departments of WCUU were merged with various other universities in Sichuan, and the name West China Union University was changed to Sichuan Medical College. People who connected with Lincoln Zhang, including all his personal and professional associates, became enemies of the new regime. Soon he was imprisoned for being "a foreign slave, a suppressor of student movements", and a "counter-revolutionary." He was eventually given a life sentence in prison, and he died in jail.

Scholars have rarely discussed the last years of Lincoln Zhang's life. Lack of documentation is one of reasons; controversy about his resignation and, later on, political complications over his tragic death, are salient factors that have silenced both scholars and Lincoln Zhang's family members.

Exploring the decisive events of those years, this chapter investigates the causes of his resignation as WCUU President, his role in the Social Democratic Party of China, and his death as a prisoner after the establishment of the People's Republic.

The Challenges the University Faced at the End of Wartime

In the summer of 1944, many urgent matters needed to be dealt with at WCUU, especially the budget estimate for 1944-1945, which needed to be readied and sent to New York for the Board of Governors to assess. On July 4th, 1944, the Executive

Committee of the Board of Directors met to listen to the statements of the President Lincoln Zhang and the Bursar William Small.

Lincoln Zhang estimated that the income for 1944-1945 would be 32 million Chinese Yuan, and that the expenditure would be more than 44 million. About 12 million would have to be found to bridge the gap. Lincoln Zhang told the Executive Committee that he "had been considering this problem for weeks and attempting to find a way to reduce the expenditure of each institute by cutting down staff and arranging wider cooperation; in the end, the difficulties proved too great and the staff was not reduced to the extent we had hoped might be possible."[1232] Robertson, the Vice-chancellor of WCUU, expressed his disappointment at the failure to cut expenditures. Nevertheless, he knew how challenging the task could be, "only a person on the spot can realize what the real difficulties of the administration are,"[1233] he commented.

Reducing staff to cut expenditures was not Lincoln Zhang's favored solution; he preferred instead to expand the school's financial sources. He tried hard to build good relationships with the Harvard-Yenching Institute to attract more funding, but found "it difficult to secure the coordination desired by Dr. Elisséeff."[1234] Zhang also asked the United Church of Canada and other churches to send more educational missionaries to West China. Since the church covered the missionaries' salaries and other expenses, if WCUU had more missionary instructors it could save money for other urgently needed matters. Unfortunately, missionary communities in various countries found it challenging to send new missionaries. In West China, "A good number [of missionaries] have gone and others are leaving; the effect is to reduce in a very short period of time the already depleted ranks of missionaries… makes our missionary staff look very small indeed."[1235] Robertson reported the situation to Evans.

Throughout the entire summer of 1944, Lincoln Zhang worried about whether the University's income would meet its contracted expenditures. To add to his worries,

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[1232] H. D. Robertson, Chancellor of WCUU, to Acting Secretary of Christian China Education Associations Board C. A. Evans. July 10th, 1944. UBCHEA RG11-297-4627.
[1233] Ibid.
[1234] Robertson to Evans, August 29th 1944. UBCHEA RG11-297-4627.
[1235] Robertson to Evans, February 8th, 1945. UBCHEA RG11-297-4627.

"a number of special problems"[1236] occurred in the summer, "which took a good bit of his (Lincoln Zhang's) nervous and physical strength."[1237] As a result, Zhang's asthma worsened, and in late August he had to take time off from work. Robertson took over the administrative work. In his report to the Board, Robertson admitted, "Our difficulties in these matters have been greater than our capacity for dealing with them."[1238]

In September, Zhang's health showed little improvement, but he returned to work anyway. In his letter to the Associated Boards, he expressed his frustration with the long-drawn-out war. "A year ago we hoped that our next report might be sent with the end of the war not far off, but at this very moment we are again wondering what the next months have in store for our country at the hands of the enemy."[1239]

Zhang reported to the Board the challenges the University was facing. Because of the war, a significant number of refugees moved to Chengdu, making it impossible to provide proper housing for staff. With only a few missionaries remaining in West China, there was a severe faculty shortage. Zhang told the Board, "We met difficulties that we were not able to overcome,"[1240] which was the same feeling Robertson shared with the Board before him.

Zhang had never been so frank in admitting that he was at the end of his rope. However, he, as usual, put on a brave face and looked on the bright side. "You may be interested in the number of students who have graduated from the University during the years of the war—379 men and 237 women... It is our confident hope that each one of these will live fuller lives and be of greater service to their community and their country because of their training received at the university."[1241] To know these young people would make great contributions to the nation was the source of Lincoln Zhang's true motivation.

Soon, Zhang's health took another turn for the worse. He hung on until the end of October and then took sick leave in November and December. Vice-president Fang

[1236] Robertson to Evans, August 29th 1944. UBCHEA RG11-297-4627.
[1237] Ibid.
[1238] Ibid.
[1239] Lincoln Zhang to the Board of Governors, September 21st, 1944. UBCHEA RG11-297-4627.
[1240] Ibid.
[1241] Ibid.

Shuxuan took on the Acting-president position during Zhang's absence. January 1945, the last month of the fall term, was full of activity at the University: many students wanted to join the air force and special troops to fight against Japanese, more educational missionaries were leaving, and the cost of living index had risen to 105000, compared to 100 in the summer of 1937. Vice-chancellor Robertson reported the situation to the President of the Associated Boards sombrely, "It is with this feeling that even more difficult days than we have yet known are before us."[1242]

Zhang returned to work in February 1945 for the Spring term. Securing more financial resources was still his priority. He wrote his first business letters to Mrs. E. W. McCurdy, the Executive Secretary of the Syracuse University Student Organization, "to express appreciation and thanks for this very generous gift" of $1600 scholarship fund that the Student Organization gave to WCUU. He gave a detailed account of the allocation of the scholarships, and promised to send "full information about the scholarship students and, at the end of the term, a financial statement."[1243] While grateful for the scholarship, Zhang wanted to draw more support for the Syracuse University. "With you we hope that this beginning may lead to the two universities being drawn together for mutual development and, in time, to our having graduate students enrolled at Syracuse."[1244]

When one inch was given, Zhang always tried his best to press for a mile, especially when it came to matters of student support and WCUU development. On the same day, he wrote to Mr. Ballou, the Chairman of the United Board, to express his hope that "this generous gift of the students of Syracuse University opens up possibilities for the future which we shall endeavour to make of interest and value to both our institutions and especially to the students concerned. And if it leads to some closer connection between the two universities we shall be very happy indeed."[1245]

Through April and May, Zhang kept writing to Mr. Ballou and Mrs. McCurdy to explain that the situation in Chengdu was exigent and more support was needed. Soon

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[1242] Robertson to Evans, February 8th, 1945. UBCHEA RG11-297-4627.

[1243] Lincoln Zhang to Mrs. E. W. McCurdy, Executive Secretary of Student Organization of Syracuse-in China, February 8th, 1945. UBCHEA RG11-297-4627.

[1244] Ibid.

[1245] Lincoln Zhang to Mr. Ballou, February 28th, 1945. UBCHEA RG11-297-4627.

his perseverance was rewarded. On June 22, 1945, Mrs. McCurdy wrote to him, "The Executive of the Student Organization of Syracuse-in-China voted toward the close of the school year to send $3000 to be added to the scholarship fund at West China Union University." On the same day, Ballou wrote to Zhang that the money from Syracuse University "has been turned over to our Treasurer and will go forward to you as soon as possible."[1246]

Spiralling inflation, shortage of teaching materials and equipment, and the continued departure of missionaries were persistent challenges that the University faced, even after the Japanese surrender. In April 1945 major university administrators, Lincoln Zhang, Vice-chancellor Robertson, and Dr. J. W. Decker, the Acting Dean of the College of Medicine, cabled the Board to express their urgent need for reinforcements for their medical faculty, since "at present there are practically no western doctors left on the faculty."[1247] On May 11, Ballou wrote to tell Zhang, "Governors deeply concerned…staff depletion…" adding again on May 18, "There might be some Canadian doctors go back to China in the autumn. But no American doctors."[1248] It was up to Zhang and the University to solve their own problems.

Through eighteen years of work as the top administrator of WCUU, shortages in manpower, financial support and other necessities were daily challenges that Lincoln Zhang had faced, and he had become more sophisticated in dealing with them. However, it was the realization of the irreconcilable differences between the school and the United Board on the matter of postwar university development that triggered his leaving his post in June 1946.

To Quit or Not to Quit

News that Zhang was considering resigning travelled fast. In January 1946, the United Board[1249] held an Executive meeting in New York to discuss Zhang's resignation. Understanding Zhang's capacity and value the Board desired to keep him.

[1246] Ballou to Lincoln Zhang, June 22nd. 1945. UBCHEA RG011-286-4489.

[1247] "News from West China Union University," April 1945. UBCHEA RG11-297-4627

[1248] Ballou to Lincoln Zhang May 18th, 1945. UBCHEA RG011-286-4489. P. 337-338.

[1249] In June 1944 the Associated Boards changes its name to the United Board but most people at the time still used the Associated Boards instead of the United Board.

The Board offered Zhang a year of leave of absence, and provided funds for him to take a vacation abroad.

For Dr. Ashley Lindsay, the Vice-chancellor of WCUU, the wellbeing of both the University and the mission were his first and foremost concerns. He suggested that Zhang take his sick leave in North America and Europe, not in China. He believed that Zhang's North American experience could provide many benefits to the University. Zhang could learn more about the West, build a stronger network for the university, and be more active in the church.

Lindsay thus wrote to Ballou,

> We are anxious to have President Dsang visit the United States, Canada and Great Britain. We are of the opinion that the contacts he would make, together with a change of scene would do both the President and the University good service. He himself thinks that he should go to some quiet place for a three or four months rest. This should be considered in any planning for his stay abroad…where he could become acquainted with the life of the West. When you write places make some suggestions in line with Dr. Dsang's desires. I anticipate that plans for deputation and committee activities can be arranged...[1250]

In Lindsay's opinion, what Lincoln Zhang needed was more immersion in Western social values and being more active in church activities. His understanding was that Westernizing Zhang more would align him with the postwar planning goals of the United Board and make him a more dedicated Christian. Lindsay's sense of cultural and religious superiority seems to have prevented him from truly understanding Lincoln Zhang's situation.

On March 25th, 1946, the University held an anniversary dinner party to celebrate Lincoln Zhang's 20 years of service at WCUU as Vice-president and President. He must have agreed to hold the event, which was a traditional Chinese way

[1250] Lindsay to Mr. Ballou, Feb. 23rd, 1946. UBCHEA RG 011-297-4628.

to say goodbye to his career and his colleagues. *The Central Daily News*, a national newspaper, reported the ceremony, and the entire April 30th issue of *The West China Union University News* was dedicated to a celebration of Zhang's contributions to the University. His classmates, colleagues, friends, and students wrote articles to honour his respectful personality, accomplishments, and his contributions to the University's building and development.[1251]

Zhang himself wrote a poem to express his mixed feelings about his 20 years of University service. He mentioned nothing of his accomplishments but expressed regrets, worries, and dissatisfaction with himself and the country. In the poem, he wrote,

Twenty years have passed like a split second,
I have accomplished neither decent writing nor academic teaching.
I regret for being so ignorant when pursuing knowledge;
being powerless and helpless was the source of my sadness.

I have been worrying about the endless wars in China,
And now being forced to watch the horrible vendetta.[1252]
When a man becomes powerless to protect his nation,
He cries tears of a river.[1253]

On May 3rd, 1946, three weeks before taking his leave of absence, Lincoln Zhang wrote to Mr. Ballou to shed more light on his health situation, his resignation, his recovery plan, and his personal financial challenges:

> As you know during these twenty years in the University I have never had one month's holiday without interruption, except for the couple of years spent in America. [E]specially during the

1251 *The West China Union University News*, no. 3 (April 1946): 1-18. 华西协合大学校刊，复刊第三卷第六、七期合刊 1946 年 4 月 30 日.

1252 This line referred to China's civil war.

1253 The original poem was written in Mandarin and the translation is mine. 二十驹光似隙过, 文章事业两蹉跎. 诗书有用翻嫌少, 愁病无方转恨多. 浸世烽烟未扫尽, 阅墙祸乱又风波. 胡儿处处窥中土, 长使英雄泪婆娑. *The West China Union University News*, no. 3 (April 1946): 1-18. 华西协合大学校刊，复刊第三卷第六、七期合刊 1946 年 4 月 30 日

war years we have been faced with all sorts of problems of a transition period, which have worried me a great deal and broken down my health. Right at the outset of the war my asthma trouble started, and it has been getting worse each year until last year I pretty nearly could carry on no longer. This caused me to approach the Board of Directors and the University to consider my resignation from my duty. After consideration both the Board of Directors and the University found it very difficult to make any other arrangement during wartime, and so they decided to grant me a year for rest and medical care, so that I might regain my health and cure my asthma trouble to enable me to render more service in the future.

Concerning my financial situation, probably you know that our University has never given adequate salaries to the staff, especially during the war years. The ordinary salary is not sufficient to cover family living expenses. My plan for next year, as I stated to the Board of Directors, is for the University to give me the ordinary salary for my family… I told Dr. Cartwright when he was here that I expect the Associated Boards to make a special grant to cover my travel, living expenses, and medical treatment during this sabbatical year. According to the doctors' advice I plan to go to some place like Kunming, Peiping or Hong Kong. You will know from experience what travel to such places costs.

Will you kindly present this matter to the Associated Boards to see whether they will be kind enough to help me with some finance.[?] As indicated in the request from Minister Chang Kai-ngau, chairman of our board, I figure it will cost me something like US $1,500…[1254]

[1254] Lincoln Zhang to Mr. Ballou, May 3rd, 1946. UBCHEA RG11-297-4628.

Zhang's letter reveals several important decisions he made in relation to his one year of sabbatical leave. First, he had no plans to spend time abroad as the Board and Dr. Lindsay suggested, indicating that forging more Western networks and opportunities for cooperation was no longer his priority. Second, his personal financial situation was far from sufficient to support him and his family.[1255] Third, Lincoln Zhang discussed his sabbatical and financial arrangements with Zhang Jia'ao (Chang Kia-ngau), implying that he saw Zhang Jia'ao as a trustworthy friend. They may have discussed Lincoln Zhang's current situation and future arrangements beyond his sabbatical.[1256]

Hearing Lincoln Zhang's decision, Dr. Lindsay, the Vice-chancellor of WCUU, was obviously disappointed. He wrote to Mr. Ballou immediately, "Some of us feel that he should leave China for a time; that for the University's sake he should meet men and women who are vital to our program; that he have a chance to imbibe spiritual as well as material and bodily benefits from his year's rest and change."[1257] Stuck in his missionary ways, Lindsay was not happy that Lincoln Zhang did not put the University above his own health, declined the opportunity to become more Westernized and lacked Christian devotion. He justified what he considered to be the unwise decision made by Lincoln Zhang with the view that "he is tired and the daily worries of his office loom

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[1255] In 1946, Lincoln Zhang was the sole breadwinner of the family of seven. His eldest daughter Ruth Zhang (Zhang Junru 张君儒 born Oct. 28, 1911) married and worked at WCUU medical college department of pediatrics, but she was about to leave China for training at Sick Kids Hospital in Toronto. Her husband Stephen (Zhenhua) Yang was studying at the University of Michigan in the United States. The rest of Lincoln Zhang's four children were school age students, 10 to 20 years old. The birth dates of Zhang's four younger childern were: son, Zhang Youling 张幼凌 Jan. 19, 1925; daughter, Zhang Zhongxian 张仲贤 May 21, 1926; son, Zhang Weihua 张维华, July 29, 1929; and son, Zhang Jize 张季泽 Oct. 29th 1935. I am grateful to Mr. Lincoln Yang (Guangli) 杨光理, the great-grandson of Lincoln Zhang, for providing me with the family documents.

[1256] Between September 15, 1945 and the end of 1946, Zhang Jia'ao was busy negotiating with the Soviet Union officials about transferring the three Northeast provinces to China. He also spent much time meeting Chiang Kai-shek, Zhou Enlai, and Dong Biwu discussing possibilities of GMD government cooperation with the Communist Party, and as a special envoy carrying messages between Chiang Kai-shek and his older brother Zhang Junmai (Carsun Chang), the leader of China's Social Democratic Party. There are no documents available to verify the meetings between Lincoln Zhang and Zhang Jia'ao, but other documents suggest that the correspondence between the two was frequent. According to Zhang Jia'ao's dairies, before leaving China for the United States travel in 1944, Zhang Jia'ao had met Lincoln Zhang at his home and asked Lincoln Zhang to send a message to Dr. Beech about Zhang Jia'ao's American research travel. In later 1943, Lincoln Zhang had facilitated Zhang Jia'ao's participation as the representative of WCUU in the Board of Governors' meeting of Dec. 10, 1943 in New York. Later, before returning to China, between August 19 and 26, 1945, Zhang Jia'ao had visited many WCUU faculty members who were studying at the universities of McGill and Toronto, met them for dinner and had them accompany him to visit Canadian doctors. It is safe to assume that Lincoln Zhang arranged most or all of Zhang Jia'ao's activities with WCUU's overseas students and faculty. The vice-chancellor Robertson wrote to Mr. Evans on July 10th, 1944, "Unfortunately it did not prove possible for us to arrange a meeting of the Board in June or July because so many members were unable to be present." The chairman of the Board of Directors, Zhang Jia'ao, was one of them. This letter also indicates WCUU kept communicating with Zhang Jia'ao.

[1257] Lindsay to Mr. Ballou, May 3rd, 1946. RG 011-297-4628.

larger than they should."[1258] Based on his personal inclinations and the University's need for Zhang, he hoped, "it may be that six months change will bring him to the place where he will wish to take the trip to U.S.A…"[1259] They wanted Lincoln Zhang to be what they wished him to be.

Between June 1946 and June 1947, there were tremendous debates and meetings, as well as much correspondence among the members of the United Board, the West China missionaries, and WCUU staff and alumni, about whether Lincoln Zhang should or should not return to his post. The majority of the University's staff and faculty wanted Zhang to remain at his post. There were also strong voices against this, especially among WCUU alumni. A group of alumni wrote to the Board of Directors to list the reasons why they thought Lincoln Zhang was not suitable for the position. One of them suggested that Zhang had an intimate relationship with a former female student who studied at WCUU from 1928 to 1929, and now was practicing medicine in Chengdu.[1260]

[1258] Ibid.

[1259] Ibid.

[1260] The accusation of Lincoln Zhang's extramarital affair with a female student apparently concerned Zhang's relationship with Dr. Jiang Gaodi 蒋高弟. Jiang had been Lincoln Zhang's student in the early 1920's when she was forced to marry a man whom she didn't want to marry. She begged Zhang, the principal of her high school, to help her. Zhang eventually paid for her freedom from his own pocket. She finished high school and enrolled in WCUU medical school in 1928. She transferred the next year to Qilu University medical school in Jinan city, Shandong province, a city 1627 kilometers away from Chengdu. Almost ten years later, after the Japanese occupied Shandong in 1938, Miss Jiang, already a medical doctor, moved back to Chengdu as part of the Qilu medical school and reunited with Lincoln Zhang. In 1950, Jiang Gaodi became the Director of the Internal Medicine Department of what had become the Second People's Hospital in Chengdu. She retired at age of 78, passed away at age 92, and never married. There are rumours about an intimate relationship between Lincoln Zhang and Dr. Jiang Gaodi after she returned to Chengdu. Some Zhang family members admit that Dr. Jiang and Zhang kept a close and respectful relationship. Dr. He Sheng 何生, a graduate of Sichuan University, a medical doctor and a professor at the medical School of Sichuan University published a poem on March 3rd, 2021 to commemorate their love.

In the poem, "The Affectionate Lover" Dr. He wrote:

He is an outstanding educator and scholar
Cultivated by Western culture and civilization
He desired to sweep away the ignorant and rotten remnants of old China
Gained his name as an open and upright gentleman
His only flaw was an unconsummated love affair

She is an excellent physician
With high moral sense and prominent medical skills
The only flaw she had was to love to a person she shouldn't have had

The story takes place in the time of the evil old customs prevailing
She was born poor and had an ill-fated destiny
As a child bride she lost her freedom
When she was about to graduate from high school,
Her husband-to-be-family forced her to marry him
She desperately wanted to break free
The dark and evil forces swallowed her whole

Lincoln Zhang made no comment on all the discussion and speculation. He had made up his mind to leave, and he was not going to change it.

Mr. Fang Shuxuan, the Vice-president of WCUU, served as Acting-president between June 1946 and June 1947. In July 1947, the Board appointed Fang as President of WCUU. He held the position until 1950.

On August 8th, 1947, the WCUU Chancellor Dr. Ashley Lindsay wrote to the Board of Governors. In the letter he mentioned that since Lincoln Zhang had left the University he had enjoyed no pension or allowance; therefore, Lindsay suggested setting up a "common plan and a common fund" for the members "who have given long

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By saving the talented girl from being eaten alive
The principal of the school paid 300 silver dollars
Bought her freedom

She became a doctor from the Qilu University, and
Her dreams came true
Met her saviour again, she knew
Her love toward the person who saved her from dismay did not fade with passing time
Her gratitude and affection to him became a religion
Endless dedication and love

She asked for nothing, no legal status, and no children, but to be allowed to love him
She endured all unbearable humiliation and pains to protect him
She never crossed the line of principle
To protect him and his family

When his life turned into unfortunate suffering in prison
Her courage and bravery stunned everybody,
Cooking meals for him and visiting him daily,
More than his family
Until the day of his passing

She waited silently in eternity; she reflected her love in hopelessness
Her love, ardent, generous and selfless, formed her personality
Solid as a rock in the endless thunder storms
The falling of the skies and the splitting of the earth did not change her love for him
Love is the temple of her soul
Love is her only tribute

She was willing to be alone forever
Cut off love affair with anybody
Devoted her love to the one who loved
But she was able to extend her love to all her patients
She is the red candle swaying in the apricot forest
With the flame that burns his life
Gave her life and talent to the world generously
Until her tears and blood were drained

Their love affair became a legend
Her flaws made her a remarkable person
Her life was a flower which bloomed upon her wounds and suffering
She woke the world up from the mundane
She made everyone's life and love so beautifully touching

I had a phone conversation with Dr. He on March 7th 2021 from 6:02 am to 6:54 am Pacific Time. He confirmed that the story is about Lincoln Zhang's relationship with Jiang Gaodi. Dr. He affirmed it and sent me reliable source(s) to verify it. Dr. He said when Lincoln Zhang was held in prison; Dr. Jiang Gaodi visited him regularly until he passed away. Dr. He's poem was published on the website "Forever West China Union University", on March 3rd, 2021. The translation is mine.

periods of service and should now be retired."[1261] He also mentioned that the Executive Committee agreed to repair a Methodist Mission house for the Zhang family to move into and live in for "a period of four or five years."[1262]

Arguments and Speculations about Zhang's Resignation

The reasons why Lincoln Zhang stepped down were not often discussed. Poor health was the only explanation Lincoln Zhang gave for his resignation. However, people close to Zhang gave more reasons than he did himself.

One of those was Jiang Wengang 姜蕴刚 (1900-1982), a professor of Sociology and Director of the Institute of History of Chinese Sociology at WCUU. He was hired by Lincoln Zhang in the mid-1930s from Yenching University, and was one of Lincoln Zhang's close friends.[1263]

In 1981, one year before he passed away, Jiang wrote a short article titled "My Reminiscence of West China Union University."[1264] In this article, he stated that one of the reasons for Zhang's resignation was due to the fact that Zhang had hired many non-Christian faculty members, and the Board of Governors and missionaries in West China heavily criticized Lincoln Zhang for this. As a result, according to Jiang, Lincoln Zhang resigned in protest.

Considering that the United Board' "Postwar Planning" proposal strongly emphasized re-focusing the WCUU on Christian learning and shifting the Christian

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[1261] Lindsay to Dr. Robert J. McMullen, Secretary of Board of Governors, August 8th, 1947. RBCHEA RG 011-276-4378.

[1262] Ibid.

[1263] When Lincoln Zhang was retiring, he wrote a poem to express his regrets about his personal dissatisfaction and worries about the future of China. Jiang Wengang wrote a poem in response to echo and comfort Zhang. *Half a lifetime of hard work, you should not have any regrets and dissatisfaction; you have a wonderful family and perfect children, and the fruitful seeds you cultivate will become your legacy for a thousand years. The history books will write of your accomplishments of self-discipline and high morality. You have demonstrated the vigour of the dragon and the horse; you should have a break under the bright moon light to enjoy the dances of spring flowers*. The translation is mine. Jiang Wengang's poem was written in Chinese and it reads: 半世辛勤云雁过, 华声应勿叹蹉跎. 宫墙万仞室家美, 衣钵千秋种植多. 懋绩崇勋传汗简, 清规素德老风波. 精神龙马鹤姿矫, 皓月春花意闪娑. *The West China Union University News*, no. 3 (April 1946): 12.华西协合大学校刊，复刊第三卷第六、七期合刊 1946 年 4 月 30 日

[1264] Jiang Wengang, "My Reminiscence of West China Union University," *Selected Collections of Chengdu Literature and History*, Series 3, (Sichuan People's Publishing House, China, 1982): 77-89. 姜蕴刚:"我对华西大学的回忆", [成都文史资料选辑], 第三辑, 四川人民出版社, 1982.

versus non-Christian faculty ratio back in favour of Christians, Jiang's inference does not seem groundless. Lindsay's suggestion for Lincoln Zhang to "have a chance to imbibe spiritual as well as material and bodily benefits from his year's rest and change" in North America also indicated that, at the very least, Dr. Lindsay was not happy about Zhang's ideological outlook towards Christianity.

Another reason Jiang gave for Zhang's departure was the "Supreme Emperor" complex 太上皇制度 of the WCUU chancellors. He wrote,

> Why did Zhang quit his job? The main reason was that there was the Chancellor exercising his power as a "supreme emperor". The President was in an embarrassing position with a title attached with no authority. If anything happened, he was in a position of being blamed and attacked by people from inside and outside, and the result was always unpleasant.
>
> Although the President position was held by a Chinese, in fact the power was still tightly controlled in the hands of foreigners. As mentioned earlier, the "supreme emperor" controlled everything. For example, the President's office was connected to the Chancellor's office. When things needed to be dealt with at the President's office, he couldn't make the decision right away. He must go to the Chancellor's office for instructions and approval. For anything related to financial issues, the Accounting Department only recognized the signature of the Chancellor. The Director of the Accounting Department was always a foreigner. . . The strangest thing was that although a newly hired professor was approved by the President and the academic affairs committee, the Chancellor had to be introduced to the hired professor as the final procedure.[1265]

[1265] Ibid. , 87-88.

The "supreme emperor" that Jiang indicated was Dr. Joseph Beech, the first President and then the first Chancellor of WCUU. Beech held on tightly to power even after Lincoln Zhang was appointed President by the Board of Directors. Lincoln Zhang accepted the practice because he was a student of Dr. Beech and respected him as one of the core founders of the University, and because Beech held a strong influence on the Board of Governors.

What Jiang suggested was that the practice of acting like a "supreme emperor" had carried on after Beech left and the Canadian missionaries and Robertson and Lindsay took on the Chancellor position. The tensions between Lincoln Zhang and those two chancellors become ongoing issues. Robertson preferred to follow exact orders from the Board of Governors, especially about how to use the funds; Lincoln Zhang chose to be more flexible. For example, he used the funds for urgent issues and the University's future development plans. As a result, "he (Lincoln Zhang) started avoiding going to his office. He suffered greatly from severe asthma and used it as an excuse to work half days at home to avoid seeing the chancellor, and when (he) took a sick leave that gave them more evidence to criticize him."[1266]

Jiang's interpretation was not groundless. We have confirmation of it years earlier from Dr. Garside, the Executive Secretary of the Associated Boards for 18 years. He too interpreted the actions of the WCUU missionaries, who bypassed Lincoln Zhang to communicate with various members of Board of Governors, as a serious issue. On June 12, 1939, after receiving letters from Drs. Sparling, Kilborn and Mr. Robertson, Garside wrote to Dr. Frank Anderson, the representative of the Canadian Mission Board, to express his concerns about the "increasingly complex problem of the diversity of channels…" He wrote: "At the present time we are corresponding with Dr. Sparling, Dr. Kilborn, Mr. Robertson, Dr. Beech, Miss Thexton, and the Bursar's office, even more than we are with President Dsang himself."[1267] He believed that "The theory in most of our universities has always been that the President of the institution is the one official channel of communication between the governing board in America and the institution itself…It seems to me that this policy of using a single channel of

[1266] Ibid. , 88.
[1267] Garside to Anderson, June 12, 1939. UBCHEA GR011-283-4443.

correspondence has rapidly proven itself to be the wise one in each of our universities and colleges."[1268]

Garside suggested Anderson advice him on how to set up proper channels of communication between the field and the Boards. Anderson offered to write to Lincoln Zhang, "stating the situation." Fortunately, Endicott stopped Anderson from sending such a letter. Instead, Endicott suggested sending a letter to Lincoln Zhang "calling his attention to some of the difficulties created for us, and especially for the New York Office,"[1269] and at the same time, a "letter should be sent by Dr. Garside or yourself (Anderson) to Dr. Beech covering substantially the same ground as the letter to the President."[1270]

Garside worried that the multiple communication channels from WCUU might lead to some serious consequences. First of all, when a number of separate channels of communication were followed and the University's authority was bypassed, the "danger of misunderstanding and confusion" could be amplified. Second, multiple channels made it difficult for Boards to keep track of relationships and communication. Garside pointed out that, "it seems to me that the net result of the [missionaries] well-intentioned efforts is the exact reverse of what is hoped for. Each one of our Chinese presidents—and for that matter, our western administrators—develops strength only as he receives the loyal support and cooperation of every member of his staff, regardless of nationality."[1271]

Speaking of his personal experiences as a team leader and his observations of Chinese Christian university leaders, Garside offered his advice to some missionaries at Christian universities:

> More than once some newly appointed administrator has in the beginning seemed to be lacking in strength and aggressiveness. But in nearly every case of this kind the staff

[1268] Ibid.
[1269] Anderson to Garside, "Dr. Endicott's comments on communications." June 29th, 1939. UBCHEA GR011-283-4443.
[1270] Ibid.
[1271] Garside to Anderson, June 12th, 1939. UBCHEA GR011-283-4443.

> have rallied around their leader, and have made him their spokesman, and given him credit for initiative even when someone else may have done most of the work. They have—to use an American expression—"built him up" to a point where everyone recognized him as the leader and representative of the institution.
>
> All the members of the West China Board of Governors got to know President Dsang quite well while he was here in America. He has some weaknesses and some points of strength. It seems to me that as long as he is President of the University his staff ought to rally around him, and not be dividing up his responsibilities among themselves with the idea that they are helping him.[1272]

In other words, Garside already criticized the missionaries at WCUU in 1939 for failing to support Lincoln Zhang's work, and instead thwarting Zhang's leadership and weakening the progress of the University.

The conflicts between Lincoln Zhang and missionary administrators are partly attributable to power struggles between the missionary and Chinese authorities and partly resulted from different approaches of dealing with the University's affairs. But the most fundamental reason was that missionaries didn't truly trust a Chinese to be their leader. The missionaries' colonial attitudes were the source of their distrust of Chinese people, whether it was Lincoln Zhang or someone else. The question of whether the Chinese were really trustworthy came up constantly in missionary discussions before 1927, and was expressed explicitly in the missionaries' thoughts and implicitly in their actions after the Chinese took on leadership positions.

As we have seen in earlier chapters, the fight for control of the University began at WCUU in the late 1920s when the Republican Government requested that Christian colleges register with the Chinese government. The struggle for power intensified after many Chinese educators took on administrative positions, and Chinese faculty gradually

[1272] Ibid.

replaced missionaries at WCUU. Lincoln Zhang was responsible for these changes at WCUU. Although missionaries appointed Lincoln Zhang as Vice-president in late 1926, his appointment was considered an emergency measure in order to prevent the mission school from shutting down, rather than a permanent arrangement.

The differing approaches to University operations and management, to some degree, reflected divergent values between Lincoln Zhang and some missionary administrators. As a passionate patriot, Zhang's goal for his educational efforts was clear and focused – to train modern, educated citizens to build a strong China. The educational missionaries, on the other hand, intended to put their Christian beliefs and practices into teaching and learning. The tension between Lincoln Zhang and the chancellors came more from ideological and cultural differences than personal conflicts. There were also manifestations of collisions between Lincoln Zhang and missionary boards in a larger context, as the postwar planning process demonstrated.

Jiang Wengang believed that Zhang's constant confrontations with several alumni disillusioned him as well.[1273] From the early 1930s, some alumni had sought teaching and administrative positions at the school, but Zhang made it clear that all faculty members had to be both Christian and have overseas study experience. Zhang's strong stance incurred some resentment. After 1937, being a Christian was no longer required, but he stuck to his high academic standards. As the University's Board of Directors included more alumni, and as important board members like Zhang Jia'ao and other politicians were frequently absent from board meetings, the alumni held onto more seats and were able to confront Lincoln Zhang in greater numbers, gradually making their disagreements with Zhang personal. Zhang was very frustrated about it.

Jiang Wengang's account helps to explain Zhang's mental and physical condition at the time of his resignation. However, a peculiarity of Jiang's article is that it contains omissions and errors, possibly from lapses in memory. For instance, he believed that Dr. Beech was a medical doctor; and that the Canadian medical missionary Dr. Ashley Lindsay, Canadian agricultural missionary Frank Dickinson, and WCUU Vice-chancellor Robertson were Americans. One possible explanation for these errors is that Jiang deliberately made such mistakes to prove that he was not close to the

[1273] Jiang Wengang, "My Reminiscence of West China Union University".

foreigners since the ostensible purpose of the article was to demonstrate that the Christian mission education project was a tool for imperialists to conduct a cultural invasion in China.

It may also be relevant that, in May 1952, both Jiang Wengang and Lincoln Zhang were put into the anti-Communist Party "bad element" study class at the same time.[1274] It is difficult to ascertain if the above information about Lincoln Zhang's state of mind came from Jiang's personal observations or if Lincoln Zhang confessed such things to him.

Regarding Lincoln Zhang's resignation, the account of Zhang Liping shares similarities with Jiang Wengang's analysis.[1275] She agrees that Lincoln Zhang was worn down by the financial difficulties of WCUU. Lincoln Zhang did not want to increase students' tuition fees, but had exhausted resources to keep the University running, and especially to raise funds to pay decent salaries in order to keep the faculty. She suggests that Lincoln Zhang's resignation exposed the power struggle between the missionary community and Chinese staff at the University. Some evangelical missionaries had a difficult time accepting that the influence of Christianity was gradually weakening, making their roles less significant.

In August 1985, Lincoln Zhang's daughter Ruth Zhang and her husband Stephen Yang wrote an article, "The Life of West China Union University President Zhang Linggao", to remember their father. On the subject of Lincoln Zhang's resignation, Ruth Zhang and Stephen Yang quoted Jiang Wengang's statement fully. They wrote, "Mr. Jiang's records are historical truth; and his analysis was accurate and correct."[1276]

I can affirm that there are no West China mission documents revealing the reasons for Zhang's resignation other than his health issues. Zhang's decision not to spend time in North America and Europe seems to reveal two things: first, dedicating

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[1274] *Gu Jiegang's Diary* states in the entry for May 25th, 1952, "Lincoln Zhang and Jiang Wengang were both sent to the Anti-Communist Party bad elements study class. Fang Shuxuan and Luo Zhongshu were sent to Beijing Revolutionary University to study and reform [themselves]. After China's liberation, there were about two million people who died." Gu Jiegang 顾颉刚 was an established historian best known for his seven-volume work *Ancient Chinese History*. He worked at WCUU with Jiang Wengang and was highly influential in the 20th century development of Chinese history.

[1275] Dr. Zhang Liping believed that Lincoln Zhang's decision to leave the University was because he had a hard time working with Robertson and Lindsay, and because Zhang refused to hire certain alumni. Zhang, 469.

[1276] Ruth Zhang and Zhenhua Yang, "The Life of West China Union University President Zhang Linggao." Thanks to Mr. Yang Guangli, the grandson of Lincoln Zhang, for providing me this family document.

himself to the Christian mission's future educational endeavours in China was no longer his priority. Second, he had his eye on a greater platform to influence China's modern nation building.

In short, Zhang's resignation seems not to have been triggered by a single factor but spurred by a number of accumulated issues.

Jiang Wengang believed that Zhang was tired of the conflicts with some individual missionaries, and worn down by the job's financial challenges and other administrative difficulties at the University. However, these seem to me unlikely to have been the primary cause of Lincoln Zhang's resignation. He had worked with missionaries for more than 20 years and dealt with worse situations and conditions. He had never shied away from challenges and difficulties, and he was not a man to be easily discouraged. One might have hoped that comments by Zhang or others after his resignation would throw light on his reasons for the decision. Unfortunately, locating records of Lincoln Zhang's life between his resignation in1947 and his death in 1955 is challenging, for several reasons. First, no official correspondence from after he resigned from WCUU could be found in church archives in either Canada or the United States. Second, since he was no longer an employee of WCUU, his whereabouts and social activities were not recorded in the University archives either. Third, after 1949 Zhang was considered an anti-revolutionary element, so his personal writings and other documents were either taken into the possession of the CCP government archives or destroyed by family members after he was taken away. It is highly possible that when he was serving his time in prison from 1951 to 1955, Zhang was forced to write, or voluntarily wrote, some confessional materials about his life, political opinions, and connections with missionaries. However, such documents, if they do exist, most likely are held at the Archives of Enemies and Traitors in Chengdu and are not publicly accessible.

Fortunately, some family members' memories and other scattered materials provide some clues that help us piece together the last years of Lincoln Zhang's life.

In the absence of more solid documentation, is there anything more that one can say about Lincoln Zhang's motive for resigning?

Zhang Jia'ao and Lincoln Zhang

In my opinion, a decision to turn toward involvement in politics was very probably a strong motivation behind Lincoln's Zhang leaving WCUU. In making that decision, his relationship with Zhang Jia'ao – among other things, the Chairman of WCUU's Board of Directors and the brother of Zhang Junmai, founder of the Democratic Socialist Party -- would have been crucial.[1277]

Zhang Jia'ao was the Chairman of the Board of Directors at WCUU for about 12 years, from June 1934 to December 1945. During that time, he and Lincoln Zhang built a strong working relationship and developed mutual respect, eventually leading to a personal friendship.

Lincoln Zhang took his leave of absence in June 1946, seeking treatment and rest. It is not clear if he really went to Peiping, Kunming or Hong Kong to rest as he had planned. He continued to hold an honorary membership on the WCUU Board of Directors and attended many Board meetings. In June 1949, he gave a speech at the WCUU graduation ceremony. The main point of his speech was to urge students to serve the people and the nation, rather than the nation's authorities.

According to Dr. Zhang Liping, Zhang Jia'ao persuaded Lincoln Zhang to take on the Chairman's position of the Social Democratic Party (SDP) of the Sichuan Provincial Branch in 1948. Soon, he was elected as the Standing Committee member of the SDP Central Committee, concurrently managing Party Affairs for two provinces, Sichuan and Kangliang. After taking the SDP leadership position in Sichuan, Zhang began organizing recruitment activities in Sichuan, with the students of West China Union University as his major targets for membership. In November 1949, however, as

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[1277] On December 3rd of 1942, Zhang Jia'ao had quit his post as the Minister of Transportation for China, and "decided to go abroad to study and research post-war economic construction." (Yao Songling, Ed. *The First Draft of Mr. Zhang Gongquan's Chronicle* (Beijing: Social Sciences Academic Press, China 2014), 317. 姚崧龄编, *张公权先生年谱初稿*, 北京: 社会科学文献出版社, 2014. 第 317 页). He left China for his international research tour on September 3rd, 1943. Between October 1943 and April 30th, 1945, Zhang spent 19 months meeting, interviewing, and visiting innumerable politicians, bankers, scholars and economists in the United States and Canada, including American President Franklin Roosevelt, Albert Einstein and Dr. Beech, as well as many WCUU faculty and students who were studying in the United States and Canada. He left America for his European tour on May 1st 1945 and spent three months meeting British politicians, diplomats, bankers, and economists to discuss their thoughts on British post-war reconstruction after WWI and WWII and suggestions for China. Zhang Jia'ao talked to John Maynard Keynes for hours, seeking advice on how to revive China's economy, and especially on how to deal with the financial system, which was near the brink of collapse. After being away for more than two years, Zhang Jia'ao returned to Chongqing on September 14, 1945. The day before he arrived in China, Chiang Kai-shek appointed him the Chairman of the Economic Council for Manchuria, in charge of taking over the three provinces of Northeast China from the Soviet Union. (Summarized from Ibid. 317-503.)

the close of the civil war was approaching, Lincoln Zhang published an announcement in major newspapers in Chengdu, instructing party departments in Sichuan to cease all activities.[1278]

No written primary-source documents are available to verify Zhang Liping's account that Zhang Jia'ao persuaded Lincoln Zhang to take the SDP leadership position in Sichuan, but it is highly possible that Lincoln Zhang discussed his decision to leave WCUU with Zhang Jia'ao beforehand and had his support. In his letter to Mr. Ballou on May 3rd, 1946, Lincoln Zhang had written, "As indicated in the request from Minister Chang Kia-ngau (Zhang Jia'ao), Chairman of our Board, I figure it will cost me something like US$1,500 for travel, living and medical treatment."[1279] As the Chairman of the WCUU Board of Directors, Zhang Jia'ao was entitled to know Lincoln Zhang's plan for either taking a leave of absence or resigning from his post. We know that he also consulted Zhang Jia'ao on the issue of financial arrangements. Of course, as a professional banker, respected economist, Director of Northeast Economic Committee, and a close friend, Zhang Jia'ao could give advice that was valuable to Lincoln Zhang.

However, we don't know which idea came first, the decision to leave WCUU or to accept the SDP offer. It seems very plausible, though, that consulting with Zhang Jia'ao was part of Lincoln Zhang's decision-making process for leaving WCUU.

The friendship between Lincoln Zhang and Zhang Jia'ao can be traced back to 1934, when Zhang Jia'ao was Chairman of the Bank of China, then a private institution and China's largest bank. In May and June of 1934 Zhang Jia'ao took a long research trip to Sichuan to investigate if it was possible to expand his banking business in Sichuan. In his diary, Zhang Jia'ao summarized his fruitful Sichuan travels; among them one of his four accomplishments was "visiting West China Union University and getting to know the President Dr. Joseph Beech, an American. I was touched and admired his courage and spirit to overcome thorns and thorns for China's education. I promised to be the Chairman of the Board of Directors from now to 1949."[1280] Soon after Zhang Jia'ao became the Chairman of the Board, Lincoln Zhang met Zhang Jia'ao

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[1278] Zhang Liping, 429.
[1279] Lincoln Zhang to Mr. Ballou, May 3rd, 1946. UBCHEA RG011-297-4627
[1280] *The First Draft of Mr. Zhang Gongquan's Chronicle*, 126.

and they hit it off right away. From previous statements, we know that Zhang Jia'ao took his position at WCUU seriously.

To protest the GMD leader Chiang Kai-shek's pressure on the Bank of China and the GMD's attempt to use it as the treasury of the party, Zhang Jia'ao left the banking sector in 1935. However, Chiang didn't want to waste Zhang's talents, so he offered several important government positions to Zhang, who finally accepted the post of the Minister of Railways in the Nanjing government, reasoning:

> With the current national crisis, I did not hesitate to choose the Ministry of Railways. One reason is to implement the aspirations I had when I was at the Bank of China to assist in railway construction, and the other is to implement Mr. Sun Yat-sen's grand plan to build a 100,000-mile railway in China.[1281]

Zhang Jia'ao recognized that railway construction was a necessary way to bring about China's industrialization and modernization. Given the reality of limited government funds, he skillfully persuaded foreign investors to participate in China's railway construction efforts. During the period of Japan's full-scale invasion, he focused railway construction on the upper Yangtze River Basin, trying to change the unbalanced railway layout in which development in the north was too dense and the south was too sparse. He was committed to forming a strategic deployment that connected China from north to south and east to west.

Although always swamped by his official duties, Zhang Jia'ao attended the Board meetings whenever he could. Besides Board meetings, he usually spent at least one week at the University per year to meet staff, faulty, and students. He was active in University fundraising campaigns and promoting the establishment of research institutes. In 1940, between September 30 and October 13, Zhang stayed at WCUU, met every department head to listen to their needs and discuss the budget for next year, and

[1281] Ibid. , 136.

suggested setting up a "Frontier Rural Community Improvement Association."[1282] In 1943, between June 26 and July 1st, he went to WCUU to attend all faculty and staff meetings, discussing urgent issues with faculty in the college of science and agriculture, and give a speech at the graduation ceremony.[1283] Even when he was traveling around the world, he took time from his busy schedule to connect with WCUU students and faculty in North America. He met Dr. Beech several times and attended the Board of Governors meetings in New York and Toronto,[1284] and between August 19 and 26, 1945, right before his return to China, visited WCUU faculty who were studying in Montreal and Toronto.[1285]

As Chairman of WCUU's Board of Directors, Zhang Jia'ao initiated important steps to expand the University's programs. He was responsible for establishing the Frontier Research Institute and Economics Study Institute, and he helped to locate funds for both institutes. He actively participated in solving the financial challenges of the University. In 1940, when Dr. Beech retired and returned to the United States, Zhang Jia'ao set up a scholarship in honour of Dr. Beech's educational contribution. In late 1940, Zhang "secured from the National Relief Commission the sum of $80,000 (N. C.) to be used in connection with the work of the United Hospital."[1286] In late 1941, Zhang wrote to the University to express his personal commitment to raise funds for the school. "I proposed a campaign for raising $250,000 (N.C.) for the purpose of putting up more houses for the faculty, and [I] promised to obtain $500,000 (N.C.) for this fund."[1287]

In the Fall of 1942, Lincoln Zhang wrote to the Board of Governors, stating, "Mr. Chang Kia-ngau (Zhang Jia'ao) spent several days with us on the Alumni Campaign to secure an endowment fund."[1288] Zhang Jia'ao also took money from his own pocket to support the Frontier Research Institute.[1289]

[1282] Ibid. , 256-264.
[1283] Ibid. , 327-328.
[1284] Evans to Lincoln Dsang and Robertson, December 10, 1943, UBCHEA RG011-286-4489
[1285] *The First Draft of Mr. Zhang Gongquan's Chronicle*., 490-495.
[1286] Lincoln Zhang to the Board, April 12th, 1941. UBCHEA RG011-286-4488.
[1287] Zhang Jiaao (Chang Kia Ngan): "A Tribute to the University from the Minister of Communication", No date available, probably December 1941, UBCHEA RG011-286-4488, P. 243-244.
[1288] Lincoln Zhang to the Board of Governors, March 23, 1943. UBCHEA RG011-286-4489
[1289] *WCUU News*, (1942): 7.

While working for the Nationalist Government from 1935 to 1948, Zhang Jia'ao remained non-partisan. When initially accepting the position of Minister of Railways, he made it clear to Chiang Kai-shek that he had no plan to join GMD. Chiang agreed and never pressed him on it.

However, his elder brother Zhang Junmai 张君劢 (aka Carsun Chang, Zhang Jiasen, 张嘉森) had a markedly politically partisan stance. His strong and consistent criticisms of the GMD and CCP made him an enemy of both Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Zedong. The Social Democratic Party of China (SDP) he established was called the political "third force" in the Republic of China.[1290]

In Spring of 1937, Zhang Jia'ao had introduced his brother, Carsun Zhang, to Lincoln Zhang,[1291] and the two probably met again at the 1937 Summer Conference in Lushan.[1292]

Carsun Zhang and His Political Ideas

Carsun Zhang spent most of the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s in opposition to the GMD and the CCP, strongly and actively advocating for building a constitutional democratic political system in China.

Carsun Zhang was born on January 18, 1887, in a county close to Shanghai, to a financially deteriorating family. After a period of brief training in classical Chinese, he

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1290 The Social Democratic Party of China (SDP) 中国民主社会党, which was modelled on the German Socialist Party (SPD) of the Weimar era, was initially called the National Socialist Party 中国国家社会党.

1291 Lincoln Zhang to Dr. J. Beech, Dr. Frank Anderson, Dr. B. A. Garside, Mr. H. T. Silcock, and Mr. A. G. Castleton, July 7, 1937. In the letter, Lincoln Zhang wrote, "I also saw Mr. Chang Kia-ngau and Mr. C.C. Chang, his brother."
UBCHEA RG011-286-4486

1292 According to *The First Draft of Mr. Zhang Gongquan's Chronicle*, Zhang Jia'ao arrived in Lushan on July 5th, 1937 and left on 15th. P.171. Carsun Zhang attended the 1937 Summer Conference as well, but stayed there for one more month. Lincoln Zhang was invited to the conference and attended during the same period. In a letter to the Board members, Lincoln wrote, "I received an invitation from the Generalissimo and Minister Wang Ching-Wei [Wang Jingwei] to a summer conference at Kuling [Lushan]. This year they plan to invite all the leading educators and other outstanding people throughout the country to meet in conference at three different periods. I am invited for the second period, from July 25th to August 2nd. I have talked this over with my colleagues, and we have decided it is very necessary that I should represent the University on this occasion. I plan to leave about July 15th and to travel by bus and boat so as to make the trip as economical as possible. According to the working of the invitation, travel expenses may be refunded, so we hope the trip will not involve much financial responsibility for the University." Lincoln Zhang to Dr. J. Beech, Dr. Frank Anderson, Dr. B. A. Garside, Mr. H. T. Silcock, and Mr. A. G. Castleton, July 7, 1937. UBCHEA RG011-286-4486. Lincoln Zhang might not have met Zhang Jia'ao because by the day he arrived Zhang Jia'ao was on the point of leaving, but he most likely met Carsun Zhang.

went to study at Shanghai Dialects Institute 上海方言学校 in 1897.[1293] In 1906, he gained the opportunity to study law and political science at Waseda University in Japan where he met China's revolutionary intellectual leader Liang Qichao.[1294] Liang's political ideas and Late Meiji Japanese politics had a strong influence on Carsun Zhang. Zhang was the heir of Liang Qichao's cultural moral conservatism and became the guardian of Eastern culture. He staunchly advocated for the constitution, democracy and socialism, tirelessly introduced democratic politics and opposed one-party dictatorships in China, and supported the supremacy of national interests and the development of a constitutional democracy.

In 1913, Carsun Zhang was forced to leave China because he had offended Yuan Shikai. With financial support from Liang Qichao, he studied Political Science and Law in Germany. While in Germany, he was able to observe WWI closely and found German philosophy and socialism tremendously fascinating. Zhang claimed that his study in Germany was a search for a "most fundamental strength that [our] people could use to establish a [modern] state."[1295]

Returning to China in early 1920, he advocated for the significance of the relationship between science and view of life, which spurred debate among top Chinese scholars like Ding Wenjiang 丁文江, Zhang Dongsun 张东荪, Hu Shi 胡适 and Chen Duxiu 陈独秀. In 1927, he started criticizing the GMD for its politicalized education system, lack of respect for personal freedom, intolerance of different opinions, denial of common ground with other political parties, and intolerance of Western politics. His strong opinions offended the GMD greatly. In May 1929, Carsun Zhang was kidnapped

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[1293] The Shanghai Dialects Institute 上海方言学校 was a product of China's self-strengthening movement, also a westernization movement, approved by Li Hongzhang in 1863. It was similar to the Beijing Tongwen Institute 同文堂 which accepted students who were age 14 and under. At the time, wealthy families didn't want to send their children to study foreign languages, so students mostly came from poor family backgrounds. Students at the time studied seven days a week, four days on English and three days on Chinese. Math, physics, chemistry and foreign history were part of the English curriculum.

[1294] Liang Qichao (February 23, 1873-January 19, 1929), also Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, 梁启超 was a Chinese social and political activist, journalist, and intellectual who lived during the late Qing dynasty and the early Republic of China. His thought had a significant influence on the political reformation of modern China. There are tremendous debates about Liang's political stance. Hao Chang's article, "Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and Intellectual Changes in the Late Nineteenth Century", provides a revealing explanation about the changes of Liang's political opinions. *The Journal of Asian Studies*; Vol. 29, No.1 (Nov., 1969).

[1295] Carsun Zhang, "From Social Science Jump to Philosophy".

in Shanghai for more than 20 days; the confinement permanently disabled one of his legs.[1296]

After being released by his kidnappers, Carsun Zhang left China for Germany again. Zhang Xueliang 张学良 and Liang Qichao provided him with financial support.[1297] Zhang wrote to a close friend, Li Huang 李璜[1298] in Berlin in 1930, "It was our duty to train youth with genuine knowledge, so they would have the ability to work for the future of the nation."[1299] In 1931, John Leighton Stuart cabled to ask Carsun Zhang to teach Philosophy at Yenching University.

Carsun Zhang had great passion for education, especially the teaching of political ideology. From 1920s to the 1930s, Zhang established various educational institutes. Most of his financial support came from warlords who might "share his opposition to the GMD and who approved of the traditional side of his educational philosophy."[1300] His educational philosophy was to "combine the Chinese emphasis on morality with the Western stress on knowledge."[1301] In 1927, the GMD closed Zhang's school. In 1934, he set up another school Xuehai Institute 学海书院 (the Knowledge of Ocean Institute), but it, too was forced to close in 1936. In early 1938, when he was attending the National Defence Council meeting in Wuhan, Chiang Kai-shek asked Zhang what he desired to do, and Zhang said he wanted to dedicate himself to education. In 1939, he established another school, the Institute of National Culture. Chiang Kai-shek ordered its closure in December 1941. The closure of his educational

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[1296] Nobody and no organization claimed to be responsible for the kidnapping of Zhang Junmai. Zhang himself never revealed the true identity of his kidnappers because he didn't know who was behind it.

[1297] Carsun Zhang claimed that Liang Qichao provided $1000 for him and family to leave China. However, Liang had passed away on January 29, 1929. Zhang and family left China in fall 1929.

[1298] Li Huang 李璜 (1895-November15, 1991) was a Chinese politician and educator. He studied in France from 1919–1924 and taught French literature in several universities in the 1920s through the 1940s. He was one of the founders of the Chinese Youth Party and one of the co-founders of the Social Democratic Party. He was the older brother of Li Hang 李珩, also Li Xiaofang 李晓舫, who taught at WCUU.

[1299] Li Huang: "Interpreting Zhang Junmai," (1941): 18. (李璜: 解读张君劢 p.18)

[1300] Rogers B. Jeans, *Democracy and Socialism in Republican China: The Politics of Zhang Junmai, 1906-1941,* (Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1997).

[1301] Ibid. ; 89.

institutes made Zhang "deeply believe that it is impossible to found a school under a one-party dictatorship."[1302]

Zhang's disappointment and frustrations with the dictatorship of the GMD pushed him, with Zhang Dongsun, to found the National Socialist Party (NSP) on April 16, 1932.[1303] "It advocated nationalism and democracy, and opposed GMD dictatorship and its suppression of human rights. The party wanted to recognize both public and private property. The NSP wanted heavy industry to be nationalized, while light industry would remain under private management."[1304] The GMD leaders viewed the NSP as an illegal organization.

The Japanese invasion of China shifted Zhang's focus to Chinese politics. He supported a united China to fight against the Japanese. In December 1938, Zhang published an open letter to Mao Zedong, the Communist Party leader, in the magazine *Rebirth* in Chongqing. This article was a response to Mao's earlier article, published in the magazine *Liberation* on November 25th, 1938. Mao suggested that ideological, political, and organizational independence of any party in the united front must be maintained.

Carsun Zhang criticized Mao and said the CCP shouldn't "occupy a special geographical area to enforce its particular policies" with its own government, taxation and schools. He also criticized CCP ideology. Some interpreted his letter as a "bitter attack" on Mao and the CCP. Carsun Zhang disagreed. His biographer thought "it sounded more like an earnest plea for cooperation in the life-and-death struggle against Japan."[1305] However that may be, his letter created tension between the Social Democratic Party of China and the CCP, and between himself and Mao.

Carsun Zhang challenged Mao, stating that if the Communist Party adhered to the principle of independence in the united front, it would affect the unity of the whole nation in the fight against the Japanese. On February 1, 1940, in an open telegram, "Ten

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[1302] Ibid.

[1303] Carsun Zhang's National Socialist Party was not connected with the Nazis in Germany and the party later changed its name to Social Democratic Party of China.

[1304] Rogers B. Jeans, *Democracy and Socialism in Republican China*.

[1305] Ibid. , 271.

Demands on the Kuomintang" on behalf of the Yenan mass rally denouncing Wang Ching-wei (Wang Jingwei 汪精卫), Mao addressed Carsun Zhang directly, saying:

> Yet the moment Wang Ching-wei openly came out against the Communists and sided with the Japanese, sorcerers like Chang Chun-mai (Carsun Zhang, also Zhang Junmai) and Yeh Ching chimed in with tendentious articles, and the anti-Communist and die-hard cliques joined in by stirring up "friction". Autocratic rule has been imposed in the name of unification. The principle of unity has been discarded and the thin end of the wedge of disruption driven in.[1306]

There were two things Carsun Zhang did that irritated Mao: the first was his open letter to Mao asking him to subordinate the CCP to the GMD in the fight against the Japanese; the second was that Zhang accepted Chiang Kai-shek's invitation to take part in the GMD political consultative conference in November 1946 in which the CCP refused to participate.

Carsun Zhang's initial criticism of the CCP changed Chiang Kai-shek's opinion about him. For a while Chiang no longer regarded him as a "reactionary figure", and instead provided funds to support his Institute of National Culture. However, in late 1941, Zhang offended him again, and Chiang ordered Carsun Zhang to be put under "city arrest". He thus made himself an enemy of both Mao and Chiang, the two most powerful men in China.

On Christmas Eve of 1948, the Communist Party published a "war criminals" list. The 43 people on the list were classified as war criminals well known for their heinous crimes, "who, all Chinese agree, should receive the just penalty." Carsun Zhang was included in the list of first-class war criminals because, as the leader of the Social Democratic Party of China, he led the Party to participate in the GMD's 1946 Constituent National Assembly, adopt a new constituion and reorganize the

[1306] Mao Zedong, Feb. 1st, 1940, "Ten Demands on the Kuomintang" 对国民党的十项要求. *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*. Vol. 2. https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/selected-works/volume-2/mswv2_29.htm.

government, and because he supported the GMD when it launched the civil war against the Communist Party and its army. Plus, he had attacked Mao personally.

Zhang Jia'ao, in his diary, recorded that Carsun Zhang was under tremendous pressure from Chiang Kai-shek to support the GMD. At the time, Carsun Zhang believed that the nation's unification was more important than personal freedom and rights. "In his view, this program [the unification of the nation] would combine the strength of dictatorship with that of democracy."[1307] Carsun Zhang's cooperation with Chiang Kai-shek, whether forced or made out of his personal conviction, illustrates the weakness and limitations of both himself and his generation. They were always inclined to put the nation's unification above personal freedom. Carsun Zhang fell into the old trap of thinking that national unity was above everything else, and that people's rights and freedom should be sacrificed for it. This belief never failed to provide a breeding ground for dictatorship, and it still prevails in Chinese society.

Although he was accused of being a war criminal, Carsun Zhang did try his best to facilitate cooperation between the GMD and the Communist Party. In late 1948, the Ministry of Education of India invited Zhang for a lecture tour at Indian universities. On November 5th, 1949, before leaving China for New Delhi, he gave a short talk about China's political situation. Zhang believed that the success of the Communist Party was by no means a fluke; it was the result of its own efforts. He also believed that the failure of the Kuomintang was not accidental. The blame fell on its own doorstep.[1308]

It is not clear whether being accused of being a war criminal made Carsun Zhang decide to leave China. In May of 1952, Carsun Zhang settled in the United States and never returned to Chinese soil, whether to Taiwan or the mainland China.[1309]

Carsun Zhang was extremely active in intellectual and political research in the United States, although in exile he suffered from cultural isolation, financial difficulties, and misunderstandings from the people who once shared the same political ideas as him. He organized discussions of Chinese culture and philosophy with people in the United States, gave lectures globally, wrote columns for newspapers, and published books. He passed away on February 23, 1969 at age 82.

[1307] Rogers B. Jeans, *Democracy and Socialism in Republican China*, 239.

[1308] *Mr.Zhang Junmai Biography Information*. Vol. 1, (Taiwan Tianyi Publishing House, 1979), 151.

[1309] Zhang Junmai settled in the United States and he died on February 23, 1969 in Oakland, California.

On May 19, 1949, Carsun Zhang's younger brother Zhang Jia'ao left Guangzhou for Hong Kong. On October 25, 1950, Zhang Jia'ao, with his wife, flew to Sidney as a visiting scholar at National Australia University. In May 1952, Zhang Jia'ao found a visiting professor position at Loyola University in Los Angeles of the United States, teaching "Asia Economy". In 1958, he was granted his tenure and published his second book, *The Inflationary Spiral: The Experience in China, 1939-1950*. In 1961, Zhang Jia'ao started working as a senior researcher at the Hoover Institute at Stanford University until he passed away on October 13, 1979, at age 91.

The Common Values and Goals the Three Zhangs Shared

There is insufficient evidence to definitely prove that Lincoln Zhang was convinced by Zhang Jia'ao to take the Social Democratic Party leadership position of Sichuan in 1947, but plenty of documents confirm that Lincoln Zhang, Carsun Zhang and Zhang Jia'ao shared many similarities. As a result, it was natural for Lincoln Zhang to share the Zhang brothers' political ideology and social values.

The three Zhangs were born only three years apart, Carsun Zhang on January 18th, 1887, Zhang Jia'ao on October 21st, 1889, and Lincoln Zhang on February 21, 1890. They experienced exactly the same social and political changes in their early lives, namely: the Sino-Japanese war in 1894-5, the Boxer Uprising of 1899-1900, the fall of the Qing Court in 1911, and many more changes after that.

They all went to village private schools to study classic Chinese, but were exposed to Western learning when they were young. Carsun Zhang started studying classical Chinese when he was six, and at age 12 he entered the Shanghai Dialects Institute to study foreign languages and science. In 1906, when he passed the government examinations and was sent to Japan to study science, he had just turned 19. He was accepted by Waseda University in the sciences, but realized that his interest was Law and Political Science, not Math and Physics. When he changed his primary subject, he disqualified himself from the government's financial support, but he nonetheless got his BA in the summer of 1910.

Zhang Jia'ao started his classical Chinese learning when he was four, two years earlier than his older brother.[1310] At 14, he joined his brother to study at the Shanghai Dialects Institute. At age 18 he went to Japan, first to study Japanese language, then was accepted by Keio University 庆应大学 in Tokyo to study Banking and Currency, as well as Political Science. When he couldn't find money to pay tuition he was forced to leave the University in his third year. Before turning 20, he started working for a newspaper, then moved to the Bank of China in Beijing.

Lincoln Zhang studied classical Chinese at the village private class when he was seven; at age 11 he entered the Christian mission school to study. He entered WCUU in 1915 and graduated in 1919. He gained his master's degree from Northwest University in the U.S. 1921 and then returned to China.

All three Zhangs married young – at age 19 – to wives chosen by their parents. They may have sought out Western thinking and personal freedom, and promoted the introduction of Western ideas and practices into Chinese society, but in terms of their own marriages, they felt obliged to comply with their parents' arrangement, traditional customs, and social practices.[1311]

The most salient similarity they shared was their mission in life – to make China a modern and strong nation.

Carsun Zhang wanted to modernize China's political system. As the heir of Liang Qichao's cultural moral conservatism and the guardian of Chinese culture, he was also a staunch advocate of the constitution, democracy and socialism. He supported democratic politics and opposed one-party dictatorship. He believed in the supremacy of national interests and the development of a constitutional democracy. He proposed the establishment of a democratic political system based on economic equality for all people, rather than a single party. He believed that a strong and efficient government should be run by technocrats, experts, or men of ability. He forsook Liang Qichao' conservative political ideas, but believed that intellectuals should serve the country, society and politics. He promoted the idea that education should serve the people and

[1310] His parents put him into the same class as his older brother to save money.

[1311] Many of their contemporaries, including social reformers like Hu Shi, complied with family arrangements for their marriages.

society, which demonstrated his acceptance of Western ideology with regards to education, even at the same time as he practiced Confucianism. He was also dedicated to using education to introduce ideas regarding the constitution and democracy to the new generation.

Zhang Jia'ao dedicated his life to improving China's modern banking and transportation systems. As the founder of China's modern banking industry, his main goal was to get rid of the outdated policies and regulations that benefitted only warlords and the government.[1312] He strove for the independence and modernization of banks, so as to effectively formulate and implement monetary policies and preserve the stability of the value of goods. He also believed that the banking system must gain the trust of the people and encourage the private sector to participate in the bank's operations. He believed that the government's administrative control over the banking system was unhealthy. The GMD authority made banks the government's small treasury, he thought, with the result that their currency creation capabilities not only failed to benefit the national economy, but became a scourge of disasters to both the nation and its people, and eventually to the party itself.

During his tenure as the Minister of Railways, Zhang Jia'ao inherited Sun Yat-sen's industrial plan and dream. He recognized that railway construction was a necessary way to achieve China's industrialization and modernization. During Japan's full-scale invasion, Zhang focused the railway construction on the Yangtze River Basin to balance the system. He was committed to forming a strategic deployment that would connect all of China.[1313]

All three men greatly valued education. Carsun Zhang established four educational institutes, and he wanted access to education to be enshrined in institutional law. Zhang Jia'ao was dedicated to his role as the Chairman of the Board of WCUU although he bore heavy bureaucratic duties and responsibility.

Lincoln's Zhang have already been illustrated above.

[1312] To have better understanding of Zhang Jia'ao's ideas of modern banking and governance, please see his two books, *China's Struggle for Railroad Development*. New York: The John Day Company, 1943 and *The Inflationary Spiral: The Experience in China, 1939-1950*. New York and London: The Technology Press of Massachusetts Institute of Technology and John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1958.

[1313] Ibid.

All three believed that every citizen should put the nation's interests above one's own personal benefit.

According to Lincoln Zhang's family archives, "In the fall of 1947, Lincoln Zhang met the China Social Democratic Party leader Zhang Junmai (Carsun Zhang) in Shanghai. Carsun Zhang convinced Lincoln Zhang to join the party; he appointed Lincoln the director of the Sichuan Social Democratic Party and the party's commissioner for the Sichuan provincial government."[1314]

Zhang Liping believes that it was Zhang Jia'ao who persuaded Lincoln Zhang to join the party;[1315] but Lincoln Zhang's family archives suggest that Carsun Zhang was the one who convinced Lincoln Zhang. It is nevertheless possible that in 1945 when Lincoln Zhang discussed his plan to leave WCUU with the Chairman of the University Board, Zhang Jia'ao suggested that Lincoln Zhang consider joining the Social Democratic Party. Then, Carsun Zhang and Lincoln Zhang met in 1947 in Shanghai to finalize the arrangement.

Since early 1945, the two Zhang brothers took serious action to establish Social Science Academies in both China and the United States. On April 2nd, 1945, Zhang Jia'ao visited Joseph Willits, the Director of the Division of the Social Science of the Rockefeller Foundation and Roger Evans, the head of Rockefeller Foundations in New York, to ask for financial support for Carsun Zhang's research institute. Zhang Jia'ao met them a second time to discuss Carsun Zhang's plans in more detail.[1316]

On April 14th, 1945, the China Social Science Research Institute was established in New York; Carsun Zhang, Hu Shi (Hu Shih), Chen Dehui, Yan Yangchu (James Y. Yang), Lu Zuofu and other notable Chinese became founders of the institute. On April 20th, the two Zhang brothers travelled to Washington D.C. to visit Mr. Willys R. Peck,[1317] the Director of the Far Eastern and Near Eastern Branches of the Division of Cultural Cooperation of the United States. The purpose was to discuss their plan to set up a branch of the Institute in the United States. Peck supported the idea but

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[1314] "Biography of Zhang Linggao", author and date unknown, *The Zhang family archives*.

[1315] Zhang Liping, 429.

[1316] Yan Songling, *Zhang Gongquan's Chronicle*, 440-442.

[1317] Willys R. Peck, born Oct 24th, 1882 in Tianjin China. Peck worked various posts in China, including Consul General (1931-41) and was Minister to Thailand (1941-42). Before his retirement in 1946 he was in charge of the China program and later the Far Eastern and Near Eastern Branches of the Division of Cultural Cooperation.

suggested they set up the Institute in China first, then come to the United States for fundraising and other financial support. That same day, the Zhang brothers met China's former ambassador to the United States, Shi Zhaoji 施肇基, to ask him to be a board member in the New York branch. Shi agreed without hesitation. On April 24, the Zhang brothers met a lawyer to detail the legal wording for the Institute.[1318]

Zhang Jia'ao might have kept Lincoln Zhang informed about their plan to build a research institute, and might have invited him to join their cause. In 1945, Lincoln Zhang might have asked Zhang Jia'ao to visit WCUU students and faculties in North America, which would explain the time that Zhang Jia'ao's spent from August 19th to 23rd with WCUU's overseas study faculty in Montreal and Toronto.[1319]

Changed Political Attitude Towards the GMD Government

Like many Chinese intellectuals of his generation, Lincoln Zhang believed that China could be saved through education. Also, like many of his Western-educated contemporaries, Lincoln Zhang believed in freedom and democracy, and opposed the Nationalist Government's dictatorship. However, his nationalist consciousness overpowered his democratic aspirations following a meeting in July 1937 in Lushan.

When Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek gave a speech on the Declaration of Anti-Japanese War on July 17th in Lushan, Lincoln Zhang had just arrived for the conference. His Lushan meeting experience, as he said in his letter to the Board of Governors, was inspiring; he was encouraged by several Chinese educational leaders and Chiang Kai-shek's determination to defend China. The entire nation was asked to put their political opinions aside and unite to fight against the common enemy. Therefore, following the GMD government's wartime educational policy became a natural choice for Lincoln Zhang.

[1318] Yan Songling, *Zhang Gongquan's Chronicle*, 440-444.
[1319] Ibid. , 491.

Before the eruption of the war, Chiang Kai-shek repeatedly told the Chinese people that education was the key to saving China from national deterioration.[1320] During wartime, Chiang Kai-shek re-emphasized his views: that the combination of traditional culture and modern scientific methods were the keys to building up the nation's self-confidence, that the equal development of moral, intellectual, and physical education would help cultivate character in the younger generation.[1321]

In February 1940, Chiang Kai-shek proposed that the responsibilities of school principals and teaching staff at all levels should be: guiding students' thoughts, molding students' characters, managing students' lives, improving students' physical strength, and helping students develop healthy personalities. In other words, educational institutions and educators should emphasize building the students' characters and values instead of simply emphasizing academic learning and teaching. A comprehensive education should train young people to become responsible citizens, loyal fighters for thee nation and capable leaders. In this way, the educational community could fulfill its responsibility to provide services during the anti-Japanese war, and to build a bright future for China.[1322]

Since taking on the position of Vice-President of the University in 1927, Lincoln Zhang had emphasized building students' characters. He believed that cultivating students' sense of community service and responsibility was essential to prepare them for China's modernization. Before 1940, Zhang's major university policies, program designs, and academic standards were aligned with the government's educational policy and the needs of the war.

Echoing Chiang Kai-shek's call to inspire students to serve the nation, Lincoln Zhang also stressed to WCUU students the importance of hard work, perseverance, honesty, loyalty to the nation, generosity, tolerance, and ambition to be the character. However, there were major disparities between Chiang's vision of character building and Lincoln Zhang's understanding of it.

[1320] Ye Jiangqing, ed. *The Complete Works of Chiang Kai-shek about Saving the Country,* 救国论文集 (Dafang Shuju, 1937), 14-18.

[1321] *Complete Works of Chiang Kai-shek* 先总统蒋公全集 vol.1, (Taibei: China Culture University, 1984), 1004.

[1322] Chiang Kai-shek, "Guiding Principles for Education," *Central Daily News*, February 21, 1940. "教育界的指导原则", {中央日报}, 1940 年 2 月 21 日.

Chiang's vision, in practice, meant ideological control, for example, making sure the students would not be attracted by the Communists. Lincoln Zhang, in contrast, emphasized the importance of students' sense of duty for serving the people and the nation, rather than the ruling groups such as the party or the government. He also encouraged students to be independent thinkers, not to blindly follow the government's propaganda, and not to make the pursuiting of fame and wealth the goal of their lives.

As the war against the Japanese dragged on, and the corruption of the Nationalist Government grew, Lincoln Zhang became increasingly disappointed in it. He still strove for the development of the University's programs to support the needs of the war, but took a stance on youth education that differed from the GMD party's propaganda and Chiang's ideology.

In June 1941, Lincoln Zhang gave a long speech at WCUU's graduation ceremony. In his speech, he urged students not to take what they had for granted because without the ordinary people's sacrifice, they would not be able to complete their studies. He told students, "everybody's rights and obligations usually go hand-in-hand, they all were blessed with uniqueness and support from government and people."[1323]

He emphasized his expectations to the students repeatedly. "In the future, you should work hard and diligently to be creative, self-sufficient to repay the support to the people who supported you, to help and serve them." He urged the students to "learn from Yu the Great 大禹[1324] who worked tirelessly on controlling the flood…"[1325] He pressed students to fight for the interests of the nation. "If you want to be a decent person, you should have a broad vision and have the willingness to serve society. You also need to know that everybody is responsible for the changes of our society."[1326]

[1323] Lincoln Zhang's speech to the 1941 WCUU Graduates, June 1941, *WCUU Newsletter*, Issues 4 (1941): 2.

[1324] Yu the Great 大禹 was a legendary ruler in ancient China; he was famed for his introduction of flood control, the establishment of the Xia dynasty, and his upright moral character. Traditional stories say that Yu sacrificed a great deal to control the floods. The common story was that when he was given the task of fighting the flood Yu had only been married four days. During the thirteen years of overseeing flood control task and being away from his family, he passed by his own family's doorstep three times, but did go to inside to say hello to his family. The first time he passed, he heard that his wife was in labour. The second time he passed by, his son could already call out to his father. The third time Yu was passing by, his son was more than ten years old. His family urged him to return home, but he said it was impossible as the flood was still going on. He figures prominently in the Chinese legend of "Great Yu Who Controlled the Waters". The name of Yu the Great indicates: self-sacrifice, dedication and community service.

[1325] Lincoln Zhang's speech to the 1941 WCUU Graduates, June 1941. *WCUU Newsletter*, Issue 4 (1941): 2.

[1326] Ibid.

At the end of the speech, he criticized the government and bureaucratic class for their corruption and inability to fight the war against the Japanese effectively. He made a vivid distinction between the soldiers at the frontlines and the corrupt government officers. He condemned the leaders of the government for losing their consciences**. "**It is a terrible shame, nowadays in our country, the soldiers who were fighting the war for our nation in hunger and cold; but the corrupted were taking advantage of the national crisis to seek for fortune and fame."[1327] With a heavy heart he warned students not to become one of them. "I hope you will not do anything that your hearts, your conscience, and your moral sense tell you not to do… If you want to be successful, please earn it through hard work and honesty…don't sell yourselves for fame and profit."[1328]

It truly took courage to criticize the government and authority in such a harsh tone. It was the first time that Lincoln Zhang criticized the government officials' corruption in public. It marks a turning point in Zhang's view of the GMD government and his relationship with it. Although he was losing hope for the government, his belief in his students and education never waned. He believed that they were the future of the country, and that he was responsible for helping them to become decent citizens.

In his later speeches, Zhang criticized the corruption of the government and its officials even more harshly. On September 18, 1944, he gave a speech at the University's opening ceremony. He told students he wanted to "emphasize learning from heroes, sages, and men of virtue". He advised students to learn how to make contributions to the country, to be open-minded, to carry their causes forward and to forge ahead into the future. He told the students that to learn from the sages and men of virtue means to have self-discipline, to improve oneself from everyday work, to speak and act cautiously, and to be determined to focus on one's own field and be creative.[1329]

Since the start of the war, many WCUU students had wanted to join the army to fight against the Japanese and the GMD also urged students to do so. On many occasions Lincoln Zhang advised students to focus on their studies because the country needed them soon for post-war reconstruction. During wartime, although the

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[1327] Ibid.
[1328] Ibid.
[1329] Zhang's speech at the university opening ceremony, *WCUU Newsletter*, vol. 2 (September 30th, 1944): 2-5.

government banned sending medical graduates to study overseas in order to save foreign currency, Zhang fought hard to keep sending faculty abroad to upgrade.

He used Dr. Beech as an example to encourage students to be dedicated to the right causes. He told students that Dr. Beech at age 78 was still "busy introducing professors to us, raising funds for our faculty for overseas studies, and worrying about the difficulties we are facing. He was trying his best to contribute to the improvement of our school. The West China Union University is his career, his passion, and his life. He has made himself part of the University."[1330] He confessed to students, "I never take an easy way to live my life; actually, there is no easy way…I believe that the success of the University is my personal success; the failure of the school is my own failure."[1331]

His speech was his advice to students, but even more, it was a direct criticism of the GMD government. He took pains to remind his students, "The Qing dynasty has been overthrown for more than 40 years, but we haven't made significant progress in aspects of politics, economy, and social culture due to lacking a sense of right from wrong…"[1332] In other words, Zhang criticized the Chiang Kai-shek government as being no different from the Qing Court in social, political and economic aspects, but rather as being a continuation of it.

His speech obviously demonstrated that he had given serious thought to the reasons for the slow social and political progress in China. He called on his students to take action to make changes. He had also decided that he needed to do the same.

With his deepening disappointment in the GMD government, Lincoln Zhang began to take a different approach toward the students' enthusiasm for joining the army. One month after the school's September 1944 opening ceremony, he gave another speech to encourage students to join the army, and to take action to fight against corruption in the military.

He told students that now was the time for them to join the army. The army's culture, ways of operation and management need to be changed. Educated youth joining the army was the only way to improve the quality of the armed forces. At the time, the country had too many corrupt military officers. If the army were corrupt, the nation

[1330] Ibid.
[1331] Ibid.
[1332] Ibid.

would be doomed to fail as well. If educated youth took on leadership positions in the army, they would have the capacity to triumph over enemies, curb corruption, and save the nation.[1333] He underlined that fighting against corruption was an even more urgent task than fighting against the Japanese.

That speech was Lincoln Zhang's personal declaration against the extensive corruption among government and military officials; it was his avowal to do the same beyond the scope of the University.

Lincoln Zhang must have been deeply worried that the corruption in the Chinese ruling group would be the downfall of the country in its war against the Japanese and in facing its future. He had worked long and hard with the hope of building a modern China, but witnessing the degeneracy of the Nationalist Government's leadership must have disheartened him greatly. Even though there are no documents available to prove that his disappointment in the government led to his decision to join Social Democratic Party of China,[1334] his speeches to the students provide a solid ground to assume that China's political condition made him want to fight for China's future at a higher level and on a broader stage. WCUU had been the right place for him before, but that was no longer true when corruption became rampant among government officials.

It is also possible that before asking the students to take action to fight for a better cultural, social and political China, he had decided to take the first step himself by getting into politics and to bring about broader social and political changes.

Already in October 1941, after his speech, Lincoln Zhang had invited Zhang Jia'ao onstage to give a speech at WCUU.

The central point of Zhang Jia'ao's talk was his experience as a lifelong student. He divided his learning experience into five stages. First, he encouraged students to learn the importance of being independent and having self-esteem. "The independence

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[1333] Lincoln Zhang talked to students about whether they should join the army or not on October 30th, 1944,*WUCC Newsletter*, vol. 2 (October 30th, 1944): 13.

[1334] The Social Democratic Party of China was a Chinese political party founded in Shanghai in 1932. It was formed through the merger of the former Chinese National Socialist Party (no relation to the German Nazi Party) and the Democratic Constitutionalist Party. The CDSP's platform was to promote democratic socialism in China, world peace, individual freedoms, economic development, a narrowing of the gap between rich and poor, and equal rights for women. The party also sought the implementation of a social welfare system for public health and social security. The Party supported the GMD-led national government during the years of Japanese aggression, but was generally against the Nationalist Party's domestic policies; it was also strongly against the Communist Party. We have already discussed the founder and leader of the CDSP, Carsun Chang (1887-1969), also known as Zhang Jiasen 張嘉森 and Zhang Junmai 张君劢, who was the older brother of Zhang Jia'ao (Chang Kia-Ngau).

of a nation and an individual, and the self-esteem of a country and a person became the belief of my life"[1335] as well as the driving force behind his efforts. His second piece of advice to students was to make sure that serving and defending the powerless should come before their private affairs. He knew it was not an easy thing to do, but he declared it worth the effort. His third remark was that education, effective government management, freedom of thinking and speech, and respect for intelligence and self-discipline were essential for building a strong nation. As a result, building up one's physical ability, rational thinking, passion for learning and cooperation, and efficient organizing abilities were necessary to make China an independent and respected country. The fourth, he found that certain government officials did not have a proper sense of responsibility for their jobs, and had a non-cooperative work attitude. This damaged the nation and its future. He wanted them to be responsible people.

The fifth point in Zhang Jia'ao's lesson started from the anti-Japanese war. One question that he described as plaguing him for a long time was that of how China, disorganized as it was, could fight against a militarily very well-organized country? To serve the nation, there were two things he wanted to do: be a role model and lead his followers, and try his best to inspire them to reach their full potential. Since Chinese culture worshipped fame and heroes, he wanted to be an unsung hero.

His advice to students was to be honest, to serve the people and the nation, and to "take responsibility and to be a leader."[1336]

Lincoln Zhang's ideas about building students' characters, promoting their community service, and enhancing their sense of responsibility to the nation were completely in line with Zhang Jia'ao advice to the students. Both men asked students to put the interests of people and nation above themselves, and they frankly criticized the government, noting how its officials' lack of responsibility had led to tremendous challenges to Chinese society.

It is difficult to tell, between Lincoln Zhang and Zhang Jia'ao, which person had the stronger influence over the other. However, their personal values and shared sense

[1335] *WCUU Newsletter*, October 10th, 1941.
[1336] Ibid.

of social responsibility bound them tightly to one another during those difficult wartime years and beyond.

Despite that convergence of views, Lincoln Zhang's decision to be a part of the nation's democracy-building was not so much a result of the Zhang brothers' persuasion. Rather, it was disillusionment toward Christian Chinese education, and even greater disappointment with the GMD government, that spurred him to act.

The Imprisonment, Death and Exoneration of Lincoln Zhang

According to Drs. Ruth Zhang and Stephen Yang, in the fall of 1949, Lincoln Zhang sent a letter to the Social Democratic Party of China leader in Hong Kong with regards to quitting his position in the Party.[1337] In December, before the People's Liberation Army took over Chengdu, Lincoln Zhang announced the dissolving of the Party and its activities in Sichuan. He asked Mr. Kuang Hongxiang 况鸿翔, the Director of the Office of General Services of the SDP in Sichuan to publish the announcement in all the newspapers in Chengdu. Since Chengdu was still in the hands of the GMD, no newspaper was willing to publish the announcement. It finally appeared in the newspapers on January 2nd, 1950, the second day after Chengdu's liberation.

Several days later, Lincoln Zhang and Mr. Kuang Hongxiang went to the office of Public Security of People's Liberation Army together to register, submit their statements of repentance, express their remorse for their past, and voice their willingness to reform.[1338]

In late 1950, Ruth Zhang and Stephen Yang returned to China from Canada and the United States.[1339] Lincoln Zhang discussed his connection to the SDP with them. They remembered,

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[1337] The letter might have been sent to Macao instead of Hong Kong to Carsun Zhang. From March 25 to November 4, 1949 the SDP leader stayed with his younger sister Zhang Youyi 张幼仪, the ex-wife of the famous Chinese poet Xu Zhimo 徐志摩, in Macao. On November 5, 1949, Carsun Zhang left from Hong Kong to India.

[1338] Zhang family archives

[1339] According to Ruth Yang, the daughter of Ruth Zhang, Lincoln Zhang didn't urge Ruth Zhang and Stephen Yang to return to China from Canada, but Stephen Yang's father did.

> He showed us the dissolving announcement for the party and the cessation of party activity. He expressed his regret for getting involved with the DSP. He said after the announcement was published he was greatly relieved. He also said after he became the local party leader, some WCUU students wanted to join the party and now he felt it was too late to make up for the mistake he made with those students.[1340]

In Feburary 1951, the Chengdu government asked Lincoln Zhang to attend a "political study and training class" at Nanjiaochang 南教场, a place that was not too far from the University. He never made it back home afterward.

On March 5, 1955, Sichuan Medical University notified the family members that Zhang Linggao had died that morning, and his body needed to be collected right away.[1341] Ruth Yang recalled, "It was in the afternoon I was playing with my classmates outside our home. I saw grandmother Wang Meixiu 王梅修 climb into a rickshaw crying. Someone told me that my grandfather was died."[1342]

When the family members went to the "political study and training class" to claim the body, a staff member showed them a written notice and then took it away immediately. They only remembered the note declaring that Lincoln Zhang was classifed as "a foreign slave, a suppressor of student movements, a backbone of the opposition to the Communist Party. He was sentenced to life in prison."[1343]

The lives of every Zhang family member - his five children and their spouses, and his grandchildren - were impacted by the crimes Zhang was accused of committing. His eldest granddaughter Ruth Yang, daughter of Ruth Zhang, was a top student in her class. In 1964 she passed the university entrance examinations, but was denied the

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[1340] Ruth Zhang and Zhenhua Yang, "The biography of Zhang Linggao", November 2, 1985, *The Zhang family archives.*

[1341] Ibid.

[1342] The author's phone conversation with Ruth Yang. This phone call started at 4:12 pm Pacific Time on August 19th, 2022, and it lasted for 2 hours 12 minutes. At the time Ruth Yang was in London, England and the author was in Western Canada.

[1343] "Biography of Zhang Linggao", author and date unknown. P. 2-3, *The Zhang family archives*.

opportunity of university study, because her grandfather was considered a counter-revolutionary. She was sent to the countryside for re-education for eight years.[1344] It is an irony that Lincoln Zhang devoted his entire life to educating Chinese youth, yet his granddaughter was denied the opportunity to access higher education.

In December 1954, Sichuan's Provincial People's court issued a criminal verdict (54), Criminal No. 132, to sentence Lincoln Zhang to life imprisonment. Howvever, this verdict only reached the hands of Zhang's family members three decades later.

From early 1983, therefore, Lincoln Zhang's eldest daughter Ruth Zhang, age 72, and her husband Stephen Yang, wrote to various authorities asking them to clear their father's name and correct the wrongs done to him. On July 30, 1984, Ruth Zhang received a letter from Chengdu People's Political Consultative Office. It notified her that the historical issue of Lincoln Zhang had been forwarded to the United Front Work Department of Sichuan Medical University to investigate. The family would be notified of the result soon.

On Feburary 4th, 1985, the Chengdu People's Political Consultative Office wrote to Ruth Zhang that the Provincial Supreme Court reviewed Lincoln Zhang's case and that the family should contact the United Front Work Department of the University.

When Ruth Zhang and husband followed up with United Front Work Department, they were told that the supreme court faced two challenges regarding their appeal for Lincoln Zhang.

First, Lincoln Zhang had quit the SDP leadership position and made his announcement for dissoving all SDP party activity on January 2nd,1950. If he had done so at any time before December 31, 1949, the Court would have to define the action as part of an uprising, however, after that date it had to be treated as an enemy surrendering. The date was essential and the newspaper announcement was evidence that Lincoln Zhang had surrendered himself, and did not instead commit an uprising.

Desperate, Ruth Zhang found one of Lincoln Zhang's friends' sons, Mr. Pan Guangkai 潘光锴, to act as a witness verifying that Zhang had prepared the announcement before December 31st, 1949. Pan wrote to the Supreme Court to say that

[1344] Ruth Zhang, "The general information of Zhang Linggao's children and families", undated, possibly 1985, *The Zhang family archives*.

Zhang visited his father Pan Mengju 潘孟驹 to discuss the wording of the announcement before the New Year of 1950, and he heard Zhang say that after the statement was published, he would be able to relax.[1345]

The second challenge faced by the Sichuan Supreme Court was that because Lincoln Zhang was the Chairman of the SDP, a high-ranking position, it was beyond the Sichuan Supreme Court's jurisdiction to deal with his case anymore.

Ruth Zhang and Stephen Yang then didn't know what to do to clear their father's name. They started writing of Lincoln Zhang's life and his educational contribution to West China Union University building in the hope that the Zhang legacy wouldn't be forgotten.

On March 28, 1986, the Sichuan Supreme Court issued a new verdict (86)[1346], Criminal No. 219.[1347] It stated,

> The original defendant Zhang Linggao, male, born 1889 in Sichuan Bishan County, deceased.[1348]
>
> In December 1954, the Sichuan People's Court (54) issued Criminal Verdict No.132 to affirm Zhang Linggao committed counter-revolutionary crimes and sentenced him to life imprisonment.[1349] Recently Zhang Junru,[1350] daughter of Zhang Linggao, challenged the original sentence and appealed the verdict.
>
> The Court followed the legal procedures, formed a collegial panel, and reheard the case and the appeal.
>
> The collegial panel affirmed that the original affirmed facts existed, and the verdict was correct. However, Zhang Linggao expressed his willingness to forsake darkness for light before Chengdu's liberation, demonstrated his intention to support the

[1345] Pan Guangkai letter to Sichuan Supreme Court, November 20, 1984, *The Zhang family archives*.
[1346] The number of "(86)" indicates the year of Sichuan Supreme Court processing the Zhang family appeal.
[1347] The Criminal No. 219 indicates the number of the verdict of Lincoln Zhang.
[1348] Lincoln Zhang's birthdate was February 1890, not 1889. The court mistook Zhang's birthday.
[1349] The number of "(54)" indicates the year of verdict. The "NO.132" indicates the number of Lincoln Zhang's verdict.
[1350] Lincoln Zhang's eldest daughter's Chinese name is Zhang Junru 张君儒, English name is Ruth Zhang.

people's government. Based on the said facts and referring to the policy of letting go of the past, the verdict is as follows:

Revoke the original Sichuan People's Court (54) issued Criminal Verdict No.132.[1351]

The United Front Work Office of Sichuan Medical School sent a copy of the new verdict to Ruth Zhang, who reported that the entire Zhang family was excited that the good name of their beloved father and grandfather was restored.

The family, however, may have been too emotional and happy to notice the subtleties of the legal wording. Perhaps they just decided to ignore them. The new verdict states: "The original affirmed facts existed, and the verdict was correct", "his willingness to forsake darkness for light", and "the policy of letting go of the past". In other words, Lincoln Zhang as he lived his life was still a counter-revolutionary, an enemy of the Communist government; it was only in death that his actions were forgiven.

Debates about Lincoln Zhang's Political Choice: Fear and Avoidance

The crucial reason for the criminal charges against Lincoln Zhang and for his imprisonment was that he had joined the Social Democratic Party of China and held a leadership position in that party in Sichuan. Nobody questions that, but the explanations about how and why Zhang decided to join the party vary. For various reasons, clearly related to political fear and pressure, scholars have hesitated to get to the bottom of it. In some ways, they seem to have tried their best to be vague about it.

In the article "The President of West China Union University Zhang Linggao", Zhou Hongyu, in his last paragraph, states, "Zhang Linggao dedicated his entire life for the development of West China Union University; unfortunately, he died in prison because of his connection with the Social Democratic Party. Time and time again Zhang tried to avoid getting involved in politics, but he was unable to stay away from the

[1351] Sichuan Supreme Court criminal verdict (86) Criminal No. 219, March 28, 1986, *The Zhang family archives*.

submerged political rock that led to the destruction of his boat of life."[1352] Zhou's ambiguousness about Lincoln Zhang's political choice is deliberate.

Zhang Liping, in her book, gives only a brief account of Lincoln Zhang's resignation from WCUU and his political engagement with the SDP. "No longer wanting to put up with the attacks from the alumni, in March 1947 Lincoln resigned because of poor health." She also suggests that Lincoln Zhang took the SDP position under pressure from Zhang Jia'ao.[1353] Her reasoning is twofold: she wanted to believe that Zhang did not have the intention on his own to join the party whose political stance ran counter to that of the Communist Party, and second, she wanted to avoid discussing this issue further.

Jiang Wengang would be someone who knew Lincoln Zhang's political stance the best. In his article, he was very positive about Lincoln Zhang's educational contributions and the hardships he overcame.[1354] Nevertheless, Jiang mentioned nothing about why and how Zhang joined the SDP. Considering the time and political atmosphere of Jiang's writing early during the Dengist reform era, it is perfectly understandable that he avoided discussing the matter.

It was also understandable for scholars to avoid getting involved in sensitive issues in China in the 1950s; however, the descendants of Lincoln Zhang could not avoid feeling a need to explain why Zhang became involved with the Social Democratic Party. The family hoped to rehabilitate Lincoln Zhang's reputation, free the family members from living under the shadow of his political stain, and have his contribution to the University building be recognized. In their volumes and volumes of appeal statements, they gave their understanding of Zhang's political predicaments in statements such as: "The SDP wanted to take advantage of Zhang's reputation and he was pulled into the SDP."[1355] They depicted him as naïve in politics, and as having fallen into a trap set up by a student.

[1352] Zhou Hongyu, "The President of West China Union University Zhang Linggao," *Study on Christian Chinese University Presidents,* Ed. Wu Ziming, (Fuzhou: Fujian Education Publishing House. 2001): 91.

[1353] Zhang Liping, *China and the West in A Melting Pot: The West China Union University* (Chengdu, Sichuan Publishing Group, China, 2013), 429 & 469.

[1354] Jiang Wengang, "My Reminiscence of West China Union University", *Selected Collections of Chengdu Literature and History*, Series 3 (Sichuan People's Publishing House, China, 1982): 77-89.

[1355] Ruth Zhang and Stephen Yang, "The Biography of Zhang Linggao," November 2, 1985, P.4, The Zhang family archives.

> As a distinguished figure, Lincoln Zhang was the best target to be used. One of Zhang's students, Zhang Youlong 张右龙 persuaded Lincoln Zhang to be the head of the Funding Society, an organization attached to the SDP…Zhang Linggao was a teacher, in both elementary and high schools, a minister, and a president of the West China Union University. He was a stranger to politics, had no understanding of politics…he was a teacher who was pulled into the dirty politics by his student, and fell into the abyss…his greatest misfortune was to listen to the praise of his student Zhang Youlong, and so joined the Social Democratic Party, a negative political group.[1356]

It is difficult to determine if Ruth Zhang and Stephen Yang truly believed the explanations about Lincoln Zhang's decision to support the Social Democratic Party or if political pressure made them pin the blame on someone else to mitigate Zhang's responsibility and restore his name. Another possibility is that they seriously thought that their father was politically naïve for falling for the bait set up by the Zhang brothers and the DSP. It is also possible that they understood his political stance but pretended they did not.

Family members choosing to elucidate Zhang's political situation might vary in their approaches. Perhaps they either ignored or did not understand Zhang's consistent efforts and determination to build a strong, modern, and democratic nation, or they did not want to look into Zhang's political stance too much for fear that the truth of his choices would contradict their intention to portray him as a patriot who had no intention to hold different political opinions from the Communist government.

No matter what the true rationale was behind Ruth Zhang and Stephen Yang's explanations, their intention to circumvent the issue seem to have been to avoid further unpleasant consequences for their family.

[1356] Ruth Zhang and Stephen Yang, "The Life of West China Union University President Zhang Linggao," P. 26 & 28, The Zhang family archives.

There were likely other factors that led family members and scholars to avoid the question of what Lincoln Zhang's political stance really was, and the circumstances of his death in prison.

Since the 1950s and especially after 1957, the Chinese people, whether educated or illiterate, had already acquired a clear understanding that any political disagreement with the CCP would usually lead to serious consequences. Scholars, therefore, deliberately avoided exploring Lincoln Zhang's political viewpoints. The imprisonment and death of Lincoln Zhang was a living example that political disagreement with the Communist Party could lead to political persecution, torture, lifelong incarceration, and death.

Political circumstances have left Chinese scholars with very few options. As a result, being vague or avoiding asking sensitive questions that might have offended the authorities was the only choice they had. Long-time political propaganda has also made self-censorship an automatic response mechanism.

The last years of Lincoln Zhang's life, echoing the drastic changes in Chinese society, were full of difficult decision-making, ideological readjustment, and tragic political persecution. When he realized that the Associated Boards' plans for the postwar years amounted to an attempt to undo years of educational efforts in China, Lincoln Zhang drew a clear line between himself and the West China missions. His disappointment in the Nationalist government's corruption and inability to bring substantial social, economic and political changes to Chinese society resulted in his decision to join the Social Democratic Party and fight for democracy and a constitutional political system. Chinese scholars' approaches to Lincoln Zhang's tragic death are evidence of a fear that history might repeat itself in Chinese society again.

Lincoln Zhang, without question, was a true patriot. He devoted his entire life to China's modernization in education and in politics. Nobody forced him or fooled him into politics; he made his own conscious decisions to fight for what he believed in.

Conclusion

Many Chinese intellectuals, before and after Lincoln Zhang's generation, in 1950 and later, encountered both parties' dictatorships and met a tragic end to life as a result. The Zhang brothers, although having survived into their senior years, struggled to survive in an alien land, let alone carry on dreams of China's modernization. They did not quit, but they hardly won their battles either.

The death of Lincoln Zhang illustrates the cruel fate of liberal intellectuals under a one-party system.

Along with his contemporaries Carsun Zhang and Zhang Jia'ao, Lincoln Zhang, a patriotic modern-minded Chinese with a Christian liberal background, for decades shouldered China's social, political and cultural developments as their personal duty and responsibility. While fulfilling their mission of cultural and educational leadership, such figures also dedicated themselves to cultivating China's future generations. As John Fairbank observed, "They were a generation that met disaster but not a lost generation by any means."[1357]

[1357] Fairbank, *Chinabound,* 129.

Recipients of the Syracuse-in-China Scholarship: Djiu Pei-fang, Li Go-fu, Hwang Go-gun, Tang-Shih-chi, Liu Su-gia, April 1945

(Source: Yale University Archives, RG 11-417-5632)

Lincoln Zhang working at home office, February 1945

(Source: This photo was taken by Dr. Stephen Yang, the son-in-law of Lincoln Zhang. Lincoln Zhang family archives.)

Lincoln Zhang, his wife Wang Meixiu, two daughters, and two sons

The second row from left to right: Wang Meixiu 王梅修, wife of Lincoln Zhang, Lincoln Zhang holding his youngest son, Zhang Jize 张季泽, Ruth Zhang 张君儒; the front row from left to right: Zhang Weihua 张维华, Zhang Zhongxian 张仲贤, and Zhang Youling 张幼凌.

The date of this phone is not clear; it probably taken in late 1936 or early 1937.

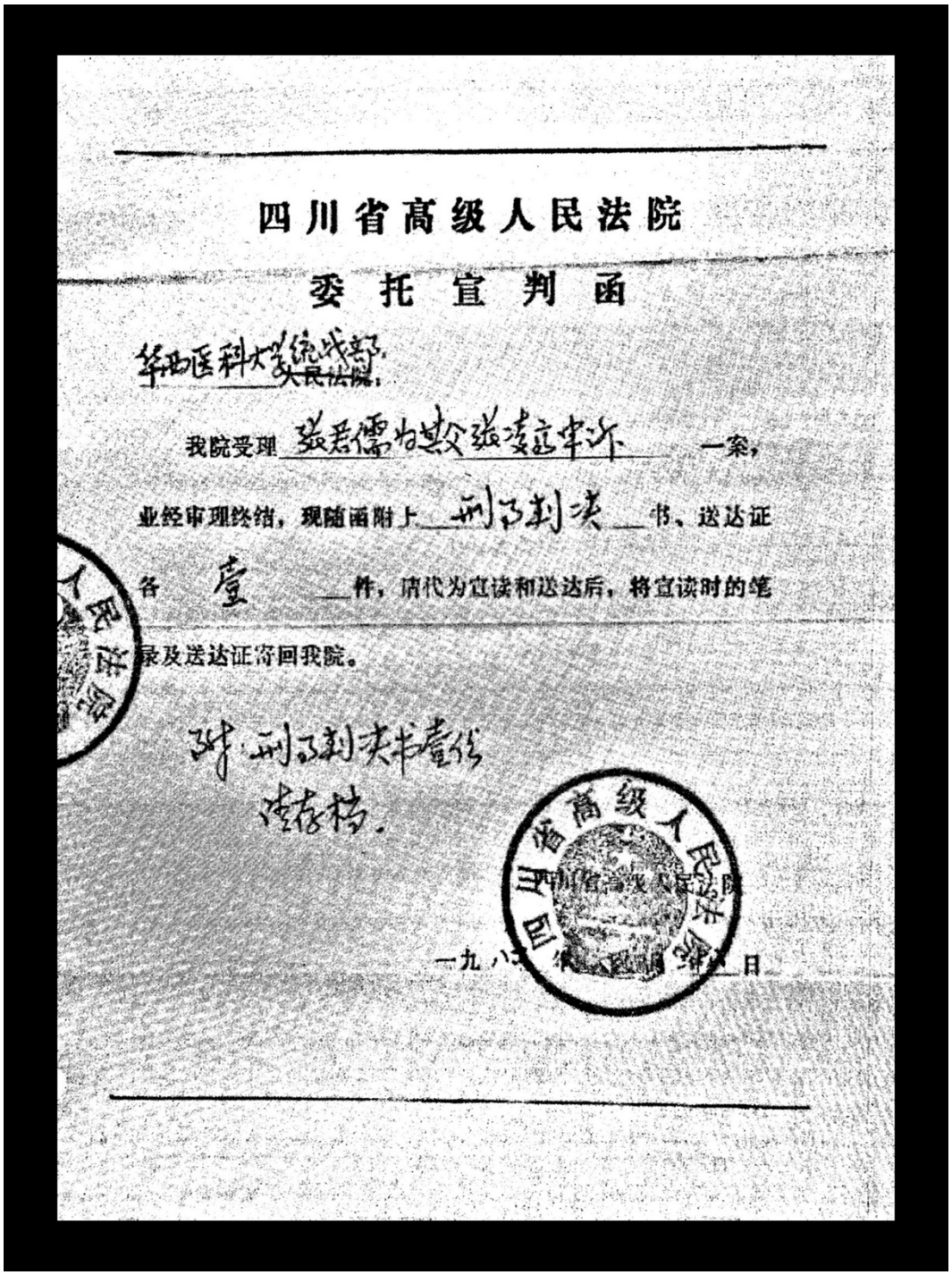
(Source: Zhang family archives)

Zhang Jia'ao 90th birthday photo, 1979, USA

(Source: Yao Songling, ed., *The First Draft Chronicle of Mr. Zhang Gongquan* (Beijing: Social Sciences Academic Press, China, 2014). 姚崧龄, 编 [张公权先生年谱初稿] 中国社会科学文献出版社, 2014.)

Lincoln Zhang's widow Wang Meixiu, 1976

(Source: Zhang family archives)



四川省高级人民法院

委托宣判函

华西医科大学统战部：

我院受理 张君儒为其父张凌高申诉 一案，业经审理终结，现随函附上 刑事判决 书、送达证各 壹 件，请代为宣读和送达后，将宣读时的笔录及送达证寄回我院。

附：刑事判决书壹份

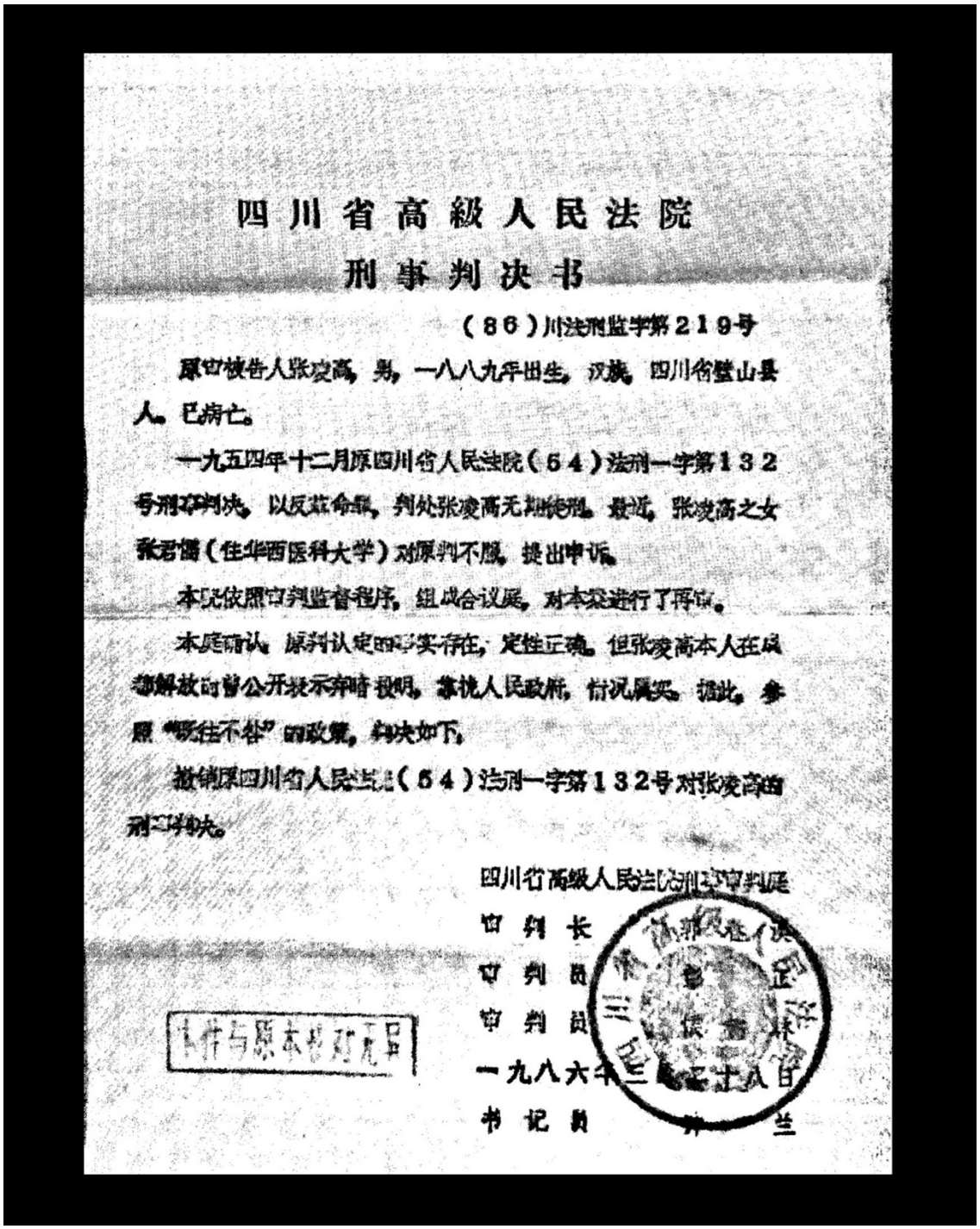
存档。

四川省高级人民法院

一九八六年 月 日

The Sichuan Provincial People's Supreme Court Entrusted Sentencing Letter, 1986

(Source: Zhang family archives)



四川省高級人民法院
刑事判決书

（86）川法刑监字第219号

原审被告人张凌高，男，一八八九年出生，汉族，四川省璧山县人。已病亡。

一九五四年十二月原四川省人民法院（54）法刑一字第132号刑事判决，以反革命罪，判处张凌高无期徒刑，剥夺。张凌高之女张君儒（住华西医科大学）对原判不服，提出申诉。

本院依照审判监督程序，组成合议庭，对本案进行了再审。

本庭确认，原判认定的事实存在，定性正确。但张凌高本人在成都解放前曾公开表示弃暗投明，拿枪人民政府，情况属实。据此，参照"既往不咎"的政策，判决如下：

撤销原四川省人民法院（54）法刑一字第132号对张凌高的刑事判决。

四川省高级人民法院刑事审判庭
审判长
审判员
审判员
一九八六年三月二十八日
书记员

本件与原本核对无异

The Sichuan Provincial People's Supreme Court Criminal Verdict, March 28, 1986

(Source: Zhang family archives)

Conclusion

The Chinese educational initiative was an attempt by Christian missionaries to train some Chinese to become evangelical assistants, church leaders, and quality Christians. They hoped that this experiment could fulfill their purpose of Christianizing China.

The presence of Western powers, the decline of the Qing dynasty, and a desire for national reform triggered rapid changes in Chinese society in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The transformation of China in the first half of the 20th century changed the trajectory of the Christian missionaries' efforts to educate China. The awakening of the nation, united by the Nationalist government, and the youth who were exposed to and ultimately accepting of Western education, provided opportunities for patriotic Chinese citizens to explore the possibility of using education to save and to build a strong China. The Christian China colleges were a fertile ground for ambitious Chinese educators to pursue their dreams.

The efforts brought forth by Chinese Christians yielded fruitful results. They transformed the Christian colleges from religious teaching centers to institutions for academic learning, and from foreign-led facilities to classrooms commanded by native instructors. The schools shifted their focus from Western-dominated fields like science and medicine to subjects that better served China's modernization efforts in the social sciences. These systemic changes illustrate the enormous capacity for Chinese educators, as represented by Lincoln Zhang, to modernize Chinese society.

Chinese Christian educators as a decisive force in shaping China's modern education

What role did Chinese Christian educators play in modernizing the Chinese education system in the early 20th century? This study, which applies a cross-cultural examination in the social history of religious studies and agency, proposes that, in the case of WCUU, it was the Chinese Christians, not the Western Christian missionaries, who played decisive roles in shaping modern Chinese education. Under their painstaking efforts, Chinese educators transformed a Christian college from a place of

religious teaching to one of broader academic learning, which involved taking a bold leap of faith in educational secularization. The Christian schools' devolution of administrative power, and their shift from institutions of foreign instruction and administration to a Chinese one was a slow and painful process for both Christian missionaries and Chinese university administrators. Lincoln Zhang, like his contemporaries, dedicated himself to building a modern nation by putting forth all his energy to promote Chinese cultural learning, women's education and career development, and to support political and social advancements in post-war China.

The year Lincoln Zhang left his village to attend mission school, the Qing dynasty was struggling to draw its final breath. When the Republic of China came into being, Zhang was just about to graduate from high school. When the May Fourth Movement swept across China, he was finishing his university studies. Every milestone in Lincoln Zhang's early life was underscored and shaped by Christian teachings, as well as the drastic changes of the nation. Like many of his generation, Zhang developed a strong desire and determination to build a strong China – one as remarkable as its Western counterpart.

The greatest change in Lincoln Zhang's own life occurred when he took on the Vice-president post at the University. He was called to service in a time of crisis and given the opportunity to make a difference. He seized the chance, and took on the mantle as the first ethnically Chinese top administrator in a Christian educational institution. His employment began during a time in which the entire nation was deeply imbued with nationalist sentiment. It was during this time when Zhang fully appreciated the significance of not only education in China, but the weight of his own social responsibility for the good of the nation, as he would state later on in his doctoral dissertation. Zhang's effort to indigenize the university's staff and faculty was his way of echoing the trend of nationalistic ardour.

The death of Dr. Stubbs and the University wall building were two events that elevated Lincoln Zhang's own understanding of the University establishment beyond the limits of the campus to a higher ground and broader horizon. He believed that cultivating character and social responsibility in students were vehicles for social change and service to society. Zhang's training at Drew University and further

investigation into the social welfare system in New York provided him with a strong understanding of American social conditions, as well as a newfound determination to apply Western scientific methods to the University development and social service sectors in China. The Social Survey course he designed and taught at WCUU was the implementation of his educational ideology, which focused on building healthy character in students to serve the nation.

During the anti-Japanese wartime, Lincoln Zhang dedicated himself to improving upon and expanding the University curriculum. By adding new courses in practical subjects, he hoped that training a new generation in pharmacy, agriculture, social science research, and other subjects, could meet the nation's urgent wartime and post-war needs. His idea of education in this critical period shifted from serving society to one of post-war reconstruction of the nation. Zhang's fight to establish WCUU's Chinese Culture Study Research Institute, along with promoting women's educational and professional development, reflected his desire to take part in shaping the nation's cultural identity and contribute to the modernization of China after the war. With this progressive mindset toward education, the rapid secularization and Sinicization of WCUU were bold and decisive steps to take. The results proved to conflict, however, with the Christian educational mission in China. As a mission-educated Christian, Lincoln Zhang converted his personal mission from one that serves God to one that serves the construction of a modern China. Although he did not abandon his faith, modernizing China became Zhang's new passion and priority, and he committed himself to it.

The divergent approaches to postwar planning between that of Lincoln Zhang and the United Board reflected a difference in the interests of Chinese-Christian intellectuals and Western missionary bodies, resulting in conflict. The mission education boards, in general, were more interested in changing Chinese cultural practices than understanding them. The mission administrators' sense of cultural superiority toward Chinese administrators prevented the two parties from getting on the same page.

Both Lincoln Zhang and the missionaries were loyal to their own beliefs. Zhang was committed to building a modern China, one that could serve as an equally respectable counterpart to the powerful West, while the missionaries were focused on the goal of transforming China into a Christian nation. During the process of fulfilling their separate causes, Lincoln Zhang outgrew his early educational goal of becoming a local Chinese Christian leader. Instead, he took on the nation's modernization as his new personal mission. The Christian missionaries, although mostly liberal-minded, were constrained by their colonialist mentality and sense of cultural and religious superiority. They proved unable to recognize the needs of China, and hesitated to accept changes that worked against their Christian mission. Both parties put China at the forefront of their minds but each with a different version of who she was to become. Lincoln Zhang worked towards a modern and democratic China, while the missionaries sought a Christianized China, which meant that China would be kept under the influence of Western nations. Neither Lincoln Zhang nor the missionaries' efforts to achieve their distinct versions of China resulted in a happy ending. The missionaries' foreign vision for China ended in sore disappointment, while Lincoln Zhang's fight for a stronger China ended with the loss of his life.

Zhang's mission to modernize China did not stop him from criticizing the corruption and incompetence of the Nationalist Government. His decision to leave the University and take on a leadership position in the provincial branch of the Social Democratic Party was a continuation of his quest to fortify China as a nation, not through technology, but through ideology.

Lincoln Zhang and his generation, despite experiencing tremendous material hardship and devastating conflict, were exposed to Western science, democracy, and had the opportunity to consider ideologies and thoughts divergent from their own. The weakness of the central government and the relatively relaxed political atmosphere between 1928 and 1949 allowed space for thoughts of democracy, liberal order, and constitutional reform to grow, develop and prosper in China. Such open ideological exchanges spurred a burgeoning academic life and cultivated a growing patriotism and determination amongst young people, especially young intellectuals, to build a modern China revolving around democracy and advanced technology.

The life of Lincoln Zhang illustrates half a century of conflict and change to Chinese society at the confluence of Western and Eastern influence. Between 1920 and 1950, China was a place where Lincoln Zhang and his contemporaries were able to develop their dreams for a strong nation, but also one where their hopes and dreams were extinguished. The death of Lincoln Zhang, to a large extent, symbolizes the end of the era of Chinese intellectuals' collective effort to search for democracy and social advancement.

The Limitations of this Study

There is a rich literature on Christian educational effort in China. Both missionaries and Western historians have studied this subject from various perspectives, and they largely credited Christian educational missionaries for their efforts and accomplishments. However, the contributions of Chinese Christians were largely excluded from such studies, their efforts conveniently overlooked.

Giving agency to Chinese educational Christians, this study, through the lens of cross-cultural studies, examines the cooperation, confrontation, and division between Chinese Christians and Christian mission organizations and their educational personnel; it concludes that the Chinese Christian educators themselves were key players in the development and accomplishment of Christian Chinese universities.

This analysis of Chinese Christian educators' mission to modernize China fills a gap in the historical literature on the topic of the Christian China educational mission, which up until now had missed the valuable contributions and perspectives of Chinese Christians.

The current argument is based in extensive and intensive archival research, careful consideration of existing literature, and circumspect examination of related historical factors. However, one obvious limitation of this study is its inability to access archives within China. The Sichuan University archives, for example, where most records of West China Union University and Lincoln Zhang's correspondences are preserved, are not publicly accessible, even to its own faculty. In addition, other

documents of Lincoln Zhang's life from February 1951 until his death, including Zhang's own confessions, self-examinations, self-criticisms, and any documentation that expose his alleged criminal activities that might be preserved at the Archives of Enemies and Traitors in Chengdu 敌伪档案馆, are not open for viewing. My inability to access such Chinese archival documents has been a great disappointment during my pursuit of this study and examination of Zhang's life.

My experience of being denied access to Chinese documentation about Lincoln Zhang's life and his Christian mission education work in China reflects the state's refusal to acknowledge and recognize historical truths, and the recent past of the nation. Will this kind of denial remain so for the foreseeable future? It only time will tell.

Topics for Future Studies

Regarding Chinese Christians' educational efforts, there remain many uncharted territories that demand careful examination and further study.

The current study examines the case of Lincoln Zhang and WCUU, however, the roles of educators like him at other Chinese Christian universities in shaping China's social progress and cultural advancement are worth exploring.

Soon after Christian mission institutions arrived in China, they provided education to Chinese women. The contribution of Christian education towards Chinese women's education and social transformation has not been sufficiently studied.

In her book, *Managing God's Higher Education*, Wang Dong remarks on the uniqueness of Lingnan University, which raises further questions about the individual features of other Christian colleges, and how they shaped Chinese Christian education. The idiosyncrasies of each Christian college were related to its geographical location, political and financial landscapes, local warlords' incentives to support education, the university's relationship with mission churches, and the different versions and management styles of missionary educators and Chinese Christian university administrators. Further study on this topic about the distinctiveness of each university will enrich the literature on this subject.

By the same token, each individual Christian college's approach towards their teachings was significantly different, especially with regards to women's education. For example, Huanan Woman's College and Jinling Woman's College were two Christian schools that accepted female students only. Huanan focused on training evangelical workers, while Jinling encouraged women to pursue academic advancement. Compared to other Christian colleges, WCUU accepted a large number of female students to study science, medicine, dentistry and pharmacy, while Lingnan University had a different approach toward women's education. It carried on Victorian ideas about women's role in family and society, focusing on training female students to be supportive housewives. Yenching didn't accept female students until much later; St. John's University never accepted any female students. What were the reasons for such diverse approaches among missionary schools when it came to women's education? These questions deserve to be answered.

During the Japanese occupation, WCUU hosted five other Christian colleges. The cooperation of these educational institutions during the war led to the preservation and development of Chinese Cultural Studies at WCUU, medical studies at Qilu University, and sociology at Jinling Woman's college. Although scholars like Jessie Lutz provide brief descriptions, the wartime experiences of Christian colleges have not been sufficiently studied. A more comprehensive account of such events will bring a fuller picture to the Christian China educational narrative.

It is my hope that future historians who are interested in this study will have the opportunity to access Chinese documents, fill significant gaps in the historical timeline of Chinese Christian education efforts and shed light on the unexamined aspects of their impact on modern China.

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