

Supplementary Documents, 1935-1945

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Robert J. McMullen Furlough Documents, 1935-1937

Here we offer three documents pertaining to McMullen's two-year furlough in New York. In 1931, he had been made Provost and Comptroller of the Hangchow Christian College as part of the resolution of the "registration controversy" that led to the appointment of the first Chinese president of the college. McMullen's was supposed to be a temporary assignment, but as the letter to Daniel Fleming of Union Theological Seminary makes clear, after some internal debate, the Mid-China Mission made the posting permanent. McMullen then took a two-year leave, the second at his own expense, to better prepare himself for a new career as a college administrator. The Biographical Sketch posted here was prepared for his application to both Union Seminar and the Columbia Teachers College in New York, where he earned two degrees in 1935-1937; his eldest daughter joined him in several seminars, including one offered by Reinhold Niebuhr. In the sketch, McMullen intimated that he wanted to reflect on "the greater problem of Higher Education in China," and the third document posted here, a seminar paper he prepared for a seminar at Columbia, outlines his thinking as he prepared to return to China in the summer of 1937.

HANGCHOW CHRISTIAN COLLEGE
ZAKOW, CHE., CHINA.

REV. R. J. McMULLEN D. D. PH. D.
PROVOST AND COMPTROLLER.

德 思 明

任主務事 任主務校
院學理文江之 口關江浙

May 30 th 1935.

Prof. Daniel J. Fleming,
Union Theological Seminary.
New York City.

My Dear Dr. Fleming:-

As the time approaches for me to leave Hangchow for furlough, I am again reminded of the very great kindness shown me in awarding me Missionary Fellowship in your Institution. I expect to spend my entire year in study and will try to make the best use possible of the opportunity you have given me.

In some way, I seem to be flying false colors. Perhaps because I studied under Dr. A.T. Robertson at the Southern Baptist Seminary in Louisville, it is inferred that I am a Southern Baptist. As a matter of fact I am the seventh generation of Presbyterian minister and have a son following in my steps. I am a minister of the Church of Christ in China, being a missionary of the Southern Presbyterian Church.

Then as I stated in my letter to you, my future work had not been definitely decided when my application was sent in. I had been for three years professor elect of the Department of New Testament in Nanking Seminary. For these three years there had been a struggle between the College and the Seminary as to which should secure my services in the future. Only a few weeks ago my mission spent a long session discussing this matter and by a majority vote decided that I am to remain in Hangchow College. This is as far as we can forecast.

This change in my plans or rather this definite decision regarding my ~~plans~~ will require a recasting of my plans for the courses to be taken. I hope to brush up on Education and think that perhaps the best way to do so is to take the course Education 200F, Educational foundations, mentioned in your Announcement on page 81. This should prepare me better to serve the church in China as it engages in its training work.

In addition to this work in Education, I wish to take courses in Religion, Philosophy of Religion and New Testament. As you say selecting the right courses is more important than working for a degree. On the other hand, I find that I do better work when working for a degree than when just taking courses and certainly one has a larger influence in China when he has a degree than when he does not have such a degree but has simply taken courses. For these reasons I would prefer to work out a plan by which I could take the courses I need and at the same time take the degree. We can discuss this later, when I get to New York.

Application has been made to both Horace Mann and Lincoln School for scholarships and they have kindly agreed to grant a reduction on tuition. This is all the more welcome just now as the closing of the American Oriental Bank in Shanghai has very seriously complicated my finances, as it ^{also} has that of thousands of

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other missionaries in China. For me it makes my income so reduced that a scholarship for ~~the~~^{my two} children seems very important. I trust you may be able to do something to assist me in this matter.

My eldest child who graduated from Agnes Scott College Decatur Ga. in June 1934 and who during the past year has been travelling secretary of the Student Volunteer Movement in the South Atlantic Region will be with us while we are in New York and will take courses in the Seminary. I hope this does not violate the spirit or the letter of the agreement that we only will occupy the apartment.

My Summer address will be Montreat, N.C. Please send to me there such catalogues and other material that will help me to work out my courses. Especially am I interested in the M.A. in Christian Education, Announcement page 49, and Th.D. in (c) Christian theology etc. I had hoped that the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Philosophy and History of Religion might be available as this is just the line I am most interested in. My daughter is also interested in Religious Education. She took her major in Psychology.

With very best regards, and heartiest appreciation for all your courtesy and kindness to me, I am as ever,
Yours sincerely,

R. J. McMullen.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH .
of
R. J. McMullen.

My elementary and high school education was received in a small town in the blue grass section of Kentucky. At that time the twelve grades were taught by three teachers. There was practically no equipment and no library. There was little in the school to inspire a boy to apply himself. In the state at that time there was an association of schools which each year held a contest in which each school could enter a representative for each separate event. These covered all studies from primary through high school as well as athletics, music, and declamations. Our school established a reputation by winning the largest number of points for several successive years. Taking part in these contests thrilled me and furnished a great incentive to apply myself. In this way I believe my preparation for college was better than that received by the average freshman though given in a poor school.

There was nothing extraordinary about my work in college or the seminary. I did not have much difficulty in keeping toward the head of the class though interest in extra-curricula activities perhaps hindered me in making the most of the work offered.

After going to China, I began to throw myself into my work and soon found that there was so much to do that one could easily give his entire time to it. This I did. Soon I realized that while I was not working in vain, I was deteriorating intellectually. I tried to set apart a definite part of time for reading but without a great deal of success.

Upon my return to America on my first furlough in 1919, I determined to do further studying. My mission board insisted that I assist them in raising the all important budget. We compromised by my assisting them for the first half of the year and then was to be free to study during the Spring. The very serious illness of my son during the entire Spring broke up this plan.

During my second term of service, I did more reading, especially in the field of New Testament for I was in charge of the training work of the pastors of the district. Upon coming back for my second furlough in 1927, I refused to be turned aside and began at once to seek a chance to study. During the Summer I had opportunity to take a course under Dr. Paul Veith, now of Yale, in the curriculum of religious education. It did two things for me. It showed me how far I had gotten behind and it increased my desire to study.

The Winter was spent in Louisville where I did double duty in studying in two seminaries. It was thrilling. Especially was it an inspiration to work under the direction of that famous New Testament scholar Dr. A. T. Robertson. He introduced me to the New Testament field in a way that made the work a great joy. Not only so he taught me how to direct myself in this type of study. There is much that I owe to him. Since then I have systemized my work so that during the last term of service, I have done regular reading and feel that I have learned how to keep from "drying up" even in China.

Soon after returning to China in 1928, I was called to the chair of New Testament in Nanking Union Theological Seminary, which received a handsome legacy from the Wendell estate. My training had fitted me for this type of work. Later the Hangchow College seemed

be faced with a wonderful opportunity to serve China but was unable to meet her financial obligations. A great stir was raised by the Chinese president and faculty until my mission after three years consideration and in the face of opposition from the seminary finally decided that I should go to the college as "Provost". This is the same position, and in Chinese has the same name, as that of Dr. Stuart at Yenching and Dr. Henry at Canton. It is the foreign associate of the president who task it is to assist him in the administration of the institution.

My present position gives me an opportunity not only of assisting Hangchow College solve its problems but also gives me a great chance to help solve the greater problems of Higher Education in China. What type of college should be developed in China? Who should go to college? What type of instruction should be given and in what courses? These are some of the problems which I help to solve after I have finished my work in Teachers College and return to China for further service.

THE IMPLICATIONS OF MY COURSE IN 500A FOR PROGRAM AND METHOD IN
HANGCHOW COLLEGE

The ten hours of class room work in psychology and adult education, together with the dozens of books read in connection with these courses have given me certain definite impressions which have implications for the program and method of Hangchow College.

These are organized under four heads as follows:

I. A CULTURE CONDITIONED PROGRAM.

In the first place the program and method of the college should be culture-conditioned. This impression has been intensified by observing that the many differing types of psychology agree that the environment exerts a great influence upon the individual. While they approach the problems of psychology from different points of view and conduct their experiments in different fields, these psychologists reach the conclusion that one's attitudes, type of living, as well as his purposes, are largely determined by the culture in which he has developed. Whether we study behaviorism of Watson, the modified behaviorism of Thorndike, the Gestalt psychology, or approach the study from the organismic or psycho-analytic standpoint, we are impressed with the power of the conditioning culture largely to determine the development of the individual. As Professors Watson and Spence in speaking of "The Individual and the Culture" have well said, "Every individual develops

from birth in some 'cradle of custom'.....Most of the characteristics associated with race or nation are properly understood as products of the correlative culture." (Page 7)

This fact has also been emphasized in the study of psychology of social change where it was apparent that the individual if able to overcome the influence of his environment sufficiently to advocate change found it very difficult to attain his objective because of the opposition of his culture. Those interested in developing a program of adult education have likewise found this conditioning culture a vital factor in their work.

This fact has broad implications for a program of an American mission college in China. These colleges were established by foreigners who desired to promote the establishment of a Christian church by providing higher education, first for its ministry, and second, for its lay leadership. While they believed that this was for the best interests of the Chinese, the approach was not through a study of Chinese culture or the needs of the Chinese people, but rather from the background of Western culture and the conviction that Christianity as understood by their American constituency would prove equally helpful to the Chinese. These colleges thus became conditioned by American culture. They were characterized by what the Laymen's Inquiry calls a "persistent foreignness". (Page 177)

Because Chinese culture was so different from what had been known as Christian culture and because it was not well

understood by foreigners even though living in China, it was often considered an evil thing and many of its practices were condemned. Too often this was an unjust verdict and required Chinese to renounce that which had been vital and helpful in their own culture. Much of the opposition to Christian work in China has grown out of this indiscriminating condemnation.

Too often have those who sought the welfare of the Chinese evaluated their work in terms of the change from Chinese customs to Western customs, from Chinese ideas to Western ideas. The conditioning power of Chinese culture over Chinese students was ignored. These young people still under the influence of these ancient customs were asked to transfer their allegiance to a new culture. The result of this policy has been to create a great conflict, not only in many individuals, but in their families and communities. Surrounded with Western ideas and environment, they were torn from their own culture and de-nationalized. This perhaps has been one of the severest as well as the truest criticisms of the program and method of a mission college in China.

The college program must be re-studied from the background of Chinese ancient tradition. We must do all we can to preserve and pass on the rich heritage of the students' culture. While that which is good in the culture of the foreign missionary should also be presented and its value emphasized, these colleges should be Chinese colleges. They should grow out of Chinese tradition, should seek to develop these Chinese

students so that they may understand the problems growing out of their own culture and out of its contact with other cultures and to act intelligently as they undertake to resolve the conflict between them.

The implications of this for college administration are many. Frequently one hears arguments for Chinese architecture. Its advocates would perpetuate Chinese tradition by erecting a Chinese type of buildings on the college campus. It is interesting to note that most of the institutions following this plan are those established by foreigners. Those institutions, either private or public, established by Chinese tend to adopt the Western style of architecture as more suitable for the purposes of the college. This may be worthwhile but much more important by far is the organization of the college curriculum, the atmosphere in the Board rooms, and in the faculty meetings, the background of all classroom discussion, the viewpoint which is dominant in all the college life. In other words the background and the present atmosphere of the institution should be Chinese and not Occidental. This will require much work in the application of Western learning to Chinese life, so that the experiments, tests, illustrations, and applications should be Chinese.

The purpose of the institution should be training Chinese in their Chinese environment with the background of their Chinese culture, while giving them anything that has

proved valuable in our culture and traditions that they might consider its value for China and the Chinese. The implications then of this conviction that the culture conditions the individual require that a Chinese influence be dominant in the administration, in the classroom, in community life, and in extracurricular activities. This will require the re-writing of textbooks, the re-training of faculty, the re-organizing of program as well as the adoption of new methods. Unless this is done, these colleges must continue to be guilty of disregard for the most powerful influence over the developing individual, and continue to cause dangerous conflicts in the individual and between the individual and his environment. This is contrary to the spirit of Christianity and those missionaries who are seeking to bring to China the Abundant Life cannot longer disregard this important factor.

II. A CONSTANTLY CHANGING PROGRAM.

A second impression which has been intensified during this study has been that of change. This is seen in the study of various types of psychology. When in college one was introduced to faculty psychology; eight years ago when upon furlough, a study of psychology found the S--R bond psychology emphasized. In our present study we find the organismic approach gaining favor and the Gestalt psychology being widely accepted.

In the study of the psychology of social change and in the adult education classes one hears much about unemployment

due to technological advance, of billions of dollars being spent for relief, of the use of leisure time, of the breakdown of capitalism. These ideas were not commonly heard eight years ago. The fact that they are today uppermost in the mind of many students of society is an evidence of how great and how rapid are the changes taking place in our culture.

A quarter of a century in China has prepared one to believe that very significant changes are rapidly taking place in our world today. Twenty years ago ricksha coolies were fighting sedan-chair bearers who were smashing rickshas in the streets of Hangchow because these newly introduced vehicles were destroying their trade. A few years ago these same ricksha coolies were pushing taxis and buses into West Lake because they were destroying the ricksha business. Instead of 50 miles of automobile road in and around Hangchow as we found it upon our returning to China eight years ago, we shall find more than 3,000 miles of such road when we return this year. Instead of taking a week to get to our city from Shanghai as it once took, the journey can now be made in a modern passenger plane in less than one hour.

These changes are typical of those taking place in every part of China's culture. The home industry, for so many centuries an important part of the Chinese economic system, is being misplaced by the introduction of Western indus-

Another implication of this change in the situation in

tries. The farmer's daughters no longer spin the silk and weave the cloth in the home but are herded together in the barn-like dormitories of the silk filatures being established throughout the silk-raising districts. Western language requires so much of the time and effort of the student that he pays little attention to the mastery of his ancient literature and the educated man is less and less able to write acceptably in his own language. The large family for so many centuries the foundation of China's social system is gradually giving way to the small family and in this, divorce, formerly unknown in China, is rapidly increasing.

These changes made necessary by the contact of China with the West require the college to be constantly alert to the needs of this ever-changing culture. It requires that the college make continuous changes of its objectives and methods in relation to these needs and to improved methods of meeting them. A curriculum, a course of study, or a classroom procedure valuable in the past may be useless or even harmful today. The missionary motive and program must be constantly studied and interpreted in the light of China's changing culture and the world's intellectual advance. Unless this is done the college must fail to make its contribution to the development of that culture which shall secure a fullness of living for the Chinese people and enable China to take her proper place in the life of the world.

Another implication of this change in the situation in

China is that the American mission college should do its part in guiding the change that is now taking place in her culture. As stated above the college, if it is a Chinese college, must react to Chinese culture. On the other hand, it has a responsibility to guide in the development of this culture. Especially is this true of China where only 15% of the entire population can read and write and where perhaps less than 1% of the people have made any study of Western culture or its advantages and disadvantages. This places a very heavy responsibility upon those who have had their perspective enlarged by the study of the world situation. They are the only ones who will be able to grasp the meaning of many of the forces which are determining China's future. Unless they devote themselves to a study of this changing scene and find ways of resolving the conflict of cultures in China their country must suffer as a result of her contacts with the West. That the students of China realize this responsibility is seen in the way in which they attempt to influence the foreign policies of their country and to take a lead in movements for social welfare. They must be given every assistance in the way of training and sympathetic guidance as they strive to meet this heavy responsibility.

Especially has the mission college a responsibility in this field. China can no longer isolate herself from others. She will not be allowed to live her own life apart from the changing world scene. The mission college has an opportunity

to explain some of the movements that are so powerfully influencing the life of the West. To help these students evaluate the ideas and methods of the West, every assistance must be given them as they strive to adapt that which is best from the West to life in China and organize it with that which has been preserved out of her own ancient culture to form a new and a more adequate culture for China in this modern world. In this task the mission college has a unique opportunity.

This opportunity can only be taken advantage of as the college recognizes that it is living in a world of change and is ever ready to adapt itself to the changing scene. This will require a re-study and a re-statement of the missionary objectives. It will demand changes in curriculum and in methods of instruction. It will not permit the college to settle down and be satisfied with its contribution but ever alert to change it that it may better accomplish the important task set before it. This will demand that those in charge be faithful students of the social changes in China and in America and the world as a whole, that they keep abreast of the studies being made in education, its philosophy and methodology. It will require that it secure freedom for experimentation in order that these studies may be applied to China to discover how far it is desirable to include them in the developing culture.

III. A COOPERATIVE PROGRAM.

These courses have also emphasized the importance of

the individual cooperating with his fellows for the attainment of the common welfare. The organismic approach to psychology holds out as one of its major tenets that the individual and his environment are one. Gestalt psychology thinks of him as a part of the total pattern. A study of the social situation leads to the conviction that only through cooperation can the present chaos be changed into order and the present distress give way to desirable living conditions for all. One of the major objectives of adult education is to help them to understand the necessity for cooperating together if they are to replace poverty with plenty.

The Chinese people are being introduced to the extremes of wealth and poverty caused by the capitalist system in a way that they have not known before. Although a large portion of the Chinese people have always lived in the midst of poverty and even on the verge of starvation, they have found the introduction of the capitalist system together with industrial and technological changes to increase this poverty. It has created a group of capitalists hitherto unknown in that great land. It has increased unemployment and created direr poverty. This situation has caused great discontent amongst the people and tends to make them sympathetic with Communist tactics. Much of the banditry of China is but another form of Communism in which dispossessed peasants, finding no means to provide for their families, band together and seize from their exploiting neighbors

enough to sustain their lives. There is thus a demand for some form of organization which will assist the laboring classes to obtain a living. This demands cooperation and unless the Chinese can learn this lesson there seems to be little hope for their country.

Believing that college life should at once be a real life and prepare for life, it seems necessary that the college program be cooperative. This has several implications. One of these is that the college curriculum and program of work should be democratically determined. Not only should the faculty have some say in its formulation, but students should cooperate with the faculty through joint committees in building up their program and in studying ways and means for carrying it out.

It also demands changes in teaching methods in the college. In America many institutions reacting against the standardized mass production of college graduates, are beginning to emphasize self-guided study as a means of preserving and developing the individuality of the student. With this end in view use has been made of such plans as a free-reading period, the independent-work period, the honors system, the self-guided study plan, etc. In all of these the basic ideas seem to be, first that a student should be permitted ^{to} study along the line of his chief interest or ability, and second that an emphasis should be placed as stated in the New College Bulletin, on "the right of the individual to progress at a rate commensurate

with his abilities and in a way best adapted to his needs." (P. 48)

In this emphasis there is danger of producing more and better trained adherents of rugged individualism than ever before. In the past the self-made man was held up as an ideal product of this social system. They are the men of ability who through self-guidance rose to places of influence and power, and usually wealth. Society seemed to say to this unusual person, "You are gifted and have a right to all you can get, without reference to others." Similarly do many colleges say today to the "superior student", "You are a person of unusual ability. We do not want you to be held back by others of less ability. Your gifts enable you to leave them far behind. Plan your work without reference to them and go as fast as you can."

In order to avoid making the college a place for the developing of individualists, it is not enough to tell them that they are to work for the common good. The teaching procedure of the college should be such as to develop in them a cooperative attitude and ability. This program should not be one of individual self-guidance any more than it should be the old type of teacher control. The work should be guided by a group --not too large -- of those interested in some field and, in which all share in determining the task that is set and cooperate in accomplishing it. This group should be composed of students of very differing ability but of similar interests. In the work the student

operating democratically in society,

of ability should think of his superior gifts as fitting him to take a larger responsibility and should carry a heavier load, not for his own benefit alone, but for the benefit of the group as a whole. He will take harder assignments only in order to report to the group just as does one of less ability, who accepts responsibility for work less in amount but no less difficult for him. His accomplishment will be tested by his contribution to the group experience.

Cooperative attack on a common problem requires a diminishing use of the lecture method and an increasing emphasis on group work and discussion and inter-group conference as means of instruction. This work should be of such a nature as to enlist the interest and to provide pleasure to all participants. The methods in adult education as demonstrated by Professor Bryson give many suggestions along this line. These should be made use of in the classroom in order to help the students while in college to learn to cooperate intelligently in the solution of common problems and in the accomplishment of common tasks.

In the extra-curricular life of the institution the student should be encouraged to live cooperatively. They can gain experience in the conduct of extra-curricular activities, in the running of the mess hall and in the management of the cooperative store. Any such experience should not only be meaningful in the present but training for the future. It should help them to realize the benefits to be derived from cooperating democratically in society.

IV. COMMUNITY CONSCIOUS PROGRAM.

One objection that has been made to psychological experiments in the past is that they were not conducted under real conditions. For a long time they were subjective, depending upon what a person thought to be the facts. It was in reacting to this that behaviorism developed and Thorndike conducted his experiments. These have also been criticized as being unreal for they either subjected the child to unusual experiences or they studied animals in unnatural situations and applied the results to persons. The current reaction to this is seen in the work of Professor Lorge and others with W.P.A. workers. Here again the situation is not normal, leading Professor Gates to declare that there is "no law of learning". By this he meant that studies so far had not been made in normal situations. The organismic approach of psychology holds that learning takes place in a situation requiring a choice to be made. The individual interacting with his environment finds it necessary to solve the problem arising. An implication of this is that unless this is a situation which is real, real learning does not take place.

A study of the community leads to the conviction that in the past the schools have not really prepared one for life and that an important part of the program of adult education consists in re-educating people so that they can adjust themselves to their environment. The college can contribute to

social change only as it is in touch with its community. Thus do the courses taken emphasize the importance of the college being in vital contact with its community.

That American colleges have not been community conscious is abundantly evident to those who make a study of the question. Even such institutions as Tuskegee, Hampton Institute, and Berea, have tended to isolate themselves from their constituency and to live in a world apart. Each of these institutions now has property valued at more than ten million dollars, but a poor student finds it more difficult today to secure an education fitting him for life in the community than he did when these institutions had no property. The result of such a policy is that students are taken aside and educated out of and away from the communities from which they come, leaving those communities poorer because their more promising young people have been taken from them. These institutions contribute to the welfare of the community largely, if not exclusively, through the work of county agents and special school teachers employed by the State and sent back into the community from which the students come, to try to raise their standard of living.

This situation is certainly true of China. There the elementary schools select the brightest children from the country side and send them to the secondary schools. Here another selection is made and those who are able to provide the funds go on to college. In college the life has little to remind one that and happiness. Their families are disgruntled because they

the college is located in China. The curriculum is built on foreign ideology and taught in a foreign language. It has little to do with China's culture or China's conditions. College graduates find themselves torn from their old environment and unwilling to return to it if there is any way to avoid it. The life back in the villages from which they come carries on much as usual except that their resources have been drained to provide this education for the young who often continue to make demands upon them even after graduation. Thus the village is left without its brightest young people to face a problem made more difficult because of educating them.

Another side to this question is the fact that these young people have not been trained to take part in China's life. They have been prepared along Western lines to take part in a Western type of life. Commercial training has fitted them to take part only in such commercial enterprises as have adopted Western methods, such as the post office, the customs, and the new style banks. Ninety-nine percent of the business enterprises in China are conducted along other lines for which these graduates are unprepared. The result of this is that not only in commercial lines but many others are the graduates of high schools and colleges unable to find positions. Naturally this leads to great disappointment as they had expected a college diploma to open for them a place in which they could find wealth and happiness. Their families are disgruntled because they

expected that their investment in the education of these young people would abundantly reward them when they gained success.

In Mexico the government is thinking of the community as a whole in its program of education. Here adult education and school education are parts of one process, the village teacher being responsible for all phases of education in the village. Whether this plan is adopted or not, certainly it is necessary for the college to be more conscious of its community and seek at once the development of an individual who will serve the community and a community in which the individual can serve.

In planning a program for public education in Pennsylvania, Castle states that "more and more they (schools) will tend to draw from immediate environment the subject matter of course content....developing in individuals qualities which will equip them for successful participation in community life."(p.597) This plan has been carried out rather fully in Russia. Their industrial plants have become the laboratories for the training of workers in industry and the managers of these plants form the faculty. This is not possible in Hangchow College, but certainly there exists there an opportunity to utilize the community in a very much larger way than in the past. Situated on the edge of a large city and adjoining a thickly settled rural area, it has opportunity to study life at first hand and to experiment under Chinese conditions in their various fields of study. For example, it is not so important to spend much time for the study

of cooperative enterprises in Western countries as it is to organize farmers' cooperatives in the villages nearby, or consumers' cooperatives in the city nearby. Similarly educational experiments can be carried out either in the schools or amongst the adult population. The community then should "more and more tend to draw from immediate environment the subject matter of course content." (A.W. Castle, "Planned Program of Public Education for Pennsylvania, P. 597")

The community also furnishes an opportunity to serve. As stated above, learning takes place in an actual situation. One cannot be sure that attitudes will be changed when the professor lectures on the importance of rural reconstruction. Nor can one guarantee that anything will happen in the changing of attitude of the individual when they study situations abroad and efforts made by others to render service to their fellows, but in actual participation in movements in the community which make for the doing away with illiteracy, poverty, sickness and superstition, the individual may develop attitudes and skills along with knowledges which will be meaningful at the time and from which he will learn that which in days to come will enable him to contribute to the reconstruction of the rural areas.

Not only so, but the homes and communities from which these students come should not be forgotten in our interest in our immediate community. Plans should be made by the students in cooperation with the faculty and perhaps with government

agencies, which look forward to taking back to their homes and communities the benefits of the training received in the college. Here youth can find a challenge for his loyal service. As Professor Watson has so well said, "more than anything else, youth needs opportunity to work for a great cause or social goal. Fully and strenuously to be occupied in cooperation with one's fellows, achieving something of great importance - this is salvation." (Human Resources - Ed. Rec. 17:53) Such a program will be of mutual benefit to the community and to the college, for not only will it take back to the village knowledge of cooperatives, skill in self-government, and ability to select seed and better to cultivate their land, but it will require the college to make its program of such a type as will make these contributions to the community. This will require it to appraise its program in the light of community needs.

It may be many years before Hangchow College will be able to reach an understanding with its community as to what type of training should be given and the positions for which its students should be prepared, but the extent to which this can be accomplished will in large degree be the measure of the success of the institution. Of course a real budget of human resources can only be made under a socialist society.

Every effort however should now be made to understand the needs of the community through constant study of the situation and contact with the leaders in various walks of life. It

should follow the policy of linking its work with the life about it and measure its success in terms of the real contribution it makes to the welfare of all. In this it would follow the plan of American rather than British workers' education and strive to raise the level of one's group through education rather than through it to seek to escape from the group. Thus it may be possible to approach the ideal so well stated in the report submitted to the National Resources Commission by the American Council on Education when it says, "A school program adapted to modern needs, understood by the community, integrated with the work of the community, and serving all youth able to profit by further instruction." (p. 94)

Kepler Van Evera Letters, December 21-31, 1937

Kepler Van Evera and his wife, Pauline, were Northern Presbyterian missionaries in Hangzhou from 1912. They were close acquaintances of the McMullens throughout their time in China, often mentioned in the letters. The Van Everas had just returned from furlough when the Japanese occupied the city and Kepler composed a breathless, running account of events in that last week of December for his children back in the US. These were only received at the New York offices of the PCUSA in 1947; the Van Everas were repatriated on the first *Gripsholm* exchange in the summer of 1942. The mimeographed originals are too faint for reproduction on this site, so we have excerpted relevant passages for posting. The original letters are held in the Presbyterian Historical Archives (RG 82, Box 54, File 11).

December 23, 1937

“Last night I slept soundly. It was rumored that the bridge would be blown up last night. All the Railway Staff is supposed to have left. This morning at 3:45 I waked up when off went a great blast. I assumed that it was the bridge – an hour later came another and soon after five several more. Mac [*McMullen*] came in for a meeting about 10:30 and said that the bridge was intact, cars and people going over it. This morning the rumor was that it was to go at 12:00 but it is now 12:25. But they did blow up part of the power plant, no lights now, no radio to listen to. Someone said that the ferry landings went but I have not had time to go and see. The town is cleaned out – not a soldier or police left – a few firemen are stationed on the street, presumably to keep order – doubt if they could do anything. No reason why they should not come in any time. The radio report of yesterday was a bluff evidently for they talked of counter drives toward the lake. [...]

“The town is quiet, few people on the streets except those robbing the rice shops and that is going strong. One mob at Fong Kiang Gyao has been at it all day since 9:00 this morning. [...] The street is covered with rice. A half hour ago there was another terrific explosion that rolled for several minutes. It may or may not have been the bridge. No way to know unless you go there – too far this late in the day. [...] No news to be had today, no radio, no one knows anything, even a dearth of rumors.

December 26, 1937

“We have managed to pass Christmas Day quietly, in a way not so quiet either, and have come to another day that promises to be even more hectic. Yesterday I tore from place to place, was at the Girls’ School [*also referred to as the ‘Ong Dao*] in the morning just in time to meet three officers bringing proclamations regarding the purpose of their army – they were of the military police – and as they were ready to write proclamations for protection of foreign property I succeeded in getting them to write for practically all the houses in the city, of all missions, also churches and schools. After distributing them to Wayland [*Academy*], Chang Memorial, Da Tah R Yang [*Church*], Ku Lou [*Church*], I went home to rest and put them on our own gate. Gene Turner and I decided on supper at 5:00 – he came and I decided to go to ‘Ong Dao for the night. We rode down the Great Street in the gathering twilight. Most of the shop doors were forced open and soldiers were spending the night inside. It was about dark when we arrived at the ‘Y’. I went on to ‘Ong Dao alone. All was quiet. About 6:30 two officers came to look in, one spoke a bit of English – after a short time they left – we saw them to the front gate. I went to bed about nine – slept well until three – all quiet when I got up at 6:30 and left to get Gene and go home for breakfast. We rode by Fong Loh Gyao [*Church*]... - during the night someone of them had hung out a Japanese flag. We took it down, went on to Tsh R Yang and found the same thing there. They said the Chamber of Commerce had sent word to welcome them. But we told them that this was Red Cross and we could not have both flags. [...]

“Gene left soon after breakfast. I wrote up my journal and left at 10:00, went to Tai Miao Yang. A crowd of women and children were down back of the chapel along the canal wanting to

get to the Chinese Red Swastika Refugee Center in the Tai Miao Yang Government School, but were scared to death of some soldiers in the street. They followed me and got to the Center without trouble. I went on and stopped at the Ku Lou for a few minutes, then on to the 'Y' and to the Girls' School. Mr. Ma was very much upset because soldiers had come and searched both him and Mr. Vong in the guest room, broken the glass case with the cups and silver shields and take out some smaller ones. I went back to see Turner who went with me to the school. We decided to see if a meeting could not be called to ask for guards – were too late for lunch at 'Y' so ate a Chinese cookie and rushed over to the hospital. Sturton [*Dr. Stephen Douglas Sturton*] being out we went to see the Bishop [*John Curtis*] but got little satisfaction – he did not seem to think anything could be done. We started off and at the gate met Sturton, [*Frank*] Willis of the Asiatic Petroleum Company, and Stapleton Cotton, the Postal Commissioner, who had just been to Song Meh Tsang and other places and found that they had broken into Mr. [*Robert*] Fitch's back gate and were taking out bedding. Since the three of them felt that they could do nothing I did not care to go back and try it singlehanded. They left a proclamation with the [*Fitch's*] cook to put on the back gate when they left!

“Gene and I rode home to early supper up the Great Street, crowded with soldiers getting ready to pass the night in shops, beyond the Drum Tower a string of cars lined up as far as we could see toward Vong San Men. We arrived at home and Wow! Ah S, Fu Da Sao, the cook and Mr. Van all were there to tell of the Japanese soldiers coming in paying no attention to either the consular proclamations or their own proclamations and going through all three houses, upstairs and down – all were excited and trembling – told us to go in and see for ourselves what they had taken. I went through the house, remembered that I had left my pocketbook in the drawer – it was gone, my razor and \$20 U.S. currency given by people at home... We ate supper in a hurry, it was getting dark and we felt that we must get back to the 'Y' and 'Ong Dao – we hoped they would not come in the night – but we felt an obligation to about 1500 women and children in the two places. We left as it was getting dark but a fire at Nan Hsing lighted the way. All was quiet at the school – we had over 1200 tonight as against 150 last night – all women and children, frightened to death by stories of rape and looting of their homes – pitiful. Sleeping on a 'Mein Bi' on the cement floors of the gym and dining room, as close as bed pads could be laid out, some four or five, mother and children in one bed. Two light meals a day. About 7:00 o'clock one of the gatemen came running in to say that the soldiers had come to inspect. We went out and found three of them slipping across the walk into the dark, two with rifles with bayonets fixed. I tried to talk to them in English, they understood one or two words, talked among themselves for a time, then said good-night and left. Mr. Vong saw them to the gate – they insisted that we do not go with them. At the gate the gatemen told us that when they came in they asked for girls. [...] Naturally everyone is jittery as can be. Everyone's home has been looted, why should they feel at ease? The only ray of hope tonight is that I was stopped in coming here by three sentries, one at the corner just this side of the 'Y', one in front of Mr. Fitch's house and one just opposite Mr. [*Jay*] Oliver's old gate. We hope it means a beginning of control of the soldiers. We'll see what tomorrow brings forth. [...]

Monday, Dec. 27

“Just as I came down the gate opened and three soldiers came in on bicycles. I went out to talk to them – they wanted chickens, and asked me to lead them around. I did not do as they asked – Gene came out, told them nothing doing, showed them the proclamation on the door and we helped them out with their wheels. [...]

“Mr. Turner wrote down an account of the visit of the soldiers to our compound yesterday and took it to the office of the Military Police. The captain had called at the Y.M.C.A. on Saturday so Gene felt that he had a contact. He left the letter at their office and this afternoon after I had gone to ‘Ong Dao an officer called and a Chinese from the Chamber of Commerce with him, inquired into the action of the soldiers. It made us feel that they were beginning to get on the job. After they left Gene and Mr. Van went over to the little American school. There was a soldier in there attacking someone and Gene put him out, apparently scared the life out of him from what they said. I went around by the Police School and down the Great Street, lined all the way to the Drum Tower with artillery and carts - a new contingent was just arriving that stretched from the Drum Tower to below the Commercial Press. I wound my way down between soldiers, horses, cannon and cart without much apparent notice from anyone and on to the Girls’ School, then back to the Y.M.C.A. to go with Tso Kong Yang to a meeting at the hospital. Chinese who go out on a bicycle these days alone usually have them taken away. My, how Tso did tear along. I could hardly keep up! [...]

December 28

“Before daylight I could hear dripping from the roof and when it was light I could see that it had been snowing. [...] I went directly home and found that they had had a quiet night. Gene was sitting in the dining room but told me to take my bath. I could not shave since the callers on Sunday took my razor. [...]

“I went to Wayland to see Ed. Clayton... When I got to the Wayland gate the crowd of women clamoring to get in was increasing, but with 1,700 they could take no more. We pushed our way to the door and had to push them back and say no more could be received until further notice. I went to let Ed know...but he was not in and Kyi Sen invited me to dinner. I decided to stay...Kyi Sen fixed a plate. I sat down, soon after Gene came in. [...] I said that the crowd at the gate could be taken in at Tsh R. Yang. That relieved Ed’s mind and Mr. [Charles] Fairclough and I took them over, about forty women and children, the men not being allowed in. That brought their number to over 400. Fong Loh Gyao Church has over 200. The count in the Girls’ School this morning is 1840, jammed, bedraggled but uncomplaining humanity...

“The question of enough rice is bothering everyone now. The Chamber of Commerce is trying to get rice, people try to keep it stored, but it may be commandeered one of these days. No one could move rice on the streets these days without a guard of soldiers. We had at first counted on four days of this. It now looks as if it would continue for a week. After the Girls’ School I called at the ‘Y’, at the office of the Military Police to ask a question, then back to look

in at Fong Loh Gyao Church. They were excited because a soldier had gotten over the wall at the back of the church into Pastor Van's compound, which is shut off from the church compound by a wall and the gate was locked. So there he was like a man in a well. But he had made so much noise falling down, on and off the tin roof of a small kitchen that they all knew someone was in there, so they opened the door and four of them escorted him out the front gate. The laugh was on him.

"I went on to the hospital and at Dr. Sturton's listened to Mac and Dr. [*Fred*] Manget, the same turbulent kind of happenings. Mac thinks the college is getting on very well, but soldiers have been in the T'ien Suo Gyao compound. He had quite a row with them there. I was ready to start home when Gene came in. He left some letters with Dr. Sturton and we went along together...trooped back through the puddles, stopped a number of times by soldiers, not sentries, as no sentries were posted along our route. But our Red Cross badges took us by and we got home all right. One soldier tried to get me to hand him my flash but I kept on going and not understanding what his idea was so nothing happened. Mr. Van came in and sat and talked while we ate supper. We are beginning to wonder what the coming days will bring. Will we be able to get food or wood, for everything is just now being used up very rapidly.

December 29

"In spite of the exciting experiences of the day I slept well during the night. Once or twice, while writing before going to bed I thought I heard noises, and pictured soldiers jumping down from the front wall. Once I actually went out and looked along the front wall...but nothing was there. [...] Gene came over and we had interesting breakfast conversation. We decided that I should go out this morning and Gene this afternoon. [...]

"I went to the hospital where Mac, Sturton, the Bishop, Ed Clayton and Mr. Fairclough were discussing the contacts we had with the Military Police, the incidents that had happened to the various refugee centers and hospital and the possibility of getting permission to transfer rice to the refugee centers. All are getting low on rice now, the Chamber of Commerce is working on the problem, had not yet gotten it through. The Bishop was to see the Military police about it. Mac was to see them to get a guard for T'ien Suo Gyao. [...] I was then ready to start home, up the Great Street, all the way to Ku Lou saw fewer soldiers than any day since the 24th. All was quiet at the Ku Lou Church. The nurses have not come back, the caretaker and three Christians were O.K. I then rode on and beyond the Ku Lou still a long line of artillery but not so much as yesterday. I ran into a group of soldiers moving a cart, wound in and out for a time but at last had to get off my wheel and take it to the sidewalk. I stopped at the Red Swastika Refugee Center in the Tai Miao Yang which had been jammed for days. They are troubled with soldiers wandering in and out but do not keep their door shut as we do. Being foreign property with Consular proclamation and also our own Military Police order can perhaps do it better than can a Chinese society in Chinese property. [...]

"Gene had told me at noon that there were twenty-eight people in his servants' quarters. More than a dozen had now come in, all of them asking to be 'saved.' ... We went out again to

get bedding and food for some who had failed to bring them and others came in with us. We were going steadily until five when Gene came home and we made one more trip after that. Mr. and Mrs. Chu took right hold. [...] Mr. Chu was given the job of registering all who had come in. It was getting dark and he did not complete it but he came in at supper time to say that he had down seventy-two names. Will complete it tomorrow and include Ah Vong's family and Mrs. Ah S and son. The old gatehouse is full upstairs and down, our carpenter room. At Gene's two rooms upstairs and one down in the servants' quarters and two downstairs along the wall over at the third house. One...woman spread her quilt there on the cement floor and said 'This is heaven.' How frantic they are to get where they feel safe. After supper Mr. Van and I made the rounds of all the rooms to see that they were all right and that they had no foot stoves going and to caution them. We expect a quiet night. Today it looked as if the bulk of the troops had passed on and Mac said that lines of artillery were passing the college this morning and he had difficulty coming in – was challenged every little way where usually he met only one or two sentries on the way in. No doubt some other place will be stripped tomorrow and people fleeing, hunting a place to sleep in peace, but under far worse conditions. The small towns and villages must suffer unspeakably.

December 30

“It was after seven when I got up – another cloudy day – the people had had a quiet night, and as I looked around after coming down all was in order. [...] I went down the Yang Z Kyai, which had few soldiers, and to Wayland where I saw Mr. Fairclough, and soon after, Ed. The chief problem seems to be rice but some had come to Wayland already from the Chamber of Commerce and we expected that problem to be solved today... Just as I was leaving Mac drove up, we chattered a bit – he said the situation at the college was easier this morning. I went on to Da Tah R Yang – they had just gotten ten bags of rice and so were feeling better. [...] When I reached the Girls' School a military truck was unloading 25 bags of rice which solved their rice problem. I was to take the receipt for the rice back to the Chamber of Commerce. [...]

After dinner I hurried home for Gene was planning to get away and was just ready when I arrived. They had had another encounter with soldiers; this time they were trying to climb the school wall and were standing on top when Gene told them to come down and one of them drew a pistol. But somehow he came down anyway though it was a nasty affair.

[...] “We were busy until dark receiving people, going out a number of times to help them in. We decided to put them on the veranda, moved the tables and chairs, hung up all the curtains and matting we could find, and when it was full all the way around we put the overflow on Gene's veranda. Mr. and Mrs. Chu went around and registered them all and when we counted up we found that yesterday 82 had come in and today 75, a total of 157. We arranged for men to sit up in pairs through the night in periods of two and a half hours each. We had our supper and felt it was a day.

December 31

It was rainy when we got up... It had been a quiet night.

[...] Kyi Sen, Ed's cook, was taken by soldiers the other night, made to carry things for them for some time, was released and got back after Ed had gone to the Japanese consulate to see how he could get him back. From the 'Y' I went on to the Girls' School – they have been able to get in plenty of rice and their numbers are down as some have gone home the last day or two. They reported 1308 today. Next I went on to Wayland. On the way I met one of the Japanese interpreters of the Military Police who was going to see Mr. [Buster] Brown so we rode along together. When we got to Ed's home Kyi Sen said that Mr. Brown was over in the new primary building, for soldiers had gotten in there. I asked our guest, Mr. Fujimaru, to go along to see Mr. Brown there. Just as we got to the little gate into the Primary School compound out came the police guard of the school leading two soldiers with Ed and Mr. Brown following. Mr. Fujimaru straightened up, snapped out at them in Japanese, called one to step forward, slapped his face first on one side, then on the other, took away their numbers, told the guard to take them out. They will probably hear from that again!

Eugene Turner (YMCA) Letters to Family on Japanese Occupation of Hangzhou, December 22, 1937 – January 1, 1938

In late December 1937 and early January 1938, Eugene Turner, head of the Hangzhou YMCA, wrote a series of letters to his sons in college back home about his own experiences (including encounters with McMullen). These letters were later excerpted by someone unknown into the following document, which can be found in the Special Collections and Archives at the University of Oregon (Jay and Lucile Oliver Papers, Ax 647, Box 13, Folder 11).

EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS WRITTEN TO E.A.T. JR. AND
F.I.T., STUDENTS AT U. OF N.C.

By Eugene Yussner

Hangchow, Dec. 22, 1937.

Dear Boys:

Hangchow is simply waiting and fully expecting the Japanese troops who are now approaching on two sides; one from the direction of Mokanshan, tho' considerably this side of it, and within fifteen miles of the city, and the other from the Shanghai direction now about thirty miles from us. I probably saw the last train for Ningpo go at six this evening, and the report is that the new rail and motor bridge is to be destroyed (in part) tonight. We do not really know whether the J. troops are as near as we hear or not. It is very difficult to get at the facts. While the whole city is certain that the Japanese are coming, the radio reports from Shanghai and elsewhere tonight have it that there are 100,000 troops under General Chang Fah-Kwei who have begun an effective counter attack which may endanger lines of communication for the Japanese. The city has made plans for a peace preservation corps, made up mostly of firemen, who will be unarmed, to take care of the city between the retreat of the Chinese and the arrival of the Japanese, and that development is expected hourly.

Dec. 23.

I was right about the last train to Ningpo last night, for this morning before daybreak three explosions indicated that the new \$800,000 bridge had been blown to pieces, or at least three of the one hundred foot spans. The railway staff have gone, and today the telephone exchange closes, except for a private exchange serving about twenty offices and public places.

② Later. Fortunately, before mailing the above, I learned that the before-day explosions did not affect the bridge. Instead they were at the light plant, the ferry piers on either side of the river and the buildings at the air field. It had been bruited about that the bridge was to be blown up in part, and naturally, before the people investigated I, among them, thought that was what the explosions meant. Shops are closed again now throughout the city. I could count only three partly open doors from the Drum Tower to the point on the Great St. where I turn to the Y. The peace of the city is on the shoulders of 600 firemen and a very few bicycle police. We shall be in darkness, and you may be sure there is fear of what may happen tonight. There are many people who need re-assuring today. Women and children can move into the prepared places of refuge but men are being advised to stay in their homes, no matter what happens.

I must tell you that I had a little part on my way down this morning, in breaking up or preventing a rice riot. I found a large crowd with baskets milling about before a closed shop which was unwilling or afraid to open and sell rice, which people had money to pay for. I reported first to a bicycle policeman and he went to the Chamber of Commerce and reported. They immediately

sent a fire wagon and firemen, to make the shop open. Four hours later, as I passed, the shop was doing a rushing business. Let shops close, and the people thus get busy.

This morning at ten our emergency committee is meeting again. (It is composed of the Chamber of Commerce, representatives of the French, British and Americans and Buddhist organizations). People are of course excited. At the Y, they can hardly wait for me to move down. I do not see how my going will help them, but it may re-assure them and I hope my presence will serve to keep the building from being occupied as headquarters for His Imperial Majesty's Army, since we shall hope before long to begin our program again, but who knows? I shall not be surprised at anything today.

Dec. 25, 1937, Yes, Christmas day.

I rather wish you could have shared the thrills of yesterday with me. At nine-thirty in the morning I went out into the old Tartar City, of which you will not remember much, except for its broad, good bicycling streets. Except for ununiformed, straw-helmeted firemen, I was the first to meet the incoming soldiers..... They came in without firing a shot. Less than a hundred weary Japanese soldiers marched into the city, not bothering even to march in formation. They straggled in, and then divided into informal groups of five or six, still straggling and marching with stooped shoulders, led by a straw-helmeted, ununiformed fireman. They scattered about the city. At their leisure they walked up the Great St., stooped and sat, some stretched out on the sidewalk in front of the Bank of China. I had met some of their groups of four or five, but found no one who could speak either Chinese or English; but in the loitering, resting group of about twenty in front of the Bank of China, there were two who spoke Chinese and one a smattering of English. In the first batch of soldiers which I saw cross the flags of the Rising Sun over the doors of the Magistrate's headquarters, there were none who could speak either Chinese or English. But a few minutes later I found some, mentioned above. I got across to them (in Chinese) the idea that a parley with our Emergency Committee and the Red Cross was desired, and they promised after going to the Provincial headquarters "To shoot five soldiers", who they said, were there, they would send some for a parley. I assured them that there were no soldiers nor police in the whole city, but the one who now acted as English master of the group said, "After the battle, we will come". I again assured him there would be no battle.

From this little private parley I went back to the Y to let them know I was safe, and then went on to the Church Missionary Society to report. (the Hospital, probably is meant). While there a man with a Red Cross band on his arm, who had been shot, was brought in dead. There had evidently been a language misunderstanding. They must have wanted him to lead them to some point in the city, indicated on their map, and when this man could not understand, they wrote the name of the place, but he could not read. They thought he was refusing to lead them and there

was quick action and the end for the hapless civilian with a Red Cross band and an ignorant head.

About one o'clock Colonel K came to the hospital to hear what we (the Emergency Committee) had to say. Dr. McMullen as President of the Committee was spokesman, with the suggestions we had agreed upon. They were brief: (1) there was not the slightest danger of resistance or attack from the city and we wanted consideration and help in maintaining order; (2) request for the Colonel's statement as to what the people and shopowners (the very few who are here) should be told as to their policy; (3) whether there would be any objection to the free movements of foreigners, but particularly the President of the Committee and the doctors were mentioned as important; (4) what can the Chamber of Commerce, whose representatives were on the Committee, do to help in the transfer of control? (5) what immediate service from the Chamber of Commerce do you want? The function of the firemen, who for the past several days have been the city's only protection, was explained, and the Colonel was told that they were at his disposal to aid in whatever way they could.

In answer to all this he replied that foreigners could go where and when they pleased, that he would like to have shops open, and that the new comers wanted rice, wood, salt, vegetables and kyangyu, but he refused to take over the protection of the city until more of their troops got in. He also had no objection to people's going to Church today and tomorrow. (That was in answer to Bishop Curtis' question).

All day and on into the evening their troops continued to come. Their entry was as informal and unorganized as you can imagine, with never a thought seemingly of snipers or other danger. One of their problems is food. Shopkeepers are mostly gone, and it will be many a long day before most of them will open their doors again. Only the poor people who could not afford to go are here and there has been so much looting already that they are not encouraged to open.

Yesterday after the parley I went over with G-l-t-a. for a moment and he and I rode over to Chekiang University where there was looting going on. The University machine shop was fitted with nearly two million dollars worth of valuable machinery. Most of that was gone, or damaged, for the looting had been going on all day. In the fine new granite columned library not a movable thing is left. Partitions, doors, furniture in all the buildings were taken out, much of it to make firewood. That has happened in practically every school in the city and in government buildings generally, with not only our visiting friends not lifting a restraining hand, but with their encouragement. This morning I have seen them not only directing hoodlums and their kindred tribes in the breaking open of shops, but I have seen them with their own rifle butts battering down doors. Many food shops are being looted. We have had rice and ham riots regularly yesterday and today, and riots in other food shops as well. In a few days, after first encouraging disorder, it will be announced to the world that in the beautiful and cultured city of Hangchow, order is restored, and the

property of the people is protected. Nothing will be said of the great destruction of government property, the destruction of which was encouraged.

After leaving the University grounds last night I came by to give a reassuring word to friends at the Y at 5:30, with darkness coming on, and no electricity in the city. They threw up their hands in horror when I told them I was going home to supper (to Tso Kyia Gyao) because they wanted me to spend the night in the building. I told them I must go, for I had had nothing but a light breakfast and lighter lunch (refugee 'hsi fan) and would be back by eight o'clock. It was on my way back that I had some thrills. It was a two mile bicycle ride thro' the dark city.... Carl's daddy and I walked together part of the way. A minute after leaving him I bumped into four Japanese soldiers, without lights. I stopped and turned on my flash light so they could see my arm band and they showed me their empty vessels and spoke the one word "fan" (rice) which they knew in Chinese. They were unarmed except at the side. A short distance on I struck about 20 also in the dark, but stopped and flashed my light, was went on, because I think they did not want witnesses. Only one other challenge until I was back in the Y.M.C.A. compound. We have the place full of refugees whom we have planned to feed for the next several days.

On the whole the entry has been orderly. I think the new-comers have themselves done little looting except for foods, shoes, small things, cameras and lenses. The worst thing is that they have encouraged the poor and the have-nots who in any land can do a fairly thorough job when they get under unhindered way.

We have just had a call from two Colonels and a captain. They were spick and span today, and seemed to be acting independently of the first Colonel who called for the parley yesterday. They wanted us (1) to move toward closing the refugee centers and sending the people back home, (2) to add to the present and only police force of 600 unarmed firemen, (3) and to arrange for food through the Chamber of Commerce. We answered all questions and promised to have a meeting of our Committee. I then asked if they would wire Shanghai that the 31 Americans, British and French were safe. One Colonel speaks Chinese but none of the three essays English.

Later

Now the streets are teeming with Japanese soldiers, and they are adopting various means of getting food. One is to attach a poorer Chinese to themselves and have him lead them to closed food shops. Then they have their own ways which none dare resist. There may be more of it in the next few days for they are coming in increasing numbers, and of course they are hungry. Each group of callers has said there was no objection to foreigners going where

they please, I am riding about on my wheel and keeping my eyes open. Now there are several thousands of the Japanese soldiers coming in. They are using cows, buffalos, horses and donkeys to transport goods and guns, as well as persons. . . . There is no question now about who is looting. They are forcing open homes and shops and helping themselves first and leaving the rest to the populace. There are hundreds of looted homes, not to mention shops and public buildings. In the meantime thousands of home-made flags, white paper or cloth with a sun inked in, in red, have made their appearance, and hundreds of arm-bands similarly made.

I went by the home of a friend, who sometime ago sent his automobile wheels to our house. His house has been looted and the open garage door shows the car. Because of the marching columns, including a long string of cow-drawn wagons. I thought it best not to cross the line and go in. I shall try to get in tomorrow, but fear everything in the home is gone and the car may be ruined. When I went back home along the Great St. at about 5:30 there was hardly a shop not forced open. In the shops where ladies in countless number have bought beautiful silks, cows and horses and Japanese soldiers are stabled for the night; and maybe longer. All the afternoon, wherever I went the Japanese soldiers were breaking open private barred and locked houses and in some sections there was a truck for them to pile their pickings.

As I went home for Christmas dinner consisting of vegetable and meat stew, for which there is only thanks, and as I came back on the darkening side of twilight, individual soldiers and pairs of soldiers and small groups were pulling stolen rickshaws laden with loot, and walking, and riding bicycles, the riders frequently with chickens or hams hanging from their handle bars. Some of them were carrying lighted candles. The arms of many of them are now hatchets, crowbars, axes, bayonets, or something to enable them to force doors. Along the streets they have used furniture or shutters to kindle fires to warm their hands. So far the conduct toward the people had been nearly all right but as they come in larger numbers and experience increasing difficulty in securing food I do not know what we may see or experience, especially after our friends become rested after their present heavy weariness.

We have just had news that out at a refugee camp, six miles from the city, which the Y.M.C.A. has been conducting, four of our workers were killed this afternoon. There has been fighting out that way and from the little we have heard, language difficulties and proximity to the lines suspicion may have been responsible.

Mr. Van came down with me tonight; he is to go to Hong-dao, which you may remember from your kindergarten days, and I to come here. (The Y.M.C.A.) There are friends in each place who need boosting. We left the American flag, a consular declaration that the place is American property (Northern Presbyterian) and a Japanese military police statement that the property was to be protected, all at the gate and Ah-s (our old gardener you may remember) in charge, and a Chinese pastor in the third house.

Therefore we hope and expect to find the place all right on our return for breakfast tomorrow,.....

Fortunately I was here this afternoon when we had a caller who wanted "mien-bis" (quilts). I politely, but firmly explained that other than the quilts owned by refugees and guests, we had none, begged his pardon and "sunged" him off. We have had quite an assortment of callers, with some minor ones whom I have not mentioned. So here in the Y in a candle lighted building, with several hundred refugees, whose food I usually eat, I end Christmas day, somewhat tired along the back bone.

The day was not done..... for I have just been to two brief Christmas services. One was in the gymnasium where there are about 400 refugee women and children sleeping on the floor. We had a five minute service with them, explaining that this is the birthday of Jesus and then came into the building and had the thirty-odd volunteer workers and secretaries for another. In both, to my embarrassment, public reference was made to my "standing by". In the smaller meeting I was able to explain that I had a sense of obligation and responsibility that made what little I could do a privilege and not a service. This last service was an impressive one, but now the night is really done, except for sleep.

December 26

The first Sunday after Christmas, and the tale is mounting. Last night, going where they willed with candles and prying instruments, doors were forced open and looting went on. To that was added the raping of women and this morning they and their children are coming into the refugee centers for safety, which they think is assured, but who knows? This city has not been so thoroughly looted since the days of the Tai Ping Rebellion. No one can hope to tell the story as it spreads before him as he goes about the city. Again, let me say there is no doubt about Japanese looting. I have now seen them forcing open shops dozens of times and yesterday, Mr. F of the C.I.M. caught them in the act at his own home and drove them out. The British flag was over the gate.

At the second place the men in charge had also painted a Sun on their Red Cross arm bands. I took them off and left the men without, - then went to the Hospital to report this misuse of the International Red Cross emblem. I was just in time to see a fire break out near the hospital and burst high into the air. It was in a building occupied by Japanese soldiers in the night. The soldiers use furniture, doors, etc. to make fires on the floors and in the open courts and the water works are out of commission, destroyed by departing Chinese military.

I forgot to tell you the first idea of our Colonels in their call yesterday. They wanted to use the Y as headquarters. Of course it is Chinese property now, but I was here and when they asked about the ownership, we told them simply that the building had been given by America. (American friends, is the meaning).

That ended it.

I am just back from another tour including a visit to the home of a Chinese friend with whose children you boys went to kindergarten here. Soldiers were there looting. A safe had been broken open and everything of value taken. Tales of rape are on the increase; but the worst report was of a visit of soldiers to one of the Red Cross refugee centers and the choice of three comely girls whom they took out. Nobody dared say them nay for fear of their lives. With reports of other outrages and robbery at Hong Dao of silver articles and money, the looting of the F house, we decided to go to the headquarters of their military police to repay the call of the captain, who came with the Colonels yesterday. I "budded" into two places and finally found a man who could speak Chinese and told him what I wanted. His commander then gave me an escort of two ruffians who took me to the captain. I made an engagement for representatives of the foreign community to call at five. I went to the Y and wrote a letter in English and had one put into Chinese to leave with our friends, setting forth our desire to have the refugee centers guarded. Then we (three of us) went to keep the engagement and present our case. Just about as we were through Dr. S., Cl, and another Englishman and a French Bishop came. We then took two of the J. to see the three hospitals and one or two refugee centers There is not yet much evidence that they have any desire to tighten discipline. I think I am quite safe in saying that there is not a house, except some foreign ones, which has not been forced open and generally left so by the soldiers to be finished by whomever the opportunity appeals to. This afternoon I know of one woman who was killed because she stood out against them. It looks as tho' the soldiers had been told that the town was theirs.

The streets are a litter with ashes, charred wood and horse manure many houses have burned thro' the day, but fortunately there has been no wind and the high mud walls have stopped most of them before they spread very far. When we got home at 4:45 after our effort with the military police to provide protection our homes were looted. There was at our door an American flag, a consular declaration that the property was American, and a statement from our friends of the afternoon that the Japanese soldiers were to go neither in nor out of the property. First there was one soldier whom Pastor Van was able to dissuade from most of his purpose - this was soon after 12 o'clock. Soon after three o'clock two others with rifles, just as the first had, came in and did about a two hour job between the three houses, looking only for money and small valuables, - to my great surprise none of our beds were robbed. I had seven dollars in ten cent notes and a couple of hundred dollars safely hidden elsewhere, but the ten cent notes went into their pockets, and a few other things so far as I was able to tell in the twilight before coming back here (to the Y) for the night. I am quite sure it would not have happened had either of us been on the compound, but even we seem unable to be in more than one place at once.

Our emergency plan did not contemplate the care of women and children for more than a week, but there is no telling how long they will need help. We are feeding rice gruel instead of regular rice, as we ought. We certainly expected better things of

our friends with their mouthings of assurances that they did not want to harm the Chinese people. There are thoroughly disrupted conditions, millions out of work, destroyed facilities and all the extra ravenous mouths to feed. Am I beginning to appreciate the meaning of war?

Through the days their trucks and carts have waited at the ends of streets, too small for them to enter, while looters have filled them with furniture, bedding, radios, food and everything imaginable. Today they have visited the wine shops.

December 27

When we got home this morning we found there had been no trouble at our compound through the night. But in a few minutes in response to knocking at our gate, Ah-s let in three soldiers without rifles but with bayonets, and three bicycles. I was called and found Mr. Van at the gate and the soldiers between him and me, as I came out. The first one held his hand out to me, which I took, and held leading him to the gate. A second I took by the arm and led out. Each of them took his wheel, but the third showed resistance. after which I handed his bicycle out after him. Later I found that one of the bicycles was the one stolen yesterday, but I did not know it, or I should have tried to hold it. Among my other losses was a U.S. \$10.00 note which two or three times I had intended to slip into a letter to you but seemed never to think of it at the right time. The town is being gone over by repeated searches as new troops come in. The three days of looting allowed by the Vandals has expired. Today the General is to arrive. In the meantime furniture is the fire wood and horses hang their heads over counters of the shops. Wans and carts are still carrying loot. I only wish I could get Kodaks of the things I have seen, but I still have a bit of discretion left. In my use of force this morning I was acting on instruction from the Captain, given in his office yesterday. He told us to arrest and bring such cases to his office, but I was not that much of a fool, at least.

There is now no way to learn what is happening in the world.

As I wrote this morning I was to come home for the afternoon, so Mr. Van could go down. Then one of us would be here all day. It proved wise, for there was a call by an officer from the Military Police in answer to my call at their office with my report of the entry of soldiers here. Just after he had gone the servants told me there was a sale of loot on the street so I went out to see if I could find my brief case or the small hand bag that went yesterday. Just after reaching the street I saw a military truck not far from the gate loaded with about 20 Chinese ranging from youth to old age, and immediately people began to kneel in the road in front of me beseeching me to intervent on behalf of some of them who were their relatives. My presence evidently embarrassed the Japanese and the officer who had just called on me, for the truck passed and stopped and another officer came back to me to explain that these people had been looting a pawn shop, and they were taking them to police headquarters. I told him yes, that I knew there had been looting, but since these were the first arrests I hoped they would be lenient. It is quite possible that the Chinese rulers

sometimes whipped them with whips, but surely now they are beaten with scorpions.

No sooner had that episode in the busy day ended than there came a call from the caretaker at the American School that there were soldiers there, also taking things, so over I hurried. There had been two, but one had gone with the clock and some of the books, but there was another still there and I walked on into the school just in time to save the wife of the caretaker's brother from him. I grabbed him by the shoulder and spun him around and out of the room before he knew what had struck him, took him to the gate house, opened his collar, hoping to get his number. He was actually so scared that he kowtowed to me, with his hands together and working up and down in the attitude of worship.

After supper I rode my wheel down to Nayland in the dark, except from the light of a fire burning toward Hanshingyao.

December 28

We awoke this morning with snow on the ground, a wet slushy one and nasty underfoot. My first thought was of the addition to the misery and suffering of the refugees. What will thousands of them do? I am quite sure that for months to come many thousands of them will die.

Guards were placed last night at several of the refugee centers and there is a visible tendency toward taking responsibility for better order now. On the strength of that we decided that we could both leave the place in the hands of the servants and the hitherto undependable American flag, American Consular Declaration and the Japanese Military Police sign on the doors. The servants understand that they are to open to no soldiers in our absence. We are partly to blame, because we had told them they were to receive such callers politely, but our mistake was in expecting the usual finer human qualities and a mistaken judgment and measure of qualities, we should not have been robbed, for it would have been difficult for the visitors to break into our rather substantial gate.

Walking, riding and sitting in unheated buildings in weather like this gets fairly tiresome to a soft person like me, but one's complaints are stifled when he sees these weeping, half freezing women who are coming still in hope of refuge. We are doing our best not to restrict shelter as long as there is a small space under any of our roofs and on open verandahs, but the problem of food increase with each addition. There is hope, however, of more rice this afternoon, if we can transport it, and in the effort, we shall have military protection.

This morning as I passed the Military Police headquarters there was a sitting line of about 35 Chinese with hands tied behind them awaiting trial, probably for looting!! which they were forced to do, or certainly inspired and encouraged to do. Or it is possible that many are being taken to be released as a gesture of good will and magnanimity. It is too soon to judge of how the future will develop, but certainly few can forget the events of the past five days. They are now furnishing guards for most of the refugee centers. It is proving a doubtful blessing in some place because they are cantankerous in their demands for better

quarters and better food. In a conference a few minutes ago (at the Y) they were told that they would simply have to eat the food of the camps as that was all we had. I see no possibility of avoiding a serious situation within the next two weeks, because there is no possibility of getting food locally, and no transportation facilities reaching out into other districts. Their hundreds of horses and cows and asses make one's blood boil, just to look at them in shops and homes, eating the food there is. The increasing thousands of soldiers, with each day, are enough, or were decidedly more than enough already.

In the beginning I made the mistake of telling you I wished you could share some of my thrills. Aches (heart-aches) would have been more appropriate, but certainly one will have to make the best of the situation. We shall have to live with them. An effort toward friendly contacts is in order. With this stoical note, or is it fatalistic, I shall call it a day. We are sitting in darkness both literally, and mentally. There is a report that we may have light in a month, but we are completely shut off from news of the outside world. There seems little chance of postal service soon.

December 29

Altho' I am at home this morning, I have just come in from helping refugees bring in rice, bedding, wood and salt from their homes. Also brought the old grandmother in the home of the two who jumped from the wall yesterday into our compound. (One woman's back was broken in the fall). To help me I corralled a crew of eight. To some houses we made several trips because they had several loads of wood, rice, bedding and boxes of clothes which the crowbar crews had not found. We also brought two chickens from one home. The crowbar crews are still working. They stopped several times and looked at me and my crew, but returned my bows and went on. While waiting on the street for a man to bring his daughter, several doors from a home from which we were removing things, three soldiers started to enter, but I gave them the Eastern negative wave and they did not enter. I pretended that I thought they were looking for the way, so pointed them around the corner, and off they went.

This afternoon we have more than 100 in our own compound. Through the day more women have gone into all the centers in spite of the fact that we can give them only one meal per day. We are getting more rice, using the hospital ambulance to convey it, for that way we do not need a convey.

Today the artillery has moved out in the neighborhood of the college and planted their guns in position to protect a crossing of the river.

Pastor Van and Mr. V are inspecting our own guests just now, so I shall draw up close to my two candles and read awhile before going to bed.

December 30

This is the morning of day number six under J. occupation. The grasshoppers are passing, leaving a stripped city. A garrison force is here and agents of various kinds to work out details of

consolidation, government, communications etc. The experience of Hangchow will be repeated in cities on up the river.

I have just been out on a cruise nearby, so that I could keep one eye on the compound. The atmosphere is distinctly less tense now, and there are noticeably fewer soldiers. Almost every person I met had a tale - "We have nothing to eat and no bedding" was the most common refrain. One does not dare encourage them to hope for relief either, for we have no idea when we shall have touch with the outside world again even to ask for aid. Except for the tea shops which serve hot tea to the soldiers, one can buy nothing yet, regardless of how much he may have to spend.

.....

Yesterday I got two military police permits for servants, so ours can go out with reasonable hope of safety to go and come. One of ours made first use of his pass to go to see his father-in-law, tho' he went with fear and trembling. It was his first venture out since the first soldier struck town except as I have used him and Ah-s to bring things for the refugee women. We have now in our own homes 184 women and children - neighbors.

December 31, 1937

The seventh day of the "Freedom of the People. If you could see me these days you and your tony University friends, not to mention some of mine, might want to disown me. I am stuffed against unheated buildings, as well as against rain and cold. Over my lightweight underwear I have a thin flannel shirt, then a thick brown flannel shirt, which I leave open at the neck, a light sweater, (the one we tramped in the rain to find in Tourin, do you remember?) a heavy, Wuchang-Blind-School-knitted one, then a "pei-shin", (a sleeveless wadded Chinese garment, open at the sides and with a string around the waist) my over-coat, and while it is raining over that a "iu bu", in the form of a cape, pinned at the neck, so I just slip my head through. Maybe I can secure a kodak of the ensemble!

Personally we are having little trouble with food. I have two baskets of oranges ordered from up-province region, except what the two soldiers took the other day when they had a leisurely two hours in our houses. They are about gone now, but we still have carrots in the garden. With the rain, cows, horses and the street cooking fires, we have a dirty city.

.....

There have been two happenings which the Christians are talking much of. In one church there have been something over a hundred women who were not discovered by soldiers until this morning. Since their discovery we have taken them to refuges. The other is the case of a chapel, which has not been touched, tho' the doors are frail. One of the windows was left open, and just inside, and out of reach but in easy sight, are an American flag and a military police notice that soldiers are not to enter. Similar flags and similar notices have not served elsewhere.

..... And still they come into our compound. This afternoon our number is 260, but surely they will not want to come all day tomorrow! I have been out most of the afternoon rescuing hidden women and their bedding and rice enough to feed them a few days as well as wood to cook it with. There is a decided difference between this sort of relief work and flood refugee work and a bigger difference in the mental attitude of the refugees. I really hope I shall have no more of either.

Jan. 1, 1938.

The new year marks the ninth day of the Japanese occupation of the city of Wangechow. Looking somewhat battered and forlorn the city is beginning to show signs of recovery from the tremendous shock and dislocation of the ordinary ways of life. The number of soldiers is decreasing, and the number of the military police is increasing. The possibility of resuming trade and traffic or even the ordinary channels of government seem remote just now. After nine days of occupation one still sees soldiers searching and researching homes and shops which the first searchers rifled and left open to prowlers and the weather. Carts and trucks no longer stand at the heads of alleys and small streets to be loaded with loot, for the leavings are too few to require vehicles of transport other than the backs of impressed local citizens.

.....
This is still a fearful city, but as far as personal violence and the infliction of bodily injury here, there has been a limited amount, and the authorities are now making a decided effort to bring order again. If there were shopkeepers here to open their shops and residents to patronize them and there were goods left in the shops, normal conditions would more quickly come, but before any of these absent elements can be brought to the city again, more than 300,000 of citizens who fled in November must be persuaded to come back to their homes and their business. The whole structure of the better and more successful life of the city is gone.

In spite of the absence of the triple curses of war which the city feared, she has suffered. There will be prosperous days for the carpenter, the mason, and the man of small work, and even the broken hearts and forced virtue of woman will somehow heal again and these Chinese citizens whose recuperative powers are strong, beyond belief of the West, will assort themselves; the city will smile again, even as many of its unfortunate citizens are doing in this hour of darkness, for they are comparing notes and laughing at their misfortunes. How they do value a kindness! The men have atood the gaff.

Tales of war these words are, but the tale will not be true if it carries an idea that these suffering people are appealing for outside aid. They are in need of it and they ought to have it, but they are not asking for it. Rather they wait for a chance to begin and rebuild again.

A happy new year to both of you, and love as well.

Daddy.

Hangchow Station Report, 1937-1938

May 30, 1938

This was the annual report of the Northern Presbyterian Church (PCUSA) mission in Hangzhou. It contains information about the various activities and individuals working for the mission as evangelists, teachers, and doctors. We excerpt from this document some general information about the situation and war-time conditions in Hangzhou in the fall of 1937 and spring of 1938 – the period covered in McMullen’s letters as well. The full report may be found in the Presbyterian Historical Society Archives (Record Group 82, Box 56, Folder 17).

“The Hangchow field, along with the greater portion of the East China Mission, has now for five months endured the unspeakable sufferings attending the occupation of the area by alien troops; while prior to this, for several months it experienced the daily terrors of threatened aerial bombings... Thus it has been a year marked with unparalleled social upheaval and human misery. A goodly portion of the populace, especially the middle and upper classes have abandoned their homes and migrated to other parts, becoming after a manner refugees. Economic life has suffered complete paralysis, and the devastations and cruelties of occupation and warfare have sorely smitten the remaining population [...]

“To cover the activities of the Station’s work this year in terms of the normal would require but a meagre report. Especially after the latter part of November when the Chinese line of defense broke down between here and Shanghai everything in these parts went topsy-turvy. The evangelistic work in city and country had scarcely gotten under way... when the threat of local hostilities was upon them. Hangchow College and the Union Girls’ School had opened in September and carried on bravely under manifold difficulties until conditions forced removal and dispersion [...] The Union Girls’ School began the term with 70 percent of the usual number, while Hangchow Christian College complete the first quarter with 510 instead of 700 on the campus. The uncertainties of conditions and infacilities of travel made it difficult to bring together an adequate teaching staff. All classes were greatly disturbed by frequent siren warnings. There was many an excited rush to the dug-outs which were prepared in number to accommodate in small groups the whole constituency of staff, students and servants. The College had not yet gotten under way for the second quarter when the Kashing battle line broke in the middle of November with the result of the whole Hangchow area being thrown into a panic.” *(Both schools were soon closed, their staff and students scattered; subsequent elements of both opened a precarious existence in the International Settlement in Shanghai)*

“As previously suggested, a great part of the energy and thought of Station members and co-workers during the past months has been given to the unusual tasks connected with the emergency of war. It has consisted of the protection of Mission property from military interference and lawless molestation, of providing refuge places and supplies for a multitude of harassed, homeless and destitute people, and of offering spiritual hope and inspiration to the distressed in soul. One of our missionaries put it like this: ‘I am serving as a policeman, a relief worker, and a lamp of light in these trying times.’

“Our missionary representatives, as part of the foreign group who remained in Hangchow during occupation, have taken their full share in the labors for the safety of the city, conducting Red Cross work and other forms of emergency activities. While the military drive upon Nanking was in progress, opportunity was afforded for setting up these organizations and making preparations for the inevitable crisis. The work of the International Committee [*chaired by McMullen*] in appealing strongly to both Chinese and Japanese armed forces for sparing the city undoubtedly was a means of saving it from the ravages of actual warfare. The Red Cross [*with McMullen as local President*] placed its chief emphasis upon the protection and care of women and children by affording Refuge Centers with necessary food supplies and medical clinics. Such were opened in various school compounds and other Mission property. It was anticipated that these Refuges would not be necessary beyond three or four days of unavoidable confusion attending turnover and full assumption of Japanese control in the much depopulated city. However, to the surprise and horror of all the defenseless place was given over to a veritable orgy of lawlessness, brigandage and rape running into weeks without allay. Instead of a couple thousand frightened folks which at the beginning resorted to these Centers, the numbers kept swelling daily until at least fifteen thousand found these places their only seclusion and safety. This naturally involved large problems of administration, supply and sanitation, while offering unusual opportunity for deeds of mercy and presentation of the Gospel Message. [...]

“The Hangchow College grounds...has presented a situation somewhat different from that which prevailed inside the city. Although the campus is in a very exposed position and has remained on the firing line event until now, neither buildings nor equipment have suffered any serious damage of molestation. The blasting of the newly completed Chien Tang Bridge [*the Qiantang River*] by the Chinese troops upon withdrawing from Hangchow has effectively prevented the Japanese army from crossing to the southern side. At the same time it has kept the college on the battle front, subjecting it daily to the spray of Chinese bullets from both rifles and machine-guns. In spite of this constant physical exposure to the fortunes of battle and the severe limitations placed upon the life of the community by Japanese forces, it has been possible for our representative [*Roy Lautenschlager, frequently mentioned in McMullen's letters*] along with Dr. McMullen to remain in residence and in full charge of the premises. It has been a matter of great regret that this extensive plant could not be utilized for refugee work; however, its vulnerable location precluded any such possibility. The little community of less than a hundred that was able to remain has enjoyed in general the benefits afforded by the American flag. However, as the grounds are not enclosed and are being used as a thorough-fare for the Japanese troops, the care of these people as well the property has demanded unceasing vigilance of those in charge. Regular Sunday services have been held with these people and special classes conducted for both Chinese character study and religious instruction, in which practically every one has been enrolled.