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Social gospel, social economics, and the YMCA : Sidney D. Gamble and Princeton-in-Peking.

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SOCIAL GOSPEL, SOCIAL ECONOMICS, AND THE YMCA
--SIDNEY D. GAMBLE AND PRINCETON-IN-PEKING

A Dissertation Presented

by

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Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

September 1992

Department of History

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To My Family

To My Family

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my thanks to the many people and institutions that have made this dissertation possible. Persistent help and encouragement from the China Committee, the Department of History and the Department of Journalism were indispensable in the long process of completing both the MA and PhD degrees in history. Special thanks are due to Barbara B. Burn, Director of the International Programs, and Lawrence Pinkham, journalism professor at the Beijing Institute of Journalism, who were instrumental in bringing me to this campus from China. The China Committee provided me with one and a half years of scholarship. In addition to a four-year assistantship, the History Department granted me a Bauer-Gordon Summer Fellowship in 1990 to do research at the YMCA National Archive in Minneapolis. Robert Griffith, Roland Sarti, Ronald Story, Robert Jones, Bruce Laurie, Milton Cantor and Fred Drake have been professionally supportive in making me the first Chinese student in the Department to complete a PhD degree. Faculty members of the Department of Journalism have kept up my interest in journalism and provided me with office space and facilities in my crucial year of writing the dissertation. Jim Boylan introduced me to the bibliography of the social survey movement which shed much light on Sidney D. Gamble and his works. Secretarial staff of both History and Journalism have

always been on hand to offer me assistance and help without which no graduate student could survive.

My interest in Sidney D. Gamble and Princeton-in-Peking began in 1989 when I was invited by anthropologist Nancy Jervis of the China Institute in America to assist in curating the Smithsonian travelling exhibition of Gamble's photographs on China. Jonathan D. Spence's insightful article on Gamble inspired my decision to work on Gamble's life story. I would like to thank Professor Spence for reading and commenting on my dissertation prospectus and for giving me timely encouragement to pursue the project. Charles W. Hayford of Evanston, Illinois, kindly let me read his manuscript on James Y.C. Yen, a life-long friend and associate of Sidney D. Gamble, and gave me suggestions on how to approach my dissertation research. Mrs. L. Carrington (Anne Swann) Goodrich, another life-long friend of Sidney D. Gamble, spent several days with me at her Florida home, identifying Gamble's slide and photo collections and movie footage, reminiscing about her days as a missionary in Beijing and her association and friendship with the Gambles. Her recollections were of tremendous help in my reconstruction of Gamble and his life story.

I am greatly indebted to the Sidney D. Gamble Foundation for China Studies, and especially to its president, Mrs. Catherine G. Curran, and other members of the Gamble family, for access to Gamble's personal papers,

library, and photo collection, for support and assistance throughout the entire project, and for financial assistance in covering my travel expenses to major archive centers in the country. Catherine G. Curran and Louise G. Harper on several occasions gave me detailed recollections of their father. Sarah G. Epstein directed me to Clarence Gamble's private papers which include valuable information and photographs of the family's 1908 visit to the Orient. Louise Hall, Gamble's cousin, kindly took me on a tour of the Gamble House in Pasadena, California. Jean S. Albaum of Encino, California, sent me copies of the writings and correspondence of her late father, Rev. Richard H. Ritter, Gamble's fellow member of Princeton-in-Peking and life-long friend. These shed much light to the life and work of the Princetonians in Beijing.

I would like to thank the many archivists and librarians who have rendered tremendous help in locating papers and correspondence in relation to Sidney D. Gamble and Princeton's work in China. Special mention should be give to Martha L. Smalley of the Yale University Divinity School, Dagmar Getz of the National Archives of the YMCA, Robert Pease of Princeton-in-Asia, Doris N. Gertmenian of the Huntington Library, Thomas Rosenbaum of the Rockefeller Archive Center, Edward M. Rider of the Procter & Gamble Company, and Denise C. Miller of the Thacher School. I benefited a great deal from the help of archivists and

librarians of Princeton University, University of California at Berkeley, Columbia University, Harvard University Medical School, Mount Holyoke College and Radcliffe College. Librarians at the University of Massachusetts have always been on hand to offer help throughout the whole project.

Special thanks are due to my dissertation committee members who have goaded and encouraged me through the different stages of my dissertation research and writing. I feel most grateful for the valuable and timely comments and meticulous editing done by Milton Cantor and Bruce Laurie in my earlier drafts. Without their help, the dissertation could never have read as smoothly. Theodor Schuchat kindly read the draft and gave valuable editorial suggestions for improvement.

The Rockefeller University awarded me a grant-in-aid for 1992 to conduct research at the Rockefeller Archive Center in North Tarryton, New York.

Last, but not the least, I want to thank my wife, Zhenqin Li. For many years she had to shoulder the burden of raising the children in support of my graduate studies. The PhD degree is as much hers as mine. I am forever indebted to her and the other members of my family.

ABSTRACT

SOCIAL GOSPEL, SOCIAL ECONOMICS, AND THE YMCA
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SEPTEMBER 1992

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Sidney D. Gamble (1890-1968) was a social scientist, religious reformer, photographer and Christian humanist who devoted his life to the study of Chinese urban and rural society. Gamble made four sojourns to China between 1908 and 1932. He served as research secretary for the Beijing YMCA and the Mass Education Movement at Dingxian. As a volunteer member of Princeton-in-Peking, he conducted major social-economic surveys of urban and rural north China, helped establish community service programs in Beijing, and pioneered in the teaching of sociology and social work in China. During his tenure, Gamble also used his camera to build up a visual archive of 5,000 black-and-white photographs which successfully captured the images of China during those critical years in its history.

Through Gamble's life and work, the dissertation looks into the institutional history of the Princeton University center in China from 1906 to 1949, during which time its

chief work was first to organize and operate the YMCA and then to run the
Princeton School of Public Affairs at Yenching University. This study also seeks to analyze how Princeton-in-Peking, under the influence of both the Social Gospelers and institutional economists at home and the forces of reform and revolution in late Qing and early Republican China, shifted the focus of its efforts first to community service and social work and later to higher education in the social sciences.

For the first time in the history of Christianity in China, Association work in Beijing demonstrated to the officialdom and the upper classes of the new Republic, that Christianity and the Chinese culture might not be incompatible. The motto of the May Fourth Movement, "To save China through science and democracy," and the missionary ideal of "Saving China through Christianity" for a time seemed to be united under the common goal of social uplift and reconstruction for the new Republic. In a very significant way, Sidney D. Gamble and Princeton-in-Peking reflected the rich intellectual and cultural interactions between the West and China in general and the United States and China in particular.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CTG	Clarence J. Gamble
DBG	David B. Gamble
MEM	Mass Education Movement
MHG	Mary H. Gamble
P&G	Procter & Gamble Company
P-i-A	Princeton-in-Asia
P-i-P	Princeton-in-Peking
P-YF	Princeton-Yenching Foundation
SDG	Sidney D. Gamble
SVM	Student Volunteer Movement
UBCHE	United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia
YDSL	Yale Divinity School Library
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association
YWCA	Young Women's Christian Association

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Sidney David Gamble and Robert S. Lynd had a number of things in common: both were graduated from Princeton University, with the Class of 1912 and the Class of 1914, respectively; both majored in the study of social economics; both studied at the New York Union Theological Seminary and were dedicated Presbyterians; and both conducted and published lengthy pioneering studies of urban communities in the tradition of sociology and social anthropology. Each of their works became a classic in their respective fields. Lynd's Middletown (1929) focused on a mid-western town in the United States, while Gamble's Peking, A Social Survey (1921) explored an ancient Oriental city, a fact which partially explains why Gamble is less well-known in the United States among sociologists, anthropologists and historians.

But Sidney D. Gamble's contribution to the development of sociology and social anthropology, not to mention sinology, was comparable to that of Robert S. Lynd. Gamble's research covered not only urban communities of an ancient Oriental city, it also investigated rural communities in a part of China rarely before touched by sociologists or anthropologists. During a life-time dedication to empirical research on China, Gamble produced four major social

economic surveys of China: Peking, A Social Survey (1921), How Chinese Families Live in Peiping (1933), Ting Hsien: A North China Rural Community (1954), and North China Villages: Social, Political, and Economic Activities Before 1933 (1963). Together with numerous articles and pamphlets on the same subjects, these works remain the standard social economic studies of modern Chinese society and have been studied and cited by historians, economists, sociologists, and anthropologists up to this very day. As anthropologist Myron Cohen put it, Gamble "systematically collected and systematically presented a wealth of data on rural North China."[1] When conditions made it impossible for Gamble to keep up his study of Chinese society after the communist revolution of 1949, he inspired and sponsored two other empirically oriented monographs of village life in Asia. One examined three Korean villages and the other was an interdisciplinary study of two Taiwanese villages, both published after Gamble's death in 1968. He also edited another posthumous publication, Chinese Village Plays (1970), a rich collection of the rice-growing songs and plays gathered during his field trips in north China in the 1920s and 1930s.

What led Gamble, a descendant of the family of Procter & Gamble, to China and to a life-long interest in social economics? How was he influenced by his family and shaped by the American intellectual tradition? How do we evaluate his

contribution to the socio-economic study of Chinese urban and rural life and to the development of sociology and social work in China? Also, Sidney D. Gamble was a member of the Princeton University center in Beijing,* which for half a century was dedicated to the work of the Beijing Young Men's Christian Association and to the education programs of the Christian Yenching University. What are the legacies of Princeton-in-Peking and the Princeton-Yenching Foundation? What does Princeton's story in China, however successful, tell us about Sino-American cultural interaction? How do we re-evaluate the role of the Christian missions in general and that of the YMCA in particular during China's transition from an imperial dynasty to a fledgling republic? These are some of the questions to be discussed in the dissertation.

Gamble grew up and was educated during the Progressive era. He was undoubtedly influenced by the intellectual ferment of his day. The Social Gospel Movement, the Student Volunteer Movement, muckraking journalism, the tradition of social surveys, and the development and professionalization of social sciences were major aspects of American intellectual life around the turn of the century, and contributed to Gamble's upbringing and intellectual

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*The reader will have to oblige my inconsistency in the spelling of Chinese names, places and terms. While trying to use the Pinyin system in my narrative, I find it irresistible to retain the Wade-Giles forms for proper names that pertain to the distinct historical period before 1949. Beijing, for example, might be spelt as Peking or Peiping.

development. These new intellectual trends were related to the rapid social change in modern America. Industrialization, immigration and urbanization in late nineteenth and early twentieth century created unprecedented social problems for the United States. The traditional agrarian society was giving way to an impersonal and frightening industrial order that threatened to engulf the entire population. Urban poverty, unemployment, crime, graft, political corruption, cut-throat competition, labor unrest, and racial discrimination seemed to have become pervasive by the time of her centennial.

Growing social problems evoked the concern and attention of a number of interested groups. Fundamentalists and evangelists blamed the city as the root cause of the country's problems and preached the revival of the Kingdom of God.[2] The social-minded clergy responded with the tenets of social Christianity or Social Gospel Movement. Charles Darwin and his evolutionary theory brought the conflict between science and religion to a new stage as American society became increasingly secularized. Darwinism extended the methods of natural science to the study of man and society. As a result, the fixed-species notion of religion was dealt a destructive blow. Religion was forced to share its traditional authority with science in the form of a "New Theology": the "science of theology" would be corrected, enlarged, liberated by evolution; the "art of

religion" as spiritual fixture, however, would remain unmoved.[3]

The foundations of the Social Gospel Movement were laid in the 1870s and 1880s, when Washington Gladden and Richard T. Ely became its most prominent spokesmen. But it was not until the 1890s that the movement became pervasive. The relations of church to labor and to social movements had never been so close. Numerous religious organizations and movements sprang up across the nation: the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ, the Student Volunteer Movement, the Sunday School Movement, the Men and Religion Forward Movement of 1910-11, Layman's Missionary Movement, Inter-Church World Movement, and so on. For one, the Man and Religion Forward Movement initiated an intensive eight-day campaign in sixty cities to try to win men and boys for Christ and church with a new stress on social issues.[4]

Clergymen pursued three other lines of endeavor. One grew out of the tradition of Christian philanthropy, another was the formation of the Young Men's Christian Association in direct response to the problems facing urban America, and the third was the overseas missionary drive of the Protestant churches. These endeavors directly contributed to the shaping of Sidney D. Gamble as a religious reformer and philanthropist and influenced his career choice as a social economist and missionary in China.

In the field of philanthropy, growing individual efforts led to the formation of such organized rescue or relief missions as the Salvation Army, orphanages or settlement houses. Gamble's academic achievement was reinforced by his life-long dedication to philanthropy and church work driven by Christian charity and modesty. While philanthropy as a social institution was only just becoming established, it was already a family tradition among the Gambles. From the first generation who founded the Procter & Gamble Company, the Gambles had given to religion, hospitals, education, Christian foreign missions, and especially to the Young Men's Christian Association. Gamble's grandfather, James, had always contributed "conscientiously and liberally to the Church" and once told a poor family that they "have the liberty and right to ask me for money." In memory of his deceased wife, Elizabeth Norris, James Gamble built the Elizabeth Gamble Deaconess Home and Christ's Hospital of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Cincinnati for the care and treatment of the sick and poor.[5]

James Norris Gamble, Sidney Gamble's uncle, was one of the founders of the Young Men's Christian Society, predecessor of the Cincinnati YMCA, and was also instrumental in the organization of the city's YWCA. He added to the Christ's Hospital the Institute of Medical Research specializing in malaria, tuberculosis and polio

research. He helped found a grade school for black girls in Datona Beach which later became Bethune-Cookman College. For three years he supported George Sherwood Eddy's religious campaigns in China and Asia. And in 1924, he bequeathed $50,000 toward construction of a dormitory at Yenching University in Beijing of which Sidney Gamble would become a member of the trustees.[6]

Sidney Gamble's parents, David Berry and Mary Huggins Gamble, were prominent figures in Christian stewardship. And they obviously directly influenced their sons to carry on the family tradition of Christian charity, service, and philanthropy. David B. Gamble and his wife gave extensively to the church, education, and the Presbyterian foreign missions. He was a trustee of local churches in Cincinnati and Pasadena, the Elizabeth Gamble Deaconess Home, Children's Home, Berea College and Occidental College in Los Angeles. He supported the creation of the California Commission on Immigrants and Housing to provide free assistance for immigrants.

David Gamble's generosity in helping the destitute was recalled by David E. Miles, who wrote to the Procter & Gamble Company in 1982 about his grandfather's experience, saying that the success of T. Judson Miles, a Presbyterian minister in east Tennessee, and "the subsequent successes of his descendants may be attributable in no small part to the generosity of Mr. Gamble." It was an understandable

tribute. Miles attended the Lane Theological Seminary in Cincinnati in 1899 but was financially hard pressed, having a wife and three children to support. A friend wrote to David Gamble who promptly contacted Miles to visit him. Upon learning of the family's annual expenses, Gamble said: "Young man, you can't live on that budget for a year. I suggest we just double it and I'll let you have the money."[7]

During that year, Miles sent Gamble a monthly request for money, to be repaid when his earnings would permit. And when Miles forwarded his first reimbursement out of his first wage,

> A prompt reply thanked me for the amount and the note marked paid was enclosed, and, to my utter surprise, all remaining notes were inclosed also, marked 'paid.' The sum total of the notes must have been six hundred dollars. Well, wasn't I surprised and happy![8]

Like their parents, the Gamble boys gave extensively to the cause of religion, education and missionary work. When David Gamble passed down some of the family fortune from the Procter & Gamble Company to his three sons as they turned twenty-one, he made it a condition that they should "contribute at least one tenth of the income to the church and other benevolence."[9] Cecil H. Gamble, the eldest son, began his service in 1913 as a member of the board of directors of the Cincinnati YMCA and later was its president for twenty-five years until his retirement in 1949. Clarence J. Gamble established the Pathfinder Fund for the cause of

birth control in the United States and the world over. Sidney Gamble gave extensively to religious and educational causes in China, Taiwan, Korea, India as well as in the United States. He was always ready to extend a helping hand to the needy. At the time of his death in 1968, Catherine G. Curran, his eldest daughter, remembered finding her father's desk drawer filled with IOUs.[10] The three brothers made it a point, consistent with the expectations of their parents, to give from ten to thirty percent of their income for religious, education, and charity causes.[11]

Both David and Mary Gamble were also known to be "friends" of the foreign missionaries and secretaries of the YMCA and YWCA, contributing to the building of a missionary's rest home in California, and large sums for YMCAs in the United States and in Asia. From its birth, the Young Men's Christian Association sought to attract growing numbers of young men of urban America to causes that would counter the forces of vice, alcoholism, delinquency, crime, and a whole list of evils around them. The ecumenical YMCA became a community organization closely associated with civic service and welfare. David and Mary Gambles' interest in the work of the YMCA in the United States as well as in the Far East first brought young Sidney to China, Japan and Korea in 1908. The Philadelphia Society of Princeton University, where the Gamble boys had their undergraduate

education, became one of the first collegiate YMCA's in the United States. In close collaboration with the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, it undertook in 1905-1906, at the request of the International Committee of the YMCA, to provide personnel and financial support for a YMCA in Beijing, which formally initiated Princeton's long-term association with China.

Gamble's decision to go to China, and work with the YMCA in Beijing, was in direct response to the missionary call to work in the world's most populated country. Immediately after the collapse of the last dynastic empire, China offered world missions, American in particular, an unprecedented opportunity for the "salvation of millions of souls." Evangelist efforts to bring Christianity to China dated back to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries when Roman Catholic churches sent the first Jesuits to China. The first Protestant missionary arrived two centuries later, and the first American Protestant missionary arrived in 1830.[12] With the opening of the major seaports to foreign powers after the conclusion of the Opium War in 1842, Protestantism rapidly increased its stations in China. By 1890, the number of Protestant missionaries reached 1,300, already twice as many as the Catholic church had dispatched.[13] That number had almost tripled sixteen years later to 3,833 and by 1919, eight years after China declared itself a republic, there were 6,636 Protestant

missionaries in China. According to Lutz, only 106 counties out of a total of 1,702 in China were without some Protestant evangelical activity.[14]

The socialization of Christianity and the missionary drive of the Protestant churches brought the reformist spirit of the Social Gospel to the China mission fields. Evangelism undoubtedly had all along been the chief concern of the missionaries, both Catholic and Protestant. But more often than not, missionaries in China discovered that the more urgent need there was to save human bodies rather than souls. The actual plight of millions of poverty-stricken Chinese as well as the clash of two different cultures led the Protestant missionaries to tackle issues of more immediate social concern: famine, opium addiction, gambling, polygamy, prostitution, child marriage, foot-binding, etc. Such concern culminated in three major areas of activity: operating schools; running hospitals; and developing the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations. The Princeton University center in Beijing, of which Sidney Gamble was a leading member, was established in 1906 to run the city's YMCA and later to support and collaborate with the Yenching University School of Public Affairs. For half a century young, talented and dedicated Princetonians constantly flowed to the center in Beijing for either the YMCA work or teaching.

To some extent, the Social Gospel Movement constituted "the religious phase of the progressive movement."[15] Progressive leaders such as Theodore Roosevelt and Robert La Follette were well aware of its philosophy and program. Middle-class citizens rallied behind Progressive leaders and justified "social change in terms of Christian doctrine" and thus gave to their cause "authority, power and a link with tradition."[16]

The middle-class ferment of the Progressive Era could best be seen in the protest and writings of the so-called muckraking journalists and writers: Lincoln Steffens, Upton Sinclair, Ida Tarbell, Ray Stannard Baker, and David Graham Phillips. Serving as the "leading edge" of Progressivism in the early 1900s, these writers and a number of popular magazines started publishing a series of exposes about the power, corruption, and selfishness of men in politics, business, and finance. Lincoln Steffens, the leading muckraker of his day and also the most productive, made city and state government his chief field of investigation and subject matter. For almost three years beginning in 1902, he raked the muck in Minneapolis, St. Louis, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Chicago and New York, and published his findings first in McClure's magazine and later in book form, The Shame of the Cities.

For young Gamble, as for other young men of his generation, this "literature of exposure" was a source of

inspiration. But the social survey movement was much more important in shaping his intellectual outlook. It had a much wider scope and more penetrating depth than the muckraking crusade. Social investigation led to social diagnosis, and the social survey movement was integrated into a larger movement of social reform. It was this strong concern with social problems and social reform that led Gamble to study social economics and conduct major socio-economic surveys of Chinese urban and rural life. Gamble paid close attention to social problems even when he was a college student. Remembering his graduate field work at the Preston School of Industry in Ione, California, he made the following comment in 1919:

> I also feel that students in the school and particularly those in the colleges should be given a closer touch with the life of the people around them. Personally I have never ceased to be thankful for having had at least a glimpse of community problems, institutional life and relief work while in college. If the students do not get this touch while in college many of them never get it. After they get out into business they have little opportunity or desire to think about such problems. Thus they lose the knowledge and experience of the way in which the "other half" lives that would give them a larger interest in the lives of the people around them.[17]

Gamble was trained and educated at a time when social sciences were being professionalized under the impact of Darwinism and Social Darwinism. He was influenced, therefore, by almost all branches of the nascent social sciences and the humanities-- sociology, anthropology, psychology, philosophy, history, political science, and,

especially, political economy. Like Robert S. Lynd, Gamble was inspired by the Chicago school of sociology, which became known for its empirical research on communities using some of the methods of the natural sciences. By the time Gamble's first book was published in 1921, efforts had already been made in biology and psychology to discover, through laboratory studies, some basic aspects of human life and society. However, heretofore social scientists had concentrated either on the study of individuals in society, or on particular groups of people divided largely along occupational lines. These were important steps forward in the study of human behavior and human society, but advances were needed so that human life could be studied and described as it actually was lived in the world. Community studies became the methodology of choice adopted by the upcoming young sociologists and social anthropologists.[18]

Gamble's social surveys fall within the categories of social anthropology or descriptive sociology.[19] The social anthropology of Franz Boas and the Chicago school of sociology represented by Robert Ezra Park were important inspirations for his work. Boas introduced to anthropology the research method of conducting field work and mastering the language of the studied community. The group of sociologists and social anthropologists who rallied around Robert E. Park in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, founded in 1892 at the University of Chicago,

played two important roles in the field of sociology and anthropology. First, they made field work a legitimate academic undertaking and the basis of sociology; and second, their chief concern was urbanization and its social consequences.[20] These developments in anthropology and sociology, together with the rise of pragmatism in psychology, instrumentalism in philosophy, the emphasis on conflict in history and the role of the state in political science, and most important, the emergence of the new political economy, would give birth to a viable new branch of economics called "institutionalism." Institutional economics would play a formative role in Gamble's graduate education at the University of California, Berkeley and become the major intellectual inspiration for his scholarly work.

Influenced by the German historical school, a group of young American economists repudiated the tenets of classical political economy--the basis for laissez faire. Richard T. Ely, the leading member of this new school of political economists, was also one of the most outspoken social gospellers. He and his associates--John R. Commons, Edward W. Bemis, Henry Carter Adams, and John Bates Clark--maintained that political economy could not be separated from the question of Christian ethics. The development of political economy as a science, it was argued, was not and should not be in conflict with Christian values. The close

association of the social gospel and the new school of political economy can be seen in the organization of the American Economic Association in 1885. Twenty-three of its charter members were clergymen, including Washington Gladden, the nation's leading social gospeller.[21]

Ely and his new school associates insisted on the relativity of economic truth and the necessity of adjusting economic thought to the conditions of a particular time and place. They championed the inductive method of research and laid emphasis on the observation of facts, on historical analysis, and on statistics. They rejected the classical economic view that self-interest was the sole motivating force in economic life and that state intervention in economic life was unwise and unnecessary. Instead, they believed that the state had a positive role to play in relation to the general welfare of the people.[22]

Branching out from Ely's new political economy, institutional economics became a distinctive and viable subfield in economics, thanks to the contributions of Thornstein Veblen, John R. Commons, and Wesley C. Mitchell. Veblen's anthropological approach to economics, Commons' "historico-legal" method, and Mitchell's pioneering work in quantitative research helped establish a "paradigmatic change" in the study of economic systems.[23] Institutionalists defined the economic system as a "cultural entity that changes its structural and functional features

over historical time."[24] Such a system was evolving and open-ended, not in equilibrium. Institutionalists therefore viewed economics as an interdisciplinary cultural science that borrows from other social sciences as well as from other types of economics.

The Department of Economics of the University of California, Berkeley, was the key institution which gave rise to institutional economics. One of the founders of institutionalism, Wesley C. Mitchell, was on its faculty for ten years and maintained a close contact with Veblen, another founder, when the latter was at Stanford. Many of the Berkeley Department of Economics faculty were trained by the German historical school, and two of Commons' students joined the Berkeley faculty in the 1910s and 1920s.[25] By the time Sidney Gamble enrolled in the Department of Economics at Berkeley, institutional economics had already taken root as a distinctive feature of the Department. Gamble was to be trained and influenced by the up-coming institutional economists such as Carlton Parker and Jessica Blanche Peixotto. He enrolled courses on the history of socialism, history of economic thoughts, labor and social problems, and methods of social investigation, among others. It was largely through their inspiration and guidance that Gamble conducted his graduate research at the Preston School of Industry in Ione, California, and completed a highly

detailed and statistical thesis to qualify for the Master of Arts degree in 1916.[26]

The China that Gamble came to at the end of World War I was in a critical period of its history. In the midst of a vast social and political transition, China was changing from an ancient empire to a modern republic. It was a fledgling republic, to be sure, with numerous forces contending for influence and control: warlords, royalists, imperialists, nationalists, anarchists, Christian missions and churches, and communists. With the demise of the old imperial order and the disintegration of the scholar-gentry class, the struggle between tradition and modernization became more, not less, acute.

Gamble and his missionary colleagues saw the forces of modernity as represented by two movements, one Chinese and the other Western. The New Thought Movement among the Chinese intelligentsia advocated saving "the country through science and democracy." But the Western Christian missions, including the YMCAs and YWCAs, were reaching out to an increasing number of people with the idea that Christianity was the only force that could save China.[27] To direct China along the road of modernity, Gamble believed, required an empirical understanding of its problems. "We must know our problems before we solve them," he declared. "We must know the present reality before we seek to rebuild in the

light of an ideal."[28] Fact-finding would be on the agenda not only of Protestant Christianity represented by Gamble and others, but also of the Nationalists and the Communists, the two major forces contending for the control of China.

Gamble's fact-finding mission, his socio-economic surveys of Chinese urban and rural life, his long-term association with the Beijing YMCA and Yenching University had a direct impact on the growth and indigenization of the YMCA in China. His work not only influenced the educational programs of one of China's leading institutions of higher learning, but also bore directly on the emergence of sociology, social anthropology, and social work as academic disciplines in China. His studies were pioneering endeavors and milestones. More important, however, was his involvement, together with J. Stewart Burgess, another Princetonian and YMCA secretary in Beijing at the time, in the training of the first generation of Chinese sociologists and anthropologists. In the course of conducting his social surveys of Beijing, Gamble trained Chinese YMCA staff in the basic methods of social surveys and social work. He and Burgess also taught a seminar course at Peking (Union) University on social conditions of the city. The University's Department of Sociology was founded in 1919, largely through their efforts.[29] Yenching University's College of Public Affairs, was established under the auspices of the Princeton New School of Public and

International Affairs through Princeton-Yenching Foundation, of which Sidney D. Gamble was the president. It was organized around Yenching's Department of Sociology and Social Work, which offered courses on social problems, social theory, rural sociology, anthropology and social work.[30]

While Gamble in his professional life used his pen to record social and economic facts of China, he was focusing his camera to capture the country's images during critical moments in its history. To some extent, his personal attachment to China had originated from an interest in photography, which brought him back to China in 1917 for a four-month photo expedition up the Yangtze River into the hinterland of north-western Sichuan. On this trip alone, Gamble and his friends, Robert F. Fitch and John H. Arthur, took some 3,000 photographs. During the next fifteen years as a YMCA secretary in Beijing, Gamble never stopped using his camera to record the life and work of the Chinese people. By the end of his fourth sojourn in China in 1932, he had built up a collection of 5,000 black and white photographs. It is no exaggeration to say that these photographs themselves constitute an invaluable documentary history of early twentieth century China. Though an amateur photographer, his images are comparable to those of major recognized photographers in the documentary tradition. If we affirm that Gamble's socio-economic surveys of China are as

factual and objective as the images he captured through his camera lens, his photographs are as descriptive and vivid as his writings.

Sidney D. Gamble's career as religious reformer, social scientist, photographer, sinologist, philanthropist and non-profit organization administrator helped promote the development of sociology and anthropology in both the United States and China. More important, it helped bridge two different cultures during a historical period when both the United States and China were undergoing significant social, political and economic changes. This dissertation attempts to rediscover the life of Sidney D. Gamble, explore the social, political, cultural, and intellectual forces that shaped him, and evaluate the legacies he left behind. It will, however, cover more ground than the biography of Sidney D. Gamble. Through writing about him it will touch upon and reevaluate larger questions of significance: the Social Gospel movement as reflected through the activities of the Philadelphia Society and the Princeton YMCA programs and missions; the role of the Western missions and the evolution and indigenization of the YMCA in China; Yenching University and Christian higher education in China; and the interactions of Christianity, nationalism, and communism as the twentieth century reflection of the basic Chinese dichotomy of tradition and modernity.

NOTES

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CHAPTER II

ORIENTAL BUG

Sidney David Gamble was born on July 12, 1890, in Cincinnati, Ohio, to David Berry and Mary Huggins Gamble. He was a grandson of James Gamble who, with William Procter, founded Procter & Gamble, the soap and candle manufacturing company.

The Gamble family came to the United States in 1819 from Enniskillen, County Fermanagh, Ireland. Like the rest of their countrymen who constituted recurring waves of emigration to the New World, the Gambles were affected both by the agricultural slump and business losses as a result of the Napoleonic wars. George Gamble intended to take the family to Shawneetown, Illinois, the "El Dorado" of the Midwest then, but the family got only as far as Cincinnati because 16-year-old James Gamble fell sick and required medical treatment. The family stayed in Cincinnati; two years later, young James Gamble became an apprentice at a soap factory. In eight years, he gained enough experience and capital to enter into a partnership to manufacture soap and candles.[1]

William Procter came to Cincinnati in 1832 from London after a fire and robbery ruined his newly-opened woolens shop. He earned his living in the New World by making "dip" candles, a skill acquired back in England. He also opened a

wholesale store to sell soap produced by Knowlton & Gamble. Known to the nation as "Porkopolis," Cincinnati's meat packing industry provided abundant of fats and oils for both the soap and candle maker. In 1837, at the suggestion of their father-in-law (they were both married to the daughters of Alexander Norris in 1833), Procter and Gamble decided to combine their talents and interests to form the Procter & Gamble Company. Within two decades, Procter & Gamble became a million-dollar enterprise.[2]

The Gambles had a highly religious family tradition. George Gamble had been an itinerant Methodist minister in Northern Ireland. For many years he was a class leader and rode fourteen miles every Sabbath morning to meet his class at six o'clock. As soon as he settled in Cincinnati, he opened his house to German Methodists for religious services. Unable to find a position as a clergyman in the New World, he opened a greenhouse for a living and preached his religious principles and beliefs in his family and to his descendants.[3]

Like his father, James Gamble was also a zealous Christian. He was converted in 1821 and united with the Methodist Episcopal Church. At his funeral in 1891, he was praised as

> a loyal Methodist and an ardent adherent to the doctrines of John Wesley. He believed in family prayer, class, and prayer-meetings, visiting the sick, and caring for the poor. Brother Carrey, who had been his class-leader for more than thirty years, says that he never missed a class-meeting during those years except

> from sickness or absence from the city. He manifested the same fidelity to every Christian duty for seventy years.[4]

Sidney D. Gamble was born in 1890, one year before his grandfather died. By the time of his birth, second-generation Procters and Gambles had taken charge of the company. Three of the five Procter boys and three of the six Gamble boys were in control. William A. Procter became the firm's president. David B. Gamble, Sidney's father, was elected secretary and treasurer. David's brother, James Norris Gamble, became vice-president. Procter & Gamble was then undergoing a major phase of corporate development in keeping with the nation's rapid process of industrialization and urbanization.

By the early 1880s, P&G had taken the lead among the country's 432 soap manufactures. Aggregate sales for the three fiscal years of 1887-1890 was $10 million, with an average annual net profit of half a million. On July 17, 1890, the firm took the major step of converting its private partnership into a public corporation, which opened the road for the company's further expansion of capital and business.[5]

Deep-rooted religious beliefs had played a decisive role in making P&G a successful firm in the hands of first generation Procters and Gambles. James Gamble was praised as "industrious and upright" in business and "frugal and economical from religious principles."[6] These values would

be crucial for the further expansion and development of the company after its incorporation in the hands of the second- and third-generation. Frugality, industry, fairness and honesty, all based on religious principles, were revered by every Gamble and Procter who was involved in running the company.

Religious sentiment and principles of philanthropy and paternalism guided the Procters and Gambles in their labor-management relations and efforts to increase production efficiency. For example, a number of welfare and profit-sharing measures and schemes for employees were adopted during the last two decades of the 19th century, when labor unrest and protest swept the country and the Knights of Labor was actively organizing industrial workers in Cincinnati and the entire country. Reforms were initiated by William Cooper Procter, a third-generation Procter, who had worked his way up in the company from the shop floor. In 1885, P&G decided to give employees Saturday afternoons off with pay. To cope with work stoppages and high turnover, the company introduced a profit-sharing plan on April 12, 1887, which promised a semi-annual cash dividend to eligible employees based on the ratio of their wages to the total wages. The incorporation of P&G made it possible to further tie the interests of the employees to the interests of the company. In 1892, special provisions were made for the P&G employees to purchase common stock in the company.[7]

In 1903, the company contributed 12 percent of the employee's annual wage toward his or her purchase of the common stock, in effect adding $3 to every $1 the employee put aside for stock purchase. This profit-sharing plan became so popular that by 1915, 735 out of the 1,200 P&G employees were participating. In that year, the company set up a comprehensive sickness-disability-retirement-life insurance plan. And three years later, the eight-hour workday was introduced.[8]

Sidney D. Gamble was born in a massive Victorian, three-storied brick house distinguished by a circular tower at one corner and an assortment of ornamental knobs and tall chimneys. His father, David Berry Gamble, was the seventh of the ten children of James and Elizabeth Norris Gamble. After graduating from a private high school in 1865, David went to Nelson's Business College for six months, studying bookkeeping, banking, and penmanship before he entered P&G as an errand boy. In time he moved up to be responsible for the soap production while his brother, William A., attended to the candle manufacturing. In 1878, with James N. Gamble's new formula and David B. Gamble supervising the first boiling, Ivory soap was introduced; it would become one of P&G's leading products.[9]

David Berry Gamble was known to be a "Christian businessman" who "carried [on] his business religiously and

he wanted religion handled in a business-like way." He took pride in P&G's employee relations policies and during his tenure as company secretary and treasurer was committed to the advancement of the welfare of the employees. He was an amiable man with a delightful sense of humor and liking for conundrums; he also had a treasury of fascinating toys for visiting children.[10]

David B. Gamble joined the Presbyterian church after he married Mary Huggins, the daughter of a Presbyterian minister and the stepdaughter of a University of Michigan theologian. A plain-looking, short woman with a large face and nose, Mary Huggins Gamble had a rather stern and formidable character. Her father and little brother died when she was a child. Though energetic, she was troubled by upper respiratory infections as a teenager. After a year at Smith College, her poor health forced her to withdraw. She married David Gamble after five years of courtship and a thorough investigation of his character. Their union created a hard-working, productive, and highly moral family.[11]

Like the first generation Gambles, David and Mary Huggins Gamble believed in Christian stewardship and made large and usually anonymous contributions to the Presbyterian church, Occidental College, the Young Men's Christian Association, and Christian missions in China and other countries. David Gamble was a trustee of Occidental College at Los Angeles, one-time president of its board, and

contributor to the college endowment fund. The Gambles built a rest home in Pasadena, California, where they settled in 1908, for retired missionaries and YMCA secretaries. They also donated Gamble Hall and an athletic field to the Christian College in Hangzhou, a hospital in Chongqing, and a school in Seoul, Korea.[12]

Sidney Gamble was the second son and third child out of four in the family. In his boyhood, young Sidney, like his elder brother Cecil and younger brother, Clarence (the second child, Elizabeth Gamble, died in 1890 at the age of four), was raised in the tradition of Christian charity, Scots-Irish thrift, aptitude for bookkeeping, a strong sense of financial responsibility and accountability, attachment to family, love for travel, mechanical ability and fascination with gadgets.[13] One example of his strong sense of fiscal accountability is reflected in a note he wrote to Clarence, listing what the young boy owed him:

> "I took the $.85 that was in silver in your pocket and will give you credit for same:
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | Expressage Books | $4.87 |
> | Watch crystals | 1.00 |
> | Postage | .29 |
> | | 6.16 |
> | Cash from pocket | .85 |
> | | $5.31 |

[14]

David Berry and Mary Huggins Gamble loved to travel, especially after David's operation in 1893, which forced him to give up his position as treasurer at P&G. The lesser

responsibility as company secretary gave him time to travel. Sidney Gamble remembered the days when, as a child, he accompanied his parents on tours of major places of attraction in the U. S. and in Europe. Sidney went to Miss Sattler's School in 1896, where he spent six memorable years in elementary education. He remembered the first street car in Cincinnati (that charged three cents a ride), the military drills for those who were entering the American-Spanish War of 1898, the Buffalo Fair in 1901 and the country's shock when President McKinley was assassinated. Taking lessons in piano and violin, he entered the Alchin Music Recital as a violinist at eleven years of age. It was during these childhood years that Sidney first toyed with optical lenses, which led to his life-long interest in photography. He received his first telescope lens on a trip to Pasadena during the winter of 1900 and could not relinquish it. In 1903, a photo prize of a 5x7 camera opened up an exciting and completely new horizon for young Gamble. Thereafter he would try to capture images around him whenever and wherever possible.[15]

To impress his children with the family's business tradition, David Gamble in 1902 took the eleven-year-old Sidney to visit Ivorydale, P&G's new factory in the suburbs of Cincinnati. It was named after the company's first nationally acclaimed product, the floating Ivory soap. The soap was discovered accidentally, thanks to the carelessness

of a workman, who permitted the mixing device called the "crutcher" to run during his lunch hour and as a result, minute air bubbles were introduced into the mixture, giving birth to the world's first floating soap. The name Ivory was chosen from Psalms to signify both the purity of the product and the workmanship and honesty of the company. The success of P&G at its new Ivorydale was also the result of a clever business move on the part of William A. Procter, a second-generation Procter. Upon learning that his factory was on fire and the fire was out of control, he rushed to the telegraph office instead of the factory and sent a barrage of telegrams and cables to the major cities of the world to buy oil and other raw materials before speculators could corner the market. Thus, the new factory at Ivorydale had an ample and inexpensive supply of raw materials when it started production in 1885.[16]

After six years of elementary education at Miss Sattler's School, young Sidney first had two years of private study with C. F. Brooks, a retired secondary teacher and family friend, then spent three years at the Avondale Public School, later the University School. The school principal, William E. Stilwell, left a deep impression on the young teenager, arousing his interest in physics. At the University School Sidney retained his interest in photography and violin. He also began to play tennis, but he was never very good at sports. In academic performance,

however, he was first in his classes for most of the time and would be at the top in senior high school and college.

The middle child in the family, Sidney was conscientious, quiet, shy, obedient and trustworthy. Mary H. Gamble at one time made a comment about her three boys: "When you asked Cecil to do something, he would storm and fuss and then do it. When you ask Sidney, he would be perfectly sweet and do it. When you asked Clarence, he would be perfectly sweet and not do it."[17]

Each winter since 1893, David and Mary Gamble fled Cincinnati's cold weather to Florida or California. So fascinated were they by the charms of California, and especially Pasadena, that they decided to settle permanently in Pasadena in 1905, after David Gamble retired as company secretary-treasurer, their eldest son, Cecil, fresh from Princeton University, replacing him. Learning about the Thacher School in the Ojai Valley, then regarded the best boarding school west of the Mississippi,[18] they decided to send Sidney there, to better prepare him for Princeton, the Gambles' chosen Ivy League university for their three sons.

The Thacher School combined eastern academic training with the rugged life of the west, a tradition established by the founder, Sherman Day Thacher, when the school was founded in 1889. Sherman Thacher, the son of a Yale professor, attended Yale and Yale Law School before visiting

his brother in the Ojai Valley in 1887. In 1889, he accepted the request of a friend to train his boy for admission to Yale on condition that the tutoring be conducted in the Ojai Valley. The boy became the first student who boarded with the Thacher brothers and thus began the Thacher School, a boy's boarding school.

According to Thacher, "The aims of the place are thus in three directions: toward health and happiness, toward unselfish character, and toward accurate, thorough and self-reliant habits of thought and study."[19] Thacher not only wanted his students to concentrate on literature, mathematics, language, and the sciences, he also emphasized the value of outdoor living: riding, camping, hiking, and mountain-climbing. These qualities convinced David Gamble to apply formally in January, 1906, and Sidney entered Thacher that fall as an upper classman.

David Gamble's purpose was clear: he wanted his son to get the best of secondary education, to identify with the outdoors, to build an unselfish character, and to become accurate, thorough, and self-reliant in both his studies and life. Though confident of young Sidney's academic performance, given his son's past record, he knew that the boy was "a little careless" and lacked "endurance somewhat." He wanted his son to toughen himself through horse-back riding, camping, hiking and mountain-climbing and to be

devout, requesting that he attend the local Presbyterian church "at least three times in four Sundays."[20]

As Sidney himself put it in July 1907, "I will always look back on my year at Thacher with the greatest of pleasure and wish that it might have been more."[21] It had been a meaningful and enriching time, both physically and intellectually, for the young man. Sherman Thacher's emphasis on the study of literature and poetry and his own strong personal character left a life-long impression on young Gamble. So did his educational philosophy that incorporated both book learning and practical life experience.

During Sidney's stay, the school had some 40 boys divided into the Upper School, the Middle School and the Lower School, which covered grades nine through twelve. Each boy had a room to himself and each had a horse to ride and care for. "A boy and a horse" was the ideal picture of "health, manliness, command," Thacher used to tell the students. "There's something about the outside of a horse that's good for the inside of a boy."[22] Through feeding, watering, currying, brushing, training, cleaning and befriending their horses, the young teenagers were taught humility, common sense, patience, responsibility and endurance--attributes hard to convey in the classroom. Although Sidney had some heart problems during the year at Thacher which prevented him from taking part in strenuous

activities such as camping, polo and Gymkhana (horseback track and field) events, he benefited amply from the equestrian program. In fact, for most part of the year, he was a volunteer rider in the late afternoons to bring back mail from the nearby Nordhoff Post Office. His service was fondly and jokingly remembered in the 1907 El Archivero, the school yearbook, in relation to both a riding accident he had and his family fortune:

> Now there comes one decked out in riding pants and puttees who walks past with jingling spurs and puts the mail bags on his horse; evidently he is about to start to Nordhoff for the mail. We turn to walk away, but suddenly our attention is drawn back again to our friend with the mail bags by some lusty cries of "Whoa" directed at his steed. Turning, we perceive the steed ambling towards the barn, with its rider hanging onto the saddle, his right foot in the left stirrup, trying to clamber into his seat and shouting commands to halt. These commands are completely ignored by the patient steed, which calmly walks into its stall. As we gaze after the would-not-be acrobat on horseback, he drops a small object in the road. With visions of a roll of greenbacks in our minds, we all hasten to pick it up, and find--a cake of Ivory soap, 99 44/100 per cent pure. Although our hopes of finding a fortune are dashed to the ground, still we are partly consoled by the fact that the strange proceedings are explained to our entire satisfaction, for this soap identifies our friend as Gamble, of whom we have been forewarned such actions are not altogether unexpected.[23]

"Ivory," as Sidney was known to his schoolmates, ranked second in his class for the year 1906-07. He combined an excellent academic performance with enthusiasm for the horse programs, violin playing in the school orchestra and photography, winning several picture prizes. Regarding the last, Thacher himself appreciated Sidney Gamble's "fine work as a photographer."[24] More important, Thacher's academic

training well prepared him for higher education at Princeton and then at the University of California at Berkeley.

Early retirement permitted David Gamble to travel extensively in the United States and overseas. In spring 1908, when the Gambles decided to give up their temporary annual winter quarters at Hotel Raymond in Pasadena and build a permanent winter home there, they took Sidney and Clarence on a trip to the Orient while their new house, later called the Gamble House,* was under construction. The Gambles departed shortly after the ground was broken in March 1908. By the time they returned in August, the walls were up and the roof was under construction. Situated on a small hill at Westmoreland Place, the $50,000 mansion was completed ahead of schedule, and the family moved into the house in January 1909.[25]

The Gambles' trip to the Far East was understandable. Well-connected with the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., as well as the International Committees of the YMCA and YWCA, they had mission friends in three leading Asian countries: Japan, Korea and China. They were invited to tour the mission

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*The Gamble House is presently under the curatorship of the School of Architecture and Fine Arts, University of Southern California. It was given by Cecil Gamble's descendants to the City of Pasadena in conjunction with the University of Southern California. It is now a national historical landmark.

fields and find out how their evangelical work had been progressing.

Foreign missionary work of the American Presbyterians could be traced back to 1838 with the formation of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, although Presbyterians had supported the foreign missions of the American Board since 1810. Their missionaries had already entered Guangzhou (Canton), Ningbo and Shanghai by 1860, the year China was forced to sign a second set of unequal treaties with the Western powers after being defeated in the Second Opium War. From these urban centers Presbyterian missionaries would spread to other cities in eastern and southern China. A Presbyterian station was established in Hangzhou (Hangchow) in 1864, and by 1880 two churches were established in the city with a total of 142 converts. The Boys' School of the Presbyterian mission station in Ningbo moved to Hangzhou in 1867. In time it grew into the Hangzhou Presbyterian College in 1897 and eventually into the Hangzhou Christian College, after the Central China Mission of the Northern Presbyterians and the Mid-China Mission of the Southern Presbyterians were united in their work.[26]

Presbyterian missionary efforts in China reflected the general drive overseas by American Protestantism in the late 19th century. One of their chief endeavors was to establish schools to educate the Chinese for conversion. However,

reformist elements in the dying Qing dynasty welcomed these missionary educational endeavors for a different reason: they offered the Chinese new ideas about science and technology which might be used to strengthen a country besieged by threatening imperialist powers. The "Hundred Days" reform of 1898, in which the Chinese progressive elements represented by Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao caught the fancy of the young Emperor Guangxu, came to an abortive end when the powerful and ruthless Dowager Empress and her die-hard supporters staged a coup d'etat. The reformers wanted a drastic change of the age-old examination system based on Confucian classical learning, and a major reform of the corrupt Qing government system, the two pillars that sustained Manchu rule. The desire for Western knowledge had been growing ever since the "self-strengthening movement" of the 1860s and 70s. This was a futile effort by certain Qing statesmen and literati to introduce Western military and technological devices with the hope of fortifying the Qing government in the wake of the Opium Wars and the Taiping Rebellion. Students had been sent to Japan, Europe and the United States to study modern science and technology. Missionary education became an important supplement to the changing education system of the late Qing dynasty and missionary schools sprang up rapidly around the 1900. By 1905, when the old examination system was formally abolished, there were already ten Christian colleges and

universities in China. Various government colleges were also established by the Chinese government.[27]

A key figure in the development of the Hangzhou Christian College was Rev. Robert F. Fitch, eldest son of George Field Fitch, one of the first Presbyterian missionaries to arrive Shanghai in 1870. He later became manager of the Presbyterian Mission Press in China and editor of the Chinese Recorder, a monthly religious magazine widely distributed in China. As early as 1904, when desire for Western learning was on the rise in China, Robert Fitch was invited to lecture on physics at the college while serving on the Presbyterian mission in the city. During his furlough in 1907, Fitch was commissioned by the college to find American sponsors for new buildings and equipment. It was during this furlough that he met with David and Mary Huggins Gamble. The couple, greatly interest in the expanding Hangzhou Presbyterian College, gave $7,500 for a new dormitory. Knowing their plans to tour the Orient the next year, Fitch told the Gambles that he would play host when they arrived in China. Upon returning to China in February 1908, Fitch joined the college faculty and became director for the construction of a new campus on the outskirts of the city.[28]

The Gambles had travelled to Europe a few years earlier, to Rome, Munich, Geneva and London. Sidney and his

younger brother, Clarence, were excited about a long trip to a completely different part of the world, especially at a time when its leading countries were undergoing dramatic social changes. In 1905, Japan had become the first state in East Asia powerful enough to defeat the forces of an important Western power--Russia--in a full-scale war. A decade earlier, China had lost to Japan in the war of 1894 over Korea and, as a result, Korea was breaking away from its tributary status toward China.

For the United States, this was a time of general interest and expansion in the Far East and in China. The disappearance of the frontier at home, rapid industrialization, mass production of cheap goods, the attractiveness of overseas markets, the expansionist mentality embodied in Mahan's theory of sea power, and the missionary impulse--these factors would goad the United States to join the ranks of imperialist powers. The Spanish-American War of 1898 brought Cuba and the Philippines under American control, and as a natural next step for expansion in the Far East, Secretary of State John Hay issued his Open Door notes, first in 1899 and again in 1900 during the Boxer revolt. While the notes endorsed the principle of preserving China's integrity as a nation, they intended at the time to maintain the unequal treaty system that the Western powers enjoyed with China.[29]

Although American commercial interest in China in the early days of the century was insignificant compared to that of Britain and Japan, "the myth of the China market" had caught the fancy of American businessmen and political leaders. Standard Oil and Singer Sewing Machine had already entered this market. Moreover, there was "an awareness of the missionary's role as promoter of trade."[30] Theodore Roosevelt called for public support of missions partly because he believed that they could help the U.S. commercially, and partly because he realized the high financial stake of America's missionary enterprise in China, then an investment of 40 million dollars.[31] Procter & Gamble's Ivory soap was not only shipped to Chinese cities, it also followed missionaries to the countryside and remote islands. Margaret Moninger, a Presbyterian missionary stationed at Kachek on the island of Hainan wrote the following letter to the Procter & Gamble Company describing how Ivory soap "follows the missionary":

> In our schools we try to inculcate an idea of personal cleanliness into our pupils. After one of our girls had left school she went to her husband's home to live. When her little baby was about a month old (he was born in our hospital) she took him home, but to her great sorrow, the old grand-mother insisted that it would kill the baby to bathe him. The young mother appealed to us, and we solved the difficulty by sending her half a cake of Ivory, and telling her to assure the grandmother that this fine soap, coming all the way from America, was the soap used in many lands to bathe the babies and never injured <u>one</u>. It worked, and yesterday the young father came to me begging me to sell him another cake "of that nice white soap that was so good for the baby" and went off very pleased with the cake I gave him.[32]

At the time of the Gamble family visit, China was just a few years away from becoming a Republic. The possibilities for a major transformation in this ancient civilization and for the potential influence of the West had never seemed to be greater. Sir Robert Hart, the Inspector General of the Chinese Maritime Customs, made the following comment during an interview conducted shortly before he returned to England in 1908 after serving at the position for forty-five years:

> During the first forty-five years of my residence in China, the empire seemed to be, so far as the influence of foreign nations was concerned, a closed room without a breath of air from the outside world reaching us. I could not see that the Chinese were in the least conscious that any other nations upon the face of the globe existed. Upon the contrary, during the last five years, every door and window has been opened, and the breezes from all parts of the earth have been blowing through China. We may expect occasional thunder-storms, and possibly a typhoon may sweep us out of the empire; but China will never again be closed to Western influence.[33]

The dual impact of Western influence and of the forces of change left the conservative elements of China's last imperial dynasty with no choice. They had to adopt many of the radical programs of the reformers they had earlier stripped of power. The result of the Boxer Uprising, an anti-foreign "typhoon" which engulfed the lives of 250 foreigners, mostly missionaries, did not save the Qing dynasty or stop foreign influence. On the contrary, it brought 45,000 troops from the major Western powers into north China and forced yet another humiliating treaty, the

Boxer Protocol, onto the battered country. Anti-foreignism was no way out for the Qing dynasty.

In addition to the establishment of new schools and new armies modeled on those of the West and Japan, the Qing court also instituted new and modern agencies of government. Between 1901 and 1906, there arose a full-scale Ministry of Foreign Affairs to take over the duties of the previous Zongli Yamen (Office of General Management). Other newly formed government bureaus were the Ministry of Police, Ministry of Commerce, Ministry of Punishment, Ministry of Education, and Ministry of Finance.[34] These reforms further encouraged ideas of constitutionalism, provincialism, nationalism and revolution. In a very significant way, the conservative reformers of the Qing court paved the way for the dynasty's demise, because their programs laid the foundation for the Republican revolution over the horizon.

The Gambles reached China after visiting Honolulu, Japan and Korea, touring such cities as Kyoto, Kobe, Tokyo, Inchon, Seoul, and Pyongyang. They landed in Shanghai in early May of 1908 and, as promised, Rev. Robert F. Fitch came to greet the family. They toured Shanghai, the rising metropolis and most important seaport of China since it was opened to foreign trade after 1842 as a result of the Treaty of Nanking. The city, with a population of 800,000, boasted a market area extending outward as far as 18 miles.

According to one description, the buildings of Shanghai were "as densely packed as the teeth of a comb." Shanghai was headquarters of China's maritime customs, the site of one of the country's first interpreters' colleges, the birthplace of China's first anti-footbinding society, first girls' school, and first modern arsenal, the Jiangnan Arsenal.[35]

Though life seemed normal on the surface in the cities which the Gambles visited, there were indications that forces old and new, Chinese and foreign, conservative, progressive and revolutionary converged there. The Gambles witnessed the government's efforts to curb opium smoking and opium trade by publicly burning confiscated drugs and utensils. There were queue-cutting demonstrations to publicize people's determination to sever the symbol of subservience to Manchu rule. On several occasions they saw the movement of government troops carrying rifles.[36] These forces were probably moving to confront the revolutionaries, especially members of Tongmeng Hui (the United League) founded a few years before by Dr. Sun Yat-sen. Just a year earlier, Qiu Jin, a staunch nationalist, revolutionary and feminist died a young martyr, executed by the Qing government for her role in an abortive nationalist uprising.

The Gamble brothers were greatly interested in the fate of this ancient civilization. Upon returning from China, Clarence wrote a graduation essay on the "Awakening of

China" at Occidental College. The trip greatly enhanced their knowledge about China, already considerable owing to contact with missionaries who had visited their home. They believed the Christian religion to be the source of China's hope for moral and social revolution. The central problem for China, they thought at the time of their visit, was the shortage of teachers to educate its people.[37]

Travelling by horse-drawn carriage, wheelbarrow and sedan chair, the Gambles were shown picturesque Hangzhou, capital of Zhejiang Province adjacent to Shanghai. Hangzhou's fame can be traced back to the days of Marco Polo, who described this great metropolitan city of the world's greatest civilization in the late 13th century as follows:

> Its great street was three miles long, forty paces wide, sufficient for nine cars to roll abreast, thronged with curtained and cushioned vehicles capable of holding six persons each, with its companies of gay revellers coming from the lake.[38]

The city's temples on the outskirts of West Lake were among the country's finest, and two of its three pagodas were among the largest. The Gambles visited the Lingyin Monastery, the largest Buddhist monastery in eastern China, the famous silk factories, the Six Harmonies Pagoda, and enjoyed boat rides on the Grand Canal built six centuries earlier. But more important to them was the visit to the Hangzhou Presbyterian College, the Presbyterian Churches (southern and northern), and the fledgling city YMCA. David

Gamble readily donated funds for both the new campus of the Hangzhou Presbyterian College and the YMCA, as he had done in Japan and Korea en route to China.

As if by destiny, this trip to Japan, Korea and China began Sidney Gamble's life-long interest in the daily lives of the world's most populated country. He was fascinated by this great Oriental culture and impressed with its poor but industrious people. His interest in photography was aroused to a new pitch by the strikingly different landscape, people and culture. Moreover, the Rev. Fitch, the family host in Hangzhou, also had a passion for photography. He thrilled the high school graduate with pictures of the Yangtze River gorges and promised to take the young man on an extended photo expedition if Gamble ever returned to China.[39]

As Gamble himself put it 54 years later, at a reunion of the Princeton Class of 1912, the 1908 trip was to him like the "bite of an Oriental bug:"

> Do you remember the Korean wind bell that used to hang in my window at 22 Blair? It was a symptom of a bite of an Oriental bug--a bite from which one seldom fully recovers. The effect of that bite took me back to China and the Princeton University Center in Peking and made it possible for me to make the first social survey of an Oriental city --its title, Peking: A Social Survey.[40]

NOTES

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CHAPTER III

MOST CONFIDENT MAN AT PRINCETON

Sidney D. Gamble was now a quiet, shy, yet mature 18 year-old upon his return from China. Even in the days when he attended the boarding school at Thacher, he was known as a responsible young man. Sherman D. Thacher, for example, wrote to Sidney's father praising the teenager as a "very reliable young fellow."[1] Life at Princeton University in New Jersey would prepare "Sid," as he was called by those in his class of 1912, in the field of social economics and make him a conscientious and productive amateur photographer.

For religious, patriotic and academic reasons, David Gamble chose Princeton University for the education of his three sons. Like the other institutions of higher learning, the school was established in colonial America by religious denominations. It began as the College of New Jersey, chartered in 1746 largely as a result of the Great Awakening. Presbyterianism had a Calvinistic emphasis on the Word of God and had all along stressed the importance of highly educated and knowledgeable ministry.[2] The College of New Jersey could trace its religious inspiration to the creation of the Log College, the pioneering Presbyterian educational institution in Neshaminy, Pennsylvania, founded twenty years earlier.[3] The founders of the College of New Jersey, four pastors and three laymen, were disappointed by

Yale and Harvard's opposition to the Great Awakening and dissatisfied with the limited course of instruction offered at Log College. They also wanted to fill in the gap between New Haven in Connecticut and Williamsburg in Virginia where no college was in existence.[4] The College of New Jersey moved to Princeton in 1756 from previous locations in Elizabethtown and Newark.[5] The same religious inspiration and concern of the Presbyterians led to the formation of the Princeton Theological Seminary in 1812 when the curriculum of the College was considered "too secular."[6]

At its sesquicentennial anniversary in 1896, the name of College of New Jersey was formally changed to Princeton University. It was at this celebration that Woodrow Wilson, then professor of political science and history, made his famous speech, "Princeton in the Nation's Service." The role of Princeton in the founding of the nation was thus described by Woodrow Wilson:

> We can show nothing more of historical fact than that her own president [John Witherspoon, 1768-1794] took a great place of leadership in that time of change, and became one of the first figures of the age; that the college which he led, and to which he gave his spirit, contributed more than her share of public men to the making of the nation, outranked her elder rivals in the roll call of the constitutional convention, and seemed for a little a seminary of statesmen rather than a quiet seat of academic learning. What takes our admiration and engages our fancy in looking back to that time is the generous union then established in the college between the life of philosophy and the life of the State.[7]

David Gamble selected Princeton because he wanted his children to have a better education than that of both

himself and his father, James Gamble, the co-founder of Procter & Gamble. David Gamble completed only secondary education in Cincinnati at Hughes High School, a public school, before moving into business first as a bookstore salesman and then joining Procter & Gamble.[8] The attractiveness of Princeton University was personified by the personality of William Cooper Procter, grandson of the Company's other co-founder, William Procter, and David Gamble's nephew. William Cooper Procter was a graduate of the College of New Jersey in 1883, having majored in chemistry. He became a crucial figure in the Company's development, expansion and incorporation around the turn of the century, introducing such important ideas and practices as profit-sharing, the eight-hour working day, and pension and disability plan. David Gamble had worked with both his cousin, Cooper's father, and young William Cooper, who became the company's General Manager in 1890 and President in 1907. He was impressed by young Procter's energy and performance, attributable in no small measure to the Princeton education. Already David had put his eldest son, Cecil Gamble, through Princeton, and Cecil had been working at the Ivorydale factory as laborer and foreman in various departments since his graduation in 1905. David Gamble had another association with Princeton through Andrew Fleming West. West had taught both David Gamble and William Copper Procter at Hughes High School before he took on the job of

Giger chair in Latin and later Dean of Princeton's Graduate School.[9]

By the time Sidney was enrolled at Princeton, the university had undergone major changes in administration, curriculum and teaching methods under Woodrow Wilson, the first layman to assume the post of president. To raise academic standards, the curriculum was revised and the framework of department divisions established. Juniors and seniors could no longer defer their choice of a major or freely choose their electives. Earlier, in 1905, Wilson introduced the preceptorial system to Princeton, modeled on the traditional tutoring system of Oxford and Cambridge. Over thirty young scholars of talent, the "preceptors," were brought in to meet in regular conference with small groups of students.[10]

As the old bell on Nassau Hall chimed on September 23, 1912, signaling the beginning of the 161st year in the school's history, Sidney Gamble and the rest of the 312 freshmen were greeted in the University Chapel by President Wilson. He gave them "a lot of interesting advice," it was reported, "and then turned them over to the Sophomores, who also gave them some interesting advice."[11] In the tradition of Princeton's hazing and horseplay, sophomores hazed freshmen in a variety of ways in order to receive "tokens of respect and subjection." These included shining shoes for sophomores, making forced vocal efforts, wearing

jackets inside out, climbing into their dorms through windows and so on.[12] Sidney and his fellow classmen had to break through the Class of 1911 to get into Dickinson Hall for their class election. Those were unhappy but exciting memories.[13]

Unlike his year at Thacher School in Ojai, California, when he experienced a period of homesickness because he had never before left home, Sidney was now well prepared to enter "a society in which the student was to practice and thus to learn the art of living the good life with his fellows and his elders."[14] More important, he also wanted to choose his life's work. And in that respect, one of Wilson's baccalaureate addresses gave him food for thought. The education they had received, Wilson told the 1909 graduating class, had made them

> in some special sense citizens of a spiritual world in which men are expected to do more than make a living; in which they are expected to enrich the day they live in with ... something given freely, from their special store of knowledge and of instructed principle, for the service of their neighbors and their communities and for the enlightenment of mankind.[15]

Gamble was now a fully grown young man of five feet ten and weighed 167 pounds. According to the class book, The Nassau Herald, he was a member of the Clio Hall literary society, an oratory and debating club. He declared "agriculture" to be his vocation, "Presbyterian" his religious preference, and "Prohibition" his political preference. His favorite sport was baseball. He was active

in the university musical clubs, being a member of the Glee Club, Chapel Choir, Orchestra, Orphic Order, and the dramatic Triangle Club. He also belonged to the upper class Dial Lodge, one of the eating clubs of the school where upperclassmen dine and socialize.[16]

Gamble's favorite subject of study was physical geography. And the subject was in close association with his greatest hobby in life--photography. He claimed that his "patron saint" was the gargoyle of a monkey holding a camera above the central archway of 1879 Hall at Princeton. He was already known as an established photographer on campus, photographing major events for campus publications. During vacations he would travel in the country and abroad, always with his camera on hand. His interest in photography and physical geography led him to the membership of both the Royal Geographical Society and the American Geographical Society.[17]

Soon after entering Princeton, Gamble became a member of the Philadelphian Society, the student religious organization created in the early nineteenth century. Now largely the collegiate YMCA on campus, the Philadelphian Society had collaborated with the International Committee of the Young Men's Christian Association of North America to send its general secretary, Robert R. Gailey, to work as foreign secretary in Tianjin in 1898. Gailey's work had been so successful that when a request came from the

International Committee in 1905, the Philadelphian Society decided to provide personnel and financial support for a YMCA in Beijing, beginning a long relationship between Princeton University and China.[18]

As a member of the Philadelphian Society, Gamble joined its prayer meetings, weekly Bible study classes, fund drives, philanthropic work in local communities, and work with the students at Princeton. Still fresh with the memory of his trip to the Orient and especially China, he was interested in learning how the Princeton men, led by Robert Gailey, were developing YMCA work in the ancient capital of Beijing. He listened to the talks of some of these pioneering Princetonians on furlough from China. On October 14, 1909, Gamble attended a meeting of the Philadelphian Society at which John Stewart Burgess spoke. Burgess, class of 1905, was fresh from Japan after two years of service there and was to join the Princeton University center in Beijing upon returning to the Orient.[19] Gamble also remembered the "Peking Day" event held at Alexander Hall on December 8, 1910 when John R. Mott, General Secretary of the World's Student Christian Federation, delivered the keynote address. Mott had high praise for the pioneering spirit of the Princetonians who had started the Beijing YMCA work at a critical time in China's history. For many years in early December, the Philadelphian Society would celebrate annually Princeton's work in Beijing.[20] Gamble was unaware at this

time that he would be joining the Princetonians in Beijing and have a close working relationship with Burgess for years to come. His involvement with the Philadelphian Society and his knowledge and interest in its China activities would eventually influence his choice of career.

Gamble enrolled in the Department of History, Politics, and Economics under the Division of Philosophy. Departments of instruction in the arts and sciences had been established in 1902 under Woodrow Wilson. At the time of Gamble's enrollment, there were 11 departments under the four divisions of Philosophy, Arts and Archaeology, Language and Literature, and Mathematics and Science. As part of the educational reform at Princeton, the curricula were redesigned, so that undergraduates would spend the first two years completing a curriculum of general studies and concentrate in their junior and senior years on one discipline and related fields. For general studies, Gamble took Latin, Trigonometry, Algebra, English, Hygiene, Physics, French, Conics, Logic, Chemistry, Psychology and Math in his freshman and sophomore years. Largely influenced by Woodrow Wilson and the Department Chair, Winthrop More Daniels, Gamble decided to major in economics, while taking courses also in History, Politics, Geology, Physical Geography, Analytical Mechanics, Mathematics and Astronomy in his junior and senior years.[21]

Having an excellent academic record, Gamble received General Honors from the School of Science in his freshman and sophomore years, and High General Honors from the Academic Department in his junior year. As a senior, he was elected to Phi Beta Kappa and graduated magna cum laude, with high honors, ranking first in his class of 96 bachelors of letters, with an average score at graduation of 1.23. This probably explains why in the Hall of Fame of '12, the seemingly shy and reserved young man was listed as the "most confident" man.[22]

After enrolling in elementary economics classes, Gamble in his senior year took three additional courses in economics: Public Finance, with Frank Albert Fetter who replaced Winthrop More Daniels as chairman of the Department and was elected president of the American Economic Association in 1912; Money and Banking, with Professor Meeker; and a seminar on Industrial Organization of Capital and Labor with Professor David A. McCabe.[23] McCabe had been discovered by Daniels at Johns Hopkins, where McCabe studied under the American pioneer in labor relations--George Barnett. McCabe was appointed by Woodrow Wilson as one of the last preceptors, and he laid the groundwork for the development of Princeton's noted tradition in labor economics.[24]

Gamble's interest in economics, specifically in learning about industrial organization and relations of

capital and labor, came largely from his knowledge of the family business. The family legacy had given him mixed messages: he wanted to learn more about business and finance, probably thinking he might go into business after graduation. But rising labor unrest and protest, and the evolution of capital-labor relations, forced him to look into these problems in a manner more detached than that of the family business. And in this respect, the extensive welfare measures adopted by Procter & Gamble, originating in both Christian humanism and industrial necessity, left a deep impression on Gamble. He remembered how his father, David Gamble, talked about "profit sharing," "Dividend Day," "eight-hour day," and "the Knights of Labor" during the 1880s and 1890s. The welfare programs adopted by Procter & Gamble and the changing relationship between management and workers in the company greatly interested young Gamble and supplemented his college course work with real-world perspectives.

Welfare measures at Procter & Gamble were adopted as a result of the depression of 1884 and rising labor unrest and strikes in the following two years. In 1886, the peak year of strikes in nineteenth-century America, 610,000 workers laid down their tools and shut off their machines. Chicago workers called a general strike on May 1st to demand an eight-hour work day and the country was shocked to learn of

the Haymarket massacre a few days later.[25] The Knights of Labor, a national industrial union which tried to organize all workers, both skilled and unskilled, into a militant labor union, was at the peak of its power and influence. The local assemblies of the Knights of Labor in Cincinnati were organizing work stoppages and strikes. Young William Cooper Procter, a fourth generation Procter who had graduated from Princeton two years before, reacted to the unrest by giving the employees Saturday afternoons off "in an effort to prove that the Company was really interested in its employees' welfare."[26]

But such a welfare measure did not seem to win over the support and cooperation from the P&G employees. "Work stoppages continued to occur at the new plant in Ivorydale. There were fourteen different strikes during a period of about two years. In addition, there was about a 50 percent turnover of factory employees each year."[27] P&G needed something else to appease labor.

Profit-sharing had been adopted in Europe. Cooper Procter and David Gamble, who had been working since 1877 as assistants to William A. Procter, Cooper's father and David's cousin, did not consider profit sharing a substitute for a fair wage. They looked at it as a potential means for improving production efficiency. "Any worthwhile change in the conduct of a business," Cooper Procter wrote in his diary, "must first and last have the element of lessening

cost."[28] Procter & Gamble realized that by introducing a profit-sharing plan, they could make the employees understand that their self-interest was involved in their work. They proposed to solve the problem of labor unrest by getting at its roots: to change the situation where "the employee takes no interest in his work and has no consideration for his employer's property or welfare."[29]

On April 12, 1887, the company inaugurated its semi-annual dividends plan, according to which the net profits would be divided between the employees and the firm "in the proportion that total wages bore to the total cost of manufacturing and marketing. Each employee would receive a semi-annual cash dividend according to the ratio of his or her wages to total wages." On its first Dividend Day in October that year, the Company paid out an equivalent of 13.47 percent of the employees' wages as dividends of the shared profits.[30]

The profit-sharing plan substantially reduced work stoppages and labor unrest. But it was no inducement to greater effort on the part of most employees, because, to the workers the dividends soon became nothing more than periodic extra pay. To solve this problem, four different classifications were drawn to reward those who put in more effort and punish those who showed indifference on the job by cutting them off from profit sharing.[31] For his part, David Gamble had his own experience of how to supplement

welfarism with punitive actions.* Continuing the principle and spirit of tieing employee interest to that of the company, after P&G ceased to be a partnership and was incorporated as a public stock company, the old profit-sharing plan was replaced by employee ownership of P&G common stocks. Sidney Gamble watched with interest the unfolding of the new profit-sharing scheme. By the time of his graduation, 60 percent of the employees participated in the share owning plan, in which P&G added $3 to every $1 the employee put aside for stock purchase. By 1915, a comprehensive sickness-disability-retirement-life insurance plan was set up for the protection of the employees and their families.[32]

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*In his 1917 article of reminiscence, David Gamble thus describes what he and the Company did to counter the activities of the Knights of Labor:

"The managers of the Knights of Labor were stirring up trouble continually. I employed two detectives and sent them to the factory where Will (William Gamble) placed them in the places where he suspected the existence of malcontents. I had daily reports from the detective agency which I sent out to him. We knew in this way every man that was talking Knights of Labor and advocating a strike, and so all we had to do was to put them where the work was unusually hard. They, of course, objected and wanted to go back to their old jobs, but they were informed that they were doing the job that we had for them and that if they didn't like it they could go to the office and get their pay. A walking delegate called at the office one day and asked me why we were discharging men for belonging to the Knights of Labor. I told him that I thought that we could manage our business without his assistance as we had in the past, but asked him to bring me in a list of those that had been discharged from that cause. I never saw him nor heard from him again." (David B. Gamble, unpublished autobiographical article, Gamble House Archive, Box A, Folder VII, P. 3.)

Welfare programs at P&G reflected the conflict between capital and labor in their struggle for control of the labor process. Management at P&G represented by William Cooper Procter and David B. Gamble drew upon profit-sharing experiences from both Europe and the United States. David B. Gamble gave a lecture in June 1894 at St. Paul's P. E. Church in Cincinnati on the subject. He referred to an 1890 article on profit sharing which traced its origin to a French painter and decorator, M. Leclaire, who owned a large business in Paris, started profit-sharing programs in 1842, and maintained them for almost half a century, establishing Maison Leclaire as "perhaps the most admirable industrial organization on the planet."[33]

David Gamble preferred to call profit sharing by its European name: "industrial partnership." The relationship between capital and labor was not commercial, in which "the workmen inspect the books at their pleasure and have a voice in the daily management of the business." It was industrial, in which "the workmen, in his own department, --that of production or distribution,--does his very best, stimulated by an expected bonus, to make a profit for the firm."[34] The successful story of P&G, its Ivorydale factory, and its rapid expansion at the turn of the century, was largely attributable to its control of the labor process through industrial partnership or profit sharing.

David Gamble repeatedly recounted the stories of Ivorydale and profit sharing to his sons during their earlier tours of Ivorydale. In his senior year Sidney Gamble was able to combine the lessons drawn from texts on industrial relations with his knowledge of the family business. The studies of David A. MaCabe, on standard wage rates, the handling of industrial disputes, collective bargaining in the pottery industry, and labor and social reorganization, left a deep impression as did his "witty, blunt, demanding and provocative" lectures and preceptorials. He became Gamble's mentor at Princeton in social economics.[35]

At the time of his graduation, our "most confident man" was still not sure what he was going to do with his Magna Cum Laude and Bachelor of Literature degree. It would take another few years for him to decide on a career. There was no hurry. After all, given the family fortune, he did not have to worry about making a living. Just about a year earlier, on his 21st birthday, he had been given stocks worth a million dollars, with this simple note from his father:

> Dear Sidney:
>
> In honor of your arrival at man's estate your mother and I give you stock as per enclosed list. We hope that you will be able to make good use of the income. We have one request to make in connection therewith, that is you contribute at least one-tenth of the income to the church and other benevolences.

Lovingly,

Father.[36]

1912 was a memorable year for the young graduate of Princeton. It was the height of the Progressive movement in the nation, the capstone of a decade of protest and reform. The country saw a flood of laws in the states regulating wages and hours, employment of women and children, safety and health conditions in factories. It was also a presidential election year, which saw a spirited race among Woodrow Wilson for the Democrats, Theodore Roosevelt for the Progressives, William H. Taft for the Republicans, Eugene V. Debs for the Socialists, and Eugene W. Chafin for the Prohibition Party. Wilson's creed of "New Freedom," which espoused free competition as against monopolies, won out over Roosevelt's "New Nationalism" that emphasized the legitimate rights of monopoly as long as it was subject to Federal regulation.[37] It was with great interest that Sidney Gamble watched his professor, the president of Princeton who had taken on the job of the Governor of New Jersey two years before, win election to the White House.

From China, the big news was the demise of the Qing dynasty, the last imperial dynasty in Chinese history, and the birth of a fledgling republican government. Earlier, in October of 1911, revolutionary forces under Sun Yat-sen's United League had staged an uprising which led to the abdication of China's last emperor, the infant Pu-Yi. Events

in China caught the attention of the Gamble family in Pasadena. The parents were long active in advancing the Christian missionary cause in China. They gave talks and slide shows at local Presbyterial, club and mission board meetings, entertained missionaries from China and worked closely with such missionary leaders as John Mott, Henry Luce, and G. Sherwood Eddy in promoting the China Campaign of 1914. David Gamble was the chairman of the benevolence committee in California. Mary Huggins Gamble talked on the life of Sun Yat-sen "who is wonderfully interesting" and discussed John Mott's "wonderful experience" in China.[38] John Mott had dinner with the Gambles on May 18, 1913. His son had gone to the Orient with him, something which impressed the Gambles. Although the son had dropped back a year at Princeton, David Gamble wrote to Clarence, he "got a great deal out of it."[39] The Gambles would give their full support to their son's decision to join the Beijing YMCA a few years later.

Uncertain about a career after graduation, Sidney Gamble took a job, arranged by his father, as secretary and treasurer of the Escondido Land and Water Company in southern California. Gamble and his two brothers had grown up well trained in accounting, the idea behind which was accountability for whatever expenditure that might incur. This sense of accountability had become even greater with his inheritance. Notwithstanding his money, Gamble wanted to

gain experience in the real world. His job paid him $50 a week, the first and probably the last salary he ever earned. Gamble also worked for the Escondido Mutual Water Company and was involved in settling water rights, transmission, and improvements through the building of tunnels, ditches and electric-generating plants.[40]

Gamble's short experience as a realtor and businessman did not seem to be a promising career for him. During his stay in Escondido, he lived in a house one block from his office, but spent most of his weekends at home in Pasadena, travelling in his Model T. For a time Gamble was enthusiastic in the bungalow business and interviewed architects and builders in Escondido. But the project aborted when he could not find a partner. In the winter of 1914, southern California experienced a bitter cold weather. It virtually destroyed the citrus crop and the market, he recalled, "went dead."[41]

Sidney D. Gamble's decision to go to graduate school was a result of personal interest in social economics, family influence, and a chance meeting in the summer of 1913 with Carleton H. Parker, assistant professor of economics at the University of California at Berkeley. While staying at the family summer home in Harbor Point, Michigan, Gamble drove down to the University Settlement in Chicago. Parker was visiting John R. Commons of the University of Wisconsin

and studying the stockyards in Chicago at first hand. The University Settlement had attracted both Gamble and Parker, and they met through its resident director, Miss Mary E. McDowell.

The University Settlement, which was established in 1894, was situated a few miles away from the University in the Stock Yards district. Largely the work of the Philanthropic Committee of the University's Christian Union, it had been directly inspired by Jane Addams, founder of the settlement movement's Hull House. Mary E. McDowell, one of the settlement's first residents and later its Head Resident, guided its community work for almost 20 years, functioning at the same time as a special instructor in sociology.[42]

Parker, recently returned from Heidelberg, Germany, had been teaching at Berkeley for the past year and had just been appointed Executive Secretary of the State Immigration and Housing Commission of California. The young and upcoming labor economist caught everyone's attention at a dinner that Gamble attended. Miss Mary McDowell later told a friend, after Parker's premature death at age 39, in March 1918, "how he came to the table that first night and no one paid much attention to him--just some young Westerner nosing about. But by the end of the meal he had the whole group leaning elbows on the table, listening to everything he had to say...."[43]

Parker, a graduate of Berkeley, had a number of years of mining experience before his college education. He did one year of graduate work at Harvard, then continued with his PhD graduate studies in Germany. Influenced by the German historical school of social economics, Parker would combine the study of psychology with the study of social and labor economics. He spent his short life studying and writing about the conditions of unskilled workmen, California's seasonal, casual and migratory laborers, and their organization, the I. W. W.[44] His appointment to the position of Executive Secretary in the State Immigration and Housing Commission of California would bring him into direct association with the Gamble family and influence Sidney's decision to choose Berkeley's Economics Department for graduate studies in social economics.

The founding of the California State Immigration and Housing Commission reflected the effort of the State government to resolve another important source of conflict between capital and labor during the Progressive Era, namely the question of immigration. The country's population more than doubled from 35 million in 1865 to almost 76 million in 1900, owing to a steady increase in the number of immigrants. Between 1880 and 1914, a new wave of immigrants, mainly from Eastern and Southern Europe, brought the annual figure of immigrants up, first to about a half million for every year except 1894-99, and later to a million.[45]

The influx of immigrants and the problems that came with it aroused Nativist sentiment among the American public, and, according to John Higham, nativism became a significant force in the labor upheaval of 1886. Anti-Catholic and anti-radical sentiment gradually veered toward anti-foreignism and racism.[46] Beginning with the Chinese exclusion act of 1882, politicians demanded that immigration be restricted. Republican farmers and industrialists, however, were in favor of free immigration as a source of cheap labor. Both because of his association with Procter & Gamble, and his active involvement with missionaries and the Orient, David Gamble had a great interest in the immigration question. His simple argument: If Christianity were to be welcomed in China, as he had already found possible through his personal visits and contacts, should not Chinese find a welcome in America?[47]

David Gamble's interest in immigration led to his association with and support of the newly established State Immigration and Housing Commission. One of the private donors who gave life to the commission, he decided that both his sons, Sidney and Clarence, could benefit from working for it. Each of them, beginning in the summer of 1914, had some experience in providing free assistance to foreigners who were "wronged, abused, or defrauded."[48] And it was at the commission that Sidney became reacquainted with Carleton Parker who, as its Executive Secretary, had just conducted

an investigation of the Wheatland hop field riot for the Federal Government and was establishing himself as the leading authority on both migratory labor and labor psychology. Parker's solid training in economic theory and in its successful application to immigration-labor problems, convinced Gamble to undertake graduate study in social economics at the social-minded Berkeley campus.

NOTES

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27. Ibid.

28. Ibid.

29. Ibid., p. 18.

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32. Ibid., p. 19.

33. "Industrial Partnership or Profit Sharing," Gamble House Archive, Box B, Folder VI, P. 2.

34. Ibid., p. 1.

35. Leitch, op. cit., pp.293-4.

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CHAPTER IV

INSTITUTIONAL ECONOMICS AND SOCIAL REFORM

The Department of Economics at the University of California, where Gamble did his graduate study, was an outgrowth of the Department of History and Political Science. It was founded in 1875 by Bernard Moses, a German-trained scholar who was first appointed as professor of history and then as professor of history and political economy. Moses was the key figure in developing the earliest courses in political economy offered at Berkeley: first, "a critical study of the history of economic thought" and second, "a general view of the principles and laws of Political Economy in its present position."[1]

The evolution of Berkeley's Department of Economics reflected the formative stage of the professionalization of social sciences in the United States. When Moses assumed his professorship at Berkeley, the American Social Science Association was entering its eleventh year of activities for the purpose of institutionalizing social inquiry and understanding the rapidly changing American society. Even during the short life of the ASSA, with the rise of separate professionalized associations such as history, economics, political science, and sociology in the 1880s and 1890s, there was a significant overlapping of research interests, concepts and methodologies in the emerging social sciences.

Courses such as "sociology," "social economics," "rural sociology," "social survey," "charities and correction," "philanthropy," and "socialism" were offered by departments of history, political science, political economy, economics, or sociology.

Such overlapping interests in that period reflected a common concern among social scientists: the need to "accommodate social theory and social practice to the emerging realities of an urbanizing and industrializing society."[2] According to Franklin Sanborn, a leading figure at the ASSA and head of its Department of Social Economy, these courses were "synonymous with the cause of the poor."[3]

The promotion of this "cause," that is, protest and reform, was closely linked with the professionalization of social sciences in general and the emergence of Berkeley's Department of Economics in particular during the Progressive Era. Moses, with a PhD from Heidelberg, was influenced by the discussion of German social welfare programs.[4] Social economics as a distinct and separate field had been developed by Moses and a number of Berkeley's faculty members, students of the German historical school and the American institutional school. Moreover, the close relationship between the social economists at Berkeley and the state government of California, as was demonstrated by the careers of Carleton Parker and others, underscored the

important link of the professionalization of the social sciences to Progressive reform. Thus Berkeley would be the definitive influence on Sidney Gamble, who chose social economics as his lifework supported by a strong commitment to social betterment.

Berkeley was pivotal to the birth and development of American institutional economics under the strong influence of the German historical school. The German historical tradition was brought to Berkeley not only through Moses and Parker, but also through Carl Plehn who received his PhD at Gottingen in 1891. In 1902, when the new Department of Political Economy split off from the Department of History and Political Science, Plehn became its chairman and Moses remained with History and Political Science.[5] Moses and Plehn were two of the many American students who attended German universities in the 1870s and 80s.[6]

The German historical school promoted innovative methodologies in social and economic research: statistical, quantitative, inductive, historical, and comparative. Under its strong influence, institutional economics emphasized the study of economic phenomena and gave rise to the modern research and methodology of industrial relations. Although it is difficult to give an accurate definition of institutional economics or institutionalism, some of its distinct characteristics can be cited:

1. It is anti-traditional, anti-theoretical and empirical;

2. It determines and is in turn affected by economic behavior;
3. It takes an evolutionary approach to economics;
4. It emphasizes the necessity for social control of economic activity;
5. It finds economic research inseparable from other branches of the social sciences: psychology, sociology, anthropology, and law.[7]

The tenets of institutional economics can best be summarized by the statement of principles of the American Economic Association founded in 1885, which stressed the "positive assistance" of the state; the importance of "the historical and statistical study of the actual conditions of economic life;" and the "progressive development of economic conditions" with a "corresponding development of legislative policy." In other words, the rising conflict of labor and capital in the Gilded Age resulting from urbanization, immigration and industrialization could be resolved only through the united efforts of the entire society, including church, state and science.[8]

Of the three founders of American institutional economics--Thorstein B. Veblen, John R. Commons, and Wesley C. Mitchell--two were closely associated with Berkeley.[9] Mitchell was one of the five regular faculty members in 1903 when the Department of Political Economy changed its name to the Department of Economics. Adolph C. Miller, another member, was a Berkeley alumnus and teacher of Mitchell and Veblen at the University of Chicago. Also trained in Germany, he had been invited to head the new department and

had convinced Mitchell to join him. The last maintained close contact with Veblen who, when forced out of the University of Chicago, joined the Stanford faculty.[10]

Although John R. Commons was not at Berkeley, Ira Cross and Paul S. Taylor, two of his students at the University of Wisconsin were there, having joined the faculty in the mid-1910s and 1920s, respectively. Ira Cross wrote his master's thesis under Commons on cooperatives and completed his doctorate at Stanford while working as a teaching assistant to Veblen. Taylor did his graduate work at Berkeley under Solomon Blum who was also influenced by Commons.[11]

Methodologically, the founding fathers of institutionalism developed new ways of dealing with economic problems: Mitchell's pioneering work in quantitative research, Veblen's anthropological approach, and Common's "historico-legal" approach.[12] Intellectually, their work had such comprehensive sweep that almost every aspect of American national life--social, political, economic, and cultural--felt its impact. In the words of Joseph Dorfman, it embraced "the whole development of civilization in the United States since the end of the Civil War."[13] A brief review of the intellectual ferment around the turn of the century and the professionalization of the social sciences will help us put institutional economics in historical perspective and will show how Sidney D. Gamble was shaped, through the University of California, Berkeley, by this

intellectual ferment and led into his career as a social gospeller, social economist and social reformer.

The turbulent and transitional last decades of nineteenth- century America witnessed the impact of two interrelated developments: reverence for science and advocacy of social reform. These twin events permeated all of America's social and institutional life: church, state, academia, the general public. It signalled the decline of formalism and the rise of the "dynamical conception of a world in a perpetual process of evolution from one state into another."[14] Darwinism gave science the definite edge over religion in the realm of ideas. Evolutionary principles were incorporated into anthropology, sociology, philosophy, psychology, history, political science, and economics. Institutional economics benefited from the revolutionary ideas transforming these disciplines.

Institutional economists were inspired from Lester Frank Ward, the first social evolutionist to challenge social Darwinism and the tenets of laissez-faire. When Thorstein Veblen published The Theory of the Leisure Class in 1899, Lester Ward was one of the first to give it a favorable review in the American Journal of Sociology.[15] Ward's very life was also an instructive example. He was closely associated with some key government agencies functioning in areas of social investigation and service. He

worked with the Geological Survey established by Congress in 1879 to undertake "the classification of public lands and examination of the geological structure, mineral resources, and products of the national domain."[16] He had been employed by the Bureau of Statistics of the Department of the Treasury, and had advocated a central bureau of statistics.[17] He had also labored in the Division of Immigration and the Bureau of Navigation. These first-hand experiences with civil service and working for the Federal Government confirmed his belief in the necessity of social regulation.

From the development of anthropology, institutional economists looked to field work as an important research tool. Franz Boas, considered by many to as the founder of anthropology as a science in America, studied the life of the Eskimos and North American Indians. In the course of his work, he introduced to anthropology the research method of conducting field work after mastering the language of the target community.[18] Trained in physics in Germany and interested in geography, he was to challenge evolutionism upon settling in the United States. Boas was suspicious of any effort to construct theories or laws in the social sciences. He proposed the direct study of the peculiarities of different cultures before any laws could be developed. This view would powerfully influence institutionalism as

well as Gamble's approach to social economic research and writing.

Gamble surely agreed with Boas' belief that various cultures could only be studied as unique individual or historical units. By doing so, Boas had written, "we may be able to understand social phenomena. I do not believe that we shall ever be able to explain them by reducing one and all of them to social law."[19] Veblen was familiar with Boas's study of the primitive Indians of British Columbia. Boas already discovered that the institution of property among the Kwakiutl Indians had given rise to what Veblen later described as conspicuous waste.[20]

Developments in philosophy and psychology gave rise to the pragmatism of William James and John Dewey, which in turn also inspired the thinking of institutional economists. James's ideas of pragmatism, pluralism, radical empiricism, and pure experience contained in his Principles of Psychology can be traced to Charles S. Peirce, Veblen's teacher at Johns Hopkins, who put forth the idea that "thought is an action" leading to further thought.[21] James described his own view of truth as "pragmatic," saying that the truth of an idea depends on its concrete results when put into practice:

> The truth of an idea is not a stagnant property inherent in it. Truth happens to an idea. It becomes true, is made true by events. Its verity is in fact an event, a process: the process namely of its verifying itself, its veri-fication. Its validity is the process of its valid-ation.[22]

John Dewey, also a student of Charles S. Peirce and a fellow student of Veblen during the latter's brief stay at Johns Hopkins, further developed the pragmatism of William James by evolving a view of environmental and functional reality called "instrumentalism." Dewey's philosophy, unlike James's, was directed to the service of society. Truth was for Dewey not merely what worked for the individual but what worked best for the group. Dewey had shifted the emphasis of philosophy from the "salvation of the individual to the reconstruction of society."[23] In other words, his instrumentalism, which "advised the application to social problems of the scientist's technique of hypothesis verified by experiment and experience," gave James' pragmatism the missing social content and made it the philosophy of Progressivism.[24] Pragmatism and instrumentalism influenced the development of institutional economics and provided philosophical and psychological justification of social reform. Gamble was able to meet Dewey and attend his lectures when the latter visited China in 1919. We may speculate that Gamble found Dewey's innovative thought compatible with his own, which was also socially oriented, implicitly critical of laissez faire, and employed empirical scientific techniques. In time Dewey's instrumentalism would also influence Chinese intellectuals in the May 4th Movement and the New Culture Movement of the late 1910s and early

1920s, which Sidney Gamble would witness after becoming research secretary of the Beijing YMCA.

These new tendencies in political science and history, as with psychology and philosophy, meant rejection of laissez faire and social Darwinism in favor of social reform and positive state action. Wilson's view of the state's function also had a definitive influence on Gamble, who enrolled in the courses he taught at Princeton. In his treatise, The State, for example, Wilson divided state activities into "constituent" and "ministrant." The constituent functions are those that government must perform, such as the protection of property, the determination of contractual rights, the administration of law and justice and the conduct of foreign relations. The ministrant functions, however, are not indispensable and therefore operational. These would include regulation of commerce, industry, and labor, maintenance of means of transportation and communication, ownership of public utilities, care of the poor, and establishment of a system of public education.[25]

The doctrine that history is simply past politics was likewise being questioned and challenged. By the end of the 19th century, historical writing in the United States had outgrown the Romantic tradition represented by George Bancroft, the conservative nationalism of the Gilded Age, and the "imperial school" of colonial historians.[26]

History had become increasingly related to other academic disciplines under the impact of evolutionary theory. The historians' craft should involve more than politics, it was argued; it also needed to cover a much wider range--the whole of human ideas, activities, and institutions. Confronted with the realities of post-Civil War industrialization, a new generation of historians was forced to abandon the laissez faire mentality of their predecessors, namely, that history was not a possible instrument of social change, and had no positive relation to the problems of the present.[27]

These revised views of history were advanced by the so-called "Progressive" historians represented by Frederick Jackson Turner, who emphasized the importance of the frontier in the shaping of American history; Charles A. Beard, who sought the economic causes of the Constitution; and Vernon L. Parrington, who proposed that the nation's intellectual history could be interpreted as a struggle between the forces of freedom and privilege, and made no attempt to disguise his espousal of radicalism.[28]

These revised interpretations, based on economic and political conflict in the historical process, took their cue from the intellectual ferment associated with the professionalization of social science. "Progressive historical writing did for history what pragmatism did for philosophy, sociological jurisprudence for law, the

muckraking spirit for journalism, and what Parrington called 'critical realism' for letters."[29] It is important to point out, however, that although the Progressive historians tried to distinguish between themselves and socialist and Marxist thought, Progressive historiography bears the obvious imprints of such ideas and was influenced by the upsurge of socialism in 1905-1915. The materialist interpretation of history, the ideas of class struggle and the economic origins of conflict, the acceptance of Lewis Henry Morgan's evolutionary anthropology as a plausible setting for the analysis of contemporary problems all found expression in the work of the new historians.

Institutional economics was most directly shaped by the new political economy advocated by those trained in the German historical school of economic thought. Henry Carter Adams, for example, was known for his contribution to American economic thought, advanced in "Relation of the State to Industrial Action," an article that criticized laissez faire and developed some general principles of the relationship between the state and private enterprise. He recommended law as the best means to counter the destructive tendencies of both indiscriminate state intervention and unrestrained private enterprise. And his insights later led to Commons's Legal Foundations of Capitalism.[30]

Richard T. Ely, Commons's teacher and collaborator, was the leading member of the new school of political economy and had a most profound influence on institutional economics. Ely did graduate study first in philosophy at the University of Halle and then moved into economics and political science at Heidelberg under Karl Knies, one of the founders of the German historical school. Knies, according to him, "conceived of economics as belonging neither to the natural nor to the mental sciences, but to the group of historical disciplines which have for their object the study of man in society in terms of its historical growth."[31]

Upon returning to the United States, Ely spent a decade teaching at Johns Hopkins University and writing his major treatises on economics. He published French and German Socialism in Modern Times in 1883. The Past and the Present of Political Economy of 1884 became the most popular textbook in political economy over the next three decades and was considered as representative of the "'new school' of national or historical economists." Two years later, in 1885, his Labor Movement in America became the inspiration of the four-volume History of Labor in the United States written under the direction of John R. Commons, his student and one of the founders of institutional economics.[32]

Ely and his associates insisted on the relativity of economic truth and the necessity of adjusting economic thought to the conditions of a particular time and place.

Ely's concern with the ethical implications of economic phenomena was perhaps his major contribution to the new political economy. According to Sidney Fine, such a concern stemmed primarily from two sources: the German historical school and the impulse of social Christianity.[33] Ethics to him was distinctively Christian:

> It must be recognized that extreme individualism is immoral.... The absolute ideal was given two thousand years ago by Christ, who established the most perfect system of ethics the world has ever known.[34]

Ely's concern with Christian ethics plus his devotion to the development of political economy as a science led him to promote "the harmonious action of state, church, and individual, moving in the light of true science." Herein, he wrote, "will be found an escape from present and future social dangers. Herein is pointed out the path to safe progress; other there is none."[35] Ely was to become the pivotal figure behind the founding of the American Economic Association (AEA) in 1885. The AEA's statement on the positive role of the state, the historical and statistical study of actual conditions of economic life, and combined development of economic conditions and legislative policy largely reflected Ely's ideas. The close association of the Social Gospel and the new school of political economy was obvious: twenty-three of the AEA's charter members were clergymen, including Washington Gladden, America's leading social gospeler. Ely himself would become a leader in the Social Gospel movement of the 80s and 90s.[36]

Ely's ideas about the positive role of the state was a marked rejection of the classical economic view that state intervention in economic life was unwise and unnecessary. They were also closely associated with his concern for Christian ethics: "Now it may rationally be maintained that, if there is anything divine on this earth, it is the state, the product of the same God-given instincts which led to the establishment of the church and the family."[37] The state had a positive role to play in the general welfare, and economists would help shape "the character of the national economy." "In a certain sense," he continued, "the political economist is to the general public what the attorney is to the private individual."[38]

Ely perhaps best personified the attempted unity between science, church and state during the age of protest and reform in late 19th century America. The professionalization of social sciences, the rise of social Christianity and the Social Gospel movement, the increased role of state and federal government in regulating business and promoting social welfare signalled markedly different institutional responses to the mounting social, economic and political problems of late nineteenth century America.

Social-minded clergymen, reacting to the problems with the traditional moral idealism and crusading spirit of Protestantism, inaugurated the so-called social Christianity or Social Gospel Movement. The foundation was laid in the

1870s and 1880s during which time Washington Gladden and Richard Ely were among its most prominent spokesmen and representatives. But it was not until the 1890s that the movement really became pervasive. Its high tide came in the early 1900s, when numerous religious organizations and movements sprang up across the country--the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., the Student Volunteer Movement, the Sunday School Movement, Men and Religion Forward Movement, Layman's Missionary Movement, and Inter-Church World Movement, among others. Some of these movements emphasized labor issues, and all had a social orientation. The Men and Religion Forward Movement of 1911-1912, for example, involved an intensive eight-day campaign in sixty cities to win men for Christ and church with a new stress on social issues.[39]

The chief concern of the Social Gospel was the saving of society rather than of individuals.[40] The turbulent 80s and 90s forced the clergy to face the labor question in the context of ethical and social principles of Christianity. Baptist Walter Rauschenbusch, for one, condemned the capitalist system as the root cause of all social evils and advocated a fundamental social change. Liberal Social Gospelers, like Gladden and Ely, were active social reformers. Gladden defended labor's right to strike and organize, favored profit-sharing plans, and supported

social legislation as well as government regulation of monopoly.[41]

Ely elaborated on the importance of state action. He advised the church to utilize the state as a means of instituting social reform. Expounding on Ely's ideas about the positive state, John R. Commons advocated making use of the coercive power of government to carry out essential reforms. "The strategic position held by government," he said, was "the key to all social reforms and the Christianization of society."[42] Closely associated with reform Governor Robert LaFollette of Wisconsin and also influenced by Ely, his teacher, Commons was involved in a variety of reform initiatives--civil service reform, factory legislation, workmen's compensation, unemployment insurance, small-loan interest-rate control, rural credit and taxation statues, inheritance taxation, property assessment laws, immigration laws, monetary policy and, most important of all, labor legislation and industrial relations.[43]

By the time Gamble enrolled at the Department of Economics at Berkeley in 1914, Mitchell had left for Columbia. Institutional economics, however, had taken root in the department and was further strengthened through the efforts of a number of key faculty members who were to shape Gamble's life-long interest in social economics.

The Department's Jessica Blanche Peixotto, Gamble's mentor and friend, was a pivotal figure in maintaining the scholarly approach started by Moses, Miller and Mitchell. It was largely through her efforts that social economics became a viable sub-field in the department for more than twenty years, even after the Department of Sociology had been founded in 1919.[44] Peixotto grew up in a family of means. Her father was a Jewish merchant who moved his business from New York to San Francisco at the end of the Civil War. Contrary to his wishes--he thought university education was inappropriate for a young girl--Peixotto entered the University of California in 1891, as a special student. Upon the advice of her friend and fellow student, the aspiring novelist Frank Norris, she changed her status to that of a regular student and was graduated in 1894, finishing the four-year curriculum work in three years. She returned the following year to seek a doctoral degree in political science. Bernard Moses, the German-trained political scientist, was Peixotto's advisor, mentor and inspiration. She took courses with him on socialism and the economic conditions of English laborers, and studied the methodology of economic research in the tradition of the German historical school. In 1900, Peixotto became the second woman in the history of the university to hold a doctoral degree.[45]

At the invitation of President Benjamin Ide Wheeler, who had brought Adolph C. Miller and Wesley C. Mitchell to the faculty of the newly founded Department of Economics, Peixotto became a lecturer in sociology in 1904, thereby starting a thirty-year association with the school. From her days as a graduate student, her interest in economics had been closely tied to social reform and that interest would be reflected over her entire teaching career. One of the first courses she offered was on contemporary socialism, a study of the program and methods of contemporary socialist parties and a critical investigation of the theories on which their programs were based. Another was on the history of socialism, an examination of the antecedents of contemporary socialism. In time these courses would expand and cover other radical visions of social reform such as communism, anarchism, cooperation, single-tax, etc.[46]

By the time Peixotto was appointed assistant professor of social economics in 1912, she had developed a number of key courses in social economics: the control of poverty, the child and the state, the household as an economic agent, crime as a social problem, the care of dependents, as well as studies in the standard of living. The courses on poverty focused both on the ideas of classical and contemporary economists and on economic policies such as tax changes, universal education, minimum wages, and public health.[47] In close collaboration with other colleagues--Henry

Hatfield, Wesley Mitchell, Lucy Stebbins, she was able to establish social economics as a separate and distinct subfield within the department.

Gamble came to Berkeley when the department was offering a number of courses, both lectures and seminars, on social economics: "The Care of Dependents," "The Child and the State," "Crime as a Social Problem," and "Studies in the Standard of Living." Peixotto's professional interests focussed on social and economic reform movements and their origins. Socio-economic surveys would become her field work and the basis for developing her "relative-income theory of consumption"--the notion that families strive to reach the level of consumption achieved by others with similar educational and socio-economic backgrounds. In addition to her professional interests, Peixotto was actively involved in public service. She was a member and leader of a number of research and reform institutions in California: the Heller Committee for Research in Social Economics, the California State Civil Service Commission, the Berkeley Commission of Public Charities, the State Board of Charities and Corrections, the Sub-Committee on Women in Industry of the Council of National Defense, among others.[48] Peixotto, as well as Carleton Parker, would become Gamble's mentors, shaping his professional interests and career as an activist in social reform and public service. In fact, during the two decades of the 1920s and 1930s, Peixotto and

Gamble would turn out research works identical in topics and methodology, although they covered two entirely different cultures.[49]

In his first year at the University, Gamble enrolled in courses on labor problems, public utility finance, economic theory, and advanced studies in social economics. He took a seminar in economics with Carl Plehn, an authority on public finance, and with Carleton Parker, who specialized in industrial labor problems. He studied methods of social investigation with Peixotto in both his two years at Berkeley. As a special requirement for her advanced studies in social economics, students worked as volunteers in the offices of organized charities, juvenile courts, or kindred agencies for three half-days every week for the entire year.[50] Under the direction of Peixotto and Parker, Gamble chose the Preston School of Industry, a state reform school for boys at Ione, California, to conduct his field research on juvenile delinquents in partial fulfillment of his Master of Arts degree requirement.

Supported by a fellowship from the university, Gamble worked together with Fred H. Allen, the other Preston Fellow, in conducting an intensive study of the 440 juvenile delinquents at Preston from September 1, 1915 to January 15, 1916. School records were made available to them as well as special reports from probation offices of the State of California. Most of the data were collected

directly from the delinquent boys themselves, and the two researchers were able to construct over 75 percent of the case histories of the boys.[51]

Gamble called his master's thesis "Statistics from the Study of the Histories of Boys at the Preston School of Industry." The quantitative bent and emphasis on institutionalism was obvious. Gamble tabulated the data in over 100 tables grouped under seven categories: the boy himself, home conditions, school records, industrial records, institutional records, court and probation records, and vagrants. The category of home conditions serves as an example of the methodology. Fifteen tables were tabulated to show how the boys' home environments could have affected their lives. Gamble believed that "we have every reason to be convinced that the strongest vantage point for attack on the whole field of delinquency and criminalism is in the home."[52]

Gamble's study divided the boys' homes into six groups: the unbroken home; the unbroken home with bad conditions; broken home with both parents dead; with father dead; with mother dead; and with parents separated or divorced. His findings were that 70.2 percent of the boys came from broken homes, and if we include the boys who came from unbroken homes with bad conditions-- drunkenness, cruelty, crime, insanity, epilepsy, and immorality, then 78.4 percent came from an unhealthy home environment.[53]

Gamble used his statistical tables to tell the stories about the boys. His major concern was to graphically present the facts that he and Fred Allen had uncovered to shed some light on the general study of juvenile delinquency. He pointed out in the preface to his thesis that "this study is part of a much larger whole." "The complete study should deal, not only with the delinquent prior to his commitments but both with his environment and record while at Preston, and with his life and progress after he leaves the school on parole." He regretted that, for lack of time, the study could not cover either the boys' lives at Preston or during their parole period. Otherwise, it could have yielded "most valuable and needed data in connection with the much discussed problem of institutional care of delinquents."[54]

By the time of Gamble's graduation, he had already become a fledgling social economist ready to combine his professional skills and Christian humanism in the service of social investigation and reform. In a letter written in September 1916 to Mr. Sherman Day Thacher, his old high school principal and friend, Gamble made it clear that he had chosen his life's path:

> This year has brought me the new experience of teaching and I am enjoying the work immensely. Economics is my field and it now looks as tho [sic] I would probably go on farther into that field. Our beginning class here this year has 676 enrolled so it keeps several of us busy straightening out the difficulties that arise over what is rent and what is not.[55]

NOTES

1.Verne A. Stadtman, ed., Centennial Record of the University of California, (Berkeley, 1967), p. 84.

2.Thomas L. Haskell, The Emergence of Professional Social Science, (Urbana, 1977), p. vi.

3.Franklin Sanborn, Journal of Social Science, 11:xxiv (May 1880), quoted from Mary E. Cookingham, "Social Economists and Reform: Berkeley, 1906-1961," History of Political Economy, 19.1:47 (1987).

4.Cookingham, op. cit., pp. 48-49.

5.Cookingham, op. cit., p. 49.

6.Moses and Plehn were attracted by the fresh ideas and thinking of such teachers as Adolf Wagner at Berlin, Karl Knies at Heidelberg, and Johannes Conrad at Halle, who were vehemently challenging "the narrow definitions and rigid deductions of the orthodox English school." For a better understanding of the German historical school, see Joseph Dorfman, "The Background of Institutional Economics," in Institutional Economics, (Berkeley, 1963), pp. 25-34, and Sidney Fine, Laissez Faire and the General-Welfare State, (Ann Arbor, 1956), pp. 198-200.

7.R. A. Gordon, "Institutional Elements in contemporary Economics," in Institutional Economics, (Berkeley, 1963), pp. 124-25.

8."Statement of Principles," Publications of the American Economic Association, 1st Series, I.1:35-36, quoted from Dorfman, op. cit., p. 33.

9.My discussion on the background of institutionalism is drawn mainly from Institutional Economics: Veblen, Commons, and Mitchell Reconsidered, (Berkeley, 1963).

10.Cookingham, op. cit., p. 49.

11.Ibid., pp. 57, 59.

12.Dorfman, op. cit., pp. 8-9.

13.Ibid.

14.Paul F. Boller, Jr., American Thought in Transition, (Chicago, 1969), p. xii.

15.Boller, op. cit., p. 178.

16.Dorfman, op. cit., p. 14.

17.Ibid., p. 17.

18.Jerzy Szacki, History of Sociological Thought, (Westport, 1979), p. 466.

19.Szacki, op. cit., p. 471; Franz Boas, Anthropology and Modern Life, (New York, 1962), pp. 215-26.

20.Dorfman, op. cit., p. 19.

21.Ibid., p. 20.

22.Quoted from Boller, op. cit., p. 140.

23.Henry S. Commager, The American Mind., (New Haven, 1950), pp. 98-100.

24.Fine, op. cit., pp. 281, 284.

25.Woodrow Wilson, The State, (Boston, 1898), pp. 613-15, 629-39; quoted from Fine, op. cit., pp. 277-78.

26.Richard Hofstadter, The Progressive Historians, (Chicago, 1968), pp. 3-43.

27.Ibid., pp. 40-42.

28.See, for example, Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History" in The Frontier in American History (1920); Beard, An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution (1913); and Parrington, Main Currents in American Thought (1927).

29.Hofstadter, op. cit., p. xii.

30.Dorfman, op. cit., p. 31; Fine, op. cit., pp. 188-228.

31.Richard T. Ely, Ground Under Our Feet:An Autobiography, (New York, 1938), p. 44; quoted from Robert T. Handy, ed., The Social Gospel in America 1870-1920, (New York, 1966), p. 174.

32.Dorfman, op. cit., p. 30.

33.Fine, op. cit., p. 200.

34.Richard T. Ely, The Labor Movement in America, (New York, 1886), pp. 311-13; quoted from Handy, op. cit., p. 176.

35.Ely, op. cit., p. 332; quoted from Handy, op. cit., p. 178.

36.Fine, op. cit., p. 201.

37.Ely, op. cit., pp. 325-26.

38.Quoted from Fine, op. cit., p. 207; Ely's understanding of the function of the state was to influence Woodrow Wilson, his student at Johns Hopkins.

39. Handy, op. cit., pp. 12-14.

40.James Dombrowski, The Early Days of Christian Socialism in America, (New York, 1936), p. 17; quoted from Fine, op. cit., p. 170.

41.Boller, op. cit., pp. 120-22.

42.John R. Commons, Social Reform and the Church, (New York, 1894), pp. 3-63, 72-114, 123-51; quoted from Fine, op. cit., p. 181.

43.Cookingham, op. cit., p. 49; Simon Kuznets, "The Contribution of Wesley C. Mitchell," in Institutional Economics, (Berkeley, 1963), pp. 103, 112; Neil W. Chamberlain, "The Institutional Economics of John R. commons," Institutional Economics, p. 67.

44.Cookingham, op. cit., pp. 47-48.

45.Henry R. Hatfield, "Jessica Blanche Peixotto," in Essays in Social Economics: In Honor of Jessica Blanche Peixotto, (Berkeley, 1935), pp. 5-8; Cookingham, op. cit., p. 49; The subject of Peixotto's dissertation was "A Comparative Study of the Principles of the French Revolution and the Doctrines of Modern French Socialism."

46.Cookingham, op. cit., p. 50; Hatfield, op. cit., pp. 9-10.

47.Ibid.

48.Cookingham, op. cit., pp. 50-53; Hatfield, op. cit., pp. 10-14.

49.See, for example, the list of the published writings of Jessica B. Peixotto, in Essays in Social Economics in Honor of Jessica Blanche Peixotto, (Berkeley, 1935), pp. 361-63.

50.University of California, Courses of Instruction, 1914-1915, pp. 91-95; 1915-1916, pp. 95-96.

51.Sidney D. Gamble, "Statistics from the Study of the Histories of Boys at the Preston School of Industry," unpublished Master's Thesis, 1916, p. 1, SDG Foundation Archive.

52.Ibid., p. 6.

53.Ibid., pp. 6-7, Table xix.

54.Ibid., pp. 2-10.

55.Sidney D. Gamble to Sherman D. Thacher, September 28, 1916, Thacher School Archive.

CHAPTER V

AMERICAN THREE-RING CIRCUS

In early 1917, Robert F. Fitch, the family host and friend in Hangzhou during their 1908 visit, told Gamble that he was ready, as he had promised, to go on an extended photographic trip along the Yangtze River, possibly into Tibet. For Gamble, the opportunity was too great to pass up: the excitement of exploring the heartland of China rarely visited by foreigners, the appeal of the extraordinary landscape and its people, the rare chance of capturing valuable images with his camera, the yearning to find out, first hand, how China had changed from the time of his first trip and especially since it became a Republic, and the opportunity to visit fellow Princeton alumni in Beijing, including Walter Young, the family friend from Pasadena--all these led Gamble to accept Fitch's invitation.

In April 1917, twenty-six-year-old Gamble, equipped with the Graflex, his Big Black Box, and another smaller camera, bid farewell to his father and uncle in San Francisco, boarded the S.S. China and started the month-long journey across the Pacific via Honolulu. Arriving in Shanghai in May, he was joined by Fitch and John H. Arthur, another Presbyterian minister in Hangzhou, and on June 11 the group started their photographic expedition up the Yangtze. During the next four months, this "great American

three-ring circus," as Gamble called it, passed through the major cities along the 3.500-mile river and ventured into remote villages of northwestern Sichuan, covering over four thousand miles. They took over 3,000 black-and-white photographs capturing the life, work, culture and customs of those living in the hinterland of China.[1]

It was a memorable trip from the very beginning. It took Gamble and his friends twenty-five days to sail from Shanghai to Chongqing, second largest city of Sichuan. The better part of these days were spent ascending the upper reaches of the Yangtze, including the 120-mile beautiful and dangerous Three Gorges, with their huge canyons, treacherous and steep cliffs, sudden rise and fall of current, dangerous rapids and whirlpools. At the time of Gamble's travel, there were some 8,000 junks along the upper reaches of the Yangtze employing about 250,000 men. Every year ten percent of the junks were stranded and five percent sunk. Armies of coolies towed the boats upstream past flotillas of life-boats along the gorges.[2]

The political situation in China and in Sichuan province made Gamble's trip even more adventurous. The new republic, founded in 1912, had not brought peace or unification to the country. Dr. Sun Yat-sen's ideal of republican government had been betrayed by Yuan Shikai, the military strongman connected with the old Manchu dynasty. Yuan first selected a rubber-stamp cabinet, suppressed

uprisings for independence in seven southern provinces during the "Second Revolution" of 1913, forced the parliament to elect him as president, then dissolved the Nationalist Party, and changed the Constitution in 1914. Having proclaimed himself dictator of the new republic, Yuan then proceeded in 1915 to restore the imperial system, preparing to crown himself the new emperor and start his reign of "Glorious Constitution" in 1916.[3]

Yuan's betrayal of the revolution triggered social turbulence. Anti-monarchist revolutionary forces swiftly organized themselves and formed National Protection armies to depose the "thief" of the country, defend the republic, uphold democracy, and develop the spirit of popular sovereignty.[4] Challenging Yuan's monarchical revival, the two southwestern provinces, Yunnan and Guizhou, declared independence in December 1915; they were joined by six more provinces in the next five months, including Sichuan, whose governor, Chen Huan, had been Yuan's confidante. Yuan fainted upon reading Chen's telegram of May 22 which announced the severance of "all relations with Yuan Shikai" and died a lonely and broken-hearted man two weeks later.[5]

By the time Gamble arrived in Shanghai, China had degenerated into the chaotic period of warlordism. Four days before he and his party began their trip, another political drama of imperial restoration unfolded in Beijing. Li Yuanhong, the new president, was then seeking to counter the

menace of the Beiyang warlords. At his request, Zhang Xun, the military governor of Anhui, arrived in Beijing with his long-queued troops. But Zhang, however, joined forces with the loyalists, demanded the dissolution of parliament, and placed Pu Yi, the abdicated child emperor, back on the throne on July 1. The fiasco of the restoration ended on July 12 when both Zhang and his forces were driven out of Beijing by Beiyang troops. By the end of the year, China would again be divided between the government in Beijing headed by Duan Qirui, a Beiyang warlord, and the military government at Canton established by Dr. Sun Yat-sen poised to launch a Constitution Protection Movement.[6]

Chaos and disorder were obvious in the provinces, especially in remote Sichuan. Traditionally one of the "rice bowls" of China thanks to its rich soil and the benefits of the fertile Yangtze basin, Sichuan held an unusually large percentage--about ten percent--of the country's population. Its wealth and surplus revenue came not only from agriculture but also from salt wells and mineral resources. During the Qing dynasty, Sichuan's surplus had been used by the imperial court to subsidize the two adjacent poor provinces of Yunnan and Guizhou, as well as part of Tibet. This subsidy had been terminated because the central government in Beijing was weak, especially after the death of Yuan Shikai. Yunnan and Guizhou then decided to take matters into their own hands and recover their lost revenue

by military action. As a result Sichuan was subject to several invasions as well as to roving bands of robbers. En route from Chongqing to Chengdu, Gamble and his party had to make a wide detour by way of Suining in order to avoid possible fighting between Guizhou and Sichuan troops. But an uprising of Lama priests in Tibet forced them to give up plans to continue their adventure beyond Zagunao, a Tibetan village close to the border.[7]

It was common for the "three-American circus" and their party of seventeen coolies, sedan chair and baggage carriers, to see large numbers of Sichuan troops. When they reached Zhaojiadu, a town near Chengdu, they were awakened at midnight by a military force that tried to commandeer their coolies. Only when they showed their passports and politely requested that the officers should provide them with enough coolies to continue their journey were they eventually left alone. Upon entering Chengdu the next day, they learned that one-sixth of the city had been destroyed by fire and fighting.[8]

The weakness of the central government and the rise of local warlords caused lawlessness throughout the country. In Chongqing the American Consul briefed them about the situation in Sichuan and warned of possible attacks from robber bands in search of money, watches and, in particular, guns, which they would secure at any cost. Gamble and his party therefore left their guns at Chongqing and took little

cash. They soon realized that it had been a wise decision. When they reached the northern part of the province beyond Chengdu, even the military escorts provided by the local government fearful of provoking the robbers, went unarmed. They were far more afraid of the robbers than the robbers were of them. Ironically, the military escort more often than not received protection from the three Americans.[9]

More unsettling than the threat of violence was the difficulty in distinguishing military forces from robber bands because many of the soldiers were "ex-robbers and half of the robbers were ex-soldiers." One city paid ransom to a band of robbers who were defeated by another band. Then came General Liu's soldiers from Chongqing. They subdued the second band and demanded 20,000 taels of silver as reward for saving the city.[10] Gamble and his party visited the rich salt wells of northwestern Sichuan. In use over seventeen centuries, they had an annual production of 40,000,000 pounds. The group also toured the irrigation works of Guanxian built over 2,000 years ago by Li Bin and his son to provide an ample water supply for the Chengdu Plain, an area of 3,500 square miles with a population of six million. The tribal areas to the northwest of Chengdu, bordering Tibet, where the Qiang, Tibetan and Chinese live, was most attractive to the Gamble party. They visited the tribal villages and observed the strange religious practices and customs.[11]

The sharp contrast between the rich resources of China's most populous province and its poverty, chaos and lawlessness left a deep impression on Gamble and his friends. They had encountered honest, hard-working and industrious people: boatmen, trackers, coolies, farmers, salt workers. But none of them was able to earn a decent living. The political situation in China and in the province had made their lives even more miserable than before. "Political conditions have been so terrible," reported Robert Fitch, "and the inter-provincial strife so akin to robbery that many of the masses have been driven to robbery for self-preservation." They felt they had been robbed by the government in the first place and had no protection whatever. "What they want is a central government both at Peking and at their capital of Chengtu."[12] The "American three-ring circus" returned to Shanghai on October 9th, convinced that better education, moral strength, and religious faith were what China most needed to secure her rightful place in the family of nations.

At the end of his photographic expedition, Gamble went on to Beijing to find out how his fellow Princetonians were faring with the Beijing YMCA. He visited the YMCA building in the eastern part of the city, and met with the Princeton group: Robert Gailey, the general secretary; Dwight Edwards, associate general secretary; J. Stewart Burgess, secretary of student work; Amos Hoagland, athletic secretary; Samuel

Shoemaker, secretary for religious work; Donald Carruthers, secretary of Legation guards; Walter Young and A.B. Tyler, in charge of the School of Commerce; and Richard H. Ritter, correspondence and public affairs secretary. An impressive group of Princeton graduates, they were providing religious, educational, athletic and social services to the community of an ancient capital. The growing popularity of the YMCA as a social institution in the early days of the republic would attract Gamble to its service for many years to come.

Princeton's relationship with China began in 1898 when Robert R. Gailey, General Secretary of the Philadelphian Society at Princeton, was sent by the International Committee of the YMCA of North America as a foreign secretary to Tianjin, China. The Philadelphian Society, which was to play a key role in Princeton's China connection for over a quarter of a century, began at Nassau Hall in 1825 during student religious revivals which were part of the Second Great Awakening. The Philadelphian Society aimed to "promote the personal piety of its members, and also all with whom they associated," and to encourage missionary work.[13]

Beginning in the 1870s, the society became more secular because of the influence of the Young Men's Christian Association. Created in London in 1844 as a laymen's organization "of dynamic Christian concern for the young man

adrift in the modern city," the YMCA was introduced to Canada and the United States seven years later. Because it was Christian in spirit, but interdenominational and run by youthful laymen for the purpose of improving the "spiritual, mental, social and physical conditions of young men," the YMCA caught the fancy of both ministry and laymen in the United States.[14] Religious revivals and student missionary fervor, as well as the union of personal spiritual salvation with concerns of social betterment and responsibility combined to give impetus to the YMCA movement. Within a decade, the number of city Associations increased to 205. After the Civil War, the YMCAs sprang up across the country.[15]

Incorporation of the first collegiate YMCA into the Philadelphian Society in the mid-1870s expanded the latter's religious concerns into more broadly social activities. The Princeton Foreign Missionary Society was organized in 1883, the first of its kind on an American campus. Its founder, Robert P. Wilder, would play a key role in the Student Volunteer Movement which had as its watchword "the evangelization of the world in this generation."[16]

In 1898, Robert R. Gailey joined David W. Lyon in Tianjin, the first secretary sent by the YMCA's International Committee three years earlier. Together, they were responsible for the development of Association work among students of the city which boasted at the time "a

well-organized system of educational institutions for the teaching of western subjects." The success of the Tianjin Association's work led to the decision of the Philadelphian Society, at the request of the International Committee, to send Gailey to Beijing in 1906 to build a city YMCA. Missionaries of all denominations stationed in the capital had made an appeal to the International Committee for the appointment of a secretary to "carry on a comprehensive plan of Christian work for Chinese young men, especially the literati and other educated men."[17]

The introduction of the YMCA in China dates back to 1885 when the first student Association was inaugurated in the Anglo-Chinese College at Fuzhou. Two other student YMCAs were later organized, one at the Tongzhou North China College and the other at the Hangzhou Presbyterian College. These were promoted by missionaries who had been Association members in their school days. The successful expansion of the Associations in North America as well as the experimental student Associations in the Christian schools in China prompted the General Missionary Conference, which convened in Shanghai in 1890, to commend Association activities and appeal to the International Committee to send representatives--trained secretaries--to China. D. W. Lyon, the first trained secretary arrived in China in October, 1895, to organize a student YMCA in Tianjin among the five hundred students in the five modern government colleges.[18]

John R. Mott, General Secretary of the World's Student Christian Federation, visited China the following year. Mott and Lyon toured extensively in the country and helped establish twenty-two more student Associations in the missionary colleges and schools. Later that year, representatives of twenty-seven Associations met in Shanghai to form "The College Young Men's Christian Association of China." Two years later, the International Committee sent three more secretaries to China. Apart from Gailey, Robert E. Lewis went to Shanghai to organize the first city YMCA in China. Fletcher S. Brockman became the national secretary.[19]

For a number of reasons, John Mott and the International Committee of the YMCA believed "the field is peculiarly ripe." The missionary drive to save 400,000,000 "heathen souls" had reached a new stage. By 1890, the number of Protestant missionaries in China had soared to 1,300, twice as many as Catholic missionaries, and half of them came from the United States. By 1900, the year of the Boxer uprising, 498 Protestant stations had been established at 356 places in China.[20]

When Gailey, Lewis and Brockman arrived in 1898 as reinforcements, Cixi, the Empress Dowager in the dying Qing government, had seized the Guangxu emperor in a coup d'etat, ending the Hundred Days Reform movement led by Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao. However, the "Old Buddha" and her

conservative supporters had no alternative but to adopt most of the radical reforms after they were again forced to sign a humiliating treaty, the Boxer Protocol, with the major world powers. In 1905, a group of imperial commissioners was formed by order of Cixi to undertake a world-wide tour for the study of constitutional government. Based on the report of this group, she issued an imperial edict in November 1906 promising constitutional reform.[21] As seen by missionaries, the drastic change in Chinese politics provided a rare opportunity for Christianity to step in. Arthur H. Smith, American Board missionary and a noted writer, felt that the Chinese had come to realize the "necessity of many changes in government, in education, in manners, in dress, in medicine, sanitation, in social appliances, etc., and hence presumptively in religion."[22]

The educational system of the dying Qing dynasty was undergoing a drastic change. New Western-style schools sprang up to replace the old academies. In Tianjin, eighty modern schools had been built with an enrollment of 6,000 students. Five thousand students were enrolled in forty modern schools at Baoding, a city southwest of Beijing. Shanghai opened six technical schools, eight middle schools and seventeen female schools.[23] Furthermore, private schools were established by enlightened Chinese. For example, Zhang Boling (Chang Po-ling), a graduate of the Beiyang naval academy who was converted to Christianity

largely through his association with Robert Gailey, opened a middle school in 1904 which would eventually grow into Nankai University. The age-old imperial examination system, for centuries one of the mainstays of imperial government, was abolished in 1906, the very year that Gailey moved to Beijing. By 1905, Protestant missions had established some 389 intermediate and high schools and colleges with 15,000 students.[24] Inspired by a spirit of inquiry and a thirst for knowledge, young Chinese students were now going to Japan and the West to study modern science and technology. In 1906 when Gailey and Dwight W. Edwards '04, the new recruit from Princeton, were en route to Beijing, they had an opportunity to spend a few weeks among the Chinese students in Japan, then numbering 15,000, fifteen times more than the number in 1903.[25] Japan's wartime defeat of Russia was an important stimulus for Chinese students to flock to their victorious neighbor.

Robert Gailey and the Philadelphian Society saw an unprecedented opportunity for Princeton in China. Gailey had successfully continued the YMCA work, started by Lyon, running education programs, organizing student football games, getting to know both businessmen and civic officials in Tianjin. Having survived the Boxer ordeal in Tianjin, Gailey was able to establish, at the request of some gentry families, the city's first high school. He also started a separate school for children of businessmen, and taught at a

number of other private and government schools that had been founded since the turn of the century.[26] For the first time in China's history, both the literati and the imperial government showed an interest and willingness to associate with the missionaries and enlist them in the cause of secondary and higher education.

Gailey's experience in Tianjin convinced the Philadelphian Society that a new China was emerging and that Princeton would figure prominently in this rebirth. "Princeton, through this Christian Association enterprise which she is establishing at the head center of the nation will do all in her power to influence the character of that leadership by the best Christian ideas, ideals, and spirit."[27] To attain this ideal, the Princeton center in Beijing* would undertake the following:

1. Educational work, "the best means of entree to the favor of the educated classes;"
2. Athletics and physical culture, which will attract the interest of young students as well as officials;
3. Social gatherings and social calls for the secretaries to meet with Chinese;
4. Religious and moral development of students, which would be "the real aim throughout."[28]

In sum, the Board of Directors of the Philadelphian Society strongly believed that the "Princeton Work" would become a "rallying point for all the many religious and

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*The Princeton group in China has assumed a number of different names in its more than 90 years of history: Princeton Work in Peking, Princeton Center in Peking, Princeton University Center in China, Princeton-in-Peking (P-i-P), and Princeton-Yenching Foundation. Since 1955, it has been called Princeton-in-Asia (P-i-A).

philanthropic enterprises already centered at Peking." Through Bible classes and special and regular religious services, the Princeton men as YMCA secretaries would, by non-denominational effort, seek to "advance the Kingdom of God" in every way possible.[29]

Gailey understood the importance of cultivating a close relationship with the city elite and officials of the capital city. Within a year he became personally acquainted with a number of influential people in Beijing: first vice-presidents of the Board of Posts and Communication, Board of Foreign Affairs, Board of Education, and Board of Interior. He also had a calling acquaintance with a dozen others "as high or even higher in government office," including several presidents of the fledgling republic. In addition, he enlisted the support of Sir Robert Hart, the Inspector General of Customs, and the American ambassador R.R. Rockhill.[30] Within a decade, Princeton's efforts and staff in Beijing expanded to include five full-time secretaries: Robert R. Gailey, General Secretary, Dwight W. Edwards '04, Associate General Secretary; J. Stewart Burgess '05 in charge of student and social service activities; A. N. Hoagland '06, the athletic director; and D. W. Carruthers '15 in charge of Legation Guards work. In addition to these regular secretaries, every year three to four Princeton seniors were invited to spend a year at the Beijing center.[31]

By 1916 the Beijing YMCA had 1,800 members, half of whom worked in the central government, from clerks to cabinet ministers. Through its Social Service Club, Bible Class, Evening School, Athletic programs, Summer Schools, and the School of Commerce and Finance, the Association could reach out to over 14,600 men and boys in Beijing. Association employees increased to forty-nine and over thirty of them were Chinese, who had organized a Board of Directors. Locally collected funds in support of the Association had exceeded Princeton's budget by 50 percent. Yuan Shikai and Li Yuanhong, successive presidents of the new Chinese republic, both contributed to Association work, as did six cabinet ministers.[32] The YMCA enlisted the services of over 500 college students to teach in free night schools, lecture on health and moral reform, and study social conditions in the capital. The Association also prided itself on establishing the first social settlement, the first public playground, and the first city-wide athletic program. It also compiled the first book in Chinese for the introduction of the Bible to non-Christian college men.[33]

When the new YMCA building opened in October, 1913, President Yuan Shikai personally pressed an electric button in his palace to start the inaugural ceremony.[34] He also offered the Association a building lot in the western part of Beijing and asked them to start work there. In 1916, at a

dinner given by President Li Yuanhong to David Z. T. Yui, General Secretary of the National Committee of the YMCA of China, Li made the following comment on the Association's work in China:

> The greatest need of China today is the moral character of our young men. The best way to build up the moral character is to give the young men, individually and collectively, the three-fold education, namely, physical, mental, and moral. To my knowledge, the Young Men's Christian Association is the strongest institution in China that emphasizes the three-fold education in order to build up the moral character of our young men. My policy is therefore to give the Young Men's Christian Association the best cooperation and support, so that the greatest need of our country can be adequately met and as soon as possible.[35]

While educational efforts during the early period were an important aspect of Princeton work, evangelization was the ultimate aim of the group in running the YMCA. The Princetonians and the International Committee believed that Christianity was the only answer to the needs of a new China. Gaily had already taken note of the educational efforts of other American colleges, such as Yale at Changsha, Oberlin in Shanxi, and the University of Pennsylvania in Canton. But he believed that Princeton's connection with the Young Men's Christian Association offered a "better arrangement for a larger opportunity to help China than we could have had in an educational work pure and simple." He argued that Princeton, through its Association work, had a distinct message for China. And that message was Christian:

> Princeton is primarily and fundamentally a Christian University. Her history, her traditions, the lives of her founders, the noted men who have come out from her walls to adorn the work of the Gospel ministry, the rank and file of alumni who fill important places in commerce and government service, the strong virile Christian spirit that pervades the whole life of the University,--all these have to be called up in vision, in faith and in hope to be transmitted and interpreted to this great people here in China.[36]

Gailey's ideas reflected the evangelical tendency of the Philadelphian Society in Princeton. In 1914, the society was incorporated as "The Philadelphian Society of Nassau Hall, being the Young Men's Christian Association of Princeton University." The new charter stated that its purpose was "to develop Christian character in its members, to conserve and train them for the Church, and to further the advance of the Kingdom of God in Princeton University, in the United States of America, and throughout the world." While this reiterated its original purpose in somewhat stronger language, the new charter failed to mention the society's increasing concern with social welfare.[37]

Robert Gailey as founder and general secretary of the Princeton Work in Peking, for example, never lost sight of evangelization, the "real aim" of the Princeton mission. For a time his emphasis was on "personal evangelism,--the moral regeneration of China's millions <u>one man at a time</u>."[38] Largely through his personal efforts, Gailey was able to convert such notables as Zhang Boling in Tianjin and later to influence Feng Yuxiang, the "Christian General," by giving him Bible lessons and preaching to his troops. Dwight

W. Edwards, though a layman himself, expressed his conviction that "the faith of the Chinese will be centered upon the personality of Jesus Christ as revealing God and leading in the right way of living in human relationships."[39]

The "personal evangelization" effort was also the work of the few newly-arrived Princetonians around 1916. Walter Young, for example, was an "enthusiastic evangelist" who helped "many a school boy to find his way in life." Richard H. Ritter believed that "in Christianity, as a power for active morality, the men of Princeton are equipped with a force which will work. The business of the institution is to put the leaders of China into contact with the force of Christianity." Recalling his days with the Princeton center in Peking a half century later, Ritter wrote: "China had to be awakened, for her own sake and for the world's, and we hoped it would be a Christian awakening. Our daily classes, tasks, social contacts, personal conversations, were pointed--directly or indirectly--toward that end."[40]

Samuel Shoemaker, who later became one of the most popular pastors serving Episcopal churches in New York and Pittsburgh, was probably the most outspoken and dedicated personal evangelist of the Princeton group. Twenty adults were assigned to him at an early gathering of Bible study, which number dropped to twelve for the second meeting and to seven for the third. On a cold January night in 1918 he

reflected on the ethics of the "Four Absolutes: Honesty, Purity, Unselfishness, and Love," and woke up the next morning "with an uneasy sense that I must go and talk to my young Chinese business friend, Mr. W." He assumed blame for the lack of interest in his Bible class and told Mr. W of his overnight spiritual experience. "He listened to my story intently," Shoemaker recalled, "and when I had finished surprised me with, 'I wish that could happen to me,' 'It can,' I replied, 'if you will let God in completely.' And that day he made his decision and found Christ." During his stay in Beijing, Shoemaker would regularly invite "a schoolboy to the house after school for tea and talk, and a young businessman for dinner or the evening" to spread the "gospel of personal evangelism."[41]

Shoemaker was the pivotal figure behind the week-long Christian campaign conducted at the Beijing YMCA's School of Commerce and Finance in 1919. Founded in 1914, the school had an enrollment of almost 300 boys, crowded into the basement classrooms of the Association building. In order to train Chinese young men who not only could make money and keep accounts, but more importantly could "make character and keep the commandments," Bible classes were part of the curriculum and students spent twenty minutes every morning attending a chapel talk and brief service. Personal evangelical work was emphasized and friendly conversations between teachers and boys, and between Christian boys and

their non-Christian friends were encouraged. These practices achieved positive results in converting young boys to Christianity.[42]

The week-long Christian campaign aimed at giving "public expression" to these practices. Chinese Christians were invited to speak at the second class period every morning for a week, discussing such subjects as "Changes in China's Attitude towards Christianity in Twenty Years," "Personal Experience with Christ," and "What It Means to Be a Solder of Christ." On the fourth day, when Wang Ch'i-ping, the Chinese general secretary of the Beijing YMCA, spoke and called for decisions to become a Christian, "seventy-seven men shot up as straight as saplings." And three weeks later, "sixty men had signed their names in churches already, and half the school was now Christian," compared to one-fourth two years earlier.[43]

Shoemaker's personal evangelism was strongly influenced by the revivalist missionary, Frank N. D. Buchman. Controversy over "Buchmanism" would eventually lead to the demise of the Philadelphian Society, of which Shoemaker was general secretary both before and after his Beijing assignment. Frank Buchman was an 1899 graduate of Muhlenberg College, a settlement worker, Lutheran pastor, YMCA secretary, and a foreign missionary noted for his personal evangelism. His revival movement penetrated many campuses in the United States. It emphasized public confession of sins,

"especially those of a sexual nature," and "pursuing individuals of wealth or political and social prominence."[44]

The Philadelphian Society, as mentioned earlier, had rewritten its charter in 1914 under the influence of Buchmanism and, emphasizing the advance of the Kingdom of God, neglected work for social welfare and social betterment. Shoemaker became an ardent supporter of Buchman after he had the opportunity of working with him in Beijing in 1919. Upon assuming the general secretaryship of the Philadelphian Society a year later, Shoemaker invited Buchman to the society's annual banquet as a guest of honor. He and his successor, Ray F. Purdy, both asked Buchman to the Princeton campus to conduct revival meetings. These revivals became so controversial that the college president John Grier Hibben prohibited him access to the campus. But Purdy ignored the president's injunction and permitted Buchman to use his office for meetings with undergraduates in May 1925. The controversy led to an explosive situation in the following year when 700 students were involved in an open campus forum. A special committee was formed to study the activities of the Philadelphian Society, and although exonerated, the general secretary and his associates submitted their resignations early in 1927, ending the 122-year-old history of the Princeton student religious organization.[45]

In a larger sense, the society's demise reflected the impact of what Paul Varg has described as the two major trends in post-War America. One was the general decline of interest in religion, and the other was the reorientation of the missionary program "to the Christian humanism of postwar liberal theology." The small town was on the decline and the nation was increasingly secularized, owing to the rise of new science and technology and the emergence of automobiles, radio and moving pictures; and as the Lynds concluded in Middletown, there was an obvious erosion of church influence. The traditional Sunday evening service and the mid-week prayer service in Middletown, for example, had been discontinued. The same phenomenon occurred even earlier at Princeton. The required campus Sunday afternoon service was discontinued in 1902 and the mandatory morning prayers ended in 1915. By the late 1920s, there was a sharp drop in the number of missionaries taking up new posts abroad and fewer college students were willing to go into the mission fields. According to a survey made in 1927, "the evangelization of the world in this generation" became one of the three least important motives for missionaries.[46]

Nor did Buchman and Shoemaker's revivalist efforts play a dominant role in China because of their obvious divorce from the far more immediate national concerns--the building of a strong and new China. Personal evangelization of a

revivalist nature was to be eclipsed by Christian socialists, missionaries like George Sherwood Eddy, John Stewart Burgess and Sidney David Gamble. Gamble's decision to take on the position of YMCA secretary in Beijing was largely influenced by Eddy during his 1918 evangelization campaign in China. As a veteran leader of the Student Volunteer Movement George Sherwood Eddy, himself a Princeton alumnus, had conducted three evangelistic campaigns in China's major urban centers since 1911. His first campaign in ten cities drew 2,000 people to Bible study classes. Eddy was joined by John R. Mott in 1913 to conduct a three-month campaign tailored specifically to attract government students. In fourteen major cities 35,000 people attended campaign meetings; over 7,000 enrolled for Bible classes or became so-called inquirers.[47]

The 1914 campaign was organized and coordinated by the Princeton center in Beijing. Lasting five months from September into February 1915, it was considered by Eddy to be "the high tide" of the China campaigns. "For five months," he wrote in 1955, "night after night, we faced two thousand, three thousand, four thousand needy men, and the results were as tremendous as Brockman had promised." Back in 1908, during Eddy's first trip to China, Fletcher Brockman, then General Secretary of Young Men's Christian Association of China, had told Eddy: "We will guarantee you an audience of a thousand students a night in fifteen

cities, with men pledging to accept the Christian life every night if you give them the opportunity to do so."[48]

Eddy's Beijing meetings attracted a record audience of over 32,000, mostly students and government officials; 2,205 became inquirers and 104 were converted. The campaign received official support at all government levels. President Yuan Shikai granted Eddy an interview. The Board of Interior permitted the building of a gigantic pavilion inside the Forbidden City which could accommodate 4,000 people. The Board of War lent ten army tents to cover the pavilion. The Board of Education gave all government school students a holiday to attend the evangelistic meetings.[49]

Eddy conveyed a message different from that of Frank Buchman and Samuel Shoemaker. The strong commitment to Christianity was extended to the improvement of political, economic and social conditions during a critical juncture of China's history. Eddy's campaigns emphasized the relation between Christian religion and national progress, a subject that found ready ears among progressive elements, officials and young students searching for the reasons for their nation's weakness, backwardness and poverty. While Eddy did win converts to Christianity, his campaign contributed much more to the sentiment of nationalism and social betterment among the young educated Chinese.

This was especially true of the 1918 campaign in which Gamble participated soon after arriving in Beijing. Eddy and

his group was scheduled to hold evangelical meetings in twelve major cities in early 1918. As with the 1914 campaign, the Princeton center was the organizer and coordinator. Gamble immediately took part in the preparation for Eddy's crusade in both Beijing and Tientsin. In late February 1918, he travelled to Canton by way of Zhengzhou and Hangzhou, joining Eddy and his group of fifteen Chinese and Americans in the campaign.[50]

From late February to the end of May, Gamble travelled with this group to major Chinese urban centers in seven provinces: from Canton to Hong Kong, Shantou (Swatow), Xiamen, Fuzhou, Shanghai, Beijing, Nanjing, Hangzhou, Hankou, Changsha and Tianjin, spending about a week in each city.[51] Unlike his trip up the Yangtze River, which was made mainly for the photographic experience, touring the major cities of China brought Gamble into first-hand contact with both the country's politics and the Christian movement.

In Canton, Gamble and the Eddy party met with Dr. Sun Yat Sen, the father of the Chinese republic. Sun had returned from exile in Japan after Yuan Shikai's death in the summer of 1916. He had seized the opportunity presented by the dissolution of the Beijing Parliament to set up a new government in Canton which attracted 100 former members of the Parliament, with himself elected as the Generalissimo. Sun attended Eddy's evangelical meeting and invited the Eddy

group to address a hundred of his officers and officials on the subject of Christianity. He also granted an interview to the Eddy campaign party at which he expressed his strong opposition to the northern military in China and to militarism in general: "We Chinese are a peaceful people, and are waiting for the other nations to come up to our standard of civilization," he said in the interview, referring to the almost peaceful transition of power from the Qing court to the Republican government. To Sun, the great menace was a militarized China. "Some Americans speak of Japan as the yellow peril. Well, you let China become a military nation and you will have ten Japans to fear." Unfortunately, no sooner had the Eddy party left Canton, than Sun was forced out of the city by feuding warlords; he had to live a semi-secluded life in Shanghai until the early 1920s when he was able to reorganize the Guomindang. The next time Gamble was to encounter Dr. Sun Yat-sen was seven years later at the latter's funeral in Beijing, when Gamble was able to photograph the state funeral service.[52]

Gamble and the Eddy group also met other leaders and statesmen. In Canton, they met with Admiral Ching, former Minister of the Navy and commander of the southern fleet, and Wu Tingfang, former Chinese Minister at Washington and Minister of Foreign Affairs. In Beijing, the group joined in a state dinner with 200 Chinese officials from all branches of government. In Tianjin, Eddy met with ex-president Li

Yuanhong and a former Premier of China.[53] Summing up his four-month campaign in China, Eddy had the following to say about China's situation:

> ...China is facing the great crisis of her existence. After four thousand years of continuous history, passing through twenty-four dynasties and under three presidents of the new republic, China seems to be at present in danger of losing her independence. North and south are divided in internal warfare and each in turn is sub-divided by innumerable cliques and factions.[54]

The distinctive message Eddy and his group brought to the 1918 campaign was that Christ was the only power that could save not only the soul of man but the life of a nation as well. Working together with American and Chinese colleagues on the campaign team, Eddy spoke on the "Secret of National Strength" and "Causes of National Decay," making use of graphics and charts to show China's rich raw materials and poor industrial output in sharp comparison with the leading countries of the world.[55] He described

> visiting a mine in Shensi in the midst of the greatest ore deposits in the world but the doors were closed and operations abandoned because the money allowed for purposes of development had gone into the pockets of the officials. He told of the cause of the intense suffering at present prevailing in the Tientsin flood districts. For years a sufficient sum of money has been handed over to the officials to keep the dikes in good repair, but 25 percent only has gone into the dikes while 75 percent has gone into the pockets of the officials while year after year the river bed has been filling in until this year 107 counties in Shantung province are flooded and it is said that the water will never be drained from some of them. The officials got the money but the people starve.[56]

The effect of Eddy's campaign was obvious and Gamble was impressed with the Christianization efforts in every city he and the Eddy group had visited:

> In every city we found from one hundred to six hundred Chinese Christians prepared as personal workers to go out and bring in their non-Christian friends to the meetings and finally to win them to Christ. In each city from three hundred to a thousand prepared non-Christians, chiefly from the influential classes of students and merchants with some of the officials, signed the final decision card, saying "I now accept Jesus Christ as my Saviour and Lord."[57]

The four-month campaign and the first-hand experience with YMCA work in China, especially the accomplishments of the Princeton center in Beijing, the prospect of putting his professional training in social survey and social work to the service of both the Chinese people and the missionaries in China, the excitement of working in the world's most populous country and one of its most ancient civilizations led Gamble to answer "a call as a secretary" of the International Committee of the YMCA of North America. Backed by the fortune left him by his father, Gamble offered to be a volunteer secretary, paying for his own expenses in Beijing. In July 23, 1918, John R. Mott of the International Committee wrote the following letter to Gamble:

> We are rejoiced to learn through Mr. Sherwood Eddy that you are able to consider a call as a secretary of the International Committee, with special reference to the work in Peking. Let me extend to you on behalf of the Committee a formal request that you enter upon this work which we have come to feel is so important and that you be associated with us as one of our regular secretaries. We understand that your relationship is honorary so far as the financial arrangements are concerned, but we want you to know that we shall regard

> you nevertheless as one of us and that you will be brought into our work and relationships in the most intimate manner. I need not go into the details of this arrangement because we are not called upon to do this, Mr. Eddy stating that the chief question was a formal understanding between us that you are actually a part of our staff. We trust, therefore, that you will accept this call and that your service with the Association will be as highly productive as we now believe it will be.[58]

Sidney D. Gamble replied in September 7, thanking John R. Mott for the opportunity of letting him become one of the YMCA secretaries "in these days of turmoil in so many nations:"

> It is most gratifying to be asked to become a member of the YMCA group, a group that this last year has shown me are mighty fine fellows doing a great work. I only hope that my work will measure up with that of the other men in the Association work.
>
> In regard to financial arrangements, your understanding that my relationship is that of a volunteer worker is correct, but I hope that that will not put me in a special class in regard to advice or counsel or other relationships with the Committee.[59]

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CHAPTER VI

PRINCETON-IN-PEKING AND COMMUNITY SERVICE

Who were the "mighty fine fellows doing a great work" that Gamble was attracted and wished to measure up to with his own work? What had Princeton-in-Peking accomplished in their Association work that so impressed Gamble that he decided to become part of it and contribute to its development? The central focus of the Princeton work, as noted in the previous Chapter, was social service and social work* in the tradition of the American Social Gospel movement. Social and community service had been emphasized by the Princeton group ever since it took on the YMCA work in Beijing in 1906. From the very beginning, "the social side of the work' was one of the four major activities of the Beijing YMCA. And in fact it would be closely integrated with the three other activities: educational work, athletics and physical culture, and religious and moral work.[1]

John Stewart Burgess, who invited Gamble to Beijing, was noted as "the father of social work" in China. He was a pivotal member of the Princeton center not only in developing the social service programs of the Beijing YMCA but also in bringing the importance of student work to the attention of the Beijing's different missionary boards. Born

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*I am using social work in its general sense, not in its professionalized sense.

in Pennington, New Jersey on July 12, 1883, Burgess was graduated cum laude with high honors in philosophy from Princeton in 1905. Upon graduation, he spent two years teaching English at the Kyoto Commercial College in Japan as a volunteer with the Kyoto Young Men's Christian Association, starting his life-long career working with students. During his two-year stay, he was able to make the collegiate YMCA at the Kyoto Commercial College the largest student association in Japan, with 120 members. While there Burgess also came into contact with the large number of Chinese students studying in Japan and became aware of the importance of working with the Chinese.[2]

Upon returning to the United States, Burgess spent a year at Oberlin Theological Seminary before entering Columbia University for an M.A. degree in sociology and studying at the same time at the Union Theological Seminary. In 1909, Burgess married Stella C. Fisher, a Tokyo YWCA secretary. A year later the couple arrived in Beijing where Burgess joined the Princeton University center.[3]

The importance of student work was made much clearer to Burgess in the course of George Sherwood Eddy's two-month evangelical campaign in 1911. Burgess travelled with him in Beijing, Taiyuan, Baoding, and Tianjin. At a meeting in Baoding, the provincial capital of Hebei, Eddy spoke to 2,500 students, five-sixths of the city's total, on the topic of "patriotism," and offered Christianity as the only

solution to the problems of the Chinese empire. In two successive meetings, Eddy addressed large student audiences, giving them the example of his Yale roommate, Horace Tracy Pitkin, who died a martyr during the Boxer Rebellion, and drew 200 students into Bible study classes.[4] For Burgess, the potential significance of student work in Beijing could not be overemphasized in these last year of the imperial Qing dynasty:

> The student and the official, united in China in the governing class, is easily the most influential body of men in the Empire. Peking is at once the official metropolis of China and the student center of the Empire. A few years ago the students who wished to learn Western science went to Tokyo; at one time 15,000 of them were there, from every province in the Empire. Now there are only about 3,000 Chinese students in the Japanese Capital and the young men of the Empire are flocking to their own capital for high school and university training.[5]

Upon graduation, Burgess observed, these students plus the returned students from Europe, Japan, and America would be candidates for appointments in the different Boards of Government and in time would become influential figures. They had high hopes of working in the service of their nation. But there was a lack of emphasis on social service in missionary activities in Beijing as well as in China. Burgess was critical of the ignorance on the part of some of the missionaries of the changing situation:

> It is unfortunately true that, up to the present time, there has been very little missionary activity or preaching that has had the note of social service. Much of the preaching emphasizes individual salvation, and one would not conclude from much of the propaganda of missions in China that Christianity has any very direct

> relation to the political and economic problems of this nation, problems in which students are intensely interested.[6]

Conditions in China had created a new dimension for missionary work, Burgess argued, and it should cater to both "coolie and scholar." "For generations the lower classes have alone been accessible to missionary effort," he wrote. "A large church composed for the greater part of the common people was organized. Now all is different. The upper classes may be approached." But unfortunately, very little had been done by the missionaries along this line:

> I am increasingly impressed with the little which has hitherto been done by the whole missionary movement for the educated class in China, by the ignorance of experienced and tried Christian workers of the ways to approach these men, and also by the lack of sympathy on the part of many missionaries with the problems of these students. I am also impressed with the fact that the Christian Church as such has done little for the Government students, and that the average sermon in the Church is not adapted, by style of speech or by depth or breadth of thought, to the needs of these men.[7]

What were the needs of these young students gathered in the capital at its various schools, both traditional and Western? Burgess came to some insightful conclusion through his work with them during his first year and half in Beijing:

> The Chinese students are full of a new patriotism. They have a theoretical love of democracy but an actual scorn of the lower and uneducated classes. They have often a rabid desire for reform and a fierce hatred of the forces of corruption in official life that are sapping the integrity of their nation, but when it comes to the test, far too many of these young men fall into the same sins, and use the usual methods of the briber for their own advancement. But perhaps the saddest part of the situation is the utter hopelessness

> of so many of both the native educated and the returned students. They see little hope ahead for China so conform to the corrupt customs of official life and given up the struggle.[8]

To uplift the moral and social influence of these students, the Church and the YMCA should change its style and methods of work, Burgess wrote. Both institutions should organize student clubs in every Beijing school where social science, constitutional government and social and governmental reform could be taught and discussed, and they should foster a spirit of patriotism expressed in disinterested action. Burgess referred to a comment by two "prominent missionaries" who concluded that students from government universities were not interested in Christianity. "The fault does not lie with the Church," they maintained, "it is in the hearts of these men. If they really wanted to know about Christ, they would come to church." Burgess retorted:

> This position is manifestly unsound. It is the duty of the Church to make itself so attractive that these Government students will attend its services, and to plan special efforts to get hold of this class of men.[9]

Largely through Burgess's efforts, the Princeton Center in Beijing stepped up its work among the students in the capital along various lines: organizing general student conferences, student social service clubs, study clubs, and athletic meets and programs.

Summer conferences for students, a useful and practical YMCA student activity in North America, was introduced to

China as early as 1904. In 1905, four summer conferences were held at Putuo, Fuzhou, Zhengzhou and Jiujiang. The first Annual Student Conference of North China convened in 1908 at Tongzhou, a suburb of Beijing. At its third annual meeting in 1910, the Chinese Student Volunteer Movement was organized "to win capable students to devote their lives to the Christian ministry and to promote that calling among students." It enrolled 700 volunteers in the first year and employed a Chinese pastor, Ting Limei, as its first travelling secretary. Burgess was personally involved in organizing the fourth Annual Student Conference of North China in the summer of 1911 at Wuofuosi, or the Temple of the Sleeping Buddha, in the western hills of Beijing. It is significant that this conference saw the initial gathering of students from government universities and schools.[10]

Burgess spent a whole month preparing for this first opportunity for the YMCA and the missions to work with the government students. For eight days, thirty-eight students from ten government schools met to discuss present-day problems and Christianity.[11] As to the encouraging results of the conference, Burgess reported:

> One of the significant facts in the recent Government students' conference was the surprise and pleasure expressed by so many missionaries attending, both young and old, at the splendid quality and ability of these students. Government students have their faults, but they are, for the most part, virile, able, and attractive, having a wholesome spirit of independence and initiative. One of the older missionaries expressed himself most delighted and inspired by his eight days of "friendship with these able and lovable Government

students." Wuofuosi was an acknowledged revelation to many of these missionaries.[12]

During his first year as a teacher at the Imperial College of Language, Burgess organized a club of about twenty students and they regularly met to discuss such topics as "Evolution and Its Significance," "Social Science and Social Progress," "Psychology," "Political Conditions in America," "The Plague in Manchuria," "Student Life in America," "Personal Hygiene," and the like. In the next two years, Burgess helped form eight YMCA branches in the government colleges.[13]

At a general student meeting held in November 1912, Burgess organized the Beijing Student Social Service Club (Shehui Shijiu Hui). It started with forty students from three missionary schools and three government schools in the capital who were ready to offer services to their fellow countrymen. In its first year, the club conducted night schools for 100 servants in their schools and for fifty poor city boys; held lectures on hygiene and the meaning of citizenship in the half-a-dozen street lecture halls set up by the Board of Education; printed and distributed posters promoting republican government in simple Mandarin for the common people; and made an extensive study of twenty rickshaw coolies in the city, which evoked widespread attention to their condition. Playgrounds were opened in communities. Open-air popular lectures by Chinese medical students were conducted which attracted large number of

audiences. A thousand women attended a special lecture on "household hygiene."[14]

At the Sixth Annual Student Conference for North China, held at Wuofuosi in July 1913, the separate conferences of the Christian Colleges and Government colleges were combined into one. The leading topic for the conference was "Christian Message and Social Service." In the same year, the First Young Women's Student Conference for North China also met at Wuofuosi. In 1916, 500 college students were engaged in such services as teaching in free night school, lecturing on health and moral reform, and studying the social conditions of the capital. And in that same year, the first social settlement in China was established by the Princetonians.[15]

One of the best, most effective and proven methods to attract and organize young men in the history of YMCA was athletics and physical education. From a very early stage, the Princeton group made physical education an important part of its work and one of the key functions of the Beijing YMCA. Upon taking over the work with the Tianjin YMCA in 1898, Robert R. Gailey, once a football all-American at Princeton, immediately started a program in physical education. Basketball and baseball were first introduced in China through the Tianjin YMCA in 1896. Later, soccer, tennis, gymnastics, track and field, and swimming programs were introduced in Tianjin, Beijing, Shanghai and other

cities. The first annual athletic meet in Tianjin was organized in 1902 by the YMCA at the athletic field laid out by Gaily. And China's First National Athletic Meet was held in Nanjing in 1910.[16] After Gailey moved to Beijing to organize the city YMCA in 1906, he at once made it clear that "athletics and physical culture will receive prominent attention." Gaily fully understood the meaning of athletics for the uplift of Chinese young men and its significance in changing their outlook. He also knew that athletics had once been a taboo in China. "Up to within very recently in China," he commented, "it was considered a very degrading thing for a gentleman to indulge in any form of athletic sport."[17]

In time Gailey enlisted the service of Amos Nathan Hoagland, Class of '06, who came to Beijing in 1911 to assume the position as Director of the newly founded Physical Department of the Beijing YMCA. Hoagland had been a popular and prominent member of his Princeton class and of the varsity football team. He decided to answer the call from Beijing after several years of business life. To prepare for his work, Hoagland spent several months at Springfield College, Massachusetts, then called the YMCA Training School for Physical Directors. Once in Beijing, he immediately started organizing the Beijing Athletic Association, which drew members from both Chinese young men

and foreigners in Beijing, while at the same time he was teaching English and athletics in a government school.[18]

Hoagland was personally responsible for organizing the First North China Track and Field Meet in May 1913. By permission of the Ministry of the Interior, a field was secured within the compound of the Temple of Heaven, the sacred place where only the emperor, the Son of Heaven, had had access for the worship of Heaven. President Yuan Shikai contributed to the fund raised for the athletic event and sent his private band for the opening ceremony. The event was so successful that requests poured in to the YMCA from faculties and students of schools in Beijing to help organize and teach physical education. At the Second North China Track and Field Meet the following year, the North China Athletic Association was organized. In that same year, Hoagland also acted as general manager of the Second National Athletic Meet held in Beijing. This event served for the selection of a team to participate, for the first time in China's history, in the Second Far Eastern Championship Games, the affiliate of the Olympic Games, to be held the following year in Shanghai. Unfortunately, Hoagland's career as a pioneer of physical education in China was cut short by his death in 1918 when doing war work in France with the Chinese Labor Battalion.[19]

To better facilitate the work of the Beijing YMCA in education, physical training, and social service, a modern

building was indispensable, one that would serve as a center for young men "to use and enjoy" and to "receive real benefits for the development of true manhood." The Princeton group secured a bequest from John Wanamaker, the successful American department store owner, for the new building. The lot for the building, which was located near Hademen in the eastern district of the city, had been purchased a few years earlier from funds raised in Beijing and Tianjin. Princeton alumni and friends provided funds to furnish and equip the building.[20]

The construction of the building was not much delayed by the dramatic events of the year of 1912 when the new Republic was born. In January Dr. Sun Yat-sen assumed the position of Provisionary President of the Republic but six weeks later had to surrender it to Yuan Shikai, the most powerful gentry-general at the time. Despite a short period of unrest and uncertainty after the last Qing emperor abdicated in February, the Princeton group and the Beijing YMCA laid the foundation stone for the new building in April. Over three hundred guests attended the ceremony including the Premier of the new Republic, President Yuan Shikai's special representative, British and American Ministers, Secretary of State for Education, the General Secretary of the Nation Committee of the YMCA of China, the President Emeritus of Harvard University, and others. Buried

under the foundation stone were a number of articles sealed in a strong copper box:

> Holy Bible, Constitution of Peking Y.M.C.A., Young Men's Work, China's Young Men, Progress, "1911 Report of General Committee," "Provisional Constitution of Chinese Republic," Princeton Alumni Weekly, postage stamps surcharged Republic of China, Peking Daily News English and Chinese editions, the new Republican flag, and a copy of the Program of the Laying Foundation Stone Exercises.[21]

The construction of the building progressed fast enough to accommodate the Sixth National Convention of the Chinese Associations in December of the same year, with the gathering of over 300 delegates from twelve provinces.[22]

When the imposing modern building was formally opened in July 1913, it became one of Beijing's "sights." The building had three parts, the main building and two wings, having a formidable frontage of 159 feet and depth of 200 feet, standing on the main street. Its basement had bowling-alleys, shower-baths and lockers. The main floor included a large lobby, offices, a reading-room, and recreation room with billiard tables. There was a full size gymnasium, two stories high and with a gallery running track. The two-storied auditorium had a seating capacity of 800, and was equipped with complete stage equipment and a motion-picture projector. The second and third stories of the central part of the building housed class and conference rooms as well as a dormitory, kitchen and restaurant. A roof garden sat on top of the gymnasium. No sooner had the new building opened than requests for the use of its facilities came pouring in

from the city's institutions, government officials and returned students. By January 1914, the Beijing YMCA had a membership of 1,200 and nine additional Chinese secretaries and helpers had to be hired.[23]

The social side of the Princeton work in Beijing also covered areas of social relief, charity and philanthropy. Burgess helped re-organize the Board of the Peking Orphanage and advised on its construction of Beijing's first playground. A Prisoners' Aid Society was organized to help released prisoners find employment. Community Service Groups were organized to meet the social needs of the local communities. Relief institutions were established to help the poor and those destitute because of plague, famine or social injustice.[24]

Charity, relief and philanthropic work had existed in China since ancient times. The earliest recorded instances of organized food and famine relief by the government can be traced back 2,000 years. Reciprocity is a near-universal feature of peasant society; and the spirit of mutual aid was deeply rooted in traditional Chinese society through the institutions of family, community and government. In Beijing, for example, relief institutions for the poor, such as the Foundlings' Home, the Old Men's Home, and the Old Women's Home had functioned since the second emperor of the Qing Dynasty (1662-1722 A.D.).[25] However, during a time

of epoch-making social revolution, ending China's several millennium of imperial dynastic history, the established system of social authority and social agencies were rapidly disintegrating. The Princeton group in Beijing, in this period of profound social upheaval, took a constructive attitude towards such ancient Chinese institutions as the family, the guilds, and charity and relief. It sought to improve these institutions and carry them a step further: to develop a "community spirit" that would help unite people to work together for their common interest and good.

With the work of Princeton-in-Peking, in collaboration with both the mission groups in Beijing and the national and municipal governments, there was a significant increase in the number of relief agencies organized in Beijing between 1912 and 1922. In 1912 when the new Republic was founded, only 61 relief institutions existed. Ten years later, the number had increased to 381. These not only provided direct charitable work in the traditional sense, they expanded to cover areas of free education and philanthropic societies that gave out money, grain, clothing, bedding, medicine, and even expenses for funerals.[26] The Princeton contribution also included flood and famine relief, the organization of the Beijing Metropolitan Welfare Association, and community service programs.

During 1917-1918, when Gamble formally started his association with the Beijing YMCA, both the Beijing and

Tianjin Associations were involved in relief work for the flood in north China. Ever since then, Princeton-in-Peking would be a leader and organizer of famine relief work not only in the local areas but also nationwide. In 1921 when north China faced a serious famine, key P-i-P members were called to serve and lead relief organizations. Robert Gailey assumed the general secretaryship of the Shanxi Famine Relief Committee; Jack Childs was responsible for the National Famine Relief Drive which brought in two million dollars (Mexican), and Dwight W. Edwards (Ai Defu), founding member and associate general secretary of the Princeton center in Beijing, became the general secretary of the Beijing United International Famine Relief Committee.

Edwards would be P-i-P's key connection with relief work and he would serve as a leading member in local, national and international relief organizations. A direct descendent of the third president of Princeton University, Dwight Edwards was graduated cum laude from Princeton in 1904 and stayed on for one more year to get his Master's in Mathematics. After spending a year teaching English in Japan, Edwards joined Gailey in Beijing to set up work for the Princeton center and organize the Beijing YMCA. He had exceptional command of the Chinese language, spoken as well as literary, which was crucial in helping him successfully carry out his various duties in China for forty-four years.[27] He was executive secretary, director of relief,

as well as the vice-chairman of the Beijing United International Relief Committee formed to tackle the 1920-21 north China famine which affected nineteen million people in five provinces. As a result of the famine, large numbers of women and children were sold, and millions had to eat tree bark and leaves, flower seeds, poplar buds, corn cobs, cotton seeds, peanut hulls and sweet potato vines to keep alive. Recognizing the gravity of the situation, Edwards and the Beijing United International Relief Committee worked closely with the Chinese government, the diplomatic bodies, and the missions of all city denominations to provide grain, clothing and shelter; to build roads, dig irrigation ditches and wells; and to open schools for children and for industrial training. As famine conditions were relieved, representative groups from all over the country met in Shanghai in 1922 and decided to organize the China International Famine Relief Commission. Edwards was elected as the executive secretary, and the Commission headquarters was established in Beijing. He would remain a key leader of the Commission in its relief work and in the prevention of famine in China from 1922 to 1946.[28]

Between 1942 and 1949, Edwards was field director and vice-president of the United China Relief (later United Service to China), an international relief organization formed in February, 1941, working at its field offices in Chongqing during the war and in Shanghai after the war.

Earlier, Edwards was appointed by the Chinese government as executive secretary of the Finance Commission of the Government Relief Bureau administering the surtax on the Maritime Customs for relief during 1920-22. A decade later, he again worked for the Chinese government providing relief for the massive flooding along the Yangtze River. For such services, the Nationalist Government of China presented several awards to Edwards: the Third Class Jiahe award in 1921, citation from the Nationalist Government of China for relief work in 1943, Victory Medal in 1946. Described by his alumnae as the "Hoover of China," Edwards was given the honorary degree of Doctor of Philanthropy, specifically created for him in 1949 at Princeton University.[29]

A good example of the charity and social service work of the P-i-P was the Beijing Metropolitan Welfare Association organized in 1922 through the personal efforts of J. Stewart Burgess. This was a successful social welfare institution which combined efforts and resources of both private and public, religious and lay sectors of Beijing. It was founded during a warlord strife when coordinated community relief work was especially needed in the capital. The forces of two northern warlords, the Zhili Clique under Feng Guozhang and the Fengtian Clique under Zhang Zuolin, had clashed near Changxingdian, southwest of the city. Fearful of the possible looting by the defeated armies,

representatives of fifty civic and social societies met to discuss how to protect the women and children in Beijing. This meeting saw the birth of the Beijing Metropolitan Welfare Association, with Wang Daxien (Wang Ta-hsien), former Premier, as president and Liu Xilian (Liu Hsi-lien), staff member of the Beijing YMCA, as general secretary. Funds in the amount of $100,000 (Mexican) was secured for the relief work. Temporary shelters for 25,000 women and children were established in government offices, schools, Christian churches and societies, Mohammedan mosques and Buddhist temples.[30]

Fortunately the expected looting did not happen and the Metropolitan Welfare Association was left with the full amount that had been raised for this possibility. Twenty percent of the money was given out for relief work in the Shanhaiguan area where the fighting had left farmers destitute and homeless. Eighty percent was spent in the form of loans to farmers around the Changxingdian area to tide over the year, and it was repaid in full the next year. The Association was so successful that during the winter of 1922-23 the Ministry of the Interior entrusted it with much of the poor relief work in Beijing. Liu was given $20,000 to run the city's largest poor house in Beijing, which cared 2,000 needy in that winter. Later, the Association conducted a grain relief operation in the form of direct distribution of grain to the immediately needy or in the form of loans or

work relief. The Association was also involved in immigration projects of moving people from the flooded or over-populated districts to the fertile soil of the Northeast.[31]

Princeton's involvement in the founding and functioning of the Metropolitan Welfare Association is a good example of its concern for and emphasis on developing community spirit and community service programs in the capital. Community service had been part of its operation but such work had been mostly in association with its student work. After a two-year furlough back in the United States, Burgess returned to Beijing in 1918 ready to devote full time, with assistance from the newly arrived Gamble, to community service work. Both he and Gamble had noticed public concern in the United States over the lack of an adequate community program in the Association work and the church. And they set about making an urgent call for an adequate community program in Beijing:

> Why not get one? We have hundreds of men who are public-spirited, with wealth, education and leisure. The Young Women's Christian Association has many women of the same type. In every church there are some who wish to serve in a large way the practical needs of the city. Peking is full of poverty, dense ignorance, disease, and impurity. Can we not rally in Peking the forces of righteousness and health, of religions and social idealism to cleanse and purify the city?[32]

Burgess and Gamble noticed a lack of community spirit in Chinese urban and rural life. To be sure, there had been cooperation and mutual help in the long history of the

Chinese civilization, but such cooperation and mutual help were either largely affairs of an extended family or emergency undertakings: protection of crops, mutual defense, relief work in face of a disaster. A communal spirit, interest in the common welfare of the group as a whole, was lacking. The reasons for this absence were both social and traditional: poverty (with 50 percent of the people going partly hungry everyday), ignorance (80 to 90 percent of the people were illiterate), and the absence of self-government as a social institution. Although these flaws were deep rooted in society and not to be solved overnight, certainly not during a period of political instability, Burgess and Gamble saw both an urgent need for and the possibility of increasing the consciousness of Beijing's inhabitants. It could be accomplished, they believed, by a united effort to organize and solve their problems.[33]

Beginning in late 1918, a number of social service programs were instituted at the Beijing YMCA. The Beijing Students Social Service Club was thoroughly reorganized under a new board of directors made up mostly of returned students. In addition to running a settlement house in a poor district of the city, a night school, and a playground, it also provided a reading room and a small neighborhood library, conducted Sunday religious and moral lectures and a summer open-air school for young children. The Beijing Orphanage with a hundred youngsters was put on a solid

financial footing through a successful fund-raising campaign conducted among the city's influential citizens. Members of the Princeton group were also active in such existing or newly established organizations as the Anti-Opium Society, the Prisoners Aid Society, the Returned Students Club, the Liberty Loan Drives, the Methodist Centenary Fund, the American College Club, the Missionary Association, the Union Language School, etc., to develop and coordinate community service programs.[34]

It was for the purpose of developing a city-wide community service program that Sidney D. Gamble was invited by J. Stewart Burgess to conduct a general social survey of Beijing. Both Burgess and Gamble were convinced that much was to be desired in the work of both the Association and the church in general along the line of developing community spirit and community service programs. "We have gone a long way in the science of organized evangelism, of getting decisions for the Christian life. After the decisions have been gotten," Burgess asked, "of what use has the Christian program been to the men? Very little. Students and laymen have been used to some extent in Inter-Church evangelistic efforts, but relatively little has been accomplished in any other form of service."[35]

Assisted by Burgess, Gamble delved into the study of social conditions in Beijing, organizing his social survey

activities with an eye on developing social service programs. Gamble and Burgess conducted a seminar at the North China Language School for new missionaries on "Social Conditions in Peking," which "has aroused all who attended, including the teachers, to the timeliness and need of the social emphasis in Christian work."[36]

The lack of social programs among the missions and churches in Beijing was clear to Gamble. "The work of the past year has kept me face to face with social problems," Gamble wrote, "and they consequently loom large in my thinking about this city, but it does seem as though both the Association and the church would gain in their influence not only on the community but on the individuals with whom they are working, if more emphasis were laid on the idea of social service."[37] He strongly believed that such an emphasis was "essential," and was deeply concerned about its adequacy:

> It is rather startling to find only fifteen percent of the baptized membership of a church engaged in any voluntary work that is directly connected with the church program. This does not mean, of course, that many others are not engaged in some sort of social service, but what they are doing is not considered as part of their church life. I fear that Christianity to many means attending church services and reading the Bible, but to only a few does it mean working for the benefit of the community about them."[38]

Gamble had discovered, as had Burgess and other members of the P-i-P, the rising patriotic sentiment among Chinese youths. The most recent student agitation and protest came as a result of China's secret pacts with Tokyo to provide

railroad rights to Japan. The decision of the Versailles Peace Conference to give Germany's rights in Shandong to Japan led to the outbreak of the May Fourth movement of 1919. Student agitation and the resulting national political crisis added to the urgency for P-i-P to emphasize and expand social programs. In fact, at the suggestion of the Chinese student secretary of the Beijing YMCA, Burgess and Gamble decided to change the focus of that summer's student conference from personal character to practical Christian programs in saving the country.[39]

Gamble described the personal frustration of a student of the Customs College in Beijing who felt unwanted because he was not given any work to do in the first two months after joining the Church. The young man went back to the person who had introduced him to the pastor and said:

> What sort of an institution is this that you recommended to me to join? I thought you said it was a group of men and women whose main business it was to bring in the Kingdom of God in Peking. It was with that object that I joined the church. I have been there now for two months and have done nothing but listen to sermons on Sunday! So far they have given me nothing to do![40]

Gamble felt that a strong Christian social program was the only answer to China's existing problems. If the church was going to be able to hold the men who had made a Christian decision, he argued, work must be provided for them. Reflecting on the unfortunate situation back in the United States where the church and social service were considered as two distinct provinces, Gamble and Burgess

were active in calling on the church and the Association to take upon themselves for working out a social service program in Beijing. To study Beijing as a field of service was therefore the first step before a good community service program could be developed. "How can the chapel meet the needs of its community," they asked, "till the leaders know what those needs are?"[41]

In the first two years with the Princeton group, Gamble was able to gather, "with accurate mind and untiring work," the great mass of facts on the city to be published in Peking, A Social Survey, the first social survey of an Oriental city. As part of the social survey work and the initiation of a social service program in close connection with education and student work, he and Burgess took teaching positions at the Peking Union University (later Yenching University). They taught courses on methods of social survey, elementary economics, social work, and principles of philanthropic and institutional work. Later, Burgess was invited to head the University's Department of Sociology, and both Burgess and Gamble were instrumental in the establishment of the Princeton School of Public Affairs at Yenching. They were Western pioneers in the propagation of the Social Gospel, introduction of the American social survey tradition, and development of sociology and social work in China. The Princeton work in Beijing over the next three decades would gradually shift its focus from the

Beijing YMCA to a close cooperation with Yenching University in the development of its departments of sociology, economics and political science.[42]

NOTES

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25. Burgess, op. cit., p. 4.

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27. J.S. Burgess, "Annual Letter, 1917-18," p. 8, YMCA National Archive, Annual Report Letter, 1919; Robert B. Fulton, "Mission in China of Dwight W. and Mary V. Edwards," unpublished manuscript, pp. 15-6, Princeton-in-Asia Archive; D.W. Edwards, "Report of Dwight W. Edwards, Peking Y.M.C.A. to the International Committee for the Year 1920-1921," YMCA National Archive, Annual Report Letter, 1921, p. 1.

28. Evans, op. cit., pp. 38-9; Fulton, op., cit., pp. 17-20.

29. Ibid.

30. Burgess, op. cit., p. 6.

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CHAPTER VII

FIRST SOCIAL SURVEY OF AN ORIENTAL CITY

The development of social service programs and the efforts on the part of the Princetonians through the Beijing YMCA to raise community consciousness and spirit in the city logically led to the need for a social survey of this ancient city. Gamble's decision to undertake the survey of Beijing brought the American tradition of social survey, through the YMCA and Protestant denominations, to the Chinese scene.

Social survey as a movement in America picked up momentum in 1908 when the newly organized Russell Sage Foundation decided to sponsor the Pittsburgh Survey. For the purpose of improving "social and living conditions in the United States," this pioneering institution in the field of social work organized "the first great composite survey ever made."[1] The Pittsburgh Survey was "a rapid close-range investigation of living conditions in the Pennsylvania steel district." It extensively covered almost every aspect of the Pittsburgh community: its industry, people, work, home, and culture. According to Paul U. Kellogg, director of the survey,

> Our inquiries have dealt with the wage-earners of Pittsburgh (a) in their relation to the community as a whole and (b) in their relation to industry. Under the former we have studied the genesis and racial makeup of the population, the physical setting and its social institutions; and under the latter we have studied the

general labor situation: hours, wages, and labor control in the steel industry; child labor, industrial education, women in industry, the cost of living, and industrial accidents.[2]

For the first time the word "survey," taken from the engineering profession, was introduced into the vocabulary of social work. The publication and success of the Pittsburgh Survey led the Russell Sage Foundation to form a department of Survey and Exhibits in 1912, which soon became the foundation's major activity.[3] This department of Survey and Exhibits finished another six important surveys in its first year of existence: St. Paul, Scranton, Topeka, Ithaca, Atlanta, and Springfield, Illinois.[4] As a result the social survey movement witnessed such a rapid and extensive development in the United States that it almost became "a fad, a craze, and a religion."[5] Social surveys of all kinds--municipal, district, school, health, housing, vice, crime, leisure, church, industrial and rural--were being conducted and widely published during the 1910s.

According to Robert E. Park, the leading sociologist of the Chicago School who taught a course on "Social Survey," the social survey movement took definite form only when "two particular streams of public interest--the welfare and the efficiency movements--united," as a direct response to the problems of urbanization and immigration.[6]

The first sign of such a union was the muckraking crusade around the turn of the century. Following such writers as Washington Gladden, Josiah Strong and Jacob A.

Riis, who had written on the social problems of the city and the country in the 1880s and 90s, the muckrakers succeeded, through the mass circulation newspapers and journals, in arousing unprecedented public concerns about public affairs. Books like Robert A. Woods' The City Wilderness, A Study of South End, Boston, Ida Tarbell's History of The Standard Oil Company, Lincoln Steffens' The Shame of the Cities, Thomas Lawson's Frenzied Finance, David G. Phillips's The Treason of the Senate, Upton Sinclair's The Jungle, and others, caught the attention of an unprecedented number of readers in the United States.

Although muckraking was similar in both form and technique to the social surveys, it was a kind of detective work. It emphasized uncovering social problems and evils and rarely concerned itself with solutions. It was a form of expose, focused on the negative side of the society, which led Theodore Roosevelt to warn that if some writers continued to emphasize social evils, they would be no different from John Bunyan's character in the Pilgrim's Progress who was so busy raking with a muck the filth off the floor that he could look only downward, to the neglect of the celestial crown over his head.

The social survey movement was much broader in scope and more penetrating in depth than the muckraking crusade for a number of reasons. For one thing muckraking was usually the result of an investigation of a specific problem

and a survey was a combination of investigations: "The investigation is a study of a problem that is a unit. The survey is a group of such investigations, the problems of which knot themselves together into community problems."[7] For another, social survey usually involved the help, collaboration or direct participation of the institution, community or different levels of government under study. The ideals and concerns of welfare, charities, philanthropic, church and industrial organizations were further integrated with concern for the efficiency of the communities, municipalities, state and national government. Social investigation became social diagnosis, and the social survey movement became part of a larger movement of social reform.

Faultfinding and detection no longer were the major goals of the investigators. Social surveyors now identified themselves with the community and offered prescriptions, however limited they might be, in addition to their diagnosis. If the Pittsburgh Survey was still full of muckraking revelations of the "glaring evils and startling injustices," its tendency was more constructive, as can be seen in their clear statement of purposes:

> The project was undertaken in order to learn significant facts of living conditions in the community, to make recommendations where creative action is needed, and to acquaint the general citizenship with both facts and needs.
>
> In the survey the aim has been to ascertain and display the facts, present the actual conditions, bring

> into high relief the most striking features, whether good or bad, and make clear a program or policy for the future.
>
> The purpose of this survey was constructive. It was not aimed to humiliate but to improve.[8]

The development of the social survey movement was incorporated into and reinforced by the professionalization of the social sciences, especially sociology, social anthropology and institutional economics. By the time Gamble took his graduate studies at the Department of Economics, University of California, Berkeley, as mentioned earlier, he was able to draw upon the legacies of Veblen, Mitchell, and Commons, founders of institutional economics. With the use of quantitative research, an anthropological approach, and a "historico-legal" perspective, institutional economists would influence and enhance the social survey movement, and move it to a higher level of attainment, one closely associated with social engineering and social reform. Gamble's graduate thesis, completed under the guidance of Peixotto and Parker, two key institutional economists at Berkeley, was a study in the tradition of both the social survey movement and institutionalism. Gamble's work in China would combine the ideals and methodologies of the American social survey movement and institutional economics. It would have a definitive influence not only on the missionary movement in China but also on the process of social reconstruction of the emerging Republic.

Gamble formally took up the survey work of Beijing at the end of the summer of 1918. He plunged into what he called an "untried experiment" with a clear purpose: to conduct a scientific study of the concrete facts and situations of the city, so that on the basis of its findings, definite social programs could be worked out. The urgency of such a scientific study appeared never greater than now:

> With the country changing from an ancient empire to a modern democracy, with the ancient guilds beginning to feel the pressure of new industrial methods, with the passing of the old education and the coming of the new, with the gradual discarding of the age long primitive methods of philanthropy and the opening of new, well organized institutions, one can hardly imagine a situation where accurate detailed facts and a strong social program are more important or more necessary for those who would help China, whether they be students, officials, social workers, educators or missionaries.[9]

Specifically, Gamble had in mind two movements that might benefit from his survey: the New Culture Movement, or the Chinese Renaissance represented by the May Fourth Movement of 1919, and the Protestant Christianity movement spearheaded by the successful Eddy campaign of 1918. Although the goals of the two movements were superficially different, with the New Culture Movement seeking to "save the country through science and democracy," and evangelists like Sherwood Eddy and Frank Buchman advocating "save China through Christianity," both realized the importance and necessity of "social reconstruction" in the building of a new China. Moreover, "science and democracy" for most

Chinese, even the revolutionaries, were positively associated with Western Christianity. Gamble hoped that the survey would be of use to both the New Culture Movement and the Protestant churches "in working out a practical expression of their interest in social problems and developing a social program that will influence the life of Peking and all of China."[10]

The New Culture Movement refers to the period between 1917 and 1923 which witnessed an intellectual renaissance that far surpassed, both in depth and breadth, the intellectual ferment of the period of the Hundred Day Reform in 1898 and the Republican Revolution of 1911. With the birth of the new republic came a host of new Western ideas: science, democracy, Christianity, socialism, nationalism, liberalism, pragmatism, Marxism, Social-Darwinism, anarchism, and so on. As leaders of the fledgling Republican government came and went in succession under the influence and control of different warlords and political forces in China, the intelligentsia displayed a fervent desire for a critical re-evaluation of China's cultural heritage: Confucianism should be denounced as the root cause of China's weakness and backwardness; classical language should be replaced by the vernacular in order to create a new literature that will reflect the new spirit of the age; a new social order should be established on the basis of science, democracy and social justice. The most influential

leaders of this intellectual revolution were returned students from abroad. Chen Duxiu, for example, had studied in France and Japan before he founded the magazine, New Youth, and organized the Communist Party. Cai Yuanpei came back from France and became head of the National Beijing University, the hotbed of the intellectual ferment. Hu Shi, proponent of vernacular style in literature and the philosophy of pragmatism, was a student of John Dewey.

The New Culture Movement came to be known as the May Fourth Movement when the intellectual ferment of the day was integrated with political protest against the weak warlord government. This refers to the student demonstration on May Fourth of 1919 in protest against the verdict of the Versailles Peace Conference to transfer on the German rights in Shandong province to Japan. Thus the intellectual revolution that had started in 1917 now combined with an outburst of nationalism and anti-imperialism. Gamble and his colleagues at P-i-P were eye-witnesses to this movement. In an article published in The Continent on January 29, 1920, Gamble gave the first detailed, vivid, and comprehensive account in the American press of the unfolding of the May Fourth Movement in early June and of how students overthrew a government.

In the wake of the May Fourth demonstrations, Gamble wrote, patriotic students from the National Beijing University and the Qinghua University formed speech groups

of ten each, lectured to the public in key intersections of the city on the Shandong question and called a boycott of Japanese goods. Notwithstanding massive arrests by the military, which reached 900 in two days on June 3 and 4th, these speech groups kept pouring out of the campuses. Organizers were determined to send out 500 students every day till all Beijing students imprisoned. The warlord government had no choice but to surrender to student demands for the right of free speech and assembly, an open apology from the government, and immediate and release of all arrested students. The demonstrations resulted in the resignation on June 8 of three key cabinet officials who had been held responsible for appeasement of the Japanese. Soon after the entire cabinet resigned.[11]

Paradoxically, the New Culture Movement created both a favorable atmosphere for the spread of Protestant Christianity in China and a potential challenge to it in the wake of the nationalism and anti-imperialism that would lead to the Anti-Christian Movement of 1922-27. At the time of Gamble's writing, Christianity still enjoyed an unprecedented welcome from Chinese intellectuals who considered it representative of Western civilization. In 1920, there were 6,000 foreign missionaries working in China assisted by 23,000 Chinese.15 The social wing of Western Christianity represented by the YMCAs and YWCAs and the missionary efforts in higher and medical education in China

were especially welcome. In particular, the American missionary impulse, with its social gospel propositions, provided a rare opportunity for socially-minded missionaries and laymen to offer Christianity as a means of saving the nation. Richard H. Ritter, one of Gamble's colleagues and life-long friends who arrived in Beijing in early 1918, clearly expressed such a sentiment

> We know that China could not go on in her old ways much longer. She would someday be strong again and we wanted that strength to be Christian and Democratic. We believed in Jesus Christ and in Woodrow Wilson, We had a cause that gripped us.[12]

The same cause motivated Gamble. He undertook to conduct a social survey of Beijing "with the hope of discovering the fundamental social conditions in Peking, the capital of the country, and of making available material which may be of use to the Renaissance movement, the Protestant churches and other movements and individuals in working out a practical expression of their interest in social problems and developing a social program that will influence the life of Peking and all of China."[13]

After an entire year's field work, Gamble reported back to YMCA headquarters that the experiment "had been a success." It had produced results that were "far beyond any expectations" he had for the work. "Peking, the city that we attacked with the survey idea, has opened in a wonderful way and information and data have been found in many different places."[14] Gamble found an unexpected candor in the

Chinese. He had been able to travel to the remotest areas of the country as well as coastal cities and visit people of all walks of life. He was again struck by the friendliness of the Chinese and by the welcome he had received wherever he went in the city conducting his survey. Seeing that the "Peking doors" were "wide open," Gamble wanted to make the most of it: "Now it seems to me is the time to make the most of this openness. I fear the passing years will find the door less and less open, unless special and extra efforts are put forth."[15]

Gamble's basic survey method was quantitative, which had been successfully applied by surveyors of Western and American cities. He wanted to be strictly scientific and let the quantitative facts speak for themselves rather than making hasty judgment and prescriptions. He was aware of the lack of any data in China and agreed with the comment of Arthur Smith, who was one of the first China scholars and an authority of Chinese village life: "People often say they are speaking against a background of facts. In China, there is no background and there are no facts."[16] Gamble was excited to assume the mission of uncovering facts, for Beijing at least. He chose the city not only because it was the capital as well as the center of much of Chinese life--political, cultural, educational and social--but also because, compared with the treaty ports like Shanghai,

Tianjin and Guangzhou, it was less influenced by Western culture and hence more typically Chinese.

To tackle such a big city was an enormously formidable task, especially with the added barriers of cultural and linguistic misunderstandings. With the assistance of John Stewart Burgess, Gamble undertook a number of measures to overcome these barriers. First, he enlisted C. H. Chen as chief assistant and interpreter. A returned student from America, Chen went into business in Beijing and was in close touch with the industrial life of the city. He helped Gamble conduct many interviews and secure a large amount of information concerning Beijing's labor and commercial guilds. Another key assistant, Liang Tsai-chih, was a member of the local Board of Education. He was able to secure not only material on education, but also data on the city government, with its seven different agencies. Liang was the author of a recently published Guide Book of Peking, making him what Gamble described as "an especial find". Two graduates of the School of Commerce and Finance run by the YMCA helped Gamble in translating many of the reports that came in.[17]

Secondly, Gamble and Burgess conducted a seminar course on social conditions in Beijing at both Yenching University and the North China Union Language School, the latter being an institution that trained foreign missionaries, diplomats and businessmen in the Chinese

language. Students from the Sociology Department of Yenching University gathered detailed information through interviews with various city institutions. Seventeen foreigners from the Language School conducted interviews with missionaries and local residents concerning community problems and social programs of the church. These included the combat of such social evils as polygamy, prostitution, use of opium and morphine; provision of poor relief; the study of guild organizations and conditions of modern industry.[18]

Although handicapped by a lack of fluency in the language, Gamble was quick to pick up enough daily conversational phrases and sentences to make friends with local Chinese, from shopkeepers to government officials. Gamble's easy, friendly smile and his genuine respect for the ordinary Chinese people would readily overcome language and cultural barriers and win the confidence and cooperation of local residents. Under his direction, the field work of the social survey was successfully conducted between September 1918 and December 1919.

Gamble returned to the United States with a wealth of materials and data and spent the next year over his typewriter. In 1921, Peking, A Social Survey, was published. This 537-page book, illustrated with 50 of Gamble's own photographs and thirty-eight maps and diagrams, for the first time provided the world with a complete picture of this ancient capital, encompassing almost every aspect of

the city's social, political and cultural life: the government, population, educational work, commercial life, poverty, philanthropy, recreation, religious life, police, and social evils.

It was "an amazing book--the only one of its kind in the world--a minute social survey of a great Chinese city," according to one reviewer.[19] The extent of the "minuteness" of this first survey book of a great Chinese city can be illustrated by looking at some of its basic findings.

In 1917, Beijing was a city of 811,000 people, 64 percent of whom were male, with an average household numbering 4.8. The average population density was 33,626 per square mile, roughly three times that of American cities of similar size. The high percentage of males can be explained by the fact that great numbers of men below age thirty migrated into the city for study, work, or official positions. At the time of the survey, there were 5,000 government positions, but the city also had an estimated 110,000 "expectant officials."[20]

Beijing had a police force of 8,590, with an annual budget of $2,250,000 (silver dollars). The city had seven prisons with a total of 2,000 inmates. In 1917 the police reported 3,886 crimes and 22,870 misdemeanors.It is interesting to note that of the misdemeanors, offenses against general regulations, customs, communications,

health, breaching the peace, etc., only 459 were charges of breaking the peace, a fact which "tells more about the social conditions of China than do chapters poured forth by propagandist writers concerning the political disintegration and disorder of China."[21]

The Beijing police was extensively involved in social welfare matters in addition to its police duties. "Peking has well been called the best policed city in the Orient," Gamble wrote. "The Peking Police Board not only exercises the ordinary police functions, control of traffic, arresting of criminals, etc., but it also discharges the duties of the Board of Health, the Fire & Street Cleaning Departments and the Census Bureau. It is also in charge of the hospitals and most of the charitable institutions of the city."[22] Industrial trade schools for released prisoners, orphanages, soup kitchens, and such rescue institutions as the women's reformatory, called the "Door of Hope," a place to house girls who had escaped from prostitution and slavery were among other social welfare institutions run by the police.

Gamble found the health of Beijing was on the whole well cared for by its 46 hospitals and 1,908 doctors. The birth rate was between 18 and 20 per 1,000 persons; the death rate was 25.8 per 1,000, 21.6 for males and 33.2 for females. The modern water supply system was supplemented by 2,500 water-carriers who distributed water from wells in wooden tanks mounted on wheelbarrows. Though the city lacked

a modern sewage system, it employed 5,000 men to collect night soil for drying into fertilizer.[23]

Beijing was both the political and the educational center of China. In little more than a decade, the Survey observed, a modern educational system had been established. It included government-and privately-operated universities, colleges, higher technical schools, middle and higher grade schools. In 1919, there were 324 government and private schools in Beijing, of which 28 were at college level, 30 were middle or prep schools, 264 were primary and pre-schools. These enrolled a total of 55,000 students, 7,000 of whom were female. To run the new system of education, national as well as local boards of education were established by the government. Special schools for apprentices, the blind, and the poor were founded as well. And for the social education of the general public, the government as well as other private institutions established more than ten public lecture halls that offered talks on such subjects as patriotism, law, morality, common knowledge, politics, science, economics, hygiene and social reform.[24]

What were the features of Beijing's commercial life by the end of the First World War? They were based on commercial and labor guilds, according to the Survey, with each representing a single industry that included both employers and employees:

> The members of a guild all have to abide by the guild rules that fix prices, wages, terms of credit, etc. Those who break them are subject to reprimand, fine or even expulsion and boycott. The power of the group is so strong that the individual must conform. Where so many men are involved and where so few have any financial reserve and labor has practically no mobility, any dislocation of industry means suffering for many.[25]

In effect, the guild system helped maintain a static industrial situation. Although new chambers of commerce had been organized after 1900, they were organized by representatives of the various guilds and subject to increasingly tight government influence and control. An industrial revolution was yet to come, Gamble stated, with its "long hours, child labor, and the exploitation of workers."[26]

The integration of new and old ways of city life could be seen in change of recreational life. Side by side with the generation-old amusements of theater-going, feasts, listening to story-tellers, Chinese horse-races, and entertainment by singsong girls and public entertainers were new forms of amusement imported from the west: pool and billiards, moving pictures, public parks, an amusement park modeled on Coney Island. Social evils of prostitution and gambling were an obvious fact of Beijing life because of an unwholesome home life, lack of recreation, and the social taboo against socialization between the sexes.[27]

One chapter of Gamble's book focused on the Dengshikou District in the eastern part of the city. This was conducted

with the cooperation of the American Board Mission which ran the local church. This district was chosen for two reasons: the practicality of making a complete community study within a big city and a clear goal of developing a community service program at the same time. The survey of Dengshikou revealed crucial data of the district and led to the formation of the Community Service Group, which involved over two hundred volunteer workers in various social service programs. These included two free night schools, one for boys and one for girls; two free playgrounds, one for boys and one for girls; a public health campaign organized conducted by 80 volunteers; an industrial workshop for women and a poorhouse for men; a community newspaper; and an organization for charity work. The community spirit engendered in this district "was a small demonstration but it showed the value of the survey and confirmed our conviction that there are, in Peking and in China, a large number of people who are willing and even eager to unite on constructive social work once the facts are known and a definite program is developed."[28]

Peking, A Social Survey was the first scholarly publication Gamble accomplished as a social scientist, a book John Dewey praised as "unquestionably the best social survey ever made from the Christian viewpoint in any foreign mission field."[29] Its timeliness was obvious. A few years

earlier, Professor Edward A. Ross of the University of Wisconsin had already conducted a detailed study of China's social conditions. In his book, The Changing Chinese, Ross concluded that in both mental and physical characteristics, the Chinese were very similar to the people of the United States. The challenging problem for China was that a whole race of men comprising one-fourth of the world's population was emerging from conditions similar to those of the West during the Middle-Ages and suddenly trying to adopt the Western processes and methods of the nineteenth century.[30]

Gardner L. Harding, a newspaper correspondent familiar with the social problems of the West, travelled in China during the revolution of 1912. He pointed out in his book, Present-Day China, that a vast field of hitherto unknown materials existed in China, which reflected a great social awakening of the educated people and the birth of a national consciousness. "I have been investigating problems," Harding used to tell Burgess after a day of study of the social conditions of Beijing, "which hundreds of Europeans and Americans have for many decades been studying in the West, but the whole field in China is as yet unknown."[31]

Other social investigations had been conducted in China. For example, a massive study in the tradition of Spencerian sociology had been written years earlier, but it was a "mass of heterogeneous facts representing not much more than an outline of subjects to be studied."[32] A more

recent book, China--An Interpretation, by Bishop Bashford, had valuable observations but virtually no tabulated statistics.[33]

Historically there had been no careful analysis or inductive study of social life in China. The scientific study of social facts in China had just begun owing to the introduction of Western social sciences through both institutions of higher learning and the missionaries, especially the YMCAs. Philip Gilbert, the YMCA secretary in Seoul, Korea had worked on Korean guild organizations and was able to trace their origins to the Chinese guilds that remained unstudied.[34]

Under the direction of Burgess and later Gamble, the Beijing YMCA conducted a number of social investigations, including the guilds, both before and after the major survey of Beijing. In 1912, four Chinese college students and one young American had conducted an investigation of the rickshaw coolies, one of the most hard-working yet destitute laboring groups in China. In this study, a select number of rickshaw pullers on one of the main streets were interviewed and asked about their home, family, health, illness, literacy, religious belief, rental fees for the rickshaw, and so on. The brief report aroused the interest of other Chinese cities and brought the rickshaw pullers to the attention of government, charity groups and private citizens. Limited regulations were made by the government.

Street shelters and clubhouses were provided for this tremendous number of coolies in China.[35]

During the winter of 1914-15, a more detailed and professional study of the rickshaw was conducted by the Beijing YMCA in coordination with the National Beijing University under the direction of Professor Tao, chair of sociology and a graduate from the University of London. Members of the Beijing Students' Social Service Club, who had been involved in the earlier study, were able to work with a sample of 302 rickshaw pullers from every locality in the city to fill out rigorous and professionally prepared questionnaires. Based on this study, Tao came to the conclusion that the entire system of rickshaw-pulling was detrimental to both the individual and society. He proposed a practical program for the betterment of this entire class.[36] Although the investigation of rickshaw coolies was limited, it paved the way for a detailed social survey of the entire city that would study the basic social facts toward the goal of practical social reconstruction.

Gamble's solid training in quantitative research at Berkeley and his successful tabulation of his graduate research data at the Preston School of Boys well prepared him to take up the survey of a huge city like Beijing. Over 150 tables were tabulated and listed as appendices arranged in roughly the same order as the main chapters: geography, government, population, health, education, commercial life,

recreation, social evil, poverty and philanthropy, Dengshikou District, church survey, and religious work.

Gamble's painstaking and thorough work in Beijing revealed important social facts of both Beijing and China with an accuracy hitherto unknown. Of 811,556 people living in the city, for example, 96,850, or 11.95 percent, were listed by the police as "poor" or "very poor." Gamble was quick to add that "the fact that the police have forced many beggars to leave the city and are careful about allowing any destitute families to move into the city, tends to make the poverty of Peking less than might be expected."[37] Outside the city gates the destitute constituted a much larger proportion of the population than those inside and if included, the total proportion of the destitute of the city would be "much higher than the present 11.95 percent."[38] Then, too, there was the obvious difference in the standards of living between China and the West. The above figures would become even more telling when one realizes that a "destitute" person in the West might be considered in China as fairly well-to-do.

The study of the budgets of 195 Chinese and Manchu families living in one of the Beijing districts revealed the actual plight of the population. The average annual income was between $90 and $109*, Gamble found, which made food

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*Silver dollar, which at the time was equivalent to roughly 80 cents.

the largest item in the family budget, even for those relatively better off:

> In some cases it is as high as 90 percent. Eighty-five percent is not unusual and the averages for the different income groups range from 83 to 68 percent.....The regulation diet consists of two meals a day of cornbread and salt turnips. The American dietitians may say that people cannot possibly live on such a diet but thousands and even millions do it in China."[39]

Rents averaged from $5 to $12 a year or from 5 to 15 percent of the family income. Fuel cost $6 a year, or from 6 to 7 percent. Clothing cost ranged anywhere from 30 cents upward, or from 3.4 to 8.5 percent of the income. The real measure of a family's standard of living, according to Gamble, was the proportion of its income spent on books, education, recreation, insurance, savings, or the group of things included under the category "Miscellaneous:"

> For the Chinese families this varies from 1.3 to 6.6 percent of the family income. For families with the largest incomes the average amount is only $8.90.

By comparison, the lowest proportion spent for "Miscellaneous" by American families was almost twice the maximum of the Chinese:

> While in America a family is thought to be very poor if it does not spend 20 percent of its income on "miscellaneous," or more than three times the proportion spent by the most fortunate of these Chinese families.[40]

Upon publication in 1921, this "first social survey of an Oriental city" was well received by the general public, the missions, sinologists, sociologists, economists and political scientists. Arthur Smith, a missionary and an old

"China hand," said the book "goes deeply below the surfaces, and for the first time shows Peking under the searchlight as the fixed abode of conglomerate social groups under fixed conditions, yet subject to the unescapable changes incident to human and all other life on this earth."[41] Harlan P. Beach of the Yale School of Religion termed the book "a superlative social study under very difficult circumstances. I very much doubt whether there is anything in print comparable with this painstaking, accurate, and most interesting survey."[42] Kenneth S. Latourette of Yale University, who would produce the monumental History of Christian Missions in China eight years later, praised the book as both "important and significant." It was important because "it is a careful survey and a well-rounded description of the social life of a great Chinese city" and significant not only as the first of its kind, but also as an indication of the cooperation between Christian and Chinese forces that made the survey possible.[43] John Dewey commented upon returning to the United States, after a year and a half of teaching and travelling in China, that "this is unquestionably the best social survey ever made from the Christian viewpoint in any foreign mission field.... As a book of reference and study by those who want to get a background of facts upon which to project their surmises about China and its future, it fills an indispensable place."[44] In yet another review, Dewey pointed to the more

significant aspect of the survey in relation to the missionary endeavors in China:

> Between the lines one can read, it seems to me, a realization that the doctrinal and even the more purely personal evangelical phases of Christianity make little appeal to the Chinese, while the long preoccupation of that people with whatever concerns social relations renders them peculiarly accessible to the social aspects of the teachings of Jesus.[45]

The book was warmly welcomed by missionaries all over China. Richard H. Ritter, a fellow Princetonian working in Beijing declared that "any missionary, social worker, or English-speaking Chinese worker who does not know this book will be not only out of date but out of results." Lucius C. Porter of Beijing University said the book would "form a basis for other studies in Peking and will undoubtedly be a stimulus to others in other cities in China to take similar surveys." Ed Munson from Fuzhou praised Gamble for making "a wonderful contribution to the development of sociology and social service work in China. I am sure that the results of your study are going to be a real inspiration and benefit to us as we hope to undertake a similar project for Foochow." Sam Dean from Beijing said that "personally I think that your book ought to be used here in Peking as a text book on sociology and economics rather than some of the American books they are using." George A. Fitch of the YMCA in Shanghai told a friend that he wished that he could get Gamble back to Shanghai and conduct a similar survey of the city. Robert Fitch of Hangzhou said that Gamble's surveys

"have furnished data that will be an inspiration to many city workers for years to come and inspire them to do work of a similar nature."[46] Upon reading Gamble's work, Dr. Jessica B. Peixotto, his professor of economics at the Department of Economics, University of California at Berkeley, wrote to Gamble that she was "both impressed and delighted. Delighted because so interesting and able a volume has appeared, impressed because the material makes a contribution so much needed and so genuine. You have put up a milestone."[47]

Gamble's training as a social scientist, dedication to the missionary cause and to the Princeton work in Beijing, and deep concern for the lives and social betterment of a great people produced the Survey. Beach happened to be in Beijing while the survey was being conducted. He gave a vivid description of Gamble and his team at work, which explains the success of this impressive piece of social investigation:

> The presence of a scholarly sociological specialist in every part of Peking for months; snapping his graflex upon all phases of its social and even political life; interviewing every variety of its cosmopolitan inhabitants; rallying to his assistance not only the oldest and most experienced missionaries, but officials of the new-old capital as well; calling in the services of Christian church members who carried on an intensive social survey in the very heart of the ancient city; going out into the churches of the same capital to report results as the survey began to assume form, and surprising the residents with facts and arguments based upon it; arousing in Christian and non-Christian groups of young men and women of the student class a desire to undertake many things to ameliorate conditions--this is

what the present writer saw going on for months in 1919.[48]

NOTES

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4.Ibid., p. 179.

5.Taylor, op. cit., p. 5.

6.Ibid., p. 6.

7.Z.L. Potter, The Social Survey, 2, quoted from Taylor, op. cit., p. 15.

8.Z.L. Potter et al, The Newburg Survey, p. 4; W.A. Riddell, et al, Rural Survey County of Huron, Ontario, p. 5; both quoted from Taylor, op. cit., p. 13.

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12.Rev. Richard H. Ritter, "Memories of Princeton Court in Peking," unpublished, November 1973, p. 20, P-i-A Archive.

13.Sidney D. Gamble, Peking, A Social Survey, (New York, 1921), p. 28.

14.Sidney D. Gamble, "Annual Report Letter of Sidney D. Gamble, General Secretary, Young Men's Christian Association, Peking, China, for the Year Ending September 30, 1919," unpublished correspondence, p. 1, SDG Foundation Archive.

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18. Ibid.

19. James Thayer Addison, The Churchman, January 28, 1922, p. 10.

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21. John Dewey, New York Evening Post, quoted from George H. Doran Company Book Order Form, SDG Foundation Archive.

22. Gamble, Peking, A Social Survey, (New York, 1921), pp. 75-80.

23. Ibid., p. 31.

24. Ibid., pp. 128-52, 425-6.

25. Ibid., pp. 33-4.

26. Ibid, pp. 35-8.

27. Ibid., p. 43.

28. John Dewey, op. cit.

29. John S. Burgess, "China's Social Challenge, An Opportunity for American Social Workers," The Survey, 38.23:501, (September 8, 1917).

30. Ibid.

31. John S. Burgess, "China's Social Challenge, Beginnings of Social Investigation," The Survey, October 7, 1917, p. 41.

32. Ibid.

33. Ibid.

34. Ibid., pp. 42-4.

35. Ibid., p. 44.

36. Gamble, Peking, A Social Survey, (New York, 1921), p. 270.

37. Ibid.

38. Ibid., p. 269.

39. Ibid.

40. Arthur Smith, "Peking under a Searchlight," The North-China Herald, January 7, 1922, p. 56.

41. Harlan P. Beach, "Peking, A Social Survey--A Review," The Missionary Herald, January 1922, p. 14.

42. Kenneth Scott Latourette, "A Survey of a Chinese City," International Review of Missions, April 1922, p. 295.

43. John Dewey, op. cit.

44. John Dewey, "China as It Is," The Literary Review, January 28, 1922, p. 382.

45. Sidney D. Gamble Notebook II and III, unpublished, SDG Foundation Archive.

46. George H. Doran Company Book Order Form, SDG Foundation Archive.

47. Harlan P. Beach, "The Secrets of a Chinese City," The Missionary Review of the World, February 1922, p. 93.

CHAPTER VIII

CHINA AS LIFE-WORK

Upon returning from Beijing, and for the next fifteen months, Gamble worked in the east room of his parents' home in Pasadena, tabulating figures and tables, typing out page after page of the manuscript of his first book on China. Despite the need for rest and recuperation after almost three exciting but hectic years abroad, the prospect and excitement of writing a major monograph so much needed for the social service movement in China prodded him to move on without stop. In late February, 1921, Gamble had a serious attack of hay fever and was suffering from dental and sinus problems. His mother, Mary Huggins Gamble, reflected on the ordeal Gamble had gone through:

> We have just seen Sidney off on the train for New York with his precious manuscript....Sidney felt he must meet Mr. Burgess as soon as possible, for there were many questions to be decided....
>
> I am glad the pull of the book is almost over and I hope the inoculation will do some good by next summer....He has a pretty bad "kick" the day after he takes one (inoculation) and for almost a month has had a good deal of hay fever altho (sic) not so bad as last fall--They all say it is so prostrating and depressing. I don't wonder he can hardly work his head. I suppose when he comes back here he ought to have his nose operated on.
>
> If only his book is successfully launched we shall be happy and relieved. He has to see Dr. Eddy and Mr. Wood very soon for the preface and foreword.[1]

Once the manuscript was turned in to George H. Doran Company in New York city, Gamble was left with a major decision on his life-work, and it was not an easy one.

Gamble's heart was still in China and the survey work had proven just how much he was needed there. But would his work and the book be well received at home and what would it do for his career? What would be his next research project were he to return to China? Would he get a steady job as a YMCA secretary, or as a college professor in Beijing? Should he now return to graduate school and pursue a PhD degree, which would better prepare him for his future survey work? Eventually, he knew, he would return to China, but he was uncertain whether physically he could stand the strains of a steady job. Gamble's hesitation was more the result of mental than physical strain, as was pointed out by his younger brother, Clarence J. Gamble. "I believe that when Sid gets the book off his mind," Clarence wrote, "he will recover something tremendous, and that most of the trouble is the mental strain."[2] His protective mother knew that China needed her son, that "Sidney will have no greater opportunity for his life-work and the interest in him [in China] just now is a valuable asset." But she worried about whether Gamble could take good care of himself "which must take a lot of time and thought as I well know."[3]

During the preparation of the manuscript, Gamble gave lectures and slide shows on China in Pasadena, Los Angeles, New York and Cincinnati, some of them in coordination with Sherwood Eddy, John R. Mott, John S. Burgess and other YMCA secretaries or Student Volunteer Movement activists. Burgess

was home for his furlough and travelled around the United States soliciting funds for the Princeton work in Beijing. He visited the Gambles in Pasadena and accompanied Gamble on speaking tours in California. Burgess explained to Gamble's parents the significance of their son's work in Beijing and China. In Boston Burgess met with Clarence Gamble and discussed at length Sidney's future work plans.

Burgess felt strongly that China was the place for Sidney. He could use the experience he had already gained in further social survey work in Beijing and other cities. He could base himself in Beijing for a half-year, Burgess asserted, teaching in a Beijing university and conducting practical social work. For the rest of the year, he might go into other cities for social survey work. Sidney's work was original and much needed. With his experience and the publication of Peking, A Social Survey, he would become the expert in social survey and social work for all of China. Social service and reform work had only recently been started in Beijing and was largely experimental, Burgess said, and much work was needed in adapting the experience of the United States to China.[4]

When Burgess returned to the west coast in late May, he again discussed with Gamble the latter's immediate plans for the near future. Gamble agreed that he would return to China where he knew he was most needed. But he also felt that further training in professional social work, or maybe a PhD

in social economics, might be essential. Burgess recommended that he participate in a definitive survey of a large municipal institution or charity organization in the United States to gain practical experience. He also mentioned the possibility of working with a social worker in Boston to see how things were actually conducted. For Gamble, the book remained very much on his mind. Page proofs were starting to arrive, and this which would keep him busy for a while. Further, he was anxious to see it in print and find out how it would be received. To Gamble, the book was still not finished.

A good opportunity came when Gamble was invited by Sherwood Eddy to join a summer seminar trip to England and attend an international labor conference in Wales. Eddy had visited England the previous summer to explore social conditions. He made a study of the British labor movement, attended the Trades Union Congress, and met with labor leaders. This rich experience gave him the idea of conducting an annual seminar to bring over American educators and lecturers and introduce them to the leaders of England's political parties as well as other outstanding Europeans. International understanding and peace would be enhanced, Eddy hoped, through such meetings.[5]

The first Eddy Seminar gathered together a sizable group of thirty-four people that included Bishop Charles D. Williams of Detroit, Governor William E. Sweet of Colorado,

Fletcher S. Brockman, general secretary of the International Committee of the YMCA, Kirby Page, a famous social evangelist, Sidney D. Gamble and John Stewart Burgess. Burgess decided to join the group partly because he wanted to convince Gamble to return to Beijing together with him in October.[6] The first seminar party held discussions with British political leaders and visited Germany, Austria and Czechoslovakia. For Gamble, this was an invaluable chance to read, study and discuss important questions such as the history of the British and American labor movement, labor and internationalism, the church and industrial development, socialism and the new social order. This trip would lead Gamble to join future seminars in Europe and the Soviet Union. It greatly enhanced his interest in social problems and made him feel that he needed to enrich his intellectual and professional background and thereby better prepare for his work in China.[7]

In the middle of the three-month seminar in Europe, Gamble learned that his book, Peking, A Social Survey, was finally in print. Upon returning to the United States in mid-September, he sought to promote the book in an effort to encourage the missionary endeavor in China for the social transformation of this very old civilization and very young republic.

The book was a success, as was pointed out in the previous chapter. But Gamble was not satisfied with this

first achievement, and for good reasons, Burgess had written from Beijing and obliquely conveyed to him what he already knew:

> The book is very good as all admit, but only a preliminary study. The remarkable reception it has had, I think, is partly due to the inherent interest of China's capital to the present interest in China, and to the fact that the study is the first of its kind. Interested personal friends wrote many of the reviews--many by request. You came heir to the fruits of the thought and work of others directed on these subjects for a dozen years in Peking, and embodied much of this experience these ideas in your book.[8]

Surely, we may speculate, he was aware of the accuracy of Burgess's observation of building on the contribution of others. Fletcher Brockman commented that there was never a touch of conceit in Gamble about his achievement in his talk or speeches.[9] If anything, the warm reception of his book convinced him to make China his life-work.

To prepare himself, Gamble first got hold of an essential prerequisite, a list of a hundred books on social service that he intended to read. Prepared by the Charity Organization Institute, the books were divided into such subjects as social service theory, organization of charity, immigrants, children, publicity, health, defectives, vagrants and criminals, and biography; the list included such noted authors as Washington Gladden, Walter Rauschenbusch, John R. Commons, F. G. Peabody, Robert Woods, P. U. Kellogg, and Jane Addams. In 1922, Gamble took courses on a number of subjects--Christian ethics, social work, political economy, psychology, and social survey

methodology--offered at the New York Union Theological Seminary, New York School of Social Work and Columbia University.[10]

Gamble was also busy with family and personal matters during his stay in the United States: Clarence's plane accident, his father's poor health and eventual death on July 17, 1923, and his own engagement and wedding to Elizabeth Pritchard Lowe, daughter of Dr. Walter I. Lowe and Catherine Caskey Lowe of Hamilton, New York. Whether it was meant to emphasize Sidney D. Gamble's quietness and shyness, or his mother's possessiveness of her favorite boy, the story went that Mary Huggins Gamble decided that Sidney was never going to marry. Rather he would stay at home and look after her.[11] There was probably more truth in another version of the story, that Mary Huggins Gamble had established strict rules for her sons in choosing a wife:

1. Make sure that you could not live without her;
2. Background;
3. Not a nurse;
4. She would be the only girl you would want to be the mother of your children;
5. Common interest;
6. Pollyanna spirit;
7. Right age;
8. College girl;
9. Ideals;
10. Social service.[12]

Elizabeth Lowe came very close to meeting these standards. She was a graduate of Mount Holyoke College, interested in social work and active in the Young Women's Christian Association. At the time when young Lowe and

Gamble met each other at a wedding ceremony in New York city, she was attending the New York School of Social Work. Lowe was attracted to the young scholar and secretary of the International Committee of the YMCA and told her sister after the meeting that "I have met the man I am going to marry." To ensure that the romance would blossom without the knowledge of Gamble's mother, both his elder brother, Cecil, and Clarence chaperoned the couple at Princeton football games and other events.[13] As for Gamble, here lies a clue as to postponing a return to China: "I sometimes wonder," wrote Clarence in 1921, "if it isn't the more luxuriant verdure of the matrimonial pastures that is making him feel that this country is a pretty good place to be. If he had the right kind of a wife I believe he'd be ready to go back in a minute."[14]

Finally Gamble could no longer wait. The wedding trip, starting on January 18th, 1924, from Hamilton, took the couple to Utica, New York, Cincinnati, Chicago and Pasadena. It was also a preparation to sail to China. On February 21, after spending two weeks in Pasadena with his mother, the newlyweds embarked on S.S. President Wilson for their honeymoon in China. On the day they arrived in Beijing by train in late March, "the thirty piece band of the Board of Police welcomed the bride and groom to the tune of 'When Johnnie Comes Marching Home'."[15] Gamble had had a close working relationship with the Beijing Board of Police while

conducting the survey of the city four years before. On April 12, Gamble formally accepted the invitation to resume his membership of Princeton-in-Peking. In order to better appreciate social fabrics of the Chinese life, Gamble and his wife enrolled in the Beijing North China Language School for a full-year of intensive language study.

Gamble returned to a China further torn by wars among the warlords and by a major famine. The prospect of a constitutional republic had never been so remote. China was still politically divided between north and south. President Xu Shichang had been forced out of office in 1922 and followed by the even shorter tenures of Li Yuanhong, Kao Lingwei and Cao Kun. Sun Yat-sen had assumed his post as the extraordinary president of the southern government in Canton between 1921 and 1922. Gamble, immediately perceiving China's chaotic situation, wrote to his friends:

> We are wondering, these days, what news you are getting from China, imagining scare head lines and long stories of armies and fighting. We sometimes think that perhaps you are getting more news about the 'unpleasantness' than we do, for here the newspapers are rigidly censored and it seems impossible for us to learn just what is happening, except that there has been real fighting with all the modern trimmings of mines, bombs, aeroplanes, trenches, tanks, men killed and wounded."[16]

Gamble was referring to the "private war between Wu Peifu and Zhang Zuolin," the former dominating north China and the latter Manchuria. Zhang was anxious to revenge his defeat by Wu in 1922, and Wu planned on gaining control of

the entire country.[17] As Beijing had been the legitimate capital of a unified China, it commanded recognition from foreign countries and administered the important source of customs and salt revenue; and each of the warlords and political factions had been trying to control the Beijing government.

While life in Beijing seemed to be normal, there was fighting around the city and in Tianjin. On a summer trip to Chengde (Rehe), northeast of Beijing, Gamble and his party witnessed an airplane bombing raid of a railroad bridge. "We were close enough to hear the swish of the last bomb as it came through the air," Gamble wrote. "Later two more planes came over with bombs, but we kept our boat away from the bridge until after dark and by morning we were well on our way. The three planes dropped about 25 bombs." Because of the fighting, Gamble and his party had to travel in baggage cars from Lanxian to Tangshan. Their passenger train from Tianjin to Beijing gave way to innumerable troop trains, and it took over eight hours to cover the seventy-five miles from Tianjin to Beijing. This was the beginning of the second Zhili-Fengtian war fought in October, 1924. The outcome of the war was yet another change of government in Beijing: supported by the troops of Feng Yuxiang, the "Christian general," Duan Qirui assumed the head of the Beijing government.[18]

The failure of a constitutional republic dimmed prospects for the Chinese Renaissance movement started five years earlier. The intellectual awakening that led to China's Westernization under the slogan of "science" and "democracy" was losing momentum because progressive and patriotic Chinese became aware that the Western powers were more concerned with protecting their interests, through the support of the warlord governments, than with the interests of China's independence and sovereignty. The Nine-Power Treaty, concluded at the Washington Conference in 1922, agreed to respect China's territorial integrity and political independence. But it was only a rhetorical expression of good will since none of the Western powers was ready to relinquish any of their inequitable treaties with China.[19]

The domestic political situation and the international scene prompted the growth of radicalism. Nationalism, anti-warlordism and anti-imperialism became new rallying points for political groups. The success of the socialist revolution in Russia, and the Marxist theories and ideals of the Communist revolution, were attractive to radical Chinese intellectuals who founded the Chinese Communist Party in 1921. The Soviet model also inspired the Canton-based Sun Yat-sen and his Nationalist Party based in Canton. While time and again he failed to get aid for his nationalist revolution from the Western powers, he was impressed with

the Soviet offer of friendship and abolition of the Sino-Russian unequal treaties. Sun's decision to reorganize the Nationalist Party on the Soviet model led to the first cooperation between the Guomindang (the Nationalist Party, or KMT) and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP).[20] Unfortunately, before Sun could realize his revolutionary goal of once again unifying China, poor health led to his death on March 12, 1925 during a short visit to Beijing.

Gamble witnessed the elaborate state funeral given to Sun Yat-sen in Beijing, and was able to document the complete ceremony with his camera. Assessing Sun's controversial role in the Chinese republican revolution, he wrote:

> Most of the officials have not approved of his ideas and methods but now that he is gone will probably do him honor. He has been one of the interesting and influential characters of the early years of the Republic and certainly has filled a great place in Chinese history. I wish we could really get at the true story of his work these last few years. Apparently there has been a lot of propaganda against him, especially from the business interests. He has been sick for such a long time that I do not think his death will make much of a change in the political situation.[21]

Gamble was right in his judgment of the political situation in China. Sun's death lead to an even more fierce struggle for political power among the contending forces of the northern warlords, the Guomindang, and the Communist Party. He was to witness the exciting events of the late 1920s and the wide- spread nationalism, radicalism and anti-imperialism. "China is beginning to have a new feeling of

nationalism," Gamble wrote to Dr. John R. Mott soon after the "May 30th Massacre" in Shanghai in which eleven student demonstrators were killed when the police opened fire by order of a British police lieutenant. "'The Shot Heard Round the World' could not have stirred our country more than did the shooting at Shanghai on Decoration Day," Gamble reported. "We feel that we have been seeing a nation in the making."[22]

Gamble observed that in Beijing excitement started on May 7th, the National Humiliation Day anniversary of Japan's 21 demands on China in 1915. For the past ten years, it had been a school holiday and occasion for the students to hold meetings to discuss their country's plight. In response to a strike in Shanghai by Chinese workers in a Japanese cotton mill early February, Beijing students wanted to show their support by holding their traditional meeting on May 7th, but were rejected by the acting Minister of Education. In the course of a demonstration, students broke into the home of the education minister and, threatening to call a general student strike, forced his resignation.

After the shooting in Shanghai by the Japanese management that killed one worker and wounded seven others on May 15, and the May 30 Massacre by the British, Beijing students organized into different committees and soon had the entire city mobilized. The May 30th Massacre triggered an outpouring of feelings of irritation and grievance

against foreigners, unequal treaties, control of Chinese customs, concessions, extraterritoriality, control of the mixed court in Shanghai, imperialism, and so on.[23] Marching to the Board of Foreign Affairs and to the residence of Duan Qirui, the Provisional Executive of the Beijing government, Beijing students demanded that the authorities be firm in dealing with the foreign powers over the shooting incident in Shanghai. They carried banners, cartoons, and slogans condemning British and Japanese imperialism and calling for the end of the unequal treaties. They organized street lectures and a boycott of British and Japanese goods.[24]

The nation-wide excitement in the wake of the May 30 Massacre, Gamble felt, had a profound influence on Chinese politics. For him it was a very different China from that of a few years earlier. He noticed a distinct split in the student ranks owing to the efforts of Communists and the more radical students to control the student organizations. He was also conscious of an impending conflict between China and the West in the wake of China's rising nationalistic and anti-imperialistic sentiment and believed that both the Western and Chinese governments could contribute much to avoid such a conflict:

> Individual foreigners are able to meet the Chinese on a basis of friendship and understanding. Will the various governments be able to do it? As one man put it 'The West reacts powerfully to law, order and quick decisive action, China to friendship, personality and

compromise.' We are hoping the differences can be understood.[25]

Highly sympathetic with the plight of the Chinese people in those chaotic years of intense warlord factionalism, Gamble reported on the military clashes east of Beijing. "Wu Peifu is trying to capture his old headquarters, Loyang, in Henan. Zhang Zuolin in the North wants to come further South and strengthen his position," Gamble wrote in February, 1926. Two months later, he observed, "the last few days have been the climax of the struggle that has been going on ever since Wu Peifu and Zhang Zuolin started fighting in the fall of 1924, and China is about where she was in 1922 when Wu and Zhang started their first spring warfare."[26]

The burden of the cost of military fighting was borne by the people, Gamble observed. Warlords held the wealthy for ransom. Households with telephones were subject to an additional tax of $50. Forced extractions and nominal loans were constant features of military rule, and reports circulated of executions of merchants who failed to donate sufficient funds. Moreover, "with the movement of troops thousands of coolies, many of them the sole support of their families," Gamble wrote, "have been seized and carried off to transport military supplies." Even though Beijing had been relatively quiet in the midst of the fightings, there were serious shortages of food and shelter to tide over the winter. "Disturbed conditions have meant poor business,

unemployment, and rising prices in Peking. So far the days have been very mild, but the police already are reporting many deaths from exposure. It makes our hearts ache to think of the suffering there will be in North China this winter."[27]

Gamble was eyewitness to the massacre of forty-eight student demonstrators by warlord troops on March 18, 1926. In a letter written on April 20, he gave a detailed and vivid account of what happened:

> The shooting of the students on March 18th was a terrible tragedy. After a meeting in front of the Forbidden City a group marched to the Cabinet office to protest against the ultimatum the foreign powers had given China concerning the closing of the Pei Ho at Taku. Many of them were the more conservative students, though the Kuomintang and the communists were represented in the parade. I passed the crowd on Hata Men Street. They were cheering but were more orderly than many of the demonstrations last May. Just how much the students threatened to use force at the Cabinet office we do not know, but once the guard started firing they kept it up for fifteen or twenty minutes. The soldiers used their bayonets on the wounded and robbed the bodies of the dead. Even glasses were snatched from one of the girls as she was getting out through a back gate. Altogether forty-eight were killed or died of their wounds.[28]

According to Gamble, students had clashed with Duan Qirui's bodyguard the day before and one of them had been wounded. The April 20th parade was organized only after student leaders had received letters saying that the bodyguard of the Chief Executive had been disarmed and the police had promised to protect the students. "Whether the students were the victims of a plot or not is not quite clear," Gamble wrote. "The letters were forgeries."[29]

Gamble was shocked at the massacre. So were most Chinese, including the famous writer, Lu Xun, who wrote an elegy for his own students at the Women's Normal College who had been killed. Although feelings of indignation were high among the students and general public, Gamble felt that probably nothing would be done about the shooting:

> The officials involved are high up and most of them have now left Peking. The students cannot force the issue as they did last May when the foreigners were involved and the military will quickly put a stop at any student demonstrations.[30]

Partly due to the changing political situation and partly due to the demise of the Philadelphian Society, the Princeton University center in China had been undergoing a major shift in the focus of its work. Since 1921, when the National Committee of the YMCA in China assumed a greater leadership role, in cooperation with the International Committee, with regard to the personnel, organization and budget of the Beijing association, the P-i-P had been trying to encourage increased participation of Chinese as directors, officers, and financial supporters of the association. With the rising sentiment of nationalism, the Christian movement in China was rapidly becoming indigenous. David Z.T. Yui, General Secretary of the National Committee of the YMCA in China, was able to declare in 1925 that "there were 44 City Associations and 211 Student Associations, all self-governing and self-supporting and

uniting themselves under the National Committee of the YMCAs of China."[31]

For several years the Princeton University center had been gradually seeking to withdraw its foreign secretaries from active leadership at the Beijing Association and, wherever possible, to provide expert advisory assistance. And after 1921, P-i-P decided to shift its emphasis to the field of higher education, focusing on the development of a school of social and political sciences. The idea grew out of its social service program and its efforts to develop community spirit, as well as the social investigations led by Burgess and Gamble. P-i-P had already provided the Union Beijing University technical instructions on sociology and social work. They had cooperated in conducting social service programs and the comprehensive survey of the city. At the university's invitation, Burgess became head of its Department of Sociology, which would later expand into a Princeton School of Political and Social Sciences.

Princeton's emphasis on education was hardly surprising. Ever since it initiated its work in China, education had received considerable attention. There was English night school, the School of Commerce and Finance, and now the School of Political and Social Sciences. The evolution of P-i-P's emphasis on different educational subjects--first language, then commerce and finance, and eventually politics, sociology and economics-- reflected the

pronounced change in the thinking of both Westerners and Chinese with regard to what was urgently needed in China's social reconstruction. When Gamble returned to China, the Department of Sociology at Beijing University offered more courses than any other department, and they were open to students of the Men's College, the Women's College, and the Graduate School of Theology. Five of the P-i-P staff were part-time lecturers in the department.[32]

These courses covered both theoretical sociology and practical social problems. A four-hour course entitled "The Modern Social Program" was offered. It required 147 hours of field work and individual research and was later expanded into several courses forming the basis of training for the vocation of social work. Gradually courses were also introduced that reflected the Chinese point of view: Chinese Folkways, Social Ideas of Confucius and His School, Collective Behavior and Chinese Group Psychology, Chinese Social Democratic Movements, etc.[33]

The significance of such a school of social and political science was recognized by key educational leaders of both the United States and China. Paul S. Reinsch, former U.S. minister to China, could think of no greater contribution for an American university to make to the Republic than an institution in the very heart of China's intellectual and political life, one that would train leaders in the three disciplines then most urgently needed,

namely, politics, sociology and economics.[34] John Dewey agreed that interest in these subjects in China was very great, stating, "I see no service which Princeton graduates could render this Center in Peking greater than that of establishing and endowing a School of Social and Political Sciences."[35]

P-i-P's efforts to shift its central focus from the Beijing YMCA to running the Princeton School of Political and Social Sciences at Beijing University (later Yenching University) was formally endorsed by the Board of Trustees of Princeton University in 1923. The Board resolved that "the Trustees of Princeton University approve the efforts which are being made to develop Peking University in the direction of an institution which will produce for the people leaders educated and trained in the principles of good government, sound economics and a dependable sociology."[36] After the demise of the Philadelphia Society in 1927, Princeton's work in Beijing was to be directly supervised by a special committee under the Princeton Board of Trustees. The School of Political and Social Sciences later received support from the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Fund to establish the Qinghe Experimental Station near the University to train students in sociology and social work. Princeton's longtime efforts in behalf of the Beijing YMCA would be transferred to the YMCA National Council based in New York city.

Even during his year-long intensive study of the Chinese language at the Beijing Language School, Gamble took time to advise, teach, and coordinate on social surveys and investigations. He cooperated with Burgess, Thomas C. Blaisdell, a graduate of the New York School of Social Work, and two other Chinese colleagues in a jointly conducted seminar at the Language School on social problems in China. "Along with the language," he reported back home, "I have been having the thrill of a bit of research work." He had been advising one Chinese student in the survey of rickshaw coolies of Beijing and another on the study of the history of food prices. "Over 800 rickshaw coolies have been interviewed and on the prices we have secured material covering some thirty years. We are told that some stores have account books that go back over 100 years. You can imagine how anxious we are to have a look at those books."[37] Gamble started his full time social investigation and research work in September 1925. With the help of two Chinese assistants, he had planned to go into the country districts and make a survey of the social and economic life of the villagers. He had chosen Tongxian, a district about fifteen miles east of Beijing for his survey and had conducted some preliminary work on the town's historical records, but, he reported, "about the time we were to start into the field, conditions were upset by troop

movements east of Peking. War soon developed and it was necessary to postpone all work in the country."[38]

Under the circumstances, Gamble decided to conduct a statistical and historical investigation in Beijing, where life remained basically normal. Under his guidance, a study of the history of the city's prices over the past twenty-five years was conducted by Meng Tianpei (T'ian P'ei Meng), a graduate student at the Department of Sociology of Yenching (Peking) University. Meng and Gamble were able to secure the account books of several stores and work out the monthly and annual average prices for grain, flour, clothing, coal, meat, and condiments. They also secured figures on copper exchanges and the wages of several groups of workingmen. Based on such statistics, they could work out an index number for the city's cost of living and determine changes in the real wages of its workers.[39]

The result of this study was presented at a conference of the Chinese Social and Political Science Association in April 1926. Entitled "Prices, Wages and the Standard of Living in Peking 1900-1924," it was later published as a special supplement to the July issue of the Chinese Social and Political Science Review. Among its findings was the interesting conclusion that political events had an insignificant effect on prices:

> The various political, revolution, civil war, attempted restoration of the Emperor, have had but little effect

> on prices unless they have been accompanied by disturbances sufficiently severe to affect the harvest by destroying crops in the field, or make transportation difficult by commandeering rolling stock and cutting communications.[40]

The study of rickshaw coolies and the rickshaw business continued. One thousand coolies and two hundred rickshaw yard owners had been interviewed. In addition, detailed information was gathered from the families of one hundred rickshaw coolies. Another study was made of the budgets of two Chinese families, one middle-class with an income of about $700 a year, and the other well-to-do with an income of over $6,000. Comparing his finding in China with family budgets in America, Gamble concluded that "the budget of a family with what is considered to be about a minimum subsistence in America is divided in about the same way as the budget of a middle class family in China." He also argued that "a Chinese family apparently can occupy a given position in the Chinese scale of living for from one-fifth to one-quarter of what it costs an American family to maintain the same relative position in the United States."[41]

During the summer of 1926, amid the turbulent events in China and his social survey work in Beijing, Gamble joined a group of twenty-five Americans, headed by George Sherwood Eddy, for a three-week visit of the U.S.S.R. The visitors had extensive talks with government officials, as well as

workers, factory managers, lawyers, journalists, and foreigners living in Russia. While finding that the Soviet government "is frankly a dictatorship" with "a lack of freedom in Russia," Gamble also felt that Russia was undergoing a tremendous experiment in its governmental and economic organization. And "bad as things may be in Russia today, she is making progress after the suffering and loss of war, revolution and civil war. Conditions are better today than they were before the revolution."[42]

The year 1926 was also a year of major family events for the Gambles. On April 20, he reported the birth of their first child, Catherine Conover Gamble, "the biggest and most exciting event of the entire year": "Her mother says that the arrival [of the child] on March 21st is much more important than all this political news."[43] They were able to entertain Gamble's mother and aunt, Mary Huggins Gamble and Julia Huggins, and Elizabeth Gamble's parents. Later that year, the couple was saddened by the sudden death of Catherine Lowe Sears, Elizabeth Gamble's sister. She came to China in 1924 with her husband, Lawrence M. Sears, who had been appointed to supervise religious work at the Beijing YMCA

This tragic event as well as the unstable political situation in China led to a major change of plans for the Gambles. Instead of spending the winter in their new house at the American Board Compound, Gamble decided to accompany

his wife and daughter back to the United States. "Betty plans to stay on through next summer [with her parents]," Gamble wrote, "but I will have to make as fast a trip as possible and hope to be back in Peking by March 1."[44] Gamble could not afford a long absence. He had just started a major social investigation project--the study of family budgets to determine how Chinese families lived in Beijing.

NOTES

1.M.H.G. to C.J.G., March 11, 1921, unpublished correspondence, Schlesinger Library, MC 368 21/375.

2.C.J.G. to M.H.G., March 3, 1921, unpublished papers, Schlesinger Library, MC368, 21/375.

3.M.H.G. to C.J.G., March 11, 1921, unpublished papers, Schlesinger Library, MC368, 21/375.

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CHAPTER IX

NORTH CHINA VILLAGES

Gamble had begun this project in July 1926, when life in Beijing was basically quiet. His interest in home economics had been inspired by Dr. Jessica B. Peixotto, his "teacher, friend and fellow-investigator in the field of family budgets." With two Chinese assistants, he had arranged for a substantial number of families to keep account books of their income and expenditure. Anxious to supervise this investigation, Gamble sailed back to Shanghai on March 25, 1927, after a short visit to his folks at home. To his surprise, he found both the city and China in the midst of yet another political turmoil. Of his first six weeks back in China Gamble wrote: "What weeks they have been with politics, propaganda, panic, rumor, riot, revolution, refugees."[1]

Both Shanghai and Nanjing had just been taken by the Nationalist forces in their Northern Expedition to conquer the northern warlords of Wu Peifu, Zhang Zuolin and Sun Chuanfang. The Nationalist Government had been established on July 1, 1925, in Canton after the death of Sun Yat-sen in opposition to the Beijing warlord government. Within the first year, it took control of both Guangdong and Guangxi provinces, and by mid-1926, Chiang Kai-shek was appointed commander-in-chief of the Nationalist Revolutionary Army,

which mustered some 85,000 troops, including 6,000 cadets trained at the Whampoa Military Academy in Canton.[2]

The Northern Expedition could start thanks to the temporary alliance of the Guomindang (KMT) and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) through the personal efforts of Sun Yat-sen in collaboration with the Comintern. Deeply plagued by the problems of foreign imperialism, warlord strife, disunity and military weakness of his party, Sun had decided to reorganize the KMT along the Soviet lines and seek Soviet aid. At the first National Congress of the reformed KMT, held in early 1924, the new policy of alliance with the Soviet Union and the Chinese Communist Party was adopted. CCP members as individuals were permitted to join the KMT. Consequently Li Dazhao, a founding member of the CCP, was elected one of the five members of the Presidium of the KMT Congress. The Whampoa Military Academy had been founded by Chiang Kai-shek after he had spent three months in Russia studying the Soviet military system. Heading the Political Department of the Academy was none other than Zhou Enlai, a leading CCP member. The manifesto of the Congress emphasized the KMT's opposition to imperialism and warlordism, its dedication to the Three People's Principles of nationalism, democracy and livelihood, and its determination to abolish unequal treaties with foreign powers and to establish local self-government.[3]

With the death of Sun Yat-sen, the feeble KMT-CCP alliance started to disintegrate, as was reflected in the conflict between left-wing and right-wing KMT leaders. After a quick and successful campaign in central China, the Nationalist Army took control of Wuhan, Nanchang and Fuzhou, and the KMT moved its government from Canton to Wuhan in early 1927. Taking over Shanghai on March 22 and Nanjing on March 24, Chiang Kai-shek and his expeditionary forces would soon establish a rival Nationalist government in Nanjing in opposition to the Wuhan government under the control of the Comintern and the KMT left-wing. Gamble arrived in Shanghai a few days after Shanghai and Nanjing were overrun by the Nationalist forces. He was again eyewitness to the rapid events unfolding in China, and as he himself put it: "History is surely in the making and I am glad to have a first hand look at it."[4]

Gamble spent "a most interesting and exciting ten days in Shanghai" observing the movement of troops, the gathering of foreign gunboats on the Whangpoo River, martial law and curfew, the building of barricades in the foreign concessions and the International Settlement area, the surge of nationalism and anti-foreign propaganda, and the conflict within different factions of the KMT and between the KMT and CCP. As large numbers of missionaries were retreating to Shanghai from major cities along the Yangtze River, especially from Nanjing after it was taken by the Expedition

forces, Gamble was able to meet and interview them extensively about their experience.

"I found Shanghai the greatest mixture of propaganda, rumor, fact, politics, labor troubles, military preparedness, refugees, that you can imagine," Gamble wrote. "The resistance of the Northern troops proved to be unexpectedly weak and they left almost without any fighting."[5] In fact, by order of the Comintern and Stalin to avoid a "split" with Chiang Kai-shek, the Communist-dominated Labor Union had staged a general strike, mobilized its armed pickets, fought the local garrison, and won control of the city from within.[6]

The situation in Shanghai was more or less peaceful because the Expedition troops met with virtually no resistance. But Gamble reported considerable looting and burning in some districts by the so-called guerilla forces, otherwise known as plain-clothes soldiers. "There were a lot of bullets flying over and one group of armed men even rushed the barbed wire barrier, broke their way into the Settlement and there was some street fighting.... At some of the streets the soldiers had kept the guerrillas out only by firing into them and quite a number were killed and wounded."[7]

What added to the tense situation in Shanghai was the "Nanjing Incident" that took place on March 25, the same day that Nanjing was taken by the Expedition forces. As the

Second, Sixth, and Fortieth Army Corps of the Northern Expedition forces were moving into Nanjing, foreign residences were attacked, ransacked, looted and burned. Foreign missionaries, business, diplomats were physically assaulted for money and valuables. Two Roman Catholic priests and the vice-president of the University of Nanjing, John Williams, were killed. The British Consul General and a Presbyterian missionary were among the wounded. During the ordeal, most foreigners gathered at the University of Nanjing, the British Consulate, or the compound of the Standard Oil Company. British and U.S. warships arriving from Shanghai fired a round of shells into the city and were able to evacuate most of the Westerners to Shanghai. As a result of the Nanjing Incident and on consulate order, most of the 8,000 Protestant missionaries left their posts along the Yangtze Valley by July. They either returned to their home countries for furloughs, or retreated to Shanghai, Japan, or Korea to help with the work there.[8]

The Nanjing Incident occurred at a time when nationalism and anti-imperialism became the overriding goal of the leading political parties and the aspiration of the student organizations, trade unions, and the general public.[9] The surge of nationalism and anti-imperialism since the May Fourth Movement of 1919 and the spread of radical ideas of Communism had given rise to anti-foreign sentiment, especially anti-Christian feelings. Gamble was witness to

the repercussions of the second major anti-Christian movement in China.

While the first upheaval of anti-Christian movement appeared in 1920-22 as an "expression of the iconoclasm and scientism" of the New Culture Movement and an offspring of the 1919 May Fourth Movement, the second upheaval developed in 1924-28 amidst the rising national sentiment for the restoration of educational rights. And it came to a climax with the Northern Expedition in the wake of the May Thirtieth massacre.

Gamble personally witnessed the arrival of Nanjing refugees in Shanghai and was able to conduct extensive interviews during the Nanjing Incident. As he had friends not only in Nanjing, but also in Hangzhou, Jiujiang, Suzhou, Zhenjiang and Hankou, he was able to write a detailed report to both the National Committee of the YMCA at home and to his family. During his ten days in Shanghai, Gamble called on Mrs. Williams and her child who were on their way to the United States. The Williams had been Gamble's family friend and Gamble was most impressed with the way Mrs. Williams was taking the death of her husband: "She is much less bitter than many of the other Nanjing people and insists that it wasn't the real China that was in action at Nanjing when Dr. Williams was killed."[10]

Scholars who have written on the Nanjing Incident do not agree on its cause and motive. Some attributed it to the

conduct of the Northern army troops. Others maintained it was an outburst of the nationalist and anti-imperialistic sentiment among officers and soldiers of the Expedition forces. Still others suggest that it was a premeditated act by the left-wing leaders of the Second, Sixth and Fortieth Army Corps, and that Lin Boqu, the political commissar of the Sixth Army, might have been the organizer.[11] Through his extensive interviews with friends from Nanjing and Shanghai, Gamble came to a different conclusion:

> In general it seems evident that the trouble in Nanjing was the result of a plan or plot to embarrass Chiang Kai-shek. Some two weeks before he had publicly declared that communism was not a proper economic program for China. The radical group apparently felt that their program would suffer if Chiang captured Nanjing and secured control of the entire Shanghai area. By attacking the foreigners they attempted to get Chiang into trouble and to draw in the foreign nations.[12]

Though further evidence is needed to confirm these explanations, it is safe to conclude that it was an organized act that exploited the general nationalistic and anti-imperialistic sentiments. These came in the wake of the May Thirtieth Massacre and at the height of the Northern Expedition to quell warlord militarism. How nationalism and anti-imperialism turned into anti-foreign and anti-Christian sentiment is best described by the story of Meng Tianpei, Gamble's collaborator of a year earlier in the study of Beijing prices, wages and the standard of living. Gamble learned in Shanghai that Meng, "one of the finest men they have turned out from Yenching recently," had gone to Canton

to do some social survey work for the National Christian Council in connection with the Canton YMCA and had been "badly bitten by the new ideas:"

> He came back, resigned and in his resignation repudiated Christianity completely. He has gone to Hankou and the latest reports say that he has the title of Lt. Colonel in the propaganda division and is in charge of all propaganda for Henan province. With him are working a considerable number of Yenching students. It's disappointing to have him go that way but it is easy to see he is anxious to have a share in the new day of his country.[13]

The Nanjing Incident and the Shanghai experience made Gamble wonder how he would be able to carry on his research on family budgets in Beijing. "Shanghai was planning," he wrote of another research group in Shanghai, "to get some research work on family budgets going about the 1st of the year but things have been too much upset for any work like that. It begins to look as tho [sic] I would be lucky if I can carry my families thru [sic] six months."[14] When he arrived in Beijing by way of Qingdao, Jinan, and Tianjin, the excitement of the Nanjing Incident was basically over. He could report that the research work had gone on well while he was away. "We have gathered a great mass of material on the history of prices, and present day family accounts," he wrote. "The price study is almost completed with some figures going back to 1830. I am hoping the family budget study can go on until December 1st, and complete the accounts for an entire year."[15]

Under Gamble's direction, two graduates of Yenching University's Department of Sociology, Wang Hechen (Wang Ho-ch'en) and Liang Renhe (Liang Jen-ho), had undertaken to persuade Chinese families to keep an account of their income and expenditure. This was not an easy job because most Chinese families were either unaccustomed to account-keeping or suspicious of investigators. Moreover, because many families were illiterate, a writer had to call in every day or every other day to monitor the record keeping. Gamble's initial goal was to solicit 100 families. But owing to the efforts of the field-workers, plus "friendship, tact, and the payment of one dollar a month to the poorer families and a gift of fruit and tea at festival time to those with larger incomes," over 300 families were persuaded to keep accounts for one year starting from December 1, 1926.[16]

The account-keeping had continued during Gamble's absence. Although a few families stopped after a few months and a few others were incomplete, Gamble and his assistants were able to secure the complete records of 283 families between December 1, 1926 through November 30th, 1927. The income disparity between these families ranged from a low of $8.05 a month to a high of $552.10. Of the 283 families, 116 had an average income of less than $25 a month, 187 averaged with less than $50, and 38 received more than $100.[17]

The results of this study were eventually published in <u>How Families Live in Peiping</u> in 1933, which became a classic

in the field. The only other study conducted on family budgets was Gamble's own work on the household accounts of two Chinese families. A similar study, Livelihood in Peking, was being undertaken around the same time by the social research department of the China Foundation for the Promotion of Education and Culture, the organization established to handle the second part of the returned American Boxer Indemnity funds. But it covered only forty-eight families and for only over a six-months period.[18]

Gamble's purpose in conducting the study was made clear in the quotations inserted directly before the main text, one from a Chinese proverb, and the other, from Sun Yat-sen, founder of the Chinese republic. There were "seven things to worry about," the proverb says, "when you throw open your door each morning--fuel, rice, oil, salt, soy, vinegar, tea." As the people's livelihood was one of Sun's "Three People's Principles" in the Chinese Republican Revolution, he warned against lip service paid to the phrase "Guoji Minsheng"--national welfare and the people's livelihood. "But if, in this day of scientific knowledge, we will bring the phrase into the realm of scientific discussion and study its social and economic implications, we shall find that it takes on an immeasurable significance." Sun also stated that "livelihood is the center of government, the center of economics, the center of all historical movements.... When we have made a thorough investigation of this central

problem, then we can find a way to a solution of the social problem."[19]

One reason for the study, according to Gamble, was the expectation that major political and economic change was approaching:

> Trade-unions were being organized in many cities and were increasing wages, prices had been going up, and there were many groups opposed to the Peiching (Peking) government. A study of family budgets made at that time would anticipate the coming change, would give a picture of conditions in a large non-industrial city before the change would take place, and would provide a point of departure for measuring the changes and development of the new regime.[20]

The change occurred when the Nationalist Government was established in Nanjing in 1928, and as a result, Beijing (Northern Capital) was renamed Beiping (Northern Peace). Contrary to Gamble's expectation for future comparable studies and owing to the political upheaval in both Beijing and China, no similar studies of family budgets have since been conducted.

Gamble had a representative sample of families. They scattered in eighteen of the twenty police districts inside the city walls, and their income levels ranged from the poor to the middle class. These families were engaged in sixty-three different occupations including rickshaw pullers, peddlers, servants, store-keepers, clerks and accountants, teachers, laundry workers, seamstress, nurses and small real estate owners. Twenty family budgets were included in the book to serve as concrete examples of "what, according to

the Chinese scale, might be said to constitute a minimum, a fair, a reasonable standard of living."[21] To better understand the picture, Gamble made comparative studies of the expenditures on food, clothing, rent, heat and miscellanies in the family budgets of different countries which included the United States, India, Japan, Belgium and Australia. Almost half of the families Gamble studied, for example, spent over 50 percent of their budget for food, and some of the families spent more than 80 percent. Friedrich Engel's law of expenditures for food--the proportion for food regularly decreased as the family income increased--was "evidently true" for Beijing.[22]

"It is almost incredible," commented one reviewer of the book, "how the Chinese manage to pay their rents and their grocery bills; they marry off their children; bury their dead; give feasts and make presents and so relieve the monotonies of life. Behind these figures, so conscientiously gathered, lie concealed tales of amazing endurance, of individual and family co-operation that would do justice to any novel."[23]

As to weddings and funerals, two of the most important customs of Chinese life, Gamble was able to provide rich and unique descriptions. They were based on the wedding accounts of ten families and funeral accounts of seventeen families collected during the course of field studies of family budgets. Being outstanding events in familial life, weddings

and funerals were recorded with special care, even though daily receipts and expenses were not. Not only were expenditures listed, but more important, the names of those contributing money to help cover the expensive event were recorded. Such accounts were generally quite complete and accurate because they were usually handled by a friend or relative and would be used for future reference by the family when its turn came to contribute to similar events.[24]

Although for Gamble there was enough work to keep him busy, "the unsettled [political] conditions plus family health problems" led to his decision in late 1927 to quit China temporarily. "It is difficult to leave Peking," he wrote, "where we have had the thrill of seeing history in the making, where we have had a wonderful group of friends, and many interests, and where there is work in sight to keep me busy for at least three years."[25] There was indeed the consolatory knowledge that he had now collected vast materials and data on Chinese family budgets, the history of prices, and the daily wages for unskilled laborers going back to the 19th century.

Moreover, Gamble was deeply interested in finding a rural community where socio-economic surveys of Chinese village life might be conducted. The appeal of such a project grew out of earlier travels in southwestern and

eastern China. It was also inspired by Arthur H. Smith and his influential study, Village Life in China, published in 1899. Smith's book was, and continues to be, according to anthropologist Myron Cohen, one of the "vital sources for data on Chinese society during the late nineteenth century."[26] But Smith was neither a trained anthropologist nor sociologist, and his approach was mostly of a general description of the Chinese rural society. It was hardly a study of community life.

War, we have seen, forced Gamble to give up his original plan for a social and economic study of Tongxian, a rural district near Beijing. In early 1926, however, Gamble became associated with James Y. C. Yen, a Christian convert, Yale graduate, and a former secretary for the Chinese YMCA, who was heading the National Association of the Mass Education Movement(MEM). Gamble met Yen not long after he returned to China and was impressed by his pioneering efforts to teach ordinary people how to read and write.

After graduating from Yale in 1918, James Yen joined the War Work Council of the International Y.M.C.A. in France and was assigned to work with the coolies in the Chinese Labor Corps camps in Boulogne. Since most of the Chinese laborers sent out to help in the war effort were illiterate, the indispensable duty of a Chinese secretary was to translate news items in the press and help them read and write letters to and from families at home. Yen decided to

start an evening class in literacy for these Chinese laborers. Before long, they were able to read and write simple letters and to read the news.[27]

Yen eventually returned to China in 1920, after receiving an MA degree in history and politics at Princeton. He decided to dedicate himself to the mass education of China's millions. Encouraged by the New Culture movement but prompted by a deep belief in working with ordinary people, Yen wrote his own text of basic Chinese, the People's 1,000 Character Primer, and started a nation-wide literacy campaign.[28] An ordinary Chinese was able to learn these basic characters in ninety-six hours, an hour a day for four months.[29]

When Gamble first met Yen, the Mass Education Movement had established its headquarters in Beijing and brought literacy to thousands. Gamble felt that this was a hopeful movement instilled with a Christian ideal and closely associated with the YMCA and YWCA. It represented an effort to solve China's problems from the bottom up--a basic education for hundreds of millions of common laborers and peasant farmers.[30]

Gamble's original aim of social and economic surveys in a rural district near Beijing coincided with the MEM's literacy programs in the same areas. To capitalize on Gamble's rich experience in social surveys, James Yen invited him to be a secretary of MEM's Research Department,

the only foreign secretary in the movement. Unfortunately for both Gamble and Yen, their plans were frustrated by the coup of warlord Zhang Zuolin. But Gamble's association with the MEM would in time help him realize his goal of investigating social and economic life in rural China.

By the time Gamble returned to Beijing after a short stay in the States late in 1926, he was able to report the success of the MEM's literacy campaigns. "The work goes right on," Gamble wrote, "in spite of disturbed conditions and the Association has been able to work with both the Northern and the Southern governments and generals. Already it has been able to reach millions, for they have sold over three million copies of their text books."[31] Meanwhile, the MEM had decided to expand its rural programs. The National Committee of the MEM headed by James Yen had chosen Dingxian, a rural community some 200 miles south of Beijing, for an extensive rural reconstruction program.

Dingxian was selected because James Yen and his associates hoped to do more than just teach people to read. They wanted to explore other programs that might benefit and educate the rural populace, such as new irrigation systems, improved crops, better ways of raising cattle and poultry, more economical ways of cooking and heating, and so on. To develop and implement their programs effectively at Dingxian, the MEM secretaries decided to conduct an

intensive social and economic survey, collecting figures on farm management and farm enterprise.[32]

As a research secretary for the MEM, Gamble was invited to visit Dingxian in the spring of 1927 and help plan the survey. "It was my good fortune," Gamble wrote, "to visit this piece of social work last spring. I was a bit hesitant about leaving Peking but my Chinese friends assured me that if there was any disturbance I would have at least 120,000 Chinese who would protect me. There wasn't the slightest bit of trouble, nothing but the finest sort of reception."[33]

The success and popularity of the MEM was obvious to Gamble. "All through the district the name of the Mass Education Association was a password," he reported. "It even opened doors in the middle of the night when one of the secretaries was caught out in the rain." And he continued: "So far they have had the finest sort of co-operation from the people and seem to have won their entire confidence. In one village the people have given them about 200 acres of land to use for an experimental farm, playground, etc."[34] What Gamble saw at Dingxian was a completely different picture from that in Shanghai just a few weeks earlier:

> The Mass Education people had a big parade of their students, marching to the village stage where they gave a Mass Education play. I wish I could describe for you the sea of faces that crowded in under the mat shed roof. The people were packed so closely that from the stage they looked like nothing but faces. After the play the secretaries got the people to sing the Mass Education song, words set to a Chinese tune, and going

home along the country roads we could hear the people singing the song.[35]

Gamble was most impressed with the dedication and enthusiasm of Yen and the MEM secretaries:

> It has been thrilling to have a little part in planning the survey work, and to know the enthusiastic young Chinese who are carrying on this educational experiment. The spirit in the group is wonderful. Recently when funds were low, they decided to accept a cut of from 20 to 30 percent in their salaries, and carry on with the work. The movement is attracting many men of high ability and thorough training (Ph.D's are numerous) who are discouraged over the political prospect but find in the Mass Education work an opportunity for service that is very satisfying.[36]

The short stay at Dingxian gave Gamble "a fine glimpse of country life" because he was able to visit the villages, converse with many of the townsfolk, attend the rural temple fair, visit the People's Schools, and most important, draw an outline for a social survey of Dingxian. Gamble decided to subsidize the planned survey with $8,400 a year for three years. A Department of Social Survey under the MEM was established with Gamble as director. Franklin C.H. Lee, who had earned an MA in sociology at Columbia and accepted Gamble's invitation to assist in the social survey of Beijing, his home town, became the Chinese director while Gamble was away.[37]

Gamble's interest in the Dingxian survey and experiment persisted after he returned to the United States in late 1927. He kept in close contact with Yen, Lee and the Department of Social Survey on the progress of the MEM programs in Dingxian. Shortly after the Gambles were settled

in a new home at Riverdale, New York, and when the situation in China stabilized with the Nationalists in control, Gamble returned to China for the fourth sojourn.

By this time, the summer of 1931, he had been elected president of the newly founded Princeton-Yenching Foundation, which took over the work of Princeton-in-Peking. In addition to fulfilling his administrative and budgeting duties at the Yenching University, Gamble spent most of his time living in the headquarters of the National Association of the Mass Education Movement in Dingxian. For six months he worked as a resident research secretary, "living in a Chinese house, eating Chinese food" with expenses less than $15.00 Gold a month. "Living in Tinghsien," he wrote, "was truly life in the interior with the Chinese.... There were only six foreigners in town, a Salvation Army family and two of us working with the Mass Education Movement, but the days were always full of interest, we were never lonely and it was a privilege to have had a part in the social survey program of the Association."[38]

He reported having a great time working on the abundant materials that had been gathered by the Social Survey Department of the MEM and coordinating further research and studies. Gamble's collaboration with the MEM Research Department, as well as with the Department of Sociology of Yenching University in a cooperative survey of village life in northern China, led to the publication of two other

books, Ting Hsien: A North China Rural Community (1954) and North China Villages (1963), which again became classic studies of north China rural life.

Gamble's book on Dingxian benefited from the Chinese language report of the Dingxian survey which was published in three volumes in 1933 and 1936, co-authored by Franklin Ching-han Lee and Shih-wen Chang. He was able to use considerable amount of new statistical material unavailable for the Chinese report. Ting Hsien deals with the organization and activities of a group of 454 villages, towns, and walled cities in a sample county in north China which "gives a picture of how, during those years (1926-1933), the residents of one political unit lived, worked, organized their political life, studied, played, and worshiped."[39] Again, Gamble wanted to make this study as a "base line from which to measure the many changes brought by the new day."[40]

The significance of Gamble's research was made clear in Yen's foreword to the book. Yen not only attributed the establishment of the Department of Social Survey under the MEM to Gamble, but also credited him for the expansion of the MEM's programs for the economic and social betterment of the Dingxian community. "This idea and practice of social surveys," he pointed out, "has been an indispensable aid to social planning... I believe this social survey has contributed more than any other single factor to a

scientific approach to the social and economic problems of the Chinese peasants... Mr. Gamble has not only made a real contribution to the rural reconstruction program in China, but his work will also serve as a guide and an inspiration to conscientious students and workers who are interested in raising the economic and social standard of the underdeveloped peoples of the world."[41]

The cooperation of Gamble and the Department of Sociology under the direction of Leonard Shih-lien Hsu, a sociologist with a PhD from the University of Iowa, led to both an intensive and extensive study of rural north China. Intensive studies of sample villages around Beijing were organized and the enthusiasm of the participating sociology students--natives of Shandong, Hebei, Henan and Shanxi--was contagious and led to later surveys of their native villages. Unfortunately, the Chinese report of this study and a considerable amount of untabulated field material were lost when the Japanese invaded Beijing in 1937, which made Gamble's North China Villages even more valuable.[42]

North China Villages offers a basic picture of social, political and economic organizations and activities of rural north China before 1933. It covers such topics as village associations, village leaders, crop-watching societies, village education, guard, granaries, and religious life, and village finance. "The story of how they financed their activities is probably unique," Gamble wrote, "for that side

of village life has been given little if any consideration by other investigators."[43] Detailed stories of eleven sample villages in suburban Beijing, and in Hebei, Henan, Shandong, and Shanxi provinces are especially valuable because they provide primary source material of a bygone period in China's history.

Gamble was probably the first Western social scientist to undertake a systematic sociological study of the peasant life and economy in north China. To this very day, historians, anthropologists, and sociologists studying Chinese village life, especially rural life in northern China, consult the rich source materials of his books. Major recent studies of north China peasant economy, such as Ramon Meyers's Chinese Peasant Economy: Agricultural Development in Hopei and Shantung, 1890-1949 (1970), Philip C.C. Huang's Peasant Economy and Social Change in North China (1985), and Prasenjit Duara's Culture, Power, and the State--Rural North China 1900-1942 (1988), are based on later primary sources from the six-volume investigation of north China conducted by the Japanese Manchurian Railway Company in 1940-42 during Japan's occupation of north China. But these authors invariably supplemented their research with Gamble's books. Duara believed that Gamble's work provided "the best estimate of village finances in North China before the Japanese invasion."[44] Anthropologist Myron Cohen's most recent study on lineage organization in north China

concluded likewise. Referring to Gamble's valuable findings of rural family life, Cohen testified: "Everybody uses Gamble in my field, because he systematically collected and systematically presented a wealth of data on rural North China."[45]

Gamble left China in early 1932 shortly after the Japanese attacked Shanghai to open a second front, a tactical decision to divert international attention from the occupation of Manchuria. Japan's military ambition in China was clear to Gamble. Returning home via Japan, he observed Japanese propaganda and militarism with deep repugnance:

> Last night in Kobe I saw many processions marching through the streets. With flags and lanterns and many Banzais, they were giving a send off to soldiers soon to start for China. The papers are full of stories of Chinese atrocities, the lies of the Chinese saying the Japanese have been killing women and children, the disinterestedness of the Japanese in China, the false reports the Chinese are making to the League of Nations, all the usual stories that circulate when the military start operations and morale must be built up. The creation of the new state in Manchuria is the one thing that the 30,000,000 people living there have been hoping for![46]

China's changing political situation as well as growing family responsibilities prevented Gamble from again returning to the East Asia. But the study of East Asian rural life remained his lifelong interest. In addition to tabulating the rich materials he brought home from China and publishing them, he sponsored two additional monographs on village life. One was an interdisciplinary study of two

Taiwanese villages and the other involved three clan villages in Korea.

During the 1950s, Gamble developed the idea for a series of comparative studies to be undertaken on Taiwanese village life in coordination with the newly founded Tunghai University in Taiwan, the Christian institution that succeeded Yenching University as a sister university of Princeton. Gamble wanted an empirical basis of comparison with his own earlier research and that of his contemporaries. With the coordination of the departments of sociology, political science and economics at Tunghai, field work was conducted in 1960 and 1961. For various reasons, however, Two Taiwanese Villages, did not come off press until 1976, after Gamble died. A statistical comparison of selected findings from this work with Gamble's earlier studies on north China was made by Vincent Yung-mei Ts'ai of Tunghai, but we do not know whether the work eventually appeared in print.[47]

The Changing Korean Village was the result of a field study conducted in 1961 and 1962 by Pak Ki-hyuk, a young Korean agricultural economist who was concerned with recording cultural and social conditions in his country before these were "swallowed up in a welter of 'modernization'" developments. Gamble sponsored the research with the hope that this companion study would serve as a basis of cultural comparison. He offered expert commentary

and reactions on Pak's preliminary results but did not live long enough to see the book in print. According to one critic, The Changing Korean Village "provides a glimpse into a disappearing, if not entirely vanished, Korea, and establishes a base point for further comparative study."[48]

Gamble's last contribution to the study of Chinese rural life was the publication in 1970, again posthumously, of Chinese Village Plays. This collection of forty-eight rural plays, alternately called yangge, or "rice planting songs," was first recorded by Gamble's Chinese staff at Dingxian. Gamble organized the project and later edited the English translation. This final work significantly increased the number of traditional Chinese plays in English from some eighty to one hundred and thirty. More important, forty-two of these plays "have no trace in the repertories of either the Peking Opera or other major regional dramas," according to one student of Chinese theatre.[49] Gamble's interest in these plays, however, was sociological rather than aesthetic or theatrical, as can be seen by his classification of the plays in such categories as boys and girls, filial piety, chastity, husband and wife, and mother-in-law and daughter-in-law.

NOTES

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6.Hsu, op. cit., p. 527.

7.Sidney D. Gamble, op. cit.

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CHAPTER X

GRAFLEX CAMERA

Gamble's social and economic surveys of Chinese urban and rural life invariably used his own photographs for illustrations. A life-long interest in Chinese life was accompanied and heightened by a life-long interest in the art of photography. As Jonathan D. Spence aptly pointed out, Gamble

> came at China from three different perspectives out of which he somehow managed to fashion a coherent unity. The three were, first, his deep conviction of the relevance of Christian teaching to China's plight; second, his training in social sciences and economics, which enabled him to accumulate the data that would engender creative changes; and third, his love of photography, which would add the camera's eye to his own effort to focus on the crisis of his time.[1]

In addition to his own books, Gamble's photographs on China had been used by the National Geographic Magazine as well as by numerous authors.[2] But no one seemed to have realized the size and value of his unpublished photographic collection, or indeed whether any collection existed at all, until it was rediscovered in 1984 "by accident and through a series of quite extraordinary coincidences," according to Gamble's eldest daughter, Catherine Gamble Curran.

As they were growing up, Catherine Gamble and her two sisters and brother were well aware of their father's interest in photography. "Family expeditions would see him draped about with cameras and light meters," Curran wrote,

"and one or the other of us was often delegated, not without protest, to help carry some of the equipment."[3] She had vivid memories of her father "in the library at home, surrounded by piles of papers, slide rule in hand, as he worked on his books or, at his big desk, turning the wheels of his splicing machine." She had leafed through his books and glanced at the photographic illustrations, but "hadn't the experience or the knowledge to realize what a priceless legacy they represent."[4]

At a meeting of the board of trustees of Princeton-in-Asia in 1984, of which Catherine G. Curran was a member, she was completely surprised to see "projected on a wall some beautiful although strangely-colored transparencies of Chinese scenes identified as having been taken by my father." The newly appointed executive director of Princeton-in-Asia, James P. Eyster, was fascinated by the history of the organization and the important role Gamble had played in its development. Trying to find more about Mr. Gamble, Eyster arranged an interview with Elizabeth Lowe Gamble and, during the interview, "was directed by her to a closet on the third floor of the house where he found rosewood boxes containing several hundred hand-colored glass slides and shoe boxes stuffed with what turned out to be nearly six thousand black and white negatives."[5]

These well-preserved negatives and color-slides, plus thirty reels of movie film discovered later by Curran and

her sister, were taken by Sidney D. Gamble in China, Japan, Korea and the Soviet Union between 1908 and 1933, during his four sojourns of working and travelling in East Asia. Being a meticulous scholar, Gamble not only numbered the films and slides, but also wrote captions for them, designating the place, time, content of each photograph. Like his published works, this unpublished collection of photographs is yet another treasure house of sources on the social and economic history of early Republican China. As novelist John Hersey put it:

> With his extraordinary eye, with his words and his photographs, Sidney Gamble caught a China of the past, but also glimpses of humanity as it always has been and always will be.[6]

Gamble grew up at a time when modern photography became a distinctive and separate art form through the organization of the Photo-Secession in 1902 in New York City by a number of professional photographers. The first journal of photography, Camera Work, appeared a year later and introduced the work of leading European and American photographers to the public.[7] Modern photography developed rapidly in the late nineteenth century due to major technological breakthroughs: the introduction of smaller camera and negatives when enlargement was made possible; George Eastman's innovation of the roll of clear plastic coated with gelatin emulsion in 1889, and the successful use of photographs in mass-circulating newspapers eight years

later.[8] These developments made it possible for both professional and amateur photographers to take the pictures, send the roll off to be processed, and receive the prints by mail.

Gamble's life as an amateur photographer could be divided into three periods: the beginning years when photography was basically a hobby; the formative years when it was his extracurricular activity; and the years of maturity when documentary photography was part of his sociological inquiry into the Chinese society, and when photography for him had become an art form.

Gamble's interest in photography was influenced by his father, who had a mechanical bent, loved gadgets, and was himself a fan of the camera. Given his influence, photography became a hobby for two of his sons, Sidney and Clarence. Sidney Gamble received his first telescope lens in 1900 and a photo prize of a 5x7 camera three years later, which began his courtship with photography. Ever since his secondary school days in Cincinnati and at Thacher School in Ojai, California, he had experimented with photographic techniques, taking pictures of school events, and winning prizes for his work. The eponymous founder of Thacher School wrote to him in 1907: "I appreciate highly the fine work you did as a photographer. It has given us all a great deal of pleasure to have the results of your work."[9]

This hobby for young Gamble was enhanced by family travels at home and abroad. Photography and travel contributed to his favorite subject of study at Princeton, physical geography, and he would later become a life-long member of both the American Geographical Society and the Royal Geographic Society of London.[10]

For Sidney D. Gamble, the most memorable family travel was the 1908 trip to Japan, China and Korea, which was also his first serious effort to capture photographic images of a different culture. On this trip, Gamble, together with his younger brother, Clarence, took over 300 photographs which featured major attractions of Japanese and Korea cities and their stay in Shanghai and Hangzhou.[11]

Eventually photography became more than a hobby for Gamble. During the years at Princeton, it became an important part of his extracurricular activity, a service to the student publications, a little business for himself, and a chance both to improve his professional skills and to develop artistically in his photography.

Gamble was able to secure an extra bedroom at Princeton which served both as a store room and a dark room. He wrote at the beginning of his sophomore year in 1909 that "I was right on the job during horsing season and got a good bunch of pictures." After the photos were shown to the Freshmen, Gamble was able to send in an order to Eastman which "will

bring me in $114.00," a sum that would cover the expense of an auto Graflex that he had just purchased.[12]

Gamble was often called on to photograph college sports and other events for publication in such campus publications as the undergraduate yearbook, The Princeton Bric-a-Brac, and The Daily Princetonian. He tried to put together a set of pictures about Princeton and have them published in a book, but reported with disappointment that "once more my set of Princeton pictures is getting shot to pieces. I don't seem to make much headway with getting them into books."[13] In his first camping tour of the Yellowstone National Park with the Dummers family soon after his graduation from Princeton, Gamble worked at capturing the scenery, which earned him a stanza in the "camp song":

> There's Sidney who's often out hunting for game.
> As a very good shot he has made quite a name.
> He hunts with a camera and not with a gun,
> And when he goes fishing he sometimes gets one.[14]

Gamble had considered the prospect of a photographic exploration of China ever since the family's first trip to the Orient in 1908. Even before his initial visit to China, Gamble had been exposed to the works of such pioneering photographers as Felice A. Beato and John Thompson who had captured Chinese society during the second half of the nineteenth century. During his stay in Hangzhou, Gamble and Robert Fitch, a friend and later a colleague, had met a Professor Knight who was teaching at a government university

in Chengdu, capital of Sichuan province. Knight showed them part of his collection of the pictures he took in that region, which fascinated both Gamble and Fitch. "He was but an amateur," Fitch recalled later, "his work was very imperfect, yet it revealed a country that was a paradise for both photographer and explorer."[15]

Even before early 1917, when Fitch told him of the plan for an extended photographic trip up the Yangtze River, into the hinterland of Sichuan and possibly Tibet, Gamble was a skilled photographer ready for some serious accomplishment. There were precedents, such as Ernst Boerschmann, a German photographer who tried to capture the timeless images of Chinese landscape, religion, and architecture shortly before the death of the Qing dynasty. But Gamble would go further. He would add the aspirations of a missionary and the insight of a trained social economist and sociologist to the camera eye. They would give his photographs a special touch, by combining historical, aesthetic, social and humanistic values. Gamble took over 1,000 photographs in the 1917 Yangtze expedition and later added 4,000 more, covering north, central, east, southeast and south China. It constituted a unique collection comparable to the works of any of the major photographers of China.

The camera opened the hidden face of imperial China following close on the heels of Western cannon balls of the

Opium Wars (1839-1860) which opened up Chinese ports. Felice A. Beato, the first Western photographer to work in north China and Beijing, was the semi-official photographer of the Anglo-French North China Expeditionary Force that took the Dagu forts in Tianjin and occupied Beijing in 1860 during the Second Opium War (1858-1960). He captured scenes of the abandoned forts strewn with dead Chinese soldiers and later made the only known photographs of Yuan Ming Yuan, the Old Summer Palace, known for its imperial palaces which were burned down by the Anglo-French forces.[16] Commercial photographers followed him, as China opened up its major ports. M. Miller, another European photographer, established himself in Hong Kong and Canton and concentrated on portrait photography. John Thomson, a Scottish photographer, travelled 5,000 miles along coastal and inland China roads. In addition to Beijing and Tianjin, he sailed up the Yangtze River to the borders of Hubei and Sichuan. Thomson was undoubtedly the best known and most productive of the Western photographers of imperial China in the nineteenth century.[17]

The early 1900s brought a flourishing of amateur photography owing to smaller cameras and celluloid film. In pace with the development of professional and commercial photography in China, leading amateur photographers also followed in the wake of Western gunboats and commercial expansion. In addition, Westerners who came to China as

missionaries, educators, scientists, diplomats, etc., at times brought cameras in their baggage. Thus a large number of amateurs were taking pictures, and many photographs of China found their way into books, museums and private collections. But only a few made significant contributions, and again they were Europeans.

Ernest Henry Wilson, an English botanist who was assigned to China by the Royal Botanical Gardens at Kew and the Arnold Arboretum at Harvard, was one of the leading amateur photographers. What began as a trip that would photograph different species of Chinese plant life led to 1,500 pictures of villages, landscapes and ethnographic types.[18] Wilson was probably one of the first photographers to venture into the hitherto inaccessible northwestern China of Sichuan province; and his A Naturalist in Western China (1913) was the result. Two other leading amateur photographers at roughly the same time were both businessmen. John Arnold worked for the Hong Kong, Canton and Macao Steamboat Company, which gave him opportunities to photograph the waterways of that area to be included in his A Handbook to Canton and the West River (1910). Donald Mennie, first of Mactavish & Lehman & Co. in Beijing and later of A.S. Watson & Co., tried to capture the disappearing images of the imperial capital a few years before Gamble; and his The Pageant of Peking (1920),

employing the technique of photogravure, offered a romantic view of China.[19]

Gamble himself was the first American photographer to record China with a depth and scope comparable to any of these earlier Europeans. He travelled as many miles in China as John Thomson, if not more, covering a dozen provinces and numerous cities. His photographs, over a twenty-five-year time span, were of both imperial and early Republican China. His extensive coverage of Western Sichuan and Beijing was as arresting as the works of Ernest H. Wilson and Donald Mennie.

Gamble's photographic style was at once documentary, illustrative, ethnographic, sociological and artistic. His camera bore witness to important social and historical events during his four China sojourns. Of these the most significant were the great flood of Tianjin and north China in 1918 (Fig. 1-2), the Armistice celebration in the forbidden City (Fig. 3-4), the 1919 May 4th Movement student demonstrations (Fig. 5-6), the state funeral of Sun Yat-sen in 1925 (Fig. 7-8), the May 30th Massacre and demonstration (Fig. 9-10), and the Mass Education Movement at Dingxian (Fig. 11-12).

Fig. 1 Tianjin, Flooded Country (100/563)

Fig. 2 Tianjin, Fuel, Salvation Army (119/673)

Fig. 3 Beijing Forbidden City, Thanksgiving Day Review (217/1212)

Fig. 4 Beijing Forbidden City, Thanksgiving Day Review, President Coming Upstairs (218/1219)

Fig. 5 Beijing, June 3 Students Speaking, YMCA Building (260/1489)

Fig. 6 Beijing, June 4 Student Arrest, Qinghua Students (261/1791)

Fig. 7 Beijing, Sun's Funeral Hearse Front (484/2790)

Fig. 8 Beijing, Sun's Funeral Hearse Close (483/2785)

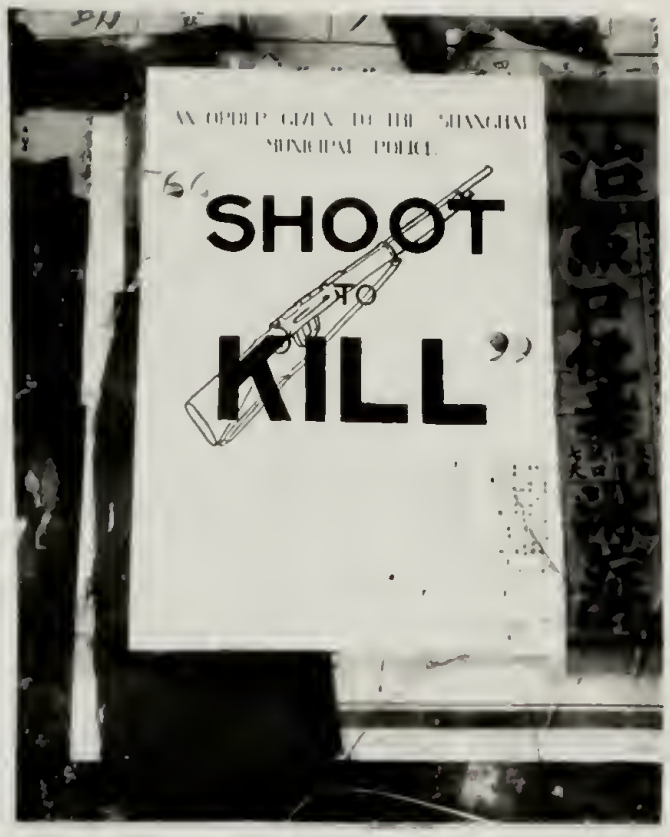

Fig. 9 Beijing, "Shoot to Kill"
(527/3052)

Fig. 10 Beijing, Student Lecture
(527/3051)

Fig. 11 Dingxian, Model Squash
(625/3651)

Fig. 12 Dingxian, Courtyard
Classroom (638/3730)

Gamble's photography was in much the same spirit as that of Lewis Hine, the leading figure in Twentieth Centurydocumentary photography; and his documentation of the May 4th Movement is a case in point. The rediscovery of Gamble's photographic collection in 1984 led first to the publication in 1988 of Sidney D. Gamble's China 1917-1932--Photographs of the Land and Its People, and then to the travelling exhibition, "China Between Revolutions--Photographs by Sidney D. Gamble 1917-1927," organized by the Sidney D. Gamble Foundation for China Studies and the China Institute in America in collaboration with the Smithsonian Institution. The exhibition, scheduled to travel across the United States until 1993, opened at the China Institute in America in New York City on June 29, 1989, shortly after tanks crushed the student demonstration in Tiananmen Square. Fresh with memories of the bloody scenes in Beijing on June 3rd and 4th, viewers were astonished to find Gamble's pictures of similar student demonstration in Beijing taken seventy years earlier almost to the day.

Gamble in fact recorded the major events in the first six months of the May 4th Movement in Beijing: student demonstrations in Tiananmen; students from Beijing and Qinghua universities lecturing in major street corners of Beijing on June 3rd, 4th and 5th; the arrest of students;

the temporary prisons where students were confined before being released; and city-wide demonstrations later in the year.

As unofficial photographer, Gamble was able to give Sun Yat-sen's state funeral of March 20, 1925, detailed and graphic coverage. Having an anthropological interest in Chinese funerals in general, he was also aware that Sun had "been one of the interesting and influential characters of the early years of the Republic and certainly has filled a great place in Chinese history."[20] The state funeral for Sun would be a significant and rare photographic event. Gamble documented the entire ceremony that started at a compound of the Peking Union Medical College and concluded in Central Park which was soon to be renamed Zhongshan Park after Sun's name.

Gamble invariably used his own photographs to illustrate aspects of his socio-economic surveys. These were top quality photographs that conveyed effective and lasting visual images of Chinese urban and rural life so meticulously described with his pen. Included in his books on Beijing were photographs of a Tongxian shoemaker, a well-to-do aristocrat, mule litter, the "indestructible" Beijing cart, camel transportation, "running water" on wheel-barrow, professional beggar, rickshaw shelter, old style and model prisons, working-class and well-to-do homes, family shrine and gate gods, wedding and funeral processions. His books on

north China rural life contained photographs of village shrine, peasant courtyard, scenes of winnowing, threshing, cotton-spinning, and crop-watching, country market fairs, village blacksmith, brick-making and warp-making. Unlike Jacob Riis, who as a newspaper reporter took photographs to illustrate his articles, he did not take photographs for the purpose of illustrating his books. Photography and social surveys were two different forms, one artistic and the other literary, which he eloquently combined to achieve the same goal--a deeper understanding of human life and suffering.

Gamble's chief interest in photography was not spectacular landscapes or architectural designs, although these can easily be found in his collection and some of them could match the best of such earlier photographers of China as Thomson, Mennie, Wilson and Boerschmann. Thus the "Flying Sand Pagoda," for example, presents a mystical image of the mountainous region of western Sichuan with a partially ruined hilltop pagoda. The viewer cannot help but appreciate the poetic name of the pagoda and the cultural heritage it implies.(Fig.13) The "Guanxian Bridge" was as attractive as any landscape painting.(Fig. 14) Nor did Gamble neglect images of ancient temples and imperial palaces: the Forbidden City, the Summer Palace, the imperial summer resort at Chengde and all the major Confucianist, Buddhist, and Daoist temples in Beijing and other cities: the Hall of Classics, the Lama Temple, the Temple of Heaven, the Ming

Tombs, the Temple of Confucius, the Linyin Monastery, the Temple of Mount Tai, and many more.

Gamble's camera eye focused primarily on sociological and anthropological images, which both complemented and was commensurate with his academic training. The Chinese people were the overriding subject of his 5,000 photos and 500 hand-colored slides. He wanted to find out and record how they lived, worked, organized, studied, entertained, worshipped, suffered. If one sought to classify Gamble's photo collection in terms of subject matter, the following categories stand out: urban and rural industries and handicrafts, agricultural work, temple fairs--the Chinese market place, religion, ethnography, weddings and funerals, portraits of the passage of human life.

Gamble captured both a changing and an eternal China. For 5,000 years the Chinese people had been hard at work creating one of the world's great civilizations. Gamble was of course not the first to discover this fact, but he was one of the few to use both his pen and camera to freeze the images of a nation hard at work in one fleeting moment of its long history. Despite the building of shipyards and railroads in the latter half of the nineteenth century, and the introduction of street cars and automobiles in the major cities after 1900, China remained a nation that functioned largely with its hands and feet. Workers, artisans, farmers and housewives labored manually to house, feed and clothe

themselves and manufacture virtually every item of daily necessity. Gamble captured the images of almost all of the handicraft occupations in rural and urban society: the weaving of cloth, silk, and rug; the making of scissors, stoves, baskets, woks, paper, furniture, shoes, straw sandals, wires, ropes, bricks, shovels, carts, and coffins; teasing cotton, grinding grain, dyeing cloth, pumping water, sawing wood. (Fig. 15-20)

When modern transportation was unavailable, the burden of transportation was left on the shoulders and feet of thousands of coolies: rickshaw pullers, wheel-barrow pushers, sedan chair carriers. In the mountainous areas of western Sichuan, human labor was almost the exclusive means of transporting people and goods. Fifteen chair-coolies were hired by Gamble and his two friends to carry them and their seventeen pieces of baggage during their photographic exploration of western Sichuan.[21] Graphic scenes of human labor, by which lumber, tea, tobacco and salt were transported,were numerous in his collection. (Fig. 21-24)

Gamble was aware of the extreme human suffering experienced by the Chinese people, and scenes of beggars, roadside corpses, flood refugees, destitute people at soup kitchens, and the like, are found in his collection. But Gamble photographed this chronicle of misery not as an indifferent observer. He shared a deep sympathy for the poor and destitute, and such a feeling made the camera a

Fig. 13 Suozhou to Suo Village
Flying Sand Pagoda (17B/171)

Fig. 14 Wanxian Bridge (20/103)

Fig. 15 Beijing Orphanage,
Rug Making (236/1324)

Fig. 16 Chongqing, Water Carriers
(83/465)

Fig. 17 Tongchuan, Sawing Coffin Tops (31/164)

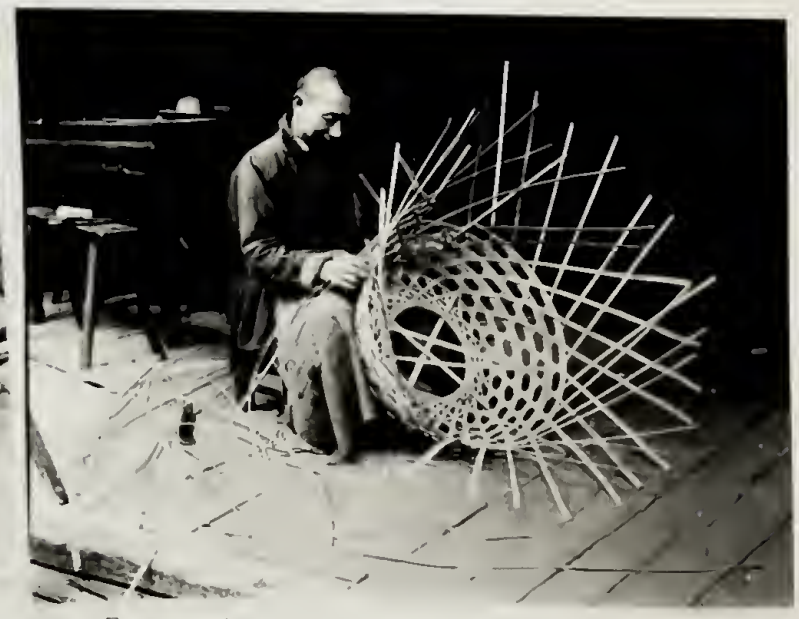

Fig. 18 Hangzhou, Making Baskets (167/937)

Fig. 19 Hangzhou, Silk Loom (174/978A)

Fig. 20 Beijing, Making Stove (254C/1443)

Fig. 21 Suozhou, Baggage Frame
(16B/154)

Fig. 22 Guanxian, Lumber Carrier
(15B/145)

Fig. 23 Ganbo, Load of Shoes
(24B/248)

Fig. 24 Anxian, Carrying Tea
(28B/285)

permeable barrier and established a special relationship between him and those being photographed. Catherine G. Curran remembered how her father was able to mingle instantly with the ordinary people of a different culture when, years later, he visited India:

> He was hardly off the plane before he was down in the bazaar with his camera...he would ask people--in who knows what language--what they were selling, what they were making, how much they were selling it for, at how much profit...and he would photograph these people at work."[22]

Gamble thus gave his pictures an unusual human touch and appeal rarely attained by photographers. The "Tongxian Shoemaker" serves as one example. Most Chinese wore cloth shoes and shoemakers and repairers such as this one were a common sight. The beaming shoemaker, probably in his sixties, was looking straight into the camera with his one hand stitching a needle through a sole. The weathered lines of his face, his large and sinewy hands, the rags he wore, the simple tools being used --these combine to reveal the industriousness and hardships of not only one person, but rather the entire Chinese people. Despite his poverty and hardship, the beaming face of the shoemaker tells also of a friendly, hard-working and honest people. It reminds one of Longfellow's "Village Blacksmith" who could "look the whole world in the face, because he owes not any man."(Fig. 25)

Another picture was that of an old beggar woman. She was "so deeply lined and worn," commented Jonathan Spence, "that in her face one is tempted to read the whole history

of China imprinted as on a mariner's chart."[23] "Boys Laughing--Chou Ch'ang" is a winter scene drawn from one of the dozen soup kitchens run by the Beijing municipal authorities and private organizations to provide a bowl of hot porridge for the homeless and poor. The image is of two boys in rags waiting patiently on line to get their share of porridge outside a primary school, the site of a temporary soup kitchen. The smiles are unforced, friendly, good-natured, innocent, intelligent, without the slightest pretense. One is tempted to speculate that, given the chance, they could have performed just as well in school as those students whose names and grades are listed on a background poster. (Fig. 26)

Gamble was very clearly fascinated by the religious life of the Chinese people, partly because of his own Christian upbringing and his missionary role with the Princeton group, and partly because of his sociological and anthropological interest. He recorded, with pen and camera, the religious practices of the Chinese, whether they were Confucian, Daoist, Buddhist, Lamaist, Mohammedan or Christian. While accepting the Christian message about the spiritual uplifting of the Chinese people, he never believed in proselytizing his own religion. His personal interest, said Catherine Curran, was in learning about people as they were, not in changing their religion.[24]

Gamble was keen on recording important religious ceremonies some of which no longer exist today: the elaborate ceremonies at the Confucian Temple, the devil dances of the Lama Temple, the preaching of the Yellow Lamas, and the pilgrimages to the Buddhist and Daoist sacred mountains. His camera was drawn to the many temples, monasteries, lamaseries or mosques, the priest, lamas and ahons, and the countless gods, deities, and hell officials housed in them, and also to the simple village and family shrines and paper gods posted on the doors of households.

Most precious of all was his documentation, with his camera and a 16-mm movie camera, of the famous yearly pilgrimage to Miao Feng Shan, or the Mountain of the Marvelous Peak, a sacred religious mountain twenty-five miles to the northwest of Beijing. This great religious ceremony and pilgrimage attracted between 50,000 to 400,000 visitors every year from Beijing, Tianjin, and other distant places such as Baoding and Kalgan, gradually dying out only after Gamble left China in the early 1930s.[25] He made at least three trips to Miao Feng Shan and provided an arresting film of the ancient and traditional popular cult of worshiping the Goddess of the Clouds of Dawn, daughter of the god of Mount Tai, the most sacred mountain in China.

Gamble's photo collection include portraits of people in all stages of their life and in all occupations. There are infants, toddlers, kindergarten and school children;

teenage workers, apprentices and students; farmers, coolies, fortune-tellers, teachers, businessmen and officials; men and women advanced in years. As a humanist and sociologist, Gamble was drawn to the major events in one's passage on earth, such as weddings and funerals. For the Chinese, anthropologist Nancy Jervis pointed out, celebration of these events

> marked the most important moments in life: the birth of sons to carry on the family line; marriage, in which a daughter joined her husband's family; and burial, which marked the passage from this life into the next.[26]

For centuries, weddings and funerals were the most significant ceremonies and rituals in the lifecycle of the Chinese, and they were referred to as "happy events": the former being "red happiness," and the latter, "white happiness." Gamble devoted considerable space in each of his major studies on Chinese urban and rural life to descriptions of both the rituals and economics of weddings and funerals. It is therefore not surprising to find that he never spared his films in recording such scenes.

One photo, "Receiving Wedding Presents" during a wedding ceremony of a working class family, depicts family friends taking and recording wedding presents from guests. Wedding gifts were often in the form of cash to help alleviate the financial burdens born by the groom's family. It was a common practice for poor families to go into debt because a wedding would involve major spending on new

clothes, bedding, furnishing, rental of a bridal sedan chair or carriage, a band, a feast, and tip money. (Fig. 27-29)

"An elaborate Chinese funeral is a great sight," Gamble wrote in How Chinese Families Live in Peiping:

> Proceeding the catafalque is a long double line of men and boys carrying wreaths of artificial flowers, paper and cloth scrolls, embroidered silk umbrellas, flags, religious symbols, paper figures of servants; lions, deer, storks, summer-houses made of evergreen branches, a portrait of the deceased. Usually the procession includes a sedan chair and an old-style Peiping cart, sometimes a paper ricksha, paper horse and carriage and automobile. Musicians are part of the procession, and it is not unusual for families to have both the old-style horn and drum, and the modern band. Taoist and Lama priests often walk in the large processions. The immediate male relatives, dressed in coarse white mourning costume, walk directly in front of the coffin. A husband may walk in front of his wife's coffin, but it is her oldest son who is the chief mourner and carries the 'soul flag.' The mourners are often accompanied by friends, each of whom wears a white paper flower to show that he belongs to the funeral party.[27]

This vivid description of a funeral ceremony was visually and elaborately documented. Specifically, Gamble was able to photograph the funeral ceremony of the ninth brother of Xu Shichang, President of the Chinese Republic from 1918-1922. He had on film every item and every step of the ritual mentioned above. Paper objects such as flowers, horses, money, servants, houses, furniture, rickshaw, carriage, and even automobiles were prepared and burned at the end of the procession, so that the deceased could enjoy them in the next world. In an arresting combination of the old and the new, "Carrying Funeral Auto" depicts a life-size replica of a Model A Ford, complete with a chauffeur, that

was carried by four people ready to join a funeral procession. (Fig. 30)

Being a serious amateur, Gamble at his best could match any established professional or amateur photographer. One reviewer of his work wrote, "When he forgot to curb his excitement over the human drama, he was as good as that wily magician Henri Cartier Bresson." She cited also "the irresistible photograph of the baby in a tiger suit mugging center-stage for the camera, in the arms of a woman half cropped at the right of the frame."[28] (Fig. 31)

Another photograph which is as riveting as any of Cartier Bresson's works is "Old Lady Sitting on Burner." It was taken in the Forbidden City on November 13, 1918, when the fledgling Chinese republican government organized a presidential review in the imperial palace compound in celebration of Armistice Day. The photo is of an old lady, an aristocrat clad in silk, sitting on the pedestal of a huge bronze incense burner, obviously resting from standing on her bound feet. She was smoking a cigarette with a long holder while watching the procession over rimless eyeglasses half way down her nose. Her maid was in close attendance and in sharp contrast, being dressed in cloth, and holding what appeared to be a hand charcoal stove. The viewer is instantly struck by Gamble's successful juxtaposition of old and new, rich and poor, shrewd and innocent, powerful and powerless. (Fig. 32)

Gamble benefited from the latest technological developments in photography, especially in camera equipment and the faster film speed. Although his "big, ungainly camera"--the Graflex--was not comparable with the light-weight 35 mm camera of a later date, it was portable, enabling him to capture life in the street. His photographic skills had been considerably improved by the time he returned to China in 1917; and he produced almost flawless and perfect pictures--works of art in every sense. Indeed, Mitchell Seidel, photography reviewer for The Sunday Star-Ledger, aptly commented on the professional attainment Gamble achieved as a photographer:

> Gamble was as skilled with the camera as he was with the notepad. His photographs have the studied look of somebody who took his photography seriously. The images are sharp, well-focused and accurately exposed, but most importantly, intelligently composed. He isolates the people he wants to portray and manages to render them in naturalistic settings.[29]

"Two Men at Table" is one example of a beautifully composed frame. He took the photo on his journey to western Sichuan. Two turbaned men, probably belonging to the Qiang minority in the area, were captured sitting at a local restaurant table lost in deep thought. So sharply focused and skillfully composed is the picture that it encourages meditation on Chinese culture and society.(Fig. 33)

Yet another example, "Bell and Stone Drums, Confucian Temple," shows an age-old bell, five older granite drums (probably dating back to the Zhou dynasty of 1122-225 B.C.),

and a stone stele in the Beijing Confucian Temple raked by sunlight. As Andy Grundberg, the New York Times reviewer sees it, "As is true of all of the photographers's work, the picture is exquisitely sharp and technically flawless."[30] A decade later, Hedda Morrison, a professionally-trained German photographer working for the Hartungs Photo Studio (one of only two Western photo studios in Beijing), snapped the same scene. The professional work looks amateurish in comparison.[31] (Fig. 34-35)

Gamble probably did not realize the value of his achievement. But he fondly recalled in later life that photography had been part of his personality. On the occasion of the 50-year reunion of the Princeton University Class of 1912 Gamble wrote:

> Do you remember the Big black Box that THEN used to be part of my personality? NOW it is a 35 mm that mostly take pictures of grandchildren in color. The black and whites taken THEN still tell the story of 1912 at Princeton. Later shots recall life with boys in a State Reform School, a view of the Sierras from the top of Mount Whitney, a glimpse of the 20,000-feet peaks of Kashmire, going through the Yangtze gorges, a trip down Volga, Fujiyama on a clear day, the Armistice Celebration in Peking's Forbidden City, with its big courtyard, marble terraces, beautiful old bronzes and yellow tiled imperial palaces.[32]

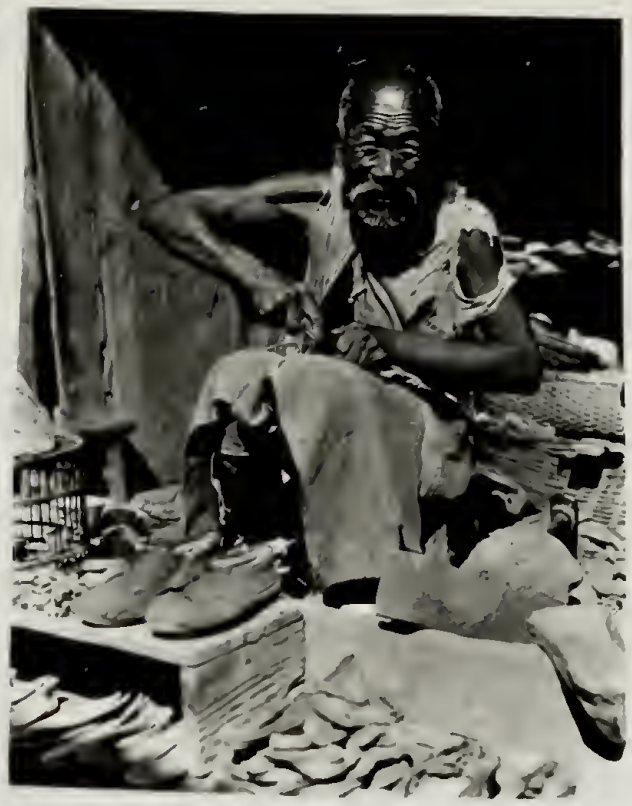

Fig. 25 Tongxian, Shoemaker
(203/1135)

Fig. 26 Soup Kitchen, Boys Laughing
(456/2629)

Fig. 27 Beijing, Receiving Wedding
Presents (242/1363)

Fig. 28 Beijing, Wedding Band
(204/1138)

Fig. 29 Beijing, Wedding Chair (204/1137)

Fig. 30 Beijing Funeral Autos Carrying Auto (395/2266)

Fig. 31 Beijing, Tiger Suits, One Boy (258/1474)

Fig. 32 Beijing Forbidden City, Thanksgiving Day Review, Old Lady Sitting on Burne (219/1223)

Fig. 33 Lifan to Maozhou,
Two Men at Table (25B/262)

Fig. 34 Beijing, Bell and Stone Drums, Confucian Temple (204/1141)

Fig. 35 Confucius Temple by Hedda Morrison

NOTES

1.Jonathan D. Spence, "Introduction," in Nancy L. Johnson and Leonard Sherp, ed., Sidney D. Gamble's China 1917-1932, Photographs of the Land and Its People, (New York, 1988), p. 14.

2.For example, Gamble's photographs were used in Kwok Ying Fung, China, (New York, 1943) and Anne Swann Goodrich, The Peking Temple of the Eastern Peak: The Tung-yueh Miao in Peking and Its Lore, with 20 Plates (Nagoya, 1964).

3.Catherine Gamble Curran, "Preface," Johnson and Sherp, op. cit., p. 5.

4.Ibid.

5.Ibid.

6.John Hersey, "Foreword," Johnson and Sherp, op. cit., p. 11.

7.Encyclopedia Americana, Photography, pp. 16-19.

8.Ibid., pp. 13-4, 20.

9.Sherman D. Thacher to Sidney D. Gamble, August 9, 1907, Thacher School Library.

10.The Nassau Herald of the Class of 1912, Princeton University; Sidney D. Gamble Biographical File, SDG Foundation Archive.

11.Schlesinger Library, MC 368, Photo Collection, 417v, 418v, 489v.

12.S.D.G. to C.J.G., October 17, 1909, Schlesinger Library, MC 368, 21/389.

13.S.D.G. to C.J.G., May 4, 1913, Schlesinger Library, MC 368, 21/389.

14.Clarence J. Gamble, "Yellowstone Trip, 1912," Schlesinger Library, MC 368, 17/346, pp. 56-57.

15.Robert F. Fitch, "North-Western Szechwan," The Chinese Recorder, December 1918, p. 775.

16.Clark Worswick, ed., Imperial China, Photographs 1850-1912, (London, 1978), pp. 137-39, 32-43.

17. Ibid, pp. 140-42.

18. Ibid, p. 145.

19. Ibid, pp. 145-6.

20. Sidney D. Gamble to Frank, March 16, 1925, YMCA National Archive, Correspondence.

21. Sidney D. Gamble biographical material, SDG Foundation Archive.

22. Jerry Kisslinger, "Legacy of Life in China," The Riverdale Press, June 29, 1989.

23. Spence, op. cit., p. 35.

24. Amei Wallach, "The China That Was Then," Newsday, July 9, 1989.

25. See Susan Naquin, "The Peking Pilgrimage to Miao-feng-shan: Religious Organization and Sacred Site," unpublished paper, January 1989, p. 24.

26. Nancy Jervis, ed., China between Revolutions: Photographs by Sidney D. Gamble 1917-1927, (New York, 1989), p. 27.

27. Sidney D. Gamble, How Chinese Families Live in Peiping, (New York, 1933), p. 213.

28. Amei Wallach, op. cit.

29. Mitchell Seidel, "China Institute Exhibit Reveals Clash between 20th Century and 19th," The Sunday Star-Ledger, August 20, 1989.

30. Andy Grundberg, "Resonant Images From a Bygone China," The New York Times, July 6, 1989.

31. See Hedda Morrison, A Photographer in Old Peking, (Hong Kong, 1985), p. 64.

32. The Fifty Year Record of the Class of 1912 of Princeton University, 1962, p. 141.

CHAPTER XI

PRINCETON-YENCHING FOUNDATION

On May 23, 1923, the Board of Trustees of Princeton-in-Peking, organized the previous year to take over control of the Princeton work in Beijing from the Philadelphian Society, adopted a resolution on the future policy and focus of P-i-P. Hereafter funding for the expansion of Princeton work would be devoted to the development of higher education, it was decided, and the special field of education under consideration would be the social, economic and political sciences in collaboration with the Peking Union University. At the same time, it was also resolved to expedite "to the maximum degree" the transfer of the YMCA operation and finance to the Chinese board of directors.[1]

P-i-P's decision to shift its focus reflected the changing political and intellectual conditions at home and in China. Post-war America witnessed a decline in the influence of mainline churches and the rise of "liberal theology" in the tradition of the Social Gospel Movement. These changes, as observed earlier, would in time lead to the demise, as discussed earlier, of the Philadelphian Society. The strong argument for missionary work, always seamlessly wedded in Christian humanism, was now given an extra impetus by Woodrow Wilson's crusade for democracy and the League of Nations. An emergent belief in the harmony of

science and theology, religion and social work, personal and national salvation would powerfully influence prominent American missionaries and educators. It would commit some of them--such as Howard Spilman Galt, John Leighton Stuart, Lucius Porter, John Steward Burgess, Sidney David Gamble--to the mission of Chinese higher education epitomized by Yenching University.[2]

In China, rising nationalism, in the wake of the New Culture and May Fourth Movement, speeded up the indigenization of the Chinese YMCA in the early 1920s. In 1921 the National Committee of the YMCA in China reached an understanding with the International Committee that, in coordination with the latter, it would take over control of personnel and funding allocations of the Beijing YMCA from the P-i-P and the Philadelphian Society. During the Washington Conference of 1921-22, David Yui, the General Secretary of the National Committee of the YMCA in China, expressed his concern that there was a danger of an excessive number of Americans in the Beijing YMCA which might retard the development of Chinese leadership. This led to the reorganization of the new P-i-P Board of Trustees and its resolution, in December 1922, "that the future development of Princeton-in-Peking should be in the direction of affiliation with Peking University through the development of educational work in the social and political sciences."[3]

P-i-P's decision was endorsed in June 1923 by the Board of Trustees of Princeton University, which passed a resolution commending the work done by the Princeton men in Beijing and approving P-i-P's plans for affiliation with Peking University. However, initial efforts to strengthen the departments of sociology, political science, and economics of Peking University were constrained by P-i-P's difficulties in seeking to end its financial and administrative responsibilities for the Beijing YMCA at an early date. The strained conditions of 1924 and 1925 as a result of warlord fighting brought the Beijing YMCA to a crisis when eight of its twelve directors resigned in the summer of 1924 and a reorganization had to be made later that year. In a further agreement between P-i-P and the National Council of the YMCA, the former would gradually reduce its financial responsibility for the Beijing YMCA over five years, and in 1931 the National Council would be responsible for raising the entire budget.[4]

It was during this transitional period of Princeton's work in China that Sidney D. Gamble was elected first as chairman of the Board of Trustees of Princeton-in-Peking in 1929 and, a year later, as president of the Princeton-Yenching Foundation, Inc. John Stewart Burgess also became a trustee of P-i-P and Princeton-Yenching Foundation. Dwight Edwards, another veteran P-i-P member, worked at Yenching first as field secretary of the Princeton-Yenching

Foundation and later as executive secretary of Yenching's Administrative Committee. Thus, key figures of the Princeton University center in China and pioneers in social work and sociology became leading members of a new organization devoted to developing social and political sciences in a leading Christian university in Beijing. Their earlier association with Peking University in teaching and research greatly helped. It gave them experience as well as authority in organizing and operating the Princeton-Yenching School of Public Affairs, the first of its kind in China. As president of the Princeton-Yenching Foundation until its demise in 1955 after Yenching University ceased to exist under the Communist government, Gamble would be the crucial figure in providing financial, administrative, personnel, and academic support for the Yenching School of Public Affairs.

Yenching University was the new name adopted by the Peking (Union) University in 1926 when it moved from downtown to its new site near the Summer Palace five miles to the northwest of the city. The result of an effort to unify the leading Christian institutions of higher learning in Beijing,* the Peking (Union) University was founded in

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*Between 1915 and 1920, Peking (Union) University emerged out of the union of four schools: the Methodist Peking University (1890), the North China Union College (1903) at Tongxian, the North China Union College for Women (1907), and the North China Union Theological College (1915).

1916 when both the Board of Trustees and the Board of Managers were organized in New York and Beijing respectively. Yenching, which is a literary name for Beijing, was adopted to differentiate it from the National Peking University.

The Beijing social survey and the YMCA community service programs initiated by Gamble and Burgess led to a close association of the Princeton center and Yenching University. Gamble and Burgess both taught at the newly founded Department of Sociology, and in 1919 Burgess was appointed professor and chairman of the department, spending half of his time at Yenching and the other half in the YMCA work. As soon as the new Board of Trustees of Princeton-in-Peking was established in October 1922, a Committee on Relationship with Yenching University was formed. It entered into conference with John Leighton Stuart, President of the University, to establish yet another department, that of political science. Shuhsi Hsu, a PhD candidate in political science at Columbia University would be expected to organize this department as soon as he finished his degree in early 1924.[5]

Princeton's educational programs in social sciences at Yenching gradually achieved national esteem. For the Department of Sociology and later the Department of Sociology and Social Work, Burgess was able to secure a number of part-time Western professors other than Gamble and

himself: T.C. Blaisdell, Jr., a graduate from the New York School of Social Work, Lilly K. Haas, a YWCA secretary, and Louise Morrow, M.D. in public health. In 1925, Leonard Shih-lien Hsu (PhD, Iowa University) became the first full-time faculty member in sociology, indeed the first non-Western instructor. Under Hsu's leadership, first as chair of the department during Burgess's absence and later as dean of the School of Public Affairs, the Department of Sociology and Social Work soon offered more than a fourth of the sociology courses taught in the country.[6]

Beginning in 1926, graduate students were enrolled in the two departments, Sociology and Social Work, and Political Science. The creation of a College of Applied Social Sciences (later College of Public Affairs) that would incorporate the Department of Economics was not realized until around the time that Gamble took on the leadership of the P-i-P and the Princeton-Yenching Foundation. For one thing P-i-P's financial commitment to the work of the Beijing YMCA was not relieved until the late 1920s, which prohibited its full participation in the education programs at Yenching. The financial situation considerably improved with the receipt of a 1928 grant from the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial Fund. Soon after the Nationalists established their capital in Nanjing and took control of most of China in 1927, Yenching reorganized, in accordance with the new government guideline, into three colleges: Arts

and Letters, Natural Sciences, and Applied Social Sciences. And with the Rockefeller money to support two of the three departments in the College of Applied Social Sciences for seven years, P-i-P finally realized its dream of establishing a Princeton-Yenching school of social and political science.[7]

The formal dedication of the new campus of Yenching University took place in September 1929. Gamble was unable to attend the ceremony because the family was settling in a new house and adding a new member, their second daughter. George B. Stewart, a Princeton alumnus and former president of Auburn Theological Seminary, was the official delegate of Princeton University and carried a letter from John G. Hibben, its president. The special relationship between Princeton and Yenching was emphasized by placing Mr. and Mrs. Stewart at the head of the academic procession. J.V.A. MacMurray, the American Minister to China and also a Princetonian, was present. This leading Christian university, now on a new and beautiful campus, would flourish over the next 20 years. It would enjoy a cooperative relationship with Princeton University, among others, with Wellesley, Harvard, the University of Missouri as well.[8]

By 1931, the Yenching College of Applied Social Sciences-- now called the College of Public Affairs in Beijing and Princeton-Yenching School of Public Affairs in

the United States--had a total enrollment of 290 (out of a total of 808 for the university) students, including forty graduate students in its three departments of economics, sociology, and political science (including Jurisprudence). The faculty of these departments included both Western and Chinese professors. One of the key Western faculty members was British economist J.B. Tayler, a representative of the London Missionary Society and for many years chair of the Economics Department. Chinese faculty members were trained without exception in the West, primarily in the United States, including the two former judges of the supreme court of China. Visiting professors from Princeton, Columbia, University of Chicago, Wellesley, Ohio State University and others, also came every year. The college published two periodicals: Journal of Social Economy (in English), and The Sociological Review (in Chinese).[9]

Gamble took on the presidency of the Princeton-Yenching Foundation right after the collapse of the New York Stock Market and the onset of the Great Depression. As financial support from the Princeton alumni decreased for the year 1931, Princeton-Yenching Foundation was faced with an emergent need for the curtailment of the budget for the Yenching School of Public Affairs. After Gamble left for his fourth trip to China in the summer of 1931, Olin D. Wannamaker, executive secretary of P-YF board of trustees,

hastened to cable him about the crisis situation of the possible loss of income in the coming winter:

> No responsible person in the financial district would at this time commit himself to any such engagement when the world's financial burden was resting upon New York and the situation so serious that America might have to follow the example of England and abandon the gold basis." [10]

Feeling that they might lose many contributions ordinarily to be depended upon, Wannamaker wrote, the executive committee of the P-YF requested that Gamble and Edwards "confer with the executive of the faculty of the College of Public Affairs as to any possible curtailment of the budget during the fiscal year."[11]

Gamble spent quite some time, in addition to carrying out his rural survey work at Dingxian, on matters of budget, personnel, administration, and course work of the School of Public Affairs. He conferred at length with the faculty of the departments as well as the administrators of the University, specifically Leighton Stuart, the president, on the organization and budget of the school. One of Gamble's chief tasks was to reassure P-YF's financial commitment for the support of School of Public Affairs and straighten out its relationship with the additional Department of Jurisprudence created in compliance with the Nationalist government regulations.

Princeton's original plan was the organization of a College of Applied Social Sciences (Ying Yong Shehui Kexue Yuan) that would include the departments of Economics,

Political Science, and Sociology and Social Work. But it ran into unexpected difficulties with the Ministry of Education of the newly established Nationalist government in Nanjing which ruled that sociology as a department properly belonged in the College of Arts and Letters. If this transfer were made, two departments would not be sufficient to constitute a third college (in addition to Arts and Letters, and Natural Sciences), and Yenching would not qualify as a university. A Department of Jurisprudence was thus created as a way out of the predicament and the name of the college changed to Public Affairs in English and College of Law (Fa Xue Yuan) in Chinese.[12]

While Princeton agreed to the change as long as the Department of Sociology and Social Work remained in the college, it refused to take on any financial responsibility toward Jurisprudence, at a time when funding for the three other departments was hard to come by. As president of P-YF, Gamble made clear to both the college and president Stuart that Princeton would stick to the original policy of dividing its financial support equally among the three departments of Economics, Political Science, and Sociology and Social Work. Gamble agreed that the one-third allotted to Political Science could be used to support Jurisprudence, which was in fact a spin-off from the former. Other than that, Gamble told Stuart, he could not promise anything else

either from the P-YF funding or the funds from the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial:

> Those funds had been given for a special purpose, or at least a given list of subjects and that the list did not include Jurisprudence. Of course it might be possible to have the terms of gift amended but that I for one would be very loath to ask such a change especially as it would mean that any expansion in Jurisprudence would be at the expense of the other departments, departments in which they are now specially interested.[13]

Gamble felt that P-i-P had been instrumental in securing the seven-year (1928-34) support from the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial for the Yenching School of Public Affairs and the P-YF should do everything in its power to "make the Foundation feel that we have been making good use of the money they have given us for we will soon be reaching the end of their seven year gift." Gamble had good reason not to take on any further financial responsibility because he feared that unless P-YF could come up with additional support from some other foundations, it would not even be possible to carry on the work of the current three departments.[14]

The financial and departmental situation at the College of Public Affairs reflected a certain degree of departmental, university and even national politics. At the departmental level, Political Science people were in strong support of Jurisprudence instead of Sociology because, Gamble reported, they did not consider the latter a real academic subject and discipline. "They complain," Gamble

wrote, "that its courses are 'guts' or the Chinese equivalent of that term, that the members of the department are too easy in their marks, like to grab the limelight, etc." Such an attitude was not unfamiliar to him, he continued, for he had some of his own training "in an institution where they used to insult a man by calling him a rising young sociologist."[15]

At the university and national level, the conflict over Jurisprudence reflected the rising sentiment of nationalism, increased government control over private universities, and Yenching's struggle to remain an independent and Christian university. Nationalism was running high at the time of Gamble's report in face of Japan's expansionist and aggressive policies toward China after it took control of Manchuria in September. The Nationalist government's increased control over higher education echoed the central theme of the Second Anti-Christian Movement--the restoration of education rights. Gamble himself experienced the rising anti-imperialist feelings that went hand in hand with nationalism:

> I understand that I have been called an Imperialist because of my stand in connection with Jurisprudence but I guess we all get that these days out here when we don't fall in with plans as worked out by the Chinese.[16]

Despite the problems Gamble had to deal with at Yenching and the rising political agitation among students,

he had a favorable impression about the general work both at the School of Public Affairs and the university in general. Within a few years, in fact, Yenching would surmount its budget crisis, and for the 1936-37 academic year its total budget would increase to seven times that of 1917-18. There was an obvious drop in the percentage of income from the original mission boards, from 87 percent to 14 percent. Fifty-five percent would come from private sources in America, primarily the Charles Martin Hall Estate, the Rockefeller Foundation, China Foundation for the Promotion of Education and Culture (American Boxer Indemnity), the Harvard-Yenching Institute, and the Princeton-Yenching Foundation. Starting from 1934, the Ministry of Education of the Nationalist government offered financial subsidies for major private universities. Thus, with the added financial support of both the Rockefeller Foundation and the Nationalist government, the Yenching School of Public Affairs would reach its peak of development in the mid-1930s.[17]

By the early 1930s, the Rockefeller Foundation's involvement in China was primarily in the field of medical education, exemplified by the operation of the Peking Union Medical College. Largely due to the efforts of Selska Gunn, the Foundation's vice president in Europe and later special representative to coordinate the China programs, the Foundation decided to focus on China's rural reconstruction

and for that purpose fund the coordinated effort of Nankai University in Tianjin, Yenching University, and James Yen's Mass Education Movement. The result was the formation in April 1936 of the North China Council for Rural Reconstruction, which included Nankai's Institute of Economics, J.B. Tayler's North China Industrial Service Union, Yenching's College of Public Affairs, Qinghua (Tsinghua) University, University of Nanking, Peking Union Medical College, and the Mass Education Movement. The Rockefeller money was to be spent on China's rural reconstruction, pooling expertise from the various academic fields of social sciences, public health, agronomy, and engineering.[18]

To fulfill its three goals of nationalistic revolution, democratic reconstruction, and social reform, the government reorganized public universities, colleges and professional schools and provided subsidies to most of the fifty-three private universities and colleges after 1934. Between 1934 and 1937, the Ministry of Education made an annual grant of over $60,000 to Yenching in support of academic programs.[19]

The School of Public Affairs, the only one of its kind among China's thirteen Christian colleges, was able to combine teaching and research with government programs of national reconstruction. Key faculty members were enlisted for service in the National government because of expertise

in their fields. For example, Shuhsi Hsu, Chairman of the Political Science Department and a specialist on the Manchurian question, served as adviser to the Chinese delegation at Geneva in 1932-33 and later adviser to the Foreign Ministry and member of the Chinese mission at the United Nations. Leonard Hsu, Chairman of the Department of Sociology, became adviser to the Ministry of Industries and was also director of the Bureau of Rural Reconstruction of the National Economic Council. J.B. Taylor, Chairman of the Department of Economics, became an adviser for the section of Rural Industries in the Ministry of Industries. Min-Ch'ao Kuo, professor of jurisprudence, was appointed judge and President of the First Special District Court of Shanghai.[20]

Hung-chun Chang, an early graduate of the Yenching Department of Sociology and Gamble's associate in the major social and economic surveys, was appointed professor of sociology at the Yenching School of Public Affairs after he finished his PhD at the University of Chicago. Chang became Resident Director of the Qinghe Social Experiment Center when the Department of Sociology decided to choose a rural area that would serve as an experimental station and as an out-reach facility for both faculty and students to conduct research and set up social service programs. Within two years of its opening in June 1930, the Qinghe Social Experiment Center established departments in social service,

economics, and research. A detailed survey of this North China rural community of forty villages and 22,500 people was undertaken. On the basis of the social survey, the Center set up a series of social service programs. These included the establishment of a kindergarten, a children's library, a community reading room, a local newspaper, and a hospital. Courses in child welfare were offered for local women as part of a public health program. Demonstration work in animal breeding was offered. Credit societies were organized to help finance agriculture and small local industries. Specifically, the Center worked on the promotion of wool spinning and weaving as a local handcraft industry.[21]

Because of his success in administering the rural experimental center, Hung-chun Chang was appointed by the governor of Shandong province to be the magistrate of Wenshang county, a rural area with a population of 400,000 people. It became part of a national rural reconstruction program funded by the Rockefeller Foundation. Working together with other Yenching staff and graduate students who functioned as heads of the county government in administration, construction, finance and taxation, education, and communications, Chang successfully instituted modern reforms in the local government. His contribution was soon noted by the National Government, which created a Regional Council of Local Administration, appointing Chang

as executive secretary responsible for 4,000,000 people in over twelve counties.[22]

By the late 1940s and before the Communists took over control, the Yenching School of Pubic Affairs had graduated nearly a thousand students, many of whom assumed leading positions in government, education, foreign service, business and finance. However, the contributions of the school to the development of China's social sciences and to the programs of national reconstruction proposed by the Nationalist government were hindered by the Japanese occupation of North China after 1937 and later by the defeat of the Nationalist forces in the civil war with the Communist Liberation Armies. The Nationalist efforts for reconstruction between 1928 and 1949 achieved only limited results. Despite success in financial reform, recovery of foreign concessions, and development of communication, industry and education, the Nationalist Party under Chiang Kai-shek could not institute any major social-economic reforms, none that would solve the leading and age-old problem of China's peasantry. Chiang Kai-shek made compromises with certain warlords in trying to achieve a united China. Also he had to face both the Japanese aggressors and the contending force of the Communists. To maintain power, Chiang had no alternative but to rely on the warlords, landowners, financiers, merchants, and compradores. The influence of Western science and democracy

as embodied in Christianity, the YMCA work, and the higher education in social sciences ended with Mao's victory in a peasant revolution.

Gamble served as president of the Princeton-Yenching Foundation (later Princeton-in-Asia) for almost forty years until shortly before his death in 1968. He was the crucial figure in securing financial support for the Beijing YMCA work, Yenching University and later, Tunghai University in Taiwan, Yonsei University in Seoul, and Chung Chi College in Hong Kong--in collaboration with the United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia. Under his leadership, the Foundation made significant contributions to the development of the School of Public Affairs, especially during the war years when Yenching was forced to move from Japanese-occupied Beijing to Chengdu in Sichuan. The Foundation established scholarships for Chinese and Asian students to study in the United States and arranged for faculty exchanges between Princeton and Yenching and other sister universities in Asia. Princeton seniors and graduates retained the tradition of spending a semester or a year teaching and studying in China and Asia.

In his later years, Gamble also served on a number of boards of religious and public institutions and remained active in the promotion of education and relief work. He maintained his connection with the National Committee of the

YMCA of the United States, serving as member and secretary of its National Board, National Council, and International Committee. He also worked on a variety of special committees of the YMCA with responsibilities for administration, purchasing services, endowment funds, American YMCA Foundation, program and budget, and building and capital needs. Commending a lifetime record of volunteer active service, the International Committee of the YMCA of the United States awarded Gamble its highest honor, the Distinguished Service Award, at the time of his death in 1968.[23]

Gamble not only paid his own salary working as a YMCA secretary in China, he helped underwrite the socio-economic surveys in Beijing, Dingxian, Taiwan, and Korea and research and teaching personnel at the Beijing YMCA, the North China Language School, the Mass Education Movement and Yenching University. Gamble and his brothers--in memory of their mother--likewise contributed substantially to the endowment of Yenching University. He personally established scholarship funds to bring students from China for further study of the social sciences. For many years, until his death, Gamble made annual contributions in support of a score of public and private institutions which included the American Friends Service Committee, the Brooklyn Institute of Arts & Sciences, Harvard School of Public Health, National Board of YMCAs, National Child Labor Committee,

National Council of Religion in Higher Education, Princeton University, United Service Organizations, and city YWCAs. And he made sure that his descendants would carry on the annual giving to the causes of religious, educational, research and social welfare institutions and activities.[24]

In 1960, Gamble was elected president of Church World Service (CWS), the relief and rehabilitation agency of the major Protestant and Orthodox churches in the U.S.A. Gamble was the natural choice for the job because he had not only been a member of its board, first treasurer and vice-chairman since its birth in 1946, he had earlier been associated with the forerunners of CWS such as the China Famine Relief and other relief agencies in the 1920s and 1930s. In 1950, CWS became the relief branch of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. and was in charge of distributing hundreds of millions of dollars worth of clothing, medicine, blankets and food for the world's destitute. It also provided doctors, builders, farm specialists and technicians to needy countries to help with famine, flood, earthquake, fire and other relief work. In the United States it was involved in the resettlement of refugees. For over two decades, Gamble "worked behind the scenes, seldom gives interviews or public addresses, yet presides over the planning and fund-raising" for CWS.[25]

Louise Harper remembered how her father used to call himself a "Board-sitter."[26] Indeed he was. In addition to

Church World Service, Gamble had been a director of the Josiah Macy Jr. Foundation and a trustee of World University Service, United Board of Christian Higher Education in Asia, American Institute of Pacific Relations, Mount Holyoke College, Riverdale Country School, and Riverdale Presbyterian Church. The United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia praised him for giving to various organizations "generously of his time, strength, and resources in a quiet and unassuming way" and for his "constructive thinking and criticism, his keen good humor, his concern that plans be practicable, and his willingness to stand by his convictions amidst changing circumstances."[27] The Agricultural Missions, Inc., of which Gamble was a member of the board since 1951, said that Gamble "always championed the poor, while insisting that any help be given in a business-like manner so as to impart dignity and encourage self-reliance on the part of the receiver."[28] The International Committee of the YMCA wrote Mrs. Gamble that "it will be strange not to have his warm presence, wise counsel and steady support of our work which has owed so much to him for fifty years."[29] Princeton-in-Asia noted that Gamble's "able guidance, his enthusiasm, his generosity, his pleasant personality and his persistence have been major factors in its creation and development and the increase of its program."[30]

To Gamble these affiliations were conduits for his social commitment. In 1919 after starting out at the Beijing YMCA, Gamble acknowledged the real importance of his college education. It sensitized him to the tradition of the Social Gospel and social economics, and he never "ceased to be thankful for having had at least a glimpse of community problems, institutional life and relief work while in college." From then on till the end of his life, Gamble remained committed to finding out how the "other half" lived and contributed to the betterment of the needy wherever they might be.

NOTES

1.Princeton-in-Peking, "Minutes of Meeting of the Board of Trustees," May 23, 1923, Princeton-in-Asia Archive.

2."Digest of Facts in the Transition from a YMCA Program to An Educational Program," June 2, 1927, Princeton-i-Asia Archive.

3.Ibid.

4.Olin D. Wannamaker, "Princeton-in-Peking, January 1925, Report of the Executive Secretary to the Board of Directors for the Fiscal Year 1924," P-i-A Archive; "Digest of Facts in the Transition from A YMCA Program to An Educational Program," June 2, 1927, P-i-A Archive.

5.Yen Ching-yueh, "Yenching College of Public Affairs," December 1948, unpublished manuscripts, in C.A. Evans, comp. "Princeton in China, A Resume of Fifty Years of Work by Princeton-in-Peking and Princeton-Yenching Foundation, P-i-A Archive; "Princeton-in-Peking, Annual Report of the Board of Trustees for 1923," 1924, YDSL, RG11, 454/6071.

6.J. S. Burgess, "Some Recollections of Princeton's Work in China," in C.A. Evans, comp., "Princeton in China, A Resume of Fifty Years of Work by Princeton-in-Peking and Princeton-Yenching Foundation," p. 15, P-i-A Archive; Princeton Peking Gazette, 1.1, (February 1925), YDSL, RG11, 454/6066a; Chiang Yung-chen, "Social Engineering and the Social Sciences in China, 1898-1949," Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, 1986, Harvard University, p. 56.

7.Dwight W. Edward, Yenching University, (New York, 1959), pp. 207-08; Princeton Peking Gazette, 4.3:5, (November 1929), YDSL, RG11, 454/6066a.

8.Princeton Peking Gazette, 4.3, (November 1929), YDSL, RG11, 454/6066a.

9.Princeton Peking Gazette, 4.3, (November 1929), YDSL, RG11, 454/6066a; Princeton-Yenching Gazette, 5.1, (February 1931), P-i-A Archive; Princeton-Yenching Foundation Minutes, February 5, 1931, P-i-P Archive.

10.Olin D. Wannamaker to S.D.G., October 8, 1931, YDSL, RG11A, 270A/3771.

11.Ibid.

12.Dwight W. Edwards, Yenching University, (New York, 1959), p. 208.

13.S.D.G. to the Executive Committee, Princeton-Yenching Foundation, December 20, 1931, YDSL, RG11A 270A/3771.

14.Ibid.

15.Ibid.

16.S.D.G. to Wannamaker, January 9, 1932, YDSL, RG11A, 270A/3769.

17.Philip West, Yenching University and Sino-Western Relations, 1916-1952, (Cambridge, 1976), pp. 109-21.

18.Yung-chen Chiang, "The Yenching Sociology Department: From the Introduction of Western Social Sciences to the Study of Chinese Society," Unpublished paper prepared for a workshop of the History of Christian Colleges in China, Yale Divinity School, March 1-2, 1991, pp. 20-29.

19.Immanuel Hsu, The Rise of Modern China, 3rd Edition, (New York, 1983), pp. 568-69; West, op. cit., p. 113.

20.Princeton Yenching Gazette, 5.4, (December 1934), P-i-A Archive; 4.2, (November 1935), YDSL, RG11, 454/6067; Yen Ching-yueh, "Yenching College of Public Affairs," in C. A. Evans, "Princeton in China, A Resume of fifty Years of Work," unpublished manuscripts, P-i-A Archive.

21.Princeton Yenching Gazette, 5.3, (May 1934), P-i-A Archive.

22.Princeton Yenching Gazette, 6.3-4, (June and December, 1936), P-i-A Archive and YDSL, RG11, 454/6067.

23.Sidney D. Gamble Biographical File, SDG Foundation Archive.

24.Sidney D. Gamble Correspondence, SDG Foundation Archive.

25.George W. Cornell, "Layman Head Giant Church 'Giveaway'," C.R. Gazette, November 14, 1964, P&G Archive; The New York Times, February 5, 1960; The New York Times, March 30, 1968; Harold E. Fey, Cooperation in Compassion--The Story of Church World Service, (New York:1966),7-15.

26.Sidney D. Gamble, "Annual Report Letter of S.D. Gamble, General Secretary Young Men's Christian Association, Peking, China for the Year Ending September 30, 1919," 9, SDG

Foundation Archive; My interview with Louise Harper on April 4, 1992.

27.UBCHE Memorial Minute, May 7, 1968, SDG Foundation Archive.

28.Hoch Reid to Mrs. Sidney D. Gamble, April 4, 1968, SDG Foundation Archive.

29.Joel E. Nystrom to Mrs. Sidney D. Gamble, April 8, 1968.

30."P-i-A Meeting of the Board of Trustees," May 29, 1968, P-i-A Archive.

CHAPTER XII

CONCLUSION

Princeton's official relationship with Yenching University formally terminated in February 1951 as a direct result of hostility between China and the United States in the wake of the Korean War. Princeton-Yenching Foundation changed its name in 1955 and shifted its educational programs to other parts of Asia. Although Gamble was in contact with the Yenching campus before its demise and with Yenching alumni and faculty over the years, he did not live long enough to see the normalization of relations between the United States and China and the restoration of Princeton-in-Asia's programs in China.

After three decades of misunderstanding, hostility, and hatred between the U.S. and Chinese governments, Sino-American cultural and educational exchanges regrew and reached a new high in the 1980s. Princeton-in-Asia now sends the bulk of its fellows to China, where they teach at key government colleges and universities in major Chinese cities, including Beijing University, the government university which took the Yenching campus and part of its programs. In 1988, for example, almost half of some eighty Princeton fellows went to China.[1] Since 1980, the Beijing YMCA and another dozen city associations in China, as well as the National Committee of the Chinese YMCAs, have resumed

activities and contact with International Committee of the YMCA, after being shut down for ten years during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976). Although these renewed Sino-American cultural contacts could trace their history back almost a century when the Association movement was introduced to China by American student volunteers such as the Princeton group, their function, goal, organization, and impact have dramatically altered because of changed political and social conditions in both cultures and in the world.

The story of Sidney D. Gamble and Princeton-in-Peking is one important chapter in the long history of Sino-American and Sino-Western cultural contacts. It reflects the changing perspectives of Western missionaries, American in particular, in dealing with the world's most populated and one of the oldest civilizations. Like the early Jesuit missionaries of the seventeenth century, Gamble and his Princeton colleagues tried to identify with the local Chinese, learn their language, and impart scientific and technological knowledge in the hope of saving China through the spread of the Gospel. But unlike the Jesuits, who worked mainly through imperial officials, or the missionaries of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries who focussed on converting the poor and illiterate, Gamble and his group were active with city youth and the the emerging student population. At first they sought to transplant a successful

American social institution--the YMCA--to the Chinese soil and later to build a Western-style school of social and political sciences.

The transplantation of the YMCA onto Chinese soil was realized through both the influence of the liberal wing of the Social Gospellers in the United States and the emergent forces of reform and revolution in late Qing and early Republican China. For the first time in the history of Christianity in China, Princeton's YMCA work demonstrated to the officialdom and upper classes of the new Republic that Christianity and the Chinese culture might not be incompatible. The motto of the May Fourth Movement, "To save China through science and democracy," and the missionary ideal of "Saving China through Christianity" for a time seemed to be united under the common goal of social service, social uplift and reconstruction for the new Republic. However, twentieth century Chinese politics changed in such a drastic manner that it soon became evident that this American transplantation, however adaptable it might be to the Chinese scene, was out of touch with the broad masses of Chinese workers and peasants. It could not accommodate to the growing sentiment of patriotism, nationalism, and anti-imperialism in China.

The YMCA rose in America because it answered the needs of and solicited the support of the rising urban middle class that would constitute a majority of the American

population. The success of Princeton-in-Peking and other Chinese city YMCAs ironically contributed to the failure of the transplantation effort. To become a self-supportive social institution, the Chinese YMCA had to rely on financiers, businessmen, and government officials who constituted only a small elite group among the population. Association work among workers and peasants was out of the question. Its work among the elite students had spread Western ideas of science and democracy, national wealth and independence but, when these ideas developed a step further to incorporate nationalistic, anti-imperialistic and revolutionary demands, the Association was inevitably left alienated from even the minority elite group. The YMCA by nature was conservative and against social destruction and revolution.

Likewise, Princeton's shift from association work to higher education did not fare much better. Princeton again had limited success in running the Yenching School of Public Affairs. Gamble and his colleagues had high hopes for the introduction of social economics, sociology, social survey and social work into the Yenching curriculum and in the training of social scientists who would play key roles in national reconstruction. But the limited success of Princeton's education programs at Yenching again testified to the difficulties of institutional transplantation between two cultures. Social survey, social reform and social

sciences education were effective in America because of the relative political stability and the existence of social, political and institutional mechanisms to initiate, coordinate, and develop social reforms in a gradual and largely non-disruptive manner. The development of institutional economics at Berkeley where Gamble was trained was closely related and contributed to the Progressive Era ofstate and national reform politics. But Gamble's major social surveys in China, though extensive and pioneering, could not possibly produce substantive change by way of social betterment and social reform because of the tremendous social and political upheavals of the Chinese society in the early twentieth century. Although the Yenching School of Public Affairs tied its programs closely to national reconstruction, it actually further separated itself from Chinese social reality by identifying with a government that failed to initiate any major social-economic reforms, a government that became increasingly ineffective and corrupt.

Gamble and the key members of Princeton-in-Peking were representatives of the more secularized missionaries who had been trained in professionalized social science disciplines in the early twentieth century, who chose China as their life's work, and who tried to contribute to its modernization. Their story, whether successful or not, reflects the changing patterns of Sino-American and Sino-

Western intellectual and cultural interactions. It may have seemed that the long history of Christianity and China had come to a conclusion after the Communist revolution. But China has once again opened its doors to the outside world. The number of Westerners and Americans--including the Princeton fellows--who have gone there since the end of the Cultural Revolution is probably greater now than during the early part of the century. They would form a new group of missionaries--if not in the religious sense of the word--who would carry on the work of Gamble and his colleagues in a renewed attempt to help China with its protracted struggle toward modernization.

NOTES

1.P-i-A, "Executive Director's Report for 24 May, 1988," P-i-A Archive.

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