The Rockefeller Foundation Archives

Series 1.1 (Projects): Series 600 (Asia) & Series 601 (China)

Guide to the Scholarly Resources
Microfilm Edition

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Introduction

The files offered here in microfilm tell the story of a transformation in the Rockefeller Foundation's program in China. In 1934 its vice president, Selskar M. Gunn, proposed that the Foundation change the emphasis of its program from heavy concentration on medicine and medical education, the focus since 1914, to the problems of rural reconstruction and development of an agricultural economy.

In 1931, Gunn had traveled to China, where he surveyed a range of academic programs in medicine, science, and the social sciences. He examined several of the social and economic programs undertaken by, or in concert with, the new government under the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek. In his report, Gunn offered a number of fragmentary suggestions regarding scientific and medical education, public health, and agricultural education and development. Following the review of his 1931 account, Gunn returned to China. In May 1933 he reported to Max Mason, president of the Rockefeller Foundation, that the situation in China was complex politically and, at the same time, precarious socially and economically. He emphasized that he could not recommend a quick decision about a Foundation program, described at length the elements of political instability, and wrote: "I am still of the belief that the Foundation is going to be able to undertake some important work in China in the next decade."

Gunn anticipated the shape that the Foundation program would take, noting that for it to operate successfully in China, "reasonable security of life and property must be secured." He stressed that the fundamental importance of "raising the economic level of the rural population ... involved what is broadly called a program of rural reconstruction, and it may be that in this field we shall have our real opportunity in China." In September, Gunn reported to Alan Gregg, director of the Medical Sciences Division of the Foundation, that his thinking was "moving along pretty satisfactorily"—toward a "belief that our future program in educational institutions in China should be directed towards very practical ends." Gunn specifically lamented the lack of "personnel really trained to get out in the field and do work in all directions" and referred to the existence of considerable discussion in China of a rural reconstruction program.³ In a series of reports to other officers and to the trustees of the Foundation, Gunn outlined a Rockefeller Foundation China Program that took as its purpose the encouragement of "National Reconstruction with special reference to rural problems."

Although often regarded as the crucial bureaucratic step toward the creation of the China Program, the 1934 report lacks the detail of later reports and memorandums. Nevertheless, Gunn's sentiment and intent are clear. In his letter of transmittal, he referred to President Mason's letter to him of May 1932, in which Mason expressed concern that the Foundation's program not "become static." He also cited Mason's idea that the Foundation should serve as many nations as feasible, in different ways, as long as a program would be suited to a nation's needs, "whether that program is one that falls into the previous work of the Foundation or not.' "In his own words, Gunn wrote of a "new policy" and "a new and vital program." At the same time, an element of cautious realism is present. In his 1934 report, Gunn emphasized that the threat to rural reconstruction was overpopulation, speculating that it was likely the greatest obstacle to economic and social development, and observing that many Chinese felt that rural China would not accept birth control measures. He also wrote, in counterpoint, that John Grant, a Rockefeller Foundation health officer who ran the Hygiene Department at the Peiping Union

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Medical College, believed that contraception methods could be successfully introduced. Gunn, however, made no recommendation in his report on the advisability of incorporating a population control program into the rural reconstruction program.

The Foundation increasingly committed itself to the program that Gunn proposed for its involvement in rural reconstruction. As it did so, Gunn described one of the program's intended attributes as involving close cooperation of many experts "so that all realize that the success of the different technical fields is interwoven with the success of other technical groups." His discussion of this new program invoked the traditional Rockefeller Foundation outlook in favor of funding research and the development of new knowledge and techniques. Gunn wrote that "the Social scientist can be provided with opportunities for experimental work in rural regions where there is sufficient control to make it possible to carry on experiments under laboratory conditions. It has been the lack of facilities of this kind which in part has made it difficult for the Social Sciences to obtain an assured scientific status."

Gunn offered three yardsticks for measuring prospective programs and accomplishments—yardsticks that embodied the Foundation's and his own concern for the development of knowledge and the social application of that knowledge. With respect to projects to be funded at institutions in China, he suggested asking whether a proposal was designed to develop methods of "community organization that may have nationwide reduplication." He wanted to assess whether a proposal enhanced the prospects of "bringing new knowledge to the community and providing for its utilization." Therefore, Gunn sought proposals that involved training personnel that would be qualified to administer and conduct research in projects for rural reconstruction.⁸

The North China Council for Rural Reconstruction stood as the principal coordinating institution for the rural reconstruction program. The participants in the Council, all of which, along with the Council itself, received Rockefeller Foundation grant assistance, included the Chinese National Association of the Mass Education Movement (rural reconstruction projects originally in Tsining and Ting Hsien); Nankai University (economics and local government); National Tsing Hua University (engineering; humanities and English language); Peiping Union Medical College (social medicine); University of Nanking (agriculture); and Yenching University (education, social administration). In April 1937, Foundation officers prepared, and the trustees approved, a grant of \$100,000 for the North China Council. In the grant action the officers noted increasing political unity and the consequent "beginning of a comprehensive national program of rural reconstruction."

The sociopolitical and the academic had to relate to each other while the Foundation maintained its orientation toward funding the development of knowledge that could be demonstrated to apply on a broad scale to social and economic development. In various reports in general and in this grant action, the officers referred to the need for the program to "undergo the same quantitative period which has characterized corresponding stages of development in other countries." Invoking the tradition of funding the creation and definition of knowledge and its application through a demonstration program, the officers, in the grant action, wrote that "the success of this movement will be proportionate to the emergence of a qualitative phase, depending upon trained leadership." A comment at the end contains a reference to the ability of university staff or faculty, by securing "appointment to important administrative positions," to direct government operations, thereby securing "laboratory facilities." ¹⁰

Users of these materials documenting Rockefeller Foundation grant support to institutions in China may wish to keep as a guiding question how the Foundation conceived of events

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under way in China. Specifically, an intriguing and perhaps important question arises: Did the Foundation officers have the sense that a revolution was under way? James Thomson, for one, has examined the Foundation's work, especially in rural reconstruction, and has characterized it as "gradualist" in approach. He has considered that rural reconstruction in China was an undertaking that would require time, and that the Japanese War and ongoing civil war deprived the effort of needed time. He also has suggested that the likelihood of success might have been limited, since no attempt at land reform had taken place.¹¹

Gunn characterized the China of 1931 as experiencing "instability of Government, famine, civil war, banditry, [and] communism," observing that "China is moving its ponderous mass. Experts agree that some of its oldest and most cherished traditions are beginning to give way. Ancestor worship, filial piety, family life, and guild life are all undergoing modification." Gunn appears to have looked on his proposal for a new Rockefeller program as a way to participate in and help meet the needs of this changing society. As always, the Rockefeller Foundation program came in short order to focus on the technical details of demonstration programs. The Foundation operated squarely in the realm of change—incremental change, to be introduced by training experts to engineer social change. Gunn and other Foundation officers likely could not easily contemplate far-reaching or revolutionary transformation, as change of that magnitude, like war, became the instability of which Foundation programs and program implementation were not made.

By 1939–1940 the Foundation had begun to disengage from its China Program. Progress reports from the funded projects had a steady refrain of relocation as a result of military hostilities. Foundation officers, ever concerned with measuring success, drew back. And the fighting continued. Relatively little reference was made in these documents to the Chinese Communist party. A brief review of the file listing for the 601 Series shows that after 1945 little activity resumed. The last Rockefeller presence in China, the Peiping Union Medical College, was seized in 1951. The Foundation, however, became involved again in the People's Republic during the 1970s.

The records that are presented here and that are maintained in the Rockefeller Foundation Archives, R.G. 1.1 (Project Files), Series 600 (Asia) and 601 (China) consist primarily of grant administration files. Typically, these files include one or more grant actions that offer a Foundation officer's conception of the proposal and its relationship to the general program of the applicable division and of the Foundation generally, administrative correspondence, reports of work undertaken and of work accomplished, and appraisals by the officers of the work undertaken and accomplished.

Besides the grant administration files, these records also include the Historical Record of the China Medical Board, and program and policy records relating specifically to the design of the China Program of the 1930s and to some extent the 1940s. The Historical Record consists of twenty-six volumes (including appendix) of manuscript and published materials covering the development of the Peiping Union Medical College, which was run by the China Medical Board of the Rockefeller Foundation from 1914 to 1928 and thereafter by a separately incorporated board, the China Medical Board Inc. A preponderance of the Historical Record, which includes correspondence, reports, and clippings, documents the years to 1928. These volumes can be found on microfilm rolls 20–26 (see the list of roll contents, pp. 8–9).

Rockefeller Foundation project files (and certain other record groups as well) are arranged by geographic designation (600 for Asia; 601 for China) and by program letter. Most of the Foundation's work was supervised by one program division, for example, Medical Sciences,

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Natural Sciences and Agriculture, Social Sciences, or Humanities. Several program letters designate grants for work with respect to specific areas of public health or disease eradication. Grants to institutions in a given country are arranged by supervising division, and the grants supervised by a division are arranged alphabetically by title, usually the name of the grant-receiving institution. Grants that did not fall under the clear and sole jurisdiction of one division are designated with only the geographic number, and the files are listed alphabetically by name of institutional grant recipient—that is, file title—before the files that carry program letter designations. Series 600 (Asia) contains four subseries as follows:

- No program letter; general material that does not fit into a particular program area
- 600A Medical sciences (research conducted in medical schools or medical research institutes; research directly applicable to the mental and physical health of human beings)
- 600E Fellowships, scholarships, and training awards
- 600R Humanities and arts

For Series 601 (China) the grants were assigned to a wider variety of supervising divisions. All of the file designations begin with the numeric code 601, followed by a program letter relating to the supervising division. The eleven subseries are as follows:

- No program letter; general material that does not fit into a particular program area
- 601A Medical sciences (research conducted in medical schools or medical research institutes; research directly applicable to the mental and physical health of human beings)
- 601C Nursing
- 601D Natural sciences and agriculture (research usually conducted in departments outside of medical schools; research in pure science, veterinary medicine or agriculture)
- 601E Fellowships, scholarships, and training awards
- 601I Malaria
- 601J Public health demonstrations (local health units)
- 601L Public health education (schools of hygiene and public health)
- 601R Humanities and arts
- 601S Social sciences
- 601T Tuberculosis

The Rockefeller Archive Center seeks to encourage the study of the history of philanthropy. Holdings primarily include the archives of organizations founded with parts of the Rockefeller fortune, and the papers of individuals associated with those organizations. The Center also holds the records of the Commonwealth Fund, the Culpeper Foundation, the John and Mary R. Markle Foundation, and the Russell Sage Foundation.

Many of the major social and political changes of the twentieth century are documented in the collections held at the Archive Center. These collections shed significant light on the development of the American labor movement; the encouragement and creation of modern public health systems; the development of the field of mental hygiene; the development of modern medical science, including the creation of the science of genetics; the promotion of modern

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medical education; the development of the fields of endocrinology and physiological psychiatry; the promotion of a modern statistically based social science; the development of atomic physics; the development of the black civil rights movement; the development of public education, especially, but not exclusively, in the American south; the advent of the agricultural revolution of the twentieth century; the development of the population control movement; and the creation of the television industry.

To help encourage study of and publication based upon these records, the Archive Center publishes annually a newsletter (in autumn) and a compilation of research reports (in spring) by scholars writing about their findings in the course of their research in Archive Center records. The Center also provides travel and research grants of up to \$1,500 for scholars planning to conduct research in records held at the Archive Center.

Thomas Rosenbaum Archivist

Notes

- 1. RF Archives, R.G. 1.1, Series 601, Program and Policy, box 12, folder 129.
- 2. RF Archives, R.G. 1.1, Series 601, Program and Policy, box 12, folder 125, letter of May 29, 1933.
 - 3. Ibid.
- 4. RF Archives, R.G. 1.1, Series 601, Program and Policy, box 12, folder 129, Report of 1934. See also, for example, box 12, folder 125, memorandum to the files, April 15, 1936.
 - 5. RF Archives, R.G. 1.1, Series 601, Program and Policy, box 12, folder 129, Report of 1934.
- 6. RF Archives, R.G. 1.1, Series 601, Program and Policy, box 12, folder 130, report titled "China Program—Preliminary Interim Statement, October 1935," p. 2.
 - 7. Ibid., p. 3.
 - 8. Ibid.
- 9. RF Archives, R.G. 1.1, Series 601, Program and Policy, box 12, folder 130, Progress Report for July 1, 1935-February 15, 1937, p. 2; the microfilm includes important files documenting Foundation grant support to these institutions.
- 10. RF Archives, R.G. 1.1, Series 601, North China Council for Rural Reconstruction, box 10, folder 108.
- 11. James C. Thomson, Jr., While China Faced West: American Reformers in Nationalist China, 1928-1937 (Cambridge: Harvard East Asian Series 38, Harvard University Press, 1969), 151, 196ff.
- 12. "Report on Visit to China, July 9th to July 30th, 1931," in Series 601, Program and Policy, box 12, folder 129, pp. 2-3.

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