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### Publication Date

2013

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

Precocious Politics:  
Preschool Education and Child Protection in China, 1903-1953

By  
Margaret Mih Tillman

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the  
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

in

History

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Wen-hsin Yeh, Chair

Professor Paula Fass

Professor Andrew Jones

Spring 2013



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## Abstract

Precocious Politics  
Preschools and Child Protection in China, 1903-1953

by

Margaret Mih Tillman

Doctor of Philosophy in History

University of California, Berkeley

Professor Wen-hsin Yeh, Chair

The dissertation traces the sentimental value of childhood and the economic impact of preschool education from 1903 to 1953. According to state theorists and social reformers, by abolishing child labor and separating childhood from work, preschool education would facilitate the transition from a household to an industrial economy and would allow women to join the workforce. Long-term structural continuities undergird conflicts over the political indoctrination of children and their relationships to family hierarchies. Institutionally separated from their families, kindergartners could be trained as loyal Qing subjects, or Nationalist citizens, or Communist comrades. Each regime criticized alternative or older versions of early childhood socialization in order to shape future generations.

School administrators and child experts analyzed the biological category of childhood as justification for kindergartens, but also pointed to the social functions and reformed political content of kindergartens. During the Nanjing decade (1927-36), educators trained at Columbia Teachers College cooperated with Chinese political leaders and philanthropists (especially those who were Christian or receptive to the West) to establish kindergartens aiming to inculcate a playful spirit as well as good Chinese citizenship conceived according to Nationalist ideals. The basic structure of these institutions continued after 1949, despite attempts to import the revolutionary content of kindergarten “collectivization” from the Soviet Union. In the 1950s, government journals publicly denounced the founders of Nationalist-era kindergartens for having transformed Chinese children into “Westernized little foreigners.” However, preschools and welfare institutions from earlier decades had helped increase the symbolic value of childhood in ways that the Communist state capitalized upon. This dissertation thus illustrates some hitherto unrecognized methods by which the Chinese state, from the late Qing to the PRC, legitimized its power and increased its reach into private family life.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</b>	<b>iv</b>
<b>LIST OF FIGURES</b>	<b>vii</b>
<b>INTRODUCTION</b>	<b>2</b>
MODERN DEFINITIONS OF CHILDHOOD AND THE KINDERGARTEN	5
EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION ABOUT THE CHILD	8
STRUCTURAL FUNCTIONS OF PRESCHOOL EDUCATION	15
POLITICAL CONTROL OVER EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION	19
CONCLUSION	22
<b>CHAPTER 1. THE AUTHORITY OF AGE: THE INTRODUCTION OF EXPERTISE AND INSTITUTIONS FOR CHILDHOOD DEVELOPMENT IN CHINA, 1895-1910</b>	<b>25</b>
KINDERGARTENS AS A FOCUS OF MISSIONARY EDUCATION	27
EDUCATING GIRLS TO REFORM THE FAMILY	32
CHINESE TRADITIONAL EDUCATION & THE INTRODUCTION OF AGE-GRADED CURRICULA	34
QING EDUCATIONAL REFORMS	36
FAMILY EDUCATION AND THE “REAL SCHOOL FOR PATRIOTS”	41
CHILD EXPERTISE AND THE POLITICS OF AUTHORITY	45
EXAMPLES OF CHARITY AND ELITE KINDERGARTENS	48
TEXTBOOKS AND CLASSROOM AUTHORITY	50
SOCIAL PLAY AND THE SCIENCE OF AGE	53
CONCLUSION	57
<b>CHAPTER 2. THE SENTIMENT OF SCIENCE AND CHINA’S FRÖBEL</b>	<b>60</b>
CAI YUANPEI AND THE DISCIPLINE OF EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY	61
“CHINESE” CHILD PSYCHOLOGY AND CHINA’S FRÖBEL	66
AMERICAN CHILD EXPERTS IN CHINA	69
CHINESENESS AND RACIAL SELF-STRENGTHENING	73
CHEN AND CHARLES DARWIN: INVESTIGATING CHILDHOOD	78
SCIENTIFIC MOTHERHOOD	84
“CHINESE” KINDERGARTENS	88
PROFESSIONALIZING EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION	92
CHINESE RECEPTION AND CHINESE “MINORITIES” IN SHANGHAI	93
CONCLUSION	96
<b>CHAPTER 3. THE PRODUCTION OF DISCIPLINE: “SHANGHAI’S CHILD LABOR PROBLEM,” 1922-1925</b>	<b>99</b>
INVESTIGATING CHILD LABOR: INTERNATIONAL PRESSURE AND LOCAL INTEREST	101
BENEFITS OF FACTORY HYGIENE FOR BUSINESS AND STATE	109
INSPECTION AND INVESTIGATION AS THE BASIS OF STATE SURVEILLANCE	113
DISTRICT DATA AND THE POLITICS OF NATIONAL OWNERSHIP	115

FINDING SOLUTIONS: SCHOOLS, NOT FACTORIES	118
CULTURAL CRITIQUES OF GENDERED LABOR, FAMILY PROTECTION, AND THE CONTRACT LABOR SYSTEM	119
COMMUNIST FOCUS ON YOUTH CONSCIOUSNESS	124
CONCLUSION	126
<b>CHAPTER 4. PATRONAGE AND PROTECTION IN THE NEW LIFE MOVEMENT</b>	<b>130</b>
NEW LEADERSHIP UNDER THE NATIONAL CHILD WELFARE ASSOCIATION	131
NEW PATRIOTIC RITUALS FOR CHILDREN	139
MENTAL HYGIENE, CHILD PSYCHOLOGY, FAMILY AND THE STATE	145
INSTRUCTING NEW YOUTH AS POTENTIAL PARENTS	153
MENTAL HYGIENE AS THE BASIS FOR PROFESSIONAL PARENTHOOD	155
INSTRUCTING CHILDREN AS POTENTIAL PARENTS	157
CONCLUSION	161
<b>CHAPTER 5. “NATIONAL SEEDS” IN GLOBAL SOIL: INTERNATIONAL FUNDING FOR CHINESE CHILD SERVICES DURING AND AFTER THE WAR</b>	<b>164</b>
WARTIME ORGANIZATIONS AND INTERNATIONAL AID	164
CHILD WELFARE AND THE UNITED FRONT	169
WOMEN’S MOBILIZATION AND INDUSTRIAL PRESCHOOLS	172
PRESCHOOL COLLECTIVES IN THE COUNTRYSIDE	174
YAN’AN’S “LOS ANGELES KINDERGARTEN”	177
GENDER AND DISCIPLINE IN YAN’AN	178
THE SCIENCE OF CHILDCARE IN YAN’AN	182
INTERNATIONAL AID AND THE PROFESSIONALIZATION OF CHILD WELFARE SERVICES	185
CONCLUSION	201
<b>CHAPTER 6. SELF-CRITICISM AND THE RECONSTRUCTION OF IDENTITY IN THE 1950s</b>	<b>203</b>
WAR WITH AMERICA AND THE BOURGEOIS PAST	203
ANTI-AMERICANISM IN EDUCATIONAL REFORM	204
CRITICIZING DEWEY AND HIS STUDENTS	212
CHEN HEQIN: AN UNLIKELY TARGET?	220
DECONSTRUCTING BIOGRAPHY AND IDENTITY	224
WORSHIP OF AMERICA AND THE TAIN OF CHRISTIANITY	226
SELF-CRITICISM AND TRANSFORMING THE CLASSROOM	228
CLASSROOM DISCIPLINE AND THOUGHT RE-EDUCATION	232
CONCLUSION: TEACHERS, FROM CITIZENS TO COMRADES	237
<b>EPILOGUE. FROM INDIGENOUS CHARITY TO NATIONAL WELFARE: 1950s CHILDHOOD EDUCATION</b>	<b>239</b>
PRESCHOOLS TO FACILITATE FEMALE MOBILIZATION	240
STATE REGULATIONS	247
POLITICAL DIMENSIONS OF HYGIENE IN THE KINDERGARTEN CLASSROOM	251
A MODEL KINDERGARTEN	253
CONCLUSIONS	256

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

**258**

**APPENDIX**

**326**

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Research and writing of this dissertation was generously funded by the Berkeley Fellowship from University of California at Berkeley, the Center for Chinese Studies at the National Central Library (Taiwan), the Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation, the Fulbright-Hays Foundation, the Fulbright IIE, and a 985 Grant via Fudan University's National Institute for Advanced Humanistic Studies.

Wen-hsin Yeh first drew me into the field of Chinese history as an undergraduate, and she has continually offered me intellectual freedom, institutional support, and insightful feedback. Paula Fass challenged me to think comparatively, to write clearly, and to reflect deeply about education as both a theoretical concept and a living practice. Andrew Jones generously offered constructive feedback and concrete data.

The late Professor Frederic Wakeman and the late Professor Christina Gilmartin mentored and inspired me. Chris introduced me to the archives and to some of her friends in Beijing, and demonstrated that scholarship can be based on respect and friendship with real people.

I am grateful to the administrators of archives, libraries, and university departments. Niu Dayong, Luo Zhitian, and Liu Dong have offered institutional affiliation at Peking University, welcomed me to classes, and offered substantial institutional support. Li-chun Keng and Jane Liao welcomed me to the Center for Chinese Studies. Alex Coughlin, Mabel Lee, Solomon Lefler, Cathy Lenfesty, Elinor Levine, and Yu Welch facilitated many important administrative matters at UC Berkeley. The archivists at the Beijing Municipal Archives offered museum tours and passes to me and my fellow researchers, answered questions, and generously gave personal goods in the relatively isolated area. I appreciate help from the staff at Peking University Rare Books Room, Shanghai Library Republican Reading Room, the Shanghai Municipal Archives, National Taiwan University, Academia Sinica, Academia Historica, Taiwan's Guoji Bianjiguan, Cotsen Children's Library at Princeton University, the Columbia Teacher's Library, the Rockefeller Center Archives, Bancroft Library, Tal Nadan at the New York Public Library, and the Hoover Institute. Librarian Zhaohui Xue gave me access to the James Hayes Collection of Qing dynasty textbooks at Stanford University. I am very grateful to Ge Zhaoguang, Yang Qin, and Jin Xiuying, who were especially kind and helpful at Fudan. At Fudan University, the History Department librarian offered catalogue help, and the staff in their National Studies Library and Journals Room were helpful and friendly.

I am grateful to my professors and friends for providing me with research advice and assistance. Christian Henriot and Feng Yi have generously provided copies of research material, help, and advice. Chen Xi has gathered material from the Wuhan Municipal Archive in Hankou with the generous help and cooperation of the archivists there, and I hope to incorporate into a revised version of this manuscript. Jon Kowallis and Miriam Gross and others pointed me to interesting books. Don Cohn has provided me with access to his own personal collection of primary sources. Luo Ronghai pointed me to sources and introduced me to professors. Ke Xiaojing and Julia Stone discussed

methodological and theoretical problems, and Julia Stone read drafts of my proposal. Caverlee Cary, Bruce Williams, Liu Qian, and Wu Yifeng have provided important advice on internet and library research. Hsiung Ping-chen and Yu Chien-ming, Angela Liang, Liu Chingcheng, Denise Gimpel, Wu Ya-ting, and Shi Kouzhu have had discussions with me on my dissertation project and given me copies of their work. Billy Kee Long So and Thomas Lee have graciously answered questions about education in China.

My dissertation has benefitted from feedback gathered at conferences and workshops. Nicola Spakowski's insightful comments and feedback at Fudan showed me that I needed to write Chapter Five. An early draft of the first chapter was published with the helpful comments of two anonymous reviewers in *New Frontiers of History*, and I am grateful to Helen Schneider and Charlotte Cowden for their feedback. Ye Bin invited me to a workshop at the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences, where I enjoyed meeting Xiong Yuezhi and Gao Jun, among others. I really appreciated the hospitality of Institute of History and Philology at the Academia Sinica during the Winter Institute of 2010. I am also grateful to Peter Ng and David Lindenfeld for comments at the World History Association, Stephan Tanaka at the Society for Childhood and Youth, Thomas Mullaney and Melisa Dale at the Ricci Institute of the University of San Francisco, and Fabio Lanza for comments at the Association of Asian Studies. Chen Jue generously invited me to serve as a precept for a workshop on material studies at Tsinghua University, where I was warmly welcomed by Nicole You and worked with Allison Miller Wang. I have benefitted from conversations with Daniel Asen, Shana Brown, Peter Carroll, Chiang Chushan, Joseph Escherick and Ye Wa, Wendy Fu, Susan Glosser, Rachel Hsu, Michelle King, Margaret Kuo, Jane Maienschein, Metchild Leutner, Micha Muscolino, Stephen MacKinnon, Peter Perdue Brett Sheehan, and Stephen West. Ruth Hayhoe, Suzanne Pepper, and Elizabeth Perry graciously answered my emails. Denise Ho and Brigid Vance have encouraged me and provided good cheer. I am grateful to Andrew Barshay, Kathleen Uno, Irwin Schneiner, Yuyama Tomiko, and Yuko Yokotsuka for conversations about the Japanese context.

Berkeley faculty offered many opportunities for me. Gloria Chun read an early draft of the introduction, and her CalWriters group provided me with community and support during dissertation writing. I was fortunate to take Sabrina Soracco's class on academic writing. Professor Wakeman, Xin Liu, Colleen Lye, and Alan Tansman discussed the project with me, and I enjoyed talking with Patricia Berger, Alexander Cook, Tom Gold, David Johnson, Lydia Liu, Keven O'Brian, and Barrie Thorne. Many thanks to Cecilia Chu, Heinrich Seeba, Tomizuka Sensei, and all my language teachers for their incredible patience.

I am grateful for a wonderful cohort of friends and classmates. Edna Tow, Julia Stone, Wennan Liu, Andrea Kwon, John Danis, Jonathan Chow, Filippo Marsili, and Julia Chuang have mentored me. Philip Thai drove me down to Stanford for research at the Hoover Institute. Together with Shirley Ye, we formed an online writing community for mutual support. Many friends have read and commented on parts of the dissertation: J. Peter Escalante, Paulina Hartono, James Lin, Genevieve Miranda, Margaret J. Moore, Ti Ngo, Jennifer Rice, Zachary Scarlett, William Welch, Albert Wu, Shellen Wu and

Shirley Ye, Amanda Buster, Andrew Hao, Kristen Hiestand, Adrienne Francisco, Zoe Griffith, Peiting Li, C.C. Lin, Brooks Jessup, William Ma, Michelle McCoy, Natalie Mendoza, Hannah Murphy Larissa Pitts, Michelle Wang, Jesse Watson, Trenton Wilson, Linh Vu, and Claire Yang are kind colleagues in the department. I am grateful for the friendship of Setsuko Kayima and Ariane Zambiras, who encouraged me in my studies of Japanese. Grace Jeon, Elizabeth A. Terry, and Melisa Galván have provided wonderful moral support, intellectual conversation, and fun reprieves from writing. I appreciate the instruction of my high-school teachers Becky Allison, Mark Poirier, and Sharon Thompson. Many thanks for the faithful prayers of the Daughters of the King, Pastor Robert Felix, Father Gil Stafford and St. Augustine's Episcopal Parish of Tempe, Arizona.

In the course of my research, I have met with generous hospitality and opportunities to revisit family friends. Mr. and Mrs. Tian Yuqing have always treated me affectionately as a daughter of the “Tian” clan, and I feel honored to have met Professor Deng Guangming, Professor and Mrs. Lin Tao, Professor Zhou Yiliang, and Yu Yingshi and Monica Yu, and Pang Pu in China. I am fortunate to have spoken to Chen Xiuyun and Lu Yueshan. I am grateful for the reflections and insights voluntarily offered to me by many senior academics over dinner and casual conversation. Deng Xiaonan, Zang Jian, Zhang Xiqing, Wang Shuhua, and everyone at the Center for the Study of Ancient Chinese History at Peking University and Mr. and Mrs. Chen Lai and Peng Guoxiang have welcomed me on many trips to Beijing. Mr. and Mrs. Wang Teh-yi, Mr. and Mrs. Huang Kwan-chung, Mr. and Mrs. Lau Nap-yin, Huang Chin-shing and Christine Huang, Wang Fan-sen, Chen Hsi-yuan, Lee Kwong-kin and Chen Yiai, Chang Chih-hui, and Yu Hsiao-lan have always welcomed me to Taiwan. My brother and sister-in-law Alice Wu, and their children Denise, Josh, Daphne, and Tian Han, and Alice's mother have hosted me on research trips to Taiwan. Alice's brother DK and sister-in-law Jean have welcomed me to Shanghai. Zhu Jieren and his entire clan have welcomed me in journeys across the Jiangnan region. The Confucian Practice Society welcomed me at Peking University. Paula Fass and Jack Lesch, Michael Nylan (who has given me conference clothes out of her luggage when mine was lost, as just one example of her tremendous generosity), Luke Habberstad, Beatrice Schraa, and Jonathan Tang have hosted me on research trips and welcomed me into their homes. Thomas Höllman, Hans van Ess, Roderich Ptak, Armin Selbitchka, and Thomas Kaiser have welcomed me in Germany. Caroline Bynum, Mary Rothschild, and K. Lynn Stoner have been role models for me. Noriko and M. Seishu Kawahashi have always encouraged me with books, articles, and other gifts, and have welcomed me into their home at the Reiganji (Zen) Temple in Japan; with lavish generosity, they have supported me with intellectual inspiration and spiritual kinship.

This dissertation has helped me appreciate the challenges of parenting and to appreciate even more deeply the enduring love and steadfast support always offered to me by my parents, Hoyt Cleveland Tillman and Cristina Mih Tillman, and elder brother, Hoyt Langston Tillman.



## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Photograph of a young child reciting the classics. Arthur Smith, *The Uplift of China* (New York: Educational Department, the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the US, in a series, “Forward Mission Studies Courses,” edited under the direction of the Young People’s Missionary Movement, 1907), 251.

Figure 2: “A Chinese Kindergarten Teacher and Her Pupils.” Margaret E. Burton, *The Education of Women in China*. (New York, Chicago: Fleming H. Revell company, 1911), page not numbered. University of California at Berkeley Library.

Figure 3: Age-ranges printed in the margins of primers. Mengxue congshu. 蒙學叢書 Peking University, Rare Books Reading Room.

Figure 4: Cover. *Mengxue bao* 蒙學報 [“The Children’s Educator”] (February 25, 1898).

Figure 5: Seki Shinzō 関信三纂輯, *Nijūasobi: yōchienhō* 二十遊嬉: 幼稚園法 (Tōkyō: Aoyama, 1879). University of California at Berkeley, East Asian Library.

Figure 6: Seki Shinzo 關信三纂輯, “Youzhi jiaoyu: enwu tushuo” 《幼稚教育: 恩物圖說》 (Childhood Education: Pictorial Explanations of Educational Toys), trans., Omata Noriyoshi 小俣規義 *Jiaoyu Shijie* no. 4 (1903). Peking University, Rare Books Reading Room.

Figure 7: Photograph of Beijing Women’s Normal Education Research Society. 1920. Peking University, Republican-era Materials Reading Room.

Figure 8: “Wan shui zhi yi fa” 玩水之一法 [One way of playing with water]. Originally published in *Ertong xinli zhi yanjiu* [Child Psychology Research] (1925). Reproduced in: Chen Heqin, Beijingshi Jiaoyu Kexue Yanjiusuo, ed., *Chen Heqin Quanji* 陳鶴琴全集 [Complete Works of Chen Heqin] (Jiangsu: Jiangsu Jiaoyu Chubanshe, 1987), 46.

Figure 9: “Wan shui zhi shui” 玩水知水 [Playing with water to learn about water]. Chen Heqin, *Jiating jiaoyu* 家庭教育 [Family Education]. Shanghai: Commercial Press. First edition, July 1925, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, March 1927. Page not numbered. Don Cohn’s Private Collection.

Figure 10: “Huayuan ke’ai, haizi youqi ke’ai” 花園可愛, 孩子尤其可愛 [The garden is lovely, and children are especially lovely]. Chen Heqin, *Jiating Jiaoyu* 家庭教育 (reprinted 1927). Don Cohen’s Private Collection.

Figure 11: “Xie shenghua.” Drawing *en plein air*. Gulou Kindergarten. Reproduced in: *Wei Zhonghua ertong jincui de jiaoyujia Chen Heqin* 為中華兒童盡瘁的教育家陳鶴琴 [All-For-Chinese-Children-Exerting-the-Utmost Educator, Chen Heqin] (Jiangxi Publishing House and Hong Kong Cultural and Educational Publishing House, 1992), 31.

Figure 12: “Yinyue biaoan—wen’an wu” 音樂表演——問安舞 [Musical performance—saying good night]. Gulou Kindergarten. Reproduced in: *Wei Zhonghua ertong jincui de jiaoyujia Chen Heqin* 為中華兒童盡瘁的教育家陳鶴琴 [All-For-Chinese-Children-Exerting-the-Utmost Educator, Chen Heqin] (Jiangxi Publishing House and Hong Kong Cultural and Educational Publishing House, 1992), 32.

Figure 13: “A Typical Corner in the Children’s Ward.” Dr. Decker, “Survey of 880 Patients from Shanghai Cotton Mills,” *Chinese Economic Monthly* 4 (September, 1924), page not numbered.

Figure 14: “List of Mills and Factories.” Reprinted in: Kotenev, Anatol M. *Shanghai: Its Municipality and the Chinese; Being the History of the Shanghai Municipal Council, and Its Relations with the Chinese, the Practice of the International Mixed Court, and the Inauguration and Constitution of the Shanghai Provisional Court*. (Shanghai: North-China Daily News & Herald, 1927), 306-310.

Figure 15: “Taken for the Child Labor Campaign, Just as she came out of a Cotton Mill in Shanghai.” Originally from the Mitchell Library, Sydney, Papers of and concerning Agatha Harrison, Collected by Eleanor M. Hinder.

Figure 16: “Children in a Cotton Spinning Mill—Anywhere in China. Original Drawing by Miss A.M. Hotchkis.” See Adelaide Mary Anderson, *Humanity and Labor in China: An Industrial Visit and Its Sequel (1923 to 1926)* (London: Student Christian Movement, 1928), page not numbered.

Figure 17: Li Dazhao. “Shanghai de tonggong wenti” 上海的童工問題 [Shanghai’s Child Labor Problem]. *Li Dazhao xuanji* 李大釗選集 [Selected Works of Li Dazhao] (Beijing: People’s Press, 1962), 516-522.

Figure 18: “Shanghai Ciyou Zhensuo,” [Shanghai Children’s Clinic.] *Xiandai fumu* 4.3 (March 1936), page not numbered. A Portrait of H.H. Kung hangs on the Wall of Shanghai Child Welfare Clinic.

Figure 19: “Yan’an Xiaoxue.” 延安小學 [Yan’an Elementary School.] Primer. Ca. 1946. Cotsen Children’s Library.

Figure 20: “Kaixue.” 開學 [School begins]. Primer. Ca. 1946. Cotsen Children’s Library.

Figure 21: Cover depicting PLA soldier with children. *Xin Ertong* 新兒童 [New Child] (June 16, 1951). Cotsen Children's Collection.

Figure 22: Cover depicting Chinese children calling out a rich young American bully and a complacent Japanese boy. *Xin Ertong* 新兒童 [New Child] (March 1, 1951). Cotsen Children's Collection.

Figure 23: "In August 1950, when the abuses at Tze-ai were revealed, the 58 babies found still living looked like this. These babies looked well six months after the Tze-ai Home was taken over by the People's Relief Administration of China." *Children's Tears*. Hoover Library Archives. [Ask for permission to reprint photograph.]

Figure 24: Cover photograph of Gulou Kindergarten. *Xin ertong jiaoyu* 新兒童教育 [New Childhood Education] 6.7 (November 7, 1950). Peking University Library.

Figure 25: Cover illustration of a patriotic Chinese family. *Xin ertong jiaoyu* 新兒童教育 6.8 (December 15, 1950). Peking University Library.

Figure 26: "Beishi fushu youzhiyuan 1950 niandu diyi xueqi xuesheng tongjibiao." 北師附屬幼稚園 1950 年度第一學期學生統計表 [Beijing Normal University Affiliated Kindergarten 1950 Fall Semester Student Report Chart]. Beijing Municipal Archives, 153-4-2436. This is a chart of the numbers of students from certain class backgrounds.

## INTRODUCTION

“I’ll tell Chairman Mao on you!” I once insisted as a three-year-old. My threat to report a playground bully to Chairman Mao echoed scripted plays impressed upon me in a Beijing preschool in the 1980s.<sup>1</sup> Kindergartners practiced acts of charity and justice both on stage and in the classroom,<sup>2</sup> which indicated to American visitors “how social restraint and amity are achieved so early and so generally” among Chinese children.<sup>3</sup> School plays, songs, and textbooks taught children to cooperate as comrades<sup>4</sup> because “the main purpose of the crèches and kindergartens is socialization, rather than the development of individual capabilities.”<sup>5</sup> In the 1980s, most American experts explained early childhood socialization in China by pointing either to the overwhelming influence of the Chinese Communist state<sup>6</sup> or to deeply rooted Confucian behavior and ideology.<sup>7</sup> Because American experts assumed that childrearing practices derive from political ideology, these experts have overlooked the long-term structural continuities of kindergartens in China since 1903. Successive twentieth-century regimes used the kindergarten to discipline and mobilize the female workforce in the modern economy, in addition to political indoctrination, as Qing subjects, or Nationalist citizens, or Communist comrades.

Notwithstanding the importance of the Chinese Communist state, scholars should acknowledge the contributions of early history of the kindergarten, during the last decade of the Qing dynasty (1644-1911) and the Republic of China (1911-49), if only because historical actors presented themselves as active members of a global movement for kindergartens and child welfare. During the “golden age” of kindergartens in the 1930s, Chinese intellectuals recognized global trends propelling the formation of the kindergarten and preschool around the world, and they wrote histories of the kindergarten

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<sup>1</sup> See the plays of “Canton’s The East is Red Kindergarten,” in Ruth Gamberg, “As bends the Twig,” *Red and Expert: Education in the People’s Republic of China* (New York: Schocken Books, 1977).

<sup>2</sup> See slides, “1973 Delegation to China on Child Development and Education,” Eleanor E. Maccoby Papers, box No. 1, Hoover Institute, Stanford; see also William Kessen, ed., *Childhood in China*, (London: Yale University Press, 1975), 216-17.

<sup>3</sup> American Delegation on Early Childhood Development in the People’s Republic of China, *Childhood in China* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975), 221.

<sup>4</sup> Charles Ridley, *The Making of a Model Citizen in Communist China* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1971). See also R.F. Price, *Education in Communist China* (New York: Praeger, 1970). Price concentrates on higher-level education leading up to and during the Cultural Revolution. See especially pages 132-61.

<sup>5</sup> Price, *Education in Communist China*, 111.

<sup>6</sup> Ruth Sidel, *Women and Childcare in China: A Firsthand Report* (New York: Penguin, 1982). In the 1970s, Sidel saw in China a positive communal counterpart to the loneliness and alienation of American individual.

<sup>7</sup> In *Mao’s Revolution and the Chinese Political Culture*. Michigan Studies on China (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), Richard Solomon put forward the thesis that Chinese family and emotional structures were completely opposite from Western ones. As an example, he analyzes the filial story of Xue Rengui as the inverse of the Oedipus story (33-37). According to Solomon, traditional Chinese parents indulge infants to excess until early childhood, thus instilling them a desire to both fear and love their fathers in an equilibrium of harmony. Solomon proposes that the excessive strictness of Mao Zedong’s father drove the young Mao to rebellion, so that Mao targeted youth to rebel against the elder generation.

movement, rooted even in ancient Greece and Rome,<sup>8</sup> and developing through time to modern China in accord with certain basic principles. Intellectuals from opposite ends of the Nationalist-Communist political spectrum in the 1930s associated the kindergarten not only with the improvement of material conditions for children, but also with modernizing efforts for industrial welfare and modern hygiene. For example, in the 1932 book *Child Protection Services and Laws*, Lin Zhongda, a reformer working under the Nationalists in the 1930s who later retreated with them to Taiwan, examined local efforts in the context of global movements to protect children from neglect and abuse.<sup>9</sup> Lin Zhongda argued that China had failed to enforce anti-child labor laws only because China, as a late industrializer, had a shorter history of exploiting the industrial labor of children. Similarly, in the 1935 book *The Evolutionary History of Kindergartens*, Communist Zhang Zonglin 張宗麟 (1899 - 1978) argued that kindergartens reflected broad social trends: from charity institutions to state schools and from elite privilege to mass right.<sup>10</sup> Thus, Zhang described kindergartens as both a catalyst and venue of democratization and secularization. Zhang Zonglin anticipated social science models that map a progressive transition from family obligation to community responsibility and ultimately to state welfare.<sup>11</sup> Zhang Zonglin and Lin Zhongda predicted that childhood protection (rather than child exploitation) would develop in conjunction with economic modernization because of the political systems that they supported.

Kindergarten education could be adapted to multiple ideologies, from Christianity to pro-family indoctrination in the Nationalist state of the 1930s and 1940s to the more ambitious personal transformations under Chinese Communism after 1949. The example of Meiji Japanese reforms of the late nineteenth century illustrated to late Qing intellectuals that kindergartens could be stripped of their associations with Christian missionary education. Where American kindergartens socialized immigrants as new citizens, Nationalists in the Republican period saw that the kindergarten could be used as a tool for transforming Chinese children into citizens. In contrast to the pro-family goals of early school administrators in the late Qing and the Nanjing decade (1928-37), Chinese socialist-oriented intellectuals challenged existing social structures from the perspective of children's needs.<sup>12</sup> The example of Soviet Union demonstrated that the kindergarten

<sup>8</sup> For example, Wang Junsheng 王駿聲, *Youzhiyuan jiaoyu 幼稚園教育* [Kindergarten Education] (Shanghai: Shanghai Commercial Press, 1933).

<sup>9</sup> Lin Zhongda 林仲達, *Ertong baohu shiye yu falu 兒童保護事業于法律* [Child Protection Services and Laws] (Shanghai: Zhongguo shuju, 1932). Lin Zhongda later moved to Taiwan and continued to publish on ethical education and child psychology in the 1950s.

<sup>10</sup> Zhang Zonglin 張宗麟, *Youzhiyuan yanbian shi 幼稚教育演變史* [The Evolutionary History of Kindergartens] (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1935).

<sup>11</sup> Social science models posit a transition from community responsibility to state welfare, but states are not always able to fulfill those obligations. Linda Wong argues that the People's Republic of China still relies on family and community networks to provide support for the needy; she calls this reliance "welfare residualism" because of state failure to meet these needs. Linda Wong, *Marginalization and Social Welfare in China* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998).

<sup>12</sup> Andrew Jones, "The Child as History in Republican China: A Discourse on Development," *Positions: East Asia Cultures Critique* 10.3 (2002): 725, footnote 27. This line of argument continued in the 1930s; for example, one social commentator comments on the passing of Children's Year by saying, "I understand

could be used as a means to question the authority of the traditional family.<sup>13</sup> The Chinese Communist state after 1949 further established kindergartens and other institutions to intervene more directly in family life and even to assume the social functions of the family.<sup>14</sup> Because Communists defied traditional norms of familial authority by introducing a new system of authority, they rendered earlier labels of “revolutionary” and “conservative” somewhat meaningless; what mattered instead was adherence to norms dictated by the party state. Some Chinese ex-patriots today, disillusioned with Communist collectivization and state socialism, recall their *pro-forma* childhood behavior as empty mimicry of state brainwashing.<sup>15</sup> Given such factors as selective memories and the intensity of changes in twentieth-century China, it would indeed be problematic to “uncover” the inner subjectivity of the Chinese child in the past. Instead, this dissertation places in historical context Chinese efforts to study the Chinese child, and to professionalize early childhood education according to new scientific standards and political content.

The “discovery” of a playful and sentimental childhood as a unique category led Chinese from different political standpoints to make childhood a special consideration in educational institutions, legal protection, and social welfare; moreover, these structural and institutional measures had long-lasting effects. Furthermore, the protection of “sentimental” childhood from both academic pressure and industrial work had a larger functional contribution to the overall economy. In contrast to the traditional household economy, economic and political modernization required greater age segregation in schools and labor specialization in factories. Children best contributed to the advancement of economic modernization, in both the Nationalist and Communist state, by *not* directly producing economic goods, but by having social and national value for China. The function of a sentimental childhood endured from the Nationalist to the Communist era, even though sentimentalized childhood in China was initially an elite notion and the political content of kindergarten education changed significantly from the late Qing to the Nationalist period and to the Communist era. Thus, my historical approach will uncover a greater degree of fluidity and agreement across the political

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the profound truth that children are the soul of the people; each advanced nation in Euro-America has long understood the importance of children to the future (吾人深知道兒童是未來民族的魂靈，歐美各先進國家，早已見到兒童在未來社會的重要)。” The author goes on to discuss the ways that China has “mistaken children for private property” (以兒童為私有財產錯誤觀念), especially within the family—and thus, China’s orphanages are inadequate because China has too often relegated the entire burden of childrearing to the family. Chen Qi’en 陳期恩, “Buxing ertong jiaoyu wenti” 不幸兒童教養問題 [Educational Concerns of Children of Misfortune], *Jiaoyu shenghuo* 教育生活 (1937) in *Minguo chenxi duankan duankan* 民國珍稀短刊斷刊 [Republican-Era Periodicals] 3 (Beijing: Xinhua shudian, 2006), 1456.

<sup>13</sup> For the projected function of kindergartens for collective socialization, see Lisa Kirschenbaum, “Part One: The Kindergarten and the Revolutionary Tradition in Russia,” in her *Small Comrades: Revolutionizing Childhood in Soviet Russia, 1917-1932* (New York: Routledge Falmer, 2001), 8-33.

<sup>14</sup> See, for example, Beijing Municipal Archives, 001-006-01377, to be discussed in the Epilogue.

<sup>15</sup> Wenguang Huang, “In Death, North Korea Imitates China,” *The New York Times*, December 24, 2011, sec. Opinion / Sunday Review. <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/12/24/opinion/sunday/in-death-north-korea-imitates-china.html>.

spectrum, from Communists like Zhang Zonglin to reformers like Lin Zhongda. Nevertheless, Zhang and Lin would advocate very different sorts of political regimes to influence the content of kindergarten education. By placing the Chinese kindergarten movement in historical context, we will be able to observe both structural continuities and political discontinuities in China's twentieth century.

#### MODERN DEFINITIONS OF CHILDHOOD AND THE KINDERGARTEN

Because Chinese child experts selectively adapted the idea of a modern, sentimental childhood, it is important to note the ways in which the child became the object of both sentimental imagination and scientific observation in the West. The “discovery of childhood” was a revolutionary idea for Chinese intellectuals in the early twentieth century in ways that, as Andrew Jones has suggested, parallel similar phenomena in Euro-America.<sup>16</sup> Even though early childhood education existed in imperial China,<sup>17</sup> the kindergarten in the nineteenth century was a foreign import associated, as it was in Europe, with modernity and modernization. In sixteenth-century France, the institutionalization of age-graded education helped to usher in a new era of academic categories and social hierarchies. According to Philippe Ariès, the emergence of the grammar school model in the sixteenth century helped educators to enforce physical discipline and categorize academic disciplines, thus suggesting a link between school structure and intellectual content.<sup>18</sup> Ariès suggests that in modern “egalitarian” societies, segregation—in terms of age, class, and even space—replaced the markers of social rank, which had allowed the young and the old, the rich and the poor, to mix freely in feudal, hierarchical societies.<sup>19</sup> Thus, age segregation was symptomatic of the restructuring of society after feudalism.

Age segregation, as well as the gendered space,<sup>20</sup> helped to define the home and the school in an era of economic modernization. The trans-Atlantic “cult of domesticity” promoted the cultural and “sentimental” value of femininity and childhood, with an innocence that should be protected from the corruption of industrial work and public life.<sup>21</sup> Thus, sentimental innocence defines modern childhood as a unique age category. With economic changes in the mid-nineteenth century, American schools became increasingly age-segregated and institutionalized education as the venue to success,<sup>22</sup> and

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<sup>16</sup> Andrew F. Jones, “The Child As History in Republican China,” 695–727.

<sup>17</sup> Thomas Lee, *Education in Imperial China: A History* (Leiden and Boston: BRILL, 2000).

<sup>18</sup> Michel Foucault also deconstructs the artificial construction of the Port Royal grammars, but Ariès highlights the hierarchy of assigning increasingly complex grammars to progressive grade levels.

<sup>19</sup> Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Modern Life*, translated by Robert Baldic (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962).

<sup>20</sup> John Gillis, *A World of Their Own Making: Myth, Ritual, and the Quest for Family Values* (New York: Basic Books, 1996).

<sup>21</sup> John R. Gillis, *A World of Their Own Making: Myth, Ritual, and the Quest for Family Values*. (New York: Basic books, 1996).

<sup>22</sup> Joseph F. Kett, *Rites of Passage: Adolescence in America, 1790 to the Present* (New York: Basic Books, 1977).

maternal anxiety about future success helped give rise to scientific parenting manuals.<sup>23</sup> Ironically, the idea of protecting childhood innocence and exuberance to develop a good personality was based in part on the future need to build social skills and networks in a new commercial age.<sup>24</sup>

As Zhang Zonglin posited, kindergartens reflected secularizing trends that emphasized the social value, rather than the religious mission, of childrearing in the West. Even though missionaries to China and elsewhere used the kindergarten to socialize local children to Christian values and Western norms, the kindergarten itself was not inherently Christian. Invented by the German Friederich Fröbel (1782-1852), who eschewed traditional Christian assumptions about original sin in children, the kindergarten focused on developing skills and societal morality.<sup>25</sup> As a protégé of Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746 – 1827), who had championed mothers as the first and best teachers, Fröbel instructed mothers in the art of childrearing.<sup>26</sup> Banned in Germany after the Revolution of 1848 for “rejecting” Christianity,<sup>27</sup> kindergarten advocates fled to the United States, where they Americanized kindergartens.<sup>28</sup> Local school boards used the Americanized kindergarten to socialize the children of new immigrants.<sup>29</sup> Kindergarten teachers visited homes and ran mothering classes,<sup>30</sup> extending the reach of the state onto the lives of immigrant families. Many immigrants resisted the inculcation of their children with Americanized values.<sup>31</sup> Kindergarten proponents saw this conflict, not as one between American and foreign values, but between modern, democratic values and outmoded systems; moreover, they “imagined a community beyond national borders, encouraging world citizenship and internationalism.”<sup>32</sup>

Trends in the professionalization of welfare services greatly changed the international organizations, from missionary to humanitarian relief groups. With the

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<sup>23</sup> Ann Hulbert, *Raising America: Experts, Parents, and a Century of Advice About Children*, 1st ed. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003). For growing age-consciousness in America, see Howard P. Chudacoff, *How Old Are You?: Age Consciousness in American Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989).

<sup>24</sup> Paula S. Fass, *The Damned and the Beautiful: American Youth in the 1920's* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977).

<sup>25</sup> Michael Steven Shapiro, *Child's Garden: The Kindergarten Movement from Fröbel to Dewey*, (University Park and London: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1983), 4.

<sup>26</sup> Ann Taylor Allen, “Children Between Public and Private Worlds: The Kindergarten and Public Policy in Germany, 1840-Present,” in Roberta Lyn Wollons, ed., *Kindergartens and Cultures: The Global Diffusion of an Idea* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000).

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 24

<sup>28</sup> Barbara Beatty, “‘The Letter Killeth’: Americanization and Multicultural Education in Kindergartens in the United States, 1856-1920,” in Roberta Lyn Wollons, ed., *Kindergartens and Cultures*.

<sup>29</sup> Robert Lyn Wollons, “Introduction,” in Roberta Lyn Wollons, ed., *Kindergartens and Cultures*. See also Dirk Shumann, “Introduction,” in *Raising Citizens in the “Century of the Child”: The United States and German Central Europe in Comparative Perspective* (Studies in German History, no. 12; New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2010), 7.

<sup>30</sup> Barbara Beatty, “‘The Letter Killeth’” in Roberta Lyn Wollons, ed., *Kindergartens and Cultures*, 47.

<sup>31</sup> Stephen Lassonde, *Learning to Forget: Schooling and Family Life in New Haven's Working Class, 1870-1940* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005).

<sup>32</sup> Ellen Berg, “Linked with the Welfare of All Peoples”: The American Kindergarten, Americanization, and Internationalism in the First World War,” in Shumann, ed., *Raising Citizens in the “Century of the Child,”* 85.



rising politics of maternalism, women lobbied for and staffed the United States Children's Bureau, disseminating the art of healthy childrearing through pamphlets, state fairs, and "better baby contests."<sup>33</sup> With the professionalization of welfare services in the United States, bureaucrats imposed middle-class standards and values, but poor women could manipulate those organizations to leverage power within their own families.<sup>34</sup> Even though the U.S. Children's Bureau, influenced by eugenics, defined the standard of health in terms of White children,<sup>35</sup> their methods for infant hygiene were exported abroad to places like China through translated pamphlets.<sup>36</sup>

American trends promoted a sentimental valuation of the child, as was indicated by the increasing economic cost of childrearing. In *Pricing the Priceless Child*, Viviana Zelizer argues that, from the 1870s to the 1930s, America experienced a "shift in children's value from 'object of utility' to object of sentiment" with the gradual erosion of social expectations that children would contribute financially to the household economy.<sup>37</sup> Among Zelizer's arguments for the economic and social valuation of childhood, she examines debates about the abolition of child labor. "At every step," she argues, "working-class and middle-class advocates of a useful childhood battled the social construction of the economically useless child."<sup>38</sup> With the term "economically useless," Zelizer underscores that most American parents eventually embraced the total economic liability of childrearing in exchange for children's increased sentimental value. As will be explored in this dissertation, Chinese reformers adapted American trends in extending the right to a sentimentalized childhood to the poor.<sup>39</sup>

With these considerations about the intersection of a sentimental childhood with education, this dissertation defines the kindergarten as a form of preschool education, or education that focuses primarily on socialization rather than schooling. In the late Qing, educators identified traditional preschool socialization as "home education" or "family education." Western-style kindergartens were an innovation because they socialized children in institutions outside of the home with professional teachers. School administrators and child experts also believed that their scientific expertise could help

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<sup>33</sup> Katherine Bullard, "Children's Future, Nation's Future: Race, Citizenship, and the United States Children's Bureau," in *Raising Citizens in the "Century of the Child,"* 54. See also Kriste Lindenmeyer, *A Right to Childhood: The U.S. Children's Bureau and Child Welfare, 1912-46* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997).

<sup>34</sup> Linda Gordon, *Heroes of Their Own Lives: The Politics and History of Family Violence--Boston, 1880-1960* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002).

<sup>35</sup> Katherine Bullard, "Children's Future."

<sup>36</sup> For example, Children's Bureau, "Are You Training Your Child to be Happy? Lesson Material in Child Management."

<sup>37</sup> Viviana A. Zelizer, *Pricing the Priceless Child: The Changing Social Value of Children* (New York: Basic Books, 1985), 7. Zeiler quotes Joseph Kett's use of the phrase "object of utility."

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.

<sup>39</sup> Paula Fass, "A Historical Context for the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 633.1 (January 2011): 17-29. Ellen Boucher argues that the experiences of World War I helped to galvanize transpacific efforts for child welfare. "Defining International Responsibility: Media, the State, and the Origins of the Save the Children Fund," in Laura Beers and Geraint Thomas, eds., *Brave New World: Imperial and Democratic Nation-Building in Britain between the Wars* (London: Institute for Historical Research, 2012).

inform mothers and fathers in childrearing at home. Orphanages and mission schools also established kindergartens for their students, and kindergarten curricula helped offer analytical focus for their teachers. Even though the kindergarten was a form of preschool education, “preschools” or crèches (*tuo’ersuo* 托兒所) later developed for a yet younger cohort of children and infants, often as a form of industrial welfare for working mothers. Because these preschools pulled children away from laboring mothers, factory crèches constitute an important development in the separation of childhood from work.

When I began dissertation research, I assumed that I would concentrate on elite kindergartens rather than charity preschools, but it is now a basic premise of this dissertation that many educators established kindergartens to protect children from the academic pressure of elite parents or the economic exploitation of poor parents. Local elites established both welfare organizations and schools. Progressive ideas about childhood socialization generally entered China either through elite schools or through charity institutions. Thus, this dissertation draws primarily on school mission statements and records (found in educational journals and municipal archives), as well as textbooks and educational journals published by Chinese elites and their associations. Even though textbooks and mission statements are proscriptive rather than descriptive, child experts and school administrators based scholarly articles on “scientific” observations of real children in the home and the kindergarten. This dissertation places in historical context the analysis of childhood as a scientific field of inquiry in connection to new institutions meant to protect both elite and poor children from academic pressure or economic exploitation.

Despite important differences, elite theories and protective services represented two sides of the same trend toward institutionalizing childhood socialization through modernizing reforms. The scientific impetus for these institutions was the biology of the child, and these institutions provided further opportunities to collect information for the child. One narrative, in the section “Structural Functions of Preschool Education,” follows ideas about childhood socialization and the way that kindergartens provided a new venue for studying children and producing knowledge. Educators responded to growing demands to articulate a specifically “Chinese” style of childhood socialization, whether “Chinese” was defined racially or politically. Another narrative, in the subsequent section “Political Control Over Early Childhood Education,” follows the development of institutions for childhood protection and the push for (state) measures in place of private charity. As sites of cultural contestation between Christian missionaries and Chinese leaders, these institutions increasingly “indigenized” and modernized, experimenting with ideas about charity, patronage and welfare. These two narratives connect because educators and activists not only shared new conceptions about childhood, but also cooperated to protect children.

#### EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION ABOUT THE CHILD

With a few notable and significant exceptions, scholarship on the preschool and kindergarten is often peripheral to larger narratives about education, and for good reason; kindergartens were marginal in the educational system. In the early twentieth century,

most government officials and educators focused on establishing elementary and higher education. Parents also valued the utilitarian and academic skills over the social skills taught in preschool. With a weak state and an unstable economy, few had the luxury of sending children to kindergarten, and primary school was the higher priority for both government officials and parents. It is precisely because kindergartens and preschools were slow to develop that the early institutions published textbooks and set far-reaching precedents for the structure of classroom schedules.

Education has been an important field in Chinese history because of the overwhelming influence of the Chinese script and the civil service examination system in contributing to the political and cultural cohesion of China. The introduction of kindergartens and preschools to China was just one part of a much larger and sweeping educational reform that overturned the dominance of the Confucian classics in China's civil service examinations.<sup>40</sup> An entrenched measure of academic and professional advancement throughout late imperial China,<sup>41</sup> the exams had entered the Chinese popular imagination as the structure of justice, learning, and success.<sup>42</sup> Despite an ideal of fostering disinterested learning in children,<sup>43</sup> Chinese teachers and parents recognized the utilitarian value of academic "degrees" in the examination system, so this certification system validated the need to learn the classics. In order to ensure the success of a family member (whose status would confer a tax exemption, as well as social prestige), prominent families organized "clan schools" to educate and select the brightest young boys,<sup>44</sup> and by the late Qing, functional literacy became prevalent through private schools and public charitable schools.<sup>45</sup> As China's population rose and the number of its officials somewhat declined from the Song dynasty to the Qing period, competition grew fierce.<sup>46</sup> Especially in affluent areas like the Jiangnan region, competition drove families to

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<sup>40</sup> Elementary schools, for poor children who were not preparing for the examinations, also focused on the classics in order to disseminate Confucian values. Evelyn Rawski, *Education and Popular Literacy in Ch'ing China* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1979), 49. Rawski also argues that "functional literacy" was much more prevalent in the late Qing than we have assumed, with a literacy rate of 30-45% among males and 2-10% among females (23).

<sup>41</sup> Benjamin Elman, *A Cultural History of Civil Examinations in Late Imperial China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).

<sup>42</sup> Ichisada Miyazaki, *China's Examination Hell: The Civil Service Examinations of Imperial China*, translated by Conrad Schirokauer, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981).

<sup>43</sup> Thomas H. C. Lee, *Education in Traditional China*.

<sup>44</sup> Benjamin A. Elman, *Classicism, Politics, and Kinship: The Ch'ang-chou School of New Text Confucianism in Late Imperial China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).

<sup>45</sup> Rawski, 28, 31, 37.

<sup>46</sup> The number of officials from the Ming to the Qing was fairly constant, but the population burgeoned. Ho Ping-ti emphasized the significant decline of 'new men' or new blood coming into the elite because non-established families (father or grandfather had no degree or office) declined from 2/3 in Song to 1/2 in Ming to 1/3 in Qing. Ping-ti Ho, *Ladder of Success in Imperial China: Aspects of Social Mobility, 1368-1911* (Columbia University Press, 1980). Robert Hymes rejects Ho's emphasis on mobility and goes on to argue that only if one were already 'elite' did one pass the exams; however, his definition of 'elite' essentially rules out any significant mobility. Robert Hymes, *Statesmen and Gentlemen: The Elite of Fu-chou, Chiang-hsi, in Northern and Southern Sung* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

pressure their children into memorizing the classics at earlier and earlier ages.<sup>47</sup> Pregnant Chinese mothers even read the classics aloud to their fetuses in order to kick-start the process of memorization.<sup>48</sup> The age at which memorization commenced decreased by a year for every century that passed, and the civil service examination was abolished in 1905 when this algorithm pushed up against the reasonable biological limits of age.<sup>49</sup> It was in the context of native dissatisfaction with the traditional system that Westerners entered China with an array of new alternatives.

Western missionaries, like Timothy Richard,<sup>50</sup> criticized the traditional examination system and promoted a rubric of physical and emotional health to dovetail with the goals of kindergarten education. From their own perspective, missionaries were liberating women and children from the yoke of Chinese patriarchal authority. Missionaries argued that the traditional Chinese educational system stifled the physical, emotional, and spiritual development of children. Western missionaries provided Chinese educators, some of whom had recognized the negative aspects of the examination system, with powerful weapons to critique their traditional system.<sup>51</sup> According to critics, the examination system was unjust in part because of the undue pressure that it placed on children (and adults). Missionaries claimed that the examination system crippled young children so that China became the “Sick Man of Asia.”<sup>52</sup> Thus, to strengthen young Chinese bodies, Western missionaries and Chinese intellectuals introduced physical education to China.<sup>53</sup> According to this perspective, Chinese children had lagged behind in a global competition while struggling to overreach each other in a national examination. By lessening academic pressure on children, teachers could potentially develop children’s physical skills and cognitive capacity; thus, educators wanted to improve the physical and cognitive health of Chinese children, a concern that motivated the later emphasis on play as well.

In the nineteenth century, revolutionaries and reformers around the world tied childhood education to “national interest” by emphasizing the importance of citizenship training.<sup>54</sup> Even more so than other national powers, Chinese elites applied Western

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<sup>47</sup> Limin Bai, *Shaping the Ideal Child: Children and Their Primers in Late Imperial China* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2005).

<sup>48</sup> For more on fetal education, see Nicole Richardson, “The Nation in Utero: Translating the Science of Fetal Education in Republican China,” *Frontiers of History in China* 7.1 (2012): 4-31.

<sup>49</sup> Ping-chen Hsiung, *A Tender Voyage: Children and Childhood in Late Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005).

<sup>50</sup> Limin Bai, “The Chinese Kindergarten Movement, 1903-1927.” Timothy Richards wrote articles introducing the Western kindergarten in the Chinese-language *Church News* (*Jiaohui Xinbao* 教會新報), a periodical that was founded by the American Methodist missionary Young Allen.

<sup>51</sup> Benjamin Elman, *A Cultural History of Civil Examinations in Late Imperial China*.

<sup>52</sup> Larissa N. Heinrich, “The Pathological Body: Science, Race, and Literary Realism in China, 1770-1930,” Ph.D. dissertation, University of California at Berkeley, 2002.

<sup>53</sup> To read more about the introduction of physical education to China, see Yu Chien-ming 游鑑明, *Yundongchang neiwai: Jindai Huadong diqu de nüzi tiyu, 1895-1937* 運動場內外：近代華東地區的女子體育 1885—1937 [On and Off the Playing Fields: A Modern History of Physical Education for Girls in Eastern China, 1895-1937], (Taipei: Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, 2009).

<sup>54</sup> “Children and the Public Interest,” in *Raising Citizens in the “Century of the Child.”*

discourses on childhood with an even greater degree of emphasis on national “wealth and power.”<sup>55</sup> In China, these trends intersected with critiques of the examination system and efforts to “restore” the Qing dynasty through the Self-Strengthening Movement (1861-1895).<sup>56</sup> Based mainly in prosperous coastal cities, the Self-Strengtheners introduced Western science and technology into China. But as long as the examination system reserved the most prestigious awards for those who studied the Confucian classics, students would not be rewarded for their efforts to learn about science. The choice between Western science and Confucian ethics bespoke a larger, and enduring, issue about the tension between technological expertise and political loyalty.<sup>57</sup>

Especially after the dissolution of the civil service exams in 1905, Chinese elites introduced age-segregated, as distinct from merit-based, educational systems. Educators modeled political authority and citizenship within the classroom, and administrators took unprecedented steps in documenting and regulating children. The production of knowledge and the institutionalization of preschools helped to usher in new trends to professionalize childrearing outside of the home. With competition from missionary schools and the introduction of multiple visions of preschool training, teachers and parents could no longer assume that childhood socialization naturally proceeded along “traditional” lines.

The Qing court at the turn of the century recognized the need for educational reforms, including kindergartens<sup>58</sup> and thus looked at the successful reforms of Meiji-era Japan.<sup>59</sup> Japanese intellectuals followed German models “promoting the patriotic impulses of their youth.”<sup>60</sup> In Japan, state-sponsored kindergartens preceded missionary kindergartens,<sup>61</sup> and Japanese textbooks emphasized Confucian rather than Christian values.<sup>62</sup> Because missionaries gained access to China through Western imperialism in

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<sup>55</sup> Benjamin Schwartz argues that “wealth and power” were distinct from the cultural nexus of liberalism embedded in the West, but Chinese intellectuals were first able to disassociate wealth and power from liberal values. See Schwartz’s *In Search of Wealth and Power: Yen Fu and the West* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1964).

<sup>56</sup> For more on the Self-Strengthening Movement, see Mary C. Wright, *The Last Stand of Chinese Conservatism: The T’ung-chih Restoration, 1862-1874* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1962).

<sup>57</sup> Wen-shing Yeh, “Alienated Academy,” Ph.D. dissertation, University of California at Berkeley. Susan Shirk terms this dichotomy as a balance between “meritocracy” and “virtuocracy.” With a Weberian framework to interview students and teachers who had fled to Hong Kong between 1971 and 1978, Shirk concludes that the virtuocracy of Communist China had encouraged individual self-preservation rather than collective cooperation. See Susan L. Shirk, *Competitive Comrades: Career Incentives and Student Strategies in China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982).

<sup>58</sup> Limin Bai, “The Chinese Kindergarten Movement, 1903-1927,” in Wollens, ed., *Kindergarten and Cultures*, 141.

<sup>59</sup> Mary Clabaugh Wright, *The Last Stand of Chinese Conservatism*.

<sup>60</sup> Roberta Wollens, “The Missionary Kindergarten in Japan,” in Wollens, ed., *Kindergarten and Cultures*, 117. Thomas D. Curran, *Educational Reform in Republican China*, 134.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>62</sup> “Jiaoshou shu (xu) 教科書 (續),” republished in *Mengxue congshu: Like: Jiaoshou shu* 蒙學叢書: 理科: 教授書, 2.

the Opium Wars,<sup>63</sup> many Chinese interpreted missionary education as abusive, even labeling it “slave education.” Instead, Imperial Japan was a far more palatable model for educational reform than the Qing’s Western rivals.<sup>64</sup> Given Chinese distrust of missionary childcare, Chinese educators in the late Qing preferred to translate Japanese, rather than missionary, texts about Child Study and kindergarten education.<sup>65</sup>

These goals, for increased motor skills and brain functionality rather than creative play, dominated the Chinese interest in kindergarten education in the last years of the Qing dynasty. Qing officials asserted that kindergartens should “supplement,” rather than supplant, the family in kindergartens as daycare centers in contrast to full-time orphanages. The Empress Dowager Cixi 慈禧 (1835–1908) and Zhang Zhidong 張之洞 (1837–1909) envisioned kindergartens as private institutions run by elite women in their homes, but aided by professional networks.<sup>66</sup> This characteristic and underlying tension between professional qualifications and political loyalty contributed indirectly to the instability and ultimate downfall of the Qing dynasty.<sup>67</sup>

Preschool education remained at the periphery of the educational system, even as successive governments turned to kindergarten education with increasing attention. In 1915, former general, president, and would-be emperor Yuan Shikai 袁世凱 (1859 – 1916) included kindergartens in his national educational program.<sup>68</sup> Yet, elite kindergartens would for years remain private and local.<sup>69</sup> Despite the disjuncture between these formal public institutions and private kindergartens and charities, the formulation of these institutions provided a conduit for information about cognitive development, children’s growth, and kindergarten administration.

From the time of the New Culture Movement (beginning in 1915), China’s progressive intellectuals identified the child as a potential historical actor for literary narratives about modern development. Darwinian evolution seemingly forestalled the possibility of immediate change, but childhood education gave intellectuals a fulcrum to

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<sup>63</sup> As a result of the Opium Wars, missionaries entered China in 1842, and a treaty in 1858 gave missionaries permission to evangelize outside of treaty ports; see Ida Belle Lewis, *The Education of Girls in China* (New York: Columbia Teachers College, 1919), 18-19.

<sup>64</sup> Thomas D. Curran, *Educational Reform in Republican China: The Failure of Educators to Create a Modern Nation* (Lewiston, N.Y: Edwin Mellen Press, 2005), 158-165.

<sup>65</sup> Roberta Wollons, “The Missionary Kindergarten in Japan,” in Wollons, ed., *Kindergartens and Cultures*, 117. Thomas D. Curran, *Educational Reform in Republican China*, 134. See also Sally Borthwick, *Education and Social Change in China: The Beginnings of the Modern Era* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1983); and Limin Bai, “The Chinese Kindergarten Movement, 1903-27,” in Wollons, ed., *Kindergarten and Cultures*, 141.

<sup>66</sup> Joan Judge explores the Japanese influences on mother manuals as instruction for rearing citizens; Joan Judge, “Citizens or Mothers of Citizens? Gender and the Meaning of Modern Chinese Citizenship,” in Merle Goldman and Elizabeth Perry, eds., *Changing Meanings of Citizenship in Modern China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002), 23-44.

<sup>67</sup> Sally Borthwick, *Education and Social Change*, 153-54.

<sup>68</sup> Liao Qifa, ed., *Zhongguo youer jiaoyushi* 中國幼兒教育史 [The History of Chinese Preschool Education], 209.

<sup>69</sup> Higher education was national; middle-school education provincial; and elementary education county-based. Ruth Hayhoe, 34. Also see Sally Borthwick, 87.

assert leverage on political change in future generations.<sup>70</sup> Experimenting with a turn from traditional cultural forms toward new ones, New Culture intellectuals misrepresented and denigrated historical Chinese understandings of childhood.<sup>71</sup> For instance, recent scholarship, led by Ping-chen Hsiung and Thomas Lee, shows that traditional Chinese doctors and educators had employed specific intellectual and physical categories for childhood long before the West.<sup>72</sup> In many ways, traditional Chinese education prefigured the most progressive twentieth-century notions of individualized attention.<sup>73</sup> Why did New Culture intellectuals reject the positive legacy of tradition?

With radical rhetoric, New Culture intellectuals wished to “save the children” in order to liberate *adults* from the infantilization of filial piety. Lu Xun (魯迅 real name Zhou Shuren 周樹人 1881-1936) famously cried, “Save the children!”<sup>74</sup> However, children corrupted by Chinese traditions would reportedly never fully mature. For example, as an adult son, the legendary Laizi perpetually played the role of the babbling “infant” with his toys to amuse his even more aged parents.<sup>75</sup> Through the backdrop of this account of “filial piety,” Lu Xun demonstrated the monstrosity of ignoring the divide between childhood and adulthood. As in Euro-America, then, Chinese intellectuals wanted to segregate childhood not only to save childhood from adult responsibilities, but also to save adults from infantilized childhood. This ethos, tying childhood protection to adult liberation, permeated the radicalism of New Culture intellectuals who advocated family revolution.

Scholars have long acknowledged the political significance of “new youth” in twentieth-century Chinese history. American-style universities provided a sense of “class cohort” and collective identity.<sup>76</sup> Students were then radicalized in the May Fourth Movement as the response to the handover of Qingdao to the Japanese at the Treaty of Versailles in 1919.<sup>77</sup> As young women sought to acquire formal education, their struggles became emblematic of the struggle to overcome China’s oppression and exploitation.<sup>78</sup> Universities opened the door for political expression by young men and women. The journal and association “New Youth” and “Young China” further cemented the symbolic

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<sup>70</sup> For example, Andrew F. Jones, *Developmental Fairy Tales: Evolutionary Thinking and Modern Chinese Culture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011), 7.

<sup>71</sup> Ping-chen Hsiung, *A Tender Voyage*.

<sup>72</sup> Hsiung, *A Tender Voyage*; and Thomas H.C. Lee, “Discovery of Childhood: Children and Education in Sung China,” in Sigrid Paul, ed., *Kultur, Begriff und Wort in China und Japan* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1984), 159-189.

<sup>73</sup> Michael Nylan, “Childhood, Formal Education, and Ideology in China,” in Willem Koops, and Michael Zuckerman, ed., *Beyond the Century of the Child: Cultural History and Developmental Psychology* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 137-55.

<sup>74</sup> Lu, Xun, “Diary of a Madman.”

<sup>75</sup> Lu, Xun, “The Classic of Filial Piety.”

<sup>76</sup> John Cleverley, *The Schooling of China: Tradition and Modernity in Chinese Education* (Sydney ; London: Allen & Unwin, 1985).

<sup>77</sup> Vera Schwarcz, *The Chinese Enlightenment: Intellectuals and the Legacy of the May Fourth Movement of 1919* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986).

<sup>78</sup> Christina Kelley Gilmartin, *Engendering the Chinese Revolution: Radical Women, Communist Politics, and Mass Movements in the 1920s* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).

alignment of revolutionary youth and patriotism. These trends indirectly influenced the symbolic importance of childhood. Even infants were considered “future leaders of the nation.”

Despite anti-Christian sentiment among intellectuals in the 1920s,<sup>79</sup> educators were turning from Japanese to American models. Japanese influences had dominated primary-school education in the late Qing, but began to wane in the Republic.<sup>80</sup> Strengthening American influences, John Dewey visited China from 1919 to 1921, and his Chinese students at Columbia Teachers College began to exert influence in China.<sup>81</sup> In 1922, the National Confederation of Provincial Educators decided that the Chinese educational system should follow U.S. rather than Japanese models.<sup>82</sup> Missionary universities, like St. John’s University, began to cater to elite Chinese demands by becoming less overtly religious in nature.<sup>83</sup> These universities introduced social sciences and professional welfare as secularized versions of their mission efforts. Some Chinese educators, as Christian converts, accepted secularized religious influences; these Chinese philanthropists and educators assumed Chinese leadership over Christian organizations for the protection and education of children.

With the introduction of kindergarten education, a new category of “child experts” arose, best exemplified by Zhang Xuemen 張雪門 (1891-1973) in North China and Chen Heqin 陳鶴琴 (1892-1982) in South China. Because trends in South China were more closely aligned with the Nationalist Party during the Nanjing decade, and were the principal focus of criticism in the transition to Communist leadership, this dissertation concentrates on Chen and the movements of child advocacy that he participated in. Child experts worked with philanthropists to introduce the hygienic practices and scientific tools into the modern home and welfare institutions.<sup>84</sup> Although kindergarten teachers believed that they were protecting children from undue academic pressure, they built institutions that include preschool-aged children in the educational system. In the pages of *Educational Review*, the leading educational journal established in 1909, the major focus of attention, in terms of frequency of article topics, shifted over time from elementary schools to kindergartens and then to preschools, so educators were exposing ever-younger cohorts of children to political education. Ironically, kindergarten advocates made children accessible to scientific inquiry and political indoctrination.

During the Nanjing decade, child experts continued to develop a child care discourse predicated upon scientific claims of child psychology and the professionalization of childcare both in the home and in the kindergarten. Because

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<sup>79</sup> Tatsuro Yamamoto and Sumiko Yamamoto, “II. The Anti-Christian Movement in China, 1922-1927,” *The Far Eastern Quarterly* 12.2 (February 1, 1953): 133–147.

<sup>80</sup> Sally Borthwick, *Education and Social Change*, 42.

<sup>81</sup> Jessica Ching-Sze Wang, *John Dewey in China: To Teach and to Learn* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2007).

<sup>82</sup> Suzanne Pepper, 61.

<sup>83</sup> Wen-hsin Yeh, *The Alienated Academy: Culture and Politics in Republican China, 1919-1937* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990), 62.

<sup>84</sup> For public health and hygienic modernity, see Ruth Rogaski, *Hygienic Modernity: Meanings of Health and Disease in Treaty-Port China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004).



experts (from different movements, such as Child Study to the Mental Hygiene, discussed in this dissertation) advocated scientific theories with relatively greater degrees of state cooperation over time, they tied child welfare and their own authority to state politics. During the regime shifts of the first half of the twentieth century, the state delegitimized child experts, yet drew upon the institutional structures that they had built.

#### STRUCTURAL FUNCTIONS OF PRESCHOOL EDUCATION

Notwithstanding slow-changing structural continuities, the structure of preschools and kindergarten implied new forms of community and authority. Early Chinese socialists regarded kindergartens as a communitarian alternative to family authority, whereas Qing loyalists, Chinese Christians, and the Nationalists saw kindergartens as institutions that would expand state authority into the home. The kindergarten helped promote a specific economic function of childhood as it was embedded in the larger economy. The economic value of a sentimental childhood for the larger economy is illustrated in the imagery of “slave education,” an image that Chinese used to criticize missionary schools. According to sentimental ideals, children should be the opposite of slaves—because children are defined as those who do *not* labor rather than those who do. However, like slaves, children were completely dependent on others.

Charity associations for childhood protection benefited from fundraising in the private sector. With the development of coastal shipping, newly wealthy Chinese philanthropists, whom Kathryn Edgerton-Tarpley terms the “hybrid elite” of Shanghai, communicated China’s needs to both domestic and international audiences.<sup>85</sup> Chinese charity associations had long existed,<sup>86</sup> but the new elite used modern methods of photography and international funding to promote the special interests of children. These private and semi-official associations supplemented state efforts to provide welfare relief during famine,<sup>87</sup> and sometimes developed into longstanding efforts for childhood protection.

Kindergarten teachers taught the children of the elite, but also aimed to serve the children of the poor. Chen Heqin’s educational association for kindergarten and primary teachers pledged, in its mission statement, to professionalize teachers and to promote child welfare. The creation of kindergartens and preschools was often described as an

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<sup>85</sup> These elites published promotional woodcuts of starving victims and hapless orphans lured to their deaths by cannibalistic adults in the late nineteenth century; Kathryn Edgerton-Tarpley, *Tears from Iron: Cultural Responses to Famine in Nineteenth-century China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 131. See also Wen-hsin Yeh, *The Alienated Academy*, 56.

<sup>86</sup> For the development of charity associations in the Ming, see Joanna Handlin Smith, *The Art of Doing Good: Charity in Late Ming China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009).

<sup>87</sup> As Pierre Étienne Will argues, the Qing at its height in the eighteenth century developed a sophisticated, empire-wide “famine administration” to support agriculture (rather than necessarily to provide famine relief) because of its importance for maintaining the Mandate of Heaven. Lillian Li shows that this structure devolved along with the decline of the Qing and thus opened the door to the administrative and charitable help of foreign powers. Some Chinese officials believed that it was the “self-strengthening movement” that had caused the Great Famine of 1876-79 by diverting resources from the inland to the coastal region. See Kathryn Edgerton-Tarpley, *Tears from Iron*, 97-101.

effort to regulate and ensure their wellbeing and welfare. The push to place children in schools rather than factories was facilitated by the movement to abolish child labor. For example, in the United States, child labor often declined with the establishment of anti-truancy laws, rather than as a direct result of anti-child labor laws. With the help of British labor specialists, Christian humanitarians in China attempted to follow British models of passing laws to abolish child labor; moreover, Christians had been training indigenous leaders who could now participate in the movement to abolish child labor. When this movement failed, the Shanghai elite invested in charitable institutions and factory schools to mitigate the effects of child labor.

Authorized by the Municipal Council in Shanghai, the Child Labor Commission coordinated industrial interest in factory discipline with humanitarian concern for children. This movement sought to counteract the growing radicalism among Chinese intellectuals in the 1920s, by promoting industrial welfare as an alternative to state Communism, and advocates argued that child labor abolition would benefit business managers and the state. The Child Labor Commission defined “Chinese” leadership racially rather than politically. Communist critics, who lambasted the “false charity” of Christian industrialists, deemed racial diversity without political representation insufficient. However, some Communists, like party co-founder Li Dazhao 李大釗 (1887-1927), still accepted the fundamental premise of childhood protection. Therefore, in contrast to the dominant historiographical explanation that Chinese nationalism drove labor unrest and resulted in the demise of the Child Labor Law, the Child Labor Report provides evidence that Chinese people at the time analyzed labor exploitation with the categories of age and gender rather than simply ethnic nationalism. Statist theory would become a foundation for later developments in the 1950s, despite changes in government leadership.

In the Republican period, there were multiple strands of representations about the Chinese child, and each of these representations lays the foundation for a particular line of action for the protection and socialization of the child. Western missionaries represented needy and sick Chinese children as the embodiment of China. During the Nanjing decade, Nationalists lead by H.H. Kung (Kong Xiangxi 孔祥熙 1881-1967) resisted that representation. In 1928, Kung founded the National Child Welfare Association in Shanghai. Although cooperating with missionary organizations, the National Child Welfare Association promoted the ideal of a sentimental Chinese childhood and the bourgeoisie Chinese home, as well as the extension of those values and standards to the working poor. Specifically, through new rituals and public activities like Children’s Day, the association hoped to offer the children of the working poor access to entertainment and play. Thus, even though the Nationalist state pressured the poor toward utilitarian and industrial work,<sup>88</sup> government managers and business managers recognized differences between the working child and the working adolescent in their policies.

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<sup>88</sup> Janet Y. Chen, *Guilty of Indigence: The Urban Poor in China, 1900-1953* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012).

There was no greater time of foreign funding for Chinese children than during the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945, the Pacific Front of the Second World War), and American support funded a greater degree of direct aid in both Communist and Nationalist areas than had been achieved before the war. In Chapter Five, I will argue that there was some degree of consensus about the introduction of direct aid and scientific childrearing practices among Communists, Nationalists, and non-affiliated educators like Tao Xingzhi and Chen Heqin. However, Nationalists understood wartime charity (*fuli*) through the lens of filial paternalism, whereas Communists understood charity through the lens of worker activism, in keeping with earlier Communist critiques of the Child Labor Report. In part as a result of unequal distribution of U.S. aid after the War, and disillusionment with Nationalist efforts to reconstruct industry and agriculture at the expense of social welfare, Communists eschewed private charity as a venue for “cultural imperialism,” and focused instead on labor activism and patriotic duty. Thus, more fully than had the Nationalists, Communists couched child welfare and childhood education as a target of state mobilization, rather than as an elite responsibility.

In addition to transforming from “economically useful” to “sentimentally priceless,” children also transformed from “father’s property” to rightful citizens. In *Unlikely Heirs*, M. Collette Plum argues that the Second Sino-Japanese War was a watershed moment for propelling government responsibility for orphans; moreover, she frames her discussion of the transformation of children from “private property” to “seeds of the nation.”<sup>89</sup> In a similar manner to Euro-American responses to the First World War,<sup>90</sup> Nationalists in China highlighted their role in protecting vulnerable children. The Chinese focus on childhood protection during the war indicates that, as in Europe, progressive advocates of children had *already* successfully promoted the sentimentalization of childhood. Through wartime international cooperation, the World Wars facilitated the internationalization of child welfare organizations. Such internationalism, which will be highlighted in this dissertation, somewhat conflicted with the wartime nationalism that Plum identifies as the primary catalyst for these changes. The tension between international concern for child protection and national interest in child well-being relates to a larger rubric of international human rights and Chinese state interests.

State-building has long been seen as a priority in competition with human rights in China. According to Benjamin Schwartz, when translator and intellectual Yan Fu 嚴復 (1854-1921) subordinated individual rights to national strength and power, he paved the way for future human rights abuses by the state.<sup>91</sup> In keeping with Schwartz’s argument,

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<sup>89</sup> M. Colette Plum, “Unlikely Heirs: War Orphans During the Second Sino-Japanese War, 1937-1945,” Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 2006. See also Janet Y. Chen, *Guilty of Indigence: The Urban Poor in China, 1900-1953* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012). Plum follows general principles that are similar to Mary Ann Mason’s *From Father’s Property to Children’s Rights* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994).

<sup>90</sup> For the differences between European responses to childhood protection in the Napoleonic Wars vs. the Great War, see Paula Fass, “How History Has Shaped Children’s Rights,”

<http://www.aapss.org/news/2011/02/25/paula-fass-how-history-has-shaped-children-s-rights>

<sup>91</sup> Benjamin Schwartz, *In Search of Wealth and Power*.

Susan Glosser argues that because male intellectuals subordinated women's rights to national power, they failed to empower women.<sup>92</sup> Even more so than was the case with women, children inspired passive protection. As with human rights and women's liberation, children's rights in China were often couched in the rhetoric of national interest. Samuel Moyn argues that such rhetoric facilitated national emancipation rather than individual rights; hence, only in the 1970s did "human rights" begin to empower individual rights vis-à-vis state power.<sup>93</sup> For example, UNICEF transitioned from children's needs to children's rights only in 1959,<sup>94</sup> but these efforts built upon longstanding efforts to protect the wellbeing of vulnerable people.<sup>95</sup> International political pressures to end human rights abuses did increase after the 1970s, but were rooted in longstanding humanitarian concerns. In China, international missionary groups had long accused the Chinese state of failing to protect women and children, and wartime nationalistic proprietary right over children would, as we shall see, clash with the humanitarian efforts of international organizations during and after the Second Sino-Japanese War.

Western historiography on childhood provides a contextual framework and methodology for claiming in this dissertation that Chinese child advocates were influenced both by modernizing and nationalistic desires to raise the legal status of the child. The cost and conditions of childhood education, and the shape of those institutions, indicate the increasing sentimental and political value of childhood as a period of innocence. Many agreed with commonplace clichés that children should be valued as "the future leadership of China." But Nationalists and Communists disagreed on the types of sentiments and politics that should be instilled in children. Did the source of funding—from wealthy urbanites in China or from Christian donors in the United States—matter for the structure and organization of institutions for children? Did foreign funding or class background influence classroom teachers and school textbooks? These questions were shaped by the perceived threats to childhood at different points in Chinese history—from undue academic pressure in the early 1900s, or from the negative consequences of industrialization in the 1920s and 1930s, or from the grip of Western imperialism in the 1940s and 1950s. My study will highlight how national struggle by successive regimes in twentieth century China increasingly extended state power into the home and reached into early childhood.

In retrospect, the freedom to enjoy childhood became a marker of the economic health and political liberality of the Nationalist government's new conservative values after its rise to power in 1927. The emphasis on family revolution in the May Fourth era had shifted to a more conservative vision of the connection between the ideal family and

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<sup>92</sup> Susan Glosser, *Chinese Visions of Family and State, 1915-1953* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 12.

<sup>93</sup> Samuel Moyn, *The Last Utopia: Human Rights in History* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2010).

<sup>94</sup> Phillip W. Jones, and David Coleman, *The United Nations And Education: Multilateralism, Development And Globalisation* (London and New York: Routledge Farmer, 2005), 172.

<sup>95</sup> UNICEF originated as a NGO, the Save the Children Foundation, which was established in 1919 by Eglantyne Jebb, who set forth the *Declaration of the Rights of the Child* in 1923. Ibid, 139.

the modern state.<sup>96</sup> In the Nanjing decade, Shanghai professionals celebrated the stable, bourgeois, “small family” in what Helen Schneider terms “the ideology of the happy family.”<sup>97</sup> The right material conditions were necessary for fostering a sentimental childhood, preparing children with the psychological skills necessary for upward mobility. At the same time, the adult labor market and the Chinese national economy needed “protection” from the stagnating influences of unskilled, child labor. These educational, social, and economic trends all contributed to the perceived benefits of a playful, sentimentalized childhood in wealthy, modern cities like Shanghai.

#### POLITICAL CONTROL OVER EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION

The history of preschool education is significant precisely because of its concentration on the socialization of very young children. The cultural and political content of preschool education drew the most attention and was the most readily changed over the course of China’s tumultuous twentieth century. Because very young children were so impressionable, preschool education was the perfect time to inculcate new ideas and habits in children. Western missionaries and Chinese intellectuals readily understood this principle and it formed the basis of contestations over the control of Chinese children, especially in orphanages. The Tianjin Massacre and the Boxer Rebellion were based in part on rumors of missionary abuses of Chinese infants.

It is remarkable that the discourse on childhood is so often marked by the imagery of slavery. Missionaries saw children as *slaves* to the “unilateral authority of the father” in the patriarchal system of Confucian society.<sup>98</sup> Non-Christian Chinese accused missionaries of imparting “slave education” to Chinese children,<sup>99</sup> as they would later also accuse Japanese imperialists.<sup>100</sup> In the 1950s, the notion of “slave education” was also interpreted as form of self-fashioning in the semi-colonial context of Chinese treaty ports, conceded at the end of the Opium Wars.<sup>101</sup>

It has by now become a cliché in Communist literature that this period was defined as “semi-feudal, semi-colonial.” Some would argue that the idea of “semi-feudal, semi-colonial” was an exaggerated narrative invented by Chinese Communist historians

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<sup>96</sup> Susan Glosser, 11.

<sup>97</sup> Helen Schneider, *Keeping the Nation’s House: Domestic Management and the Making of Modern China* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2011), 21. Wen-hsin Yeh, *Shanghai Splendor: Economic Sentiments and the Making of Modern China, 1843-1949* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007).

<sup>98</sup> See, for example, in M. Geraldine Guinness, *The Story of the China Inland Mission*, 2:285

<sup>99</sup> Tang Shu 唐淑, et al., *Zhongguo xueqian jiaoyushi* 中國學前教育史 [The History of China’s Preschool Education] (Beijing: Renmin jiaoyu chubanshe, 2000), 84.

<sup>100</sup> See Sophia Lee, “Education in Wartime Beijing: 1937-1945,” University of Michigan, Ph.D. thesis, 1996.

<sup>101</sup> Self-fashioning refers to the construction of identity, especially through a set of culturally specific aesthetic norms and standards. For a definition of self-fashioning, please see Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980). For a study that employs this concept to modern China, please see Mi, Jiayan. *Self-fashioning and Reflexive Modernity in Modern Chinese Poetry, 1919-1949* (Lewiston, N.Y.: E. Mellen Press, 2004).

for political purposes. For example, in his undergraduate lecture courses, historian Frederic Wakeman would laugh at the notion that Communist China offered solitary with, rather than influence over, “third-world countries” in the non-alignment movement of the 1970s. Nevertheless, Chinese educators of the early twentieth century *perceived* the threat of feudal and colonial elements in China.

By reexamining the international dimensions of China’s “semi-feudal, semi-colonial state,” we can see that the binary of West-East is far more complicated than the old Fairbankian model of “Western impact, Chinese response.”<sup>102</sup> Chinese were certainly cognizant of the enslavement of Africans and the colonialization of India and moved to avoid that fate. However, because of their relatively worse subjugation and oppression, Africans and African-Americans could provide an even more inspiring model of self-empowerment. Chen Heqin looked with approbation at African American schools in the South as an example of the benefits of education for empowerment.

Chen Heqin, the “father of Chinese kindergartens” and the author of “Chinese” child psychology, tapped into the prevailing desire to “indigenize” and professionalize education. Like late Qing reformers, Chen focused on the intersection between kindergartens and “family education,” but analyzed the family as a source of scientific information. Influenced by the methodology and framework of concurrent trends to psychologize childhood in the United States in the 1920s,<sup>103</sup> Chen nevertheless asserted that his research findings and theoretical concepts were specifically “Chinese.” Chen’s confidence in his Chineseness—or his sense of what it meant to be Chinese—allowed him to promote scientific modernization without fear of ethnic mimicry or the need to resort to the radicalism of May Fourth era. By reforming the patriarch rather than overthrowing him, Chen promoted family values in terms of monogamous marriage rather than some of the more radical social experiments of the May Fourth era. For general audiences, Chen masked the clinical lens of childhood psychology with a sentimentalized conception of childhood innocence, which required or justified proper family conditioning and social protection.

By pointing to African American education as a model, Chen raised questions about the nature of sovereignty. Chen presented himself as an ethnically Chinese leader who took control over Chinese education as the first Chinese minister of “minority,” or Chinese, education in Shanghai’s International Settlement in the 1930s. Yet, Chen could only be a leader in Shanghai and African Americans could only be leaders in their own communities in the South because of self-segregation. For some Chinese in the 1920s, “Chinese childhood psychology” was an empty point because he was speaking to his children in English at home and imparting a Westernized education. Chinese Communists would further clarify in the 1950s that self-segregation for “minority education” was a form of subservience to capitalist elites, specifically White America.

Chinese Communist critics raised some enduring questions about the possibility of self-determination and the role of the state. During the Cold War in America,

<sup>102</sup> The most famous refutation of Fairbank is Paul Cohen, *Discovering History in China: American Historical Writing on the Recent Chinese Past* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010).

<sup>103</sup> See Peter Stearns, *Anxious Parents: a History of Modern Childrearing in America* (New York: New York University Press, 2003), 17-42.

educational disputes also arose when school directives conflicted with parental concerns and thus appeared totalitarian.<sup>104</sup> Communist commentators and Neo-Conservatives would agree with Carl Schmitt (1888-1985) that the only *open* dictatorship that Liberalism allows itself is in its claim to educate children. They converge in their critiques of the good-intentioned, liberal, and cosmopolitan movements for child welfare, child protection and preschool education of the early twentieth century, but offer very different solutions to these problems; whereas Neo-Conservatives reject the state that emerged from welfare policies, Chinese Communists embraced the functions and protection of the state.

In the 1950s, the government tried to provide the social services previously offered by Christian missionaries and elite philanthropists, thereby eradicating the need for either elite institutions or charity schools. A new generation of educators, based in the government-sponsored journal *People's Education*, reassessed earlier efforts at educational reform; furthermore, they used state investigations and public self-criticisms of Chen Heqin, as a scapegoat and a model for re-educating other kindergarten teachers.

Like women's charity groups in the 1920s, the Women's Federation in the 1950s connected professional childcare with mobilizing the female workforce. These structural continuities in education dovetail with recent scholarship noting that the Communist government adopted many state modernizing theories previously developed in the Nationalist period.<sup>105</sup> However, in addition to top-down political thought reform, these social institutions also reveal bottom-up initiatives, especially on the part of teachers, to guide students in the transition from Nationalism to Communism. Committed teachers were necessary for women to entrust their children to institutional care. Educators had been developing these social institutions and their emotional bonds throughout the twentieth century. What changed were the nuances of the political relationships among teachers, students and family members, within the rubric of a new sort of state with enhanced reach into family life.

The inability of the Nationalist state, without American aid, to continue group institutions for children after the Second Sino-Japanese War, or to provide welfare services for victims, helped to propel the Chinese Communist state to highlight and to address these differences more quickly than in other countries. An example of a possible outcome of the elite responsibility model followed by the Nationalists may be seen in Kathleen Uno's findings that, in Japan, class-based differences created a legacy of two types of preschool institutions, one which favors all-day care at cheaper rates, and the other which allots part-time care for affluent families.<sup>106</sup> In Japan, sentimental childhood

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<sup>104</sup> See David Ciepley, *Liberalism in the Shadow of Totalitarianism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006).

<sup>105</sup> William Kirby, "Continuity and Change in Modern China: Economic Planning on the Mainland and on Taiwan, 1943-1958," *The Australian Journal of Chinese Affairs* 24 (July 1, 1990): 121-141.

<sup>106</sup> Correspondingly, Kathleen Uno argues that the focus on mothers may help to lessen class differences based on professional help; see *Passages to Modernity: Motherhood, Childhood, and Social Reform in Early Twentieth Century Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), 157.

was deeply tied to the creation of the middle class.<sup>107</sup> During the Nationalists' Nanjing decade, the National Child Welfare Association had similarly advocated for the economic provisions for sentimental childhood in ways that targeted the charitable sympathies and class aspirations of a rising middle class. After 1949, the PRC attempted to eradicate the bourgeois elements in the ideal vision of childhood and to privilege working-class families instead. With government efforts for mobilizing the female workforce and redressing social inequality, new educators in the 1950s set about to erase the negative or colonial influences of the past, but they did so in ways that helped to undermine the authority of child experts in relation to the enhanced power of the state.

## CONCLUSION

In the early twentieth century, there was a growing consensus, among educators, philanthropists, and government officials, that the community and the state share responsibility for the protection of children. However, intellectuals and philanthropists did dispute the type of state welfare that should be offered to children and their parents. Western-oriented, American-trained educators had, along with philanthropists, ascribed to visions of state protection and citizenship training in the Nanjing decade, but the failure of the Nationalist state—and foreign relief—to address the needs of children and civilians after the war left these educators vulnerable to accusations that they had supported an illegitimate state with wrong-headed programs and overreliance on foreign support. Ironically, these arguments themselves relied upon assumptions, promoted by Western-oriented educators, that state legitimacy was tied to its nurture and protection of children and its shaping of future generations.

Issues of childhood cut across realms of poverty and affluence. Reformers wished to bestow the pleasures of a sentimental childhood on the poor. Furthermore, fundraising tactics underscored particular representations of childhood, with certain ramifications about institutional weaknesses of the Chinese family or political agendas about the Chinese state. The act of fundraising also helped to define and target certain demographics, including children themselves, in order to shape the sentiments and identities of those groups.

My dissertation builds on and supplements recent trends (spearheaded by Philip Kuhn) to reconsider the ways that some short-lived reforms may have influenced subsequent policies.<sup>108</sup> The field of education was especially turbulent, with fast turnover of new approaches and policies, especially as Chinese intellectuals looked to different sources of inspiration, from Japan to the United States and then to the Soviet Union. As Susanne Pepper notes, “the new education system was in such constant flux that no single generation of students between 1900 and the onset of the Japanese war (1937) would have found the system they entered as first-graders unchanged by the time they graduated

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<sup>107</sup> Mark A. Jones, *Children as Treasures: Childhood and the Middle Class in Early Twentieth Century Japan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010).

<sup>108</sup> Philip Kuhn, self-governance chapter, in Frederic Wakeman and Carolyn Grant, eds., *Conflict and Control in Late Imperial China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975).



from the secondary level.”<sup>109</sup> Despite turbulent political change, there was greater structural continuity than has heretofore been recognized, especially in terms of the function of preschool education in allowing women to work outside the home.

By focusing on childhood, this dissertation offers a new perspective on citizenship training in China. First, this focus builds on previous scholarship on youth education in China, which has often concentrated on higher-level education and normal schools. While Robert Culp has researched citizenship formation and nationalism in middle schools and high schools,<sup>110</sup> and Xiaoping Cong has researched normal-school education,<sup>111</sup> my dissertation focuses more specifically on how those institutions, as well as information on kindergartens and preschools, helped to develop expertise on childhood. By focusing on preschool education, this dissertation concentrates on questions of non-academic socialization. Because childrearing had traditionally been the sole purview of mothers, the institutionalization of young children brings to the forefront questions about the mobilization of the female workforce, the construction of the national economy, and the gendered dimensions of professionalizing early childhood care and education.

Whereas social historians study the civil service examination systems in order to examine the question of social mobility in imperial China, my study of childhood education redefines the research question for the Republican period. Pre-schools were not vehicles for academic achievement or economic mobility, but they were venues for socialization, cultural mobility, and citizenship training whether under the Nationalists or the Communists. During and after the Second Sino-Japanese War, the movement to institutionalize children culminated in two distinct approaches to the patronage of child welfare and preschool education—a Nationalist model that welcomed foreign funding and Christian influences under Chinese (Nationalist) leadership, and a Communist model that required Chinese economic and national self-sufficiency.

Because children were widely seen as “seeds of the nation,” early childhood education clearly illustrates the ways in which reformers hoped to shape the future through the inculcation of new habits. Educators focused on the scientific aspects of pedagogy and child development. However, they also highlighted political and gendered reasons to introduce the institutionalization of early childhood education. Since children were considered the future and potential for national salvation, the control and curriculum of childhood institutions became a central battleground of various political parties with their own agendas in the educational culture wars.

Images of young Chinese comrades are so strikingly Communist that they obscure the larger historical forces, beginning long before 1949, that had allowed these institutions to emerge. When American delegations first reentered China to observe kindergartens in the 1970s, they understood that China was on the brink of tremendous change, most notably with both the reintroduction of the college entrance examination in

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<sup>109</sup> Susan Pepper, 60.

<sup>110</sup> Robert Joseph Culp, *Articulating Citizenship: Civic Education and Student Politics in Southeastern China, 1912-1940* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007).

<sup>111</sup> Xiaoping Cong, *Teachers' Schools and the Making of the Modern Chinese Nation-State, 1897-1937* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2007).

1977 and the onset of the so-called one-child policy in 1979.<sup>112</sup> Admirers compared daycare centers in the People's Republic of China with other communitarian models,<sup>113</sup> while critics pointed to signs of early political indoctrination. Whether positive or negative, they assumed that the politics of communal socialization must be specifically Communist in nature and ignored the politics and science surrounding the prior establishment of kindergartens and preschools in China. I trace this narrative to the introduction of age-graded, non-academic institutions for early childhood education in the late Qing dynasty, especially after 1903, and its continuation during the Nationalist era. Rather than Communist ideological commitment to collectivization, it was these earlier institutions, many of which were formed either under American influence or adopted from American examples that provided the structure for preschools and kindergartens encountered by the American observers in the Communist era.

In this dissertation, I thus explore the tensions between political and scientific authority that shifted with the emergence of philanthropic and public institutions for early childhood education. Charity institutions and elite schools were not only the first venues for progressive pedagogy, but child welfare and patriotic socialization were also conjoined movements that culminated in the construction of state protection for Chinese children and increased state intervention, by successive regimes, into family life.<sup>114</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> For example, Clark Kerr, *Observations on the Relations Between Education and Work in the People's Republic of China: Report of a Study Group, April 25 to May 15, 1978*, Extended version, (Berkeley: Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education, 1978).

<sup>113</sup> Ruth Sidel, "Early Childhood Education in China: The Impact of Political Change," *Comparative Education Review* 26.1 (February 1982): 78-87; and also her *Women and Child Care in China: A firsthand Report*, revised ed. (New York: Penguin, 1982).

<sup>114</sup> For an example of this process within the history of a family, see Joseph Esherick, *Ancestral Leaves: a Family Journey Through Chinese History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011).

**CHAPTER ONE**  
**THE AUTHORITY OF AGE**  
**INSTITUTIONS FOR CHILDHOOD DEVELOPMENT IN CHINA, 1895–1910**

In 1907, missionary Arthur Smith, who had been in Shandong since 1872, wrote about the potential of the kindergarten for China: “As a means of utilizing a period of child life which the Chinese have for the most part allowed to run absolutely to waste, and as a means of attracting immediate attention and commendation on the part of uninterested and perhaps semi-hostile outsiders, the kindergarten has perhaps no rival.”<sup>1</sup> Smith approached kindergartens as a venue for shaping the character of impressionable Chinese children whose early childhood socialization would otherwise “run absolutely to waste.” Furthermore, Smith believed that kindergartens would ingratiate missionaries to “uninterested and perhaps semi-hostile” Chinese adults. In many ways, Smith’s projection dovetails with John King Fairbank’s narrative of “Western impact, Chinese response” when Westerners (especially the British) challenged China to accept modern diplomacy, trade, education, science, and technology. Fairbank’s interpretation ignores the complexity of “Western impact”<sup>2</sup> because Western scientists and intellectuals were in the process of developing new ideas about child development, often in the “context of state rivalry, and [with] a worry about the effectiveness of the socialization of children in the reproduction of the social order.”<sup>3</sup> In rivalry with Western missionaries, who had helped to open up a kaleidoscope of new possibilities and choices, Chinese intellectuals and reformers actively shaped and indigenized the field of childhood education in China, especially by rejecting the influence of missionaries like Smith. Furthermore, decisions about early childhood education in the late Qing raised issues and laid groundwork for goals and institutions with which Chinese educators and officials would wrestle later.

When Western missionaries introduced the kindergarten to China during the middle decades of the nineteenth century,<sup>4</sup> they suggested socializing children outside of the home and family context; and Chinese intellectuals began to establish kindergartens

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<sup>1</sup> Arthur Smith, *The Uplift of China* (New York: Educational Department, the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the US, in a series, “Forward Mission Studies Courses,” edited under the direction of the Young People’s Missionary Movement, 1907), 165.

<sup>2</sup> For the most famous critique of Fairbank’s approach, see Paul Cohen, *Discovering History in China: American Historical Writing on the Recent Chinese Past* (New York: Columbia University Press, rpt. 2010).

<sup>3</sup> Hugh Cunningham, “Saving the Children, c. 1850-c. 1920,” in Heidi Morrison, ed., *The Global History of Childhood Reader* (Routledge, 2012), 370.

<sup>4</sup> Miss Aldersey of the Church of England began the first school for Chinese girls in Ningbo in 1844. Mrs. Bridgeman of the American Board began a school for girls in 1849. Mrs. Maclay of the Methodist Mission started a girls’ school in Fuzhou in 1851. The Episcopal Mission in Shanghai began a school in 1852. The American Board began a school in Fuzhou in 1853. The American Board began a school in Canton in 1853. The Presbyterian Board opened a school in 1857. The Baptist Board opened a school in Ningbo in 1858. The Wesleyan Church established a school in Canton in 1860. The Reformed Church established a church in 1860. For more on the history of mission schools for girls’ education, Mary Raleigh Anderson, *Protestant Mission Schools for Girls in South China (1827 to the Japanese Invasion)* (Mobile, Heiter-Starke printing co, 1943).

in 1903. Early childhood socialization outside of the family was perceived as so radical that the Qing government focused its attention on training institutes for virtuous widows who could become nannies within elite households; Qing policies aimed to reinforce traditional morality and buttress (rather than supplant) “family education.”<sup>5</sup> The idea of socializing children outside the home raised questions about the relationship between the family and the state, as well as between parents and children—who would control childhood socialization, and what standards would they use to determine the quality of that education? At stake were questions about the professionalization of motherhood and childcare, the introduction of citizenship training, and knowledge production about the child.

Missionaries like Arthur Smith saw in the kindergarten a particularly strategic site. Kindergartens pulled children away from the Chinese family, considered by missionaries to be an oppressive hierarchy. Especially through girls’ education and childhood socialization, missionaries could reform the basic structure of the Chinese family. Furthermore, kindergartens provided missionaries with opportunities to observe, analyze, and convert Chinese children, and thus provided a platform for discussions about Chinese ethnicity and childhood. By studying the Chinese “mind” in infancy, Christian missionaries could suggest new ways to remodel Chinese education along Western lines.

Chinese intellectuals accepted some of these basic premises while resisting Christian influences and cooperating with the state. In the late Qing, a small vanguard of Chinese intellectuals introduced new elements of childhood socialization and cognitive development by adding kindergartens to existing orphanages and schools. Like missionaries, Chinese intellectuals were interested in observing the child in order to study cognitive development, but chose to translate Japanese texts about Western scientific sources in order to bypass the interpretive lens of Christian missionaries. Furthermore, despite advocating that kindergartens exist outside rather than inside the home, these elites presented themselves as patriots who could bring a greater degree of discipline and order to Qing subjects.

Even though the emphasis and focus of kindergartens would change in the decades to come, the introduction of kindergartens opened up basic questions about knowledge production about the child and the idea of cognitive development. The idea of cognitive development was important for both scientific inquiry and kindergarten curricula. New educational institutions provided opportunities for these ideas to gain currency and authority. The field of childhood development drew upon both theory and experience, forming the basis of new types of authority. Experiences from kindergartens, like the Shanghai Kindergarten Society, served as authoritative evidence in textbooks on child psychology and infant care. The theory, observation, and practice of *play* were seen as an important arena for the development of cognition in children themselves. Thus, the theory of cognitive development helped shape the contours of socialized play (as opposed

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<sup>5</sup> Normal school textbooks in the 1930s often date the beginning of the kindergarten movement to the government’s recognition and establishment of the schools in 1903. For example, Qi Bowen 祁伯文, *Shifan jiaoyu* 師範教育 [Normal Education], (Beijing: Huabei University, 1934), in Princeton University Cotsen Collection.

to academic training) in new preschool institutions. New textbooks and journals helped circulate the *idea* of the kindergarten (if not their widespread establishment). These ideas did gain enough currency, however, to influence Chinese charitable institutions and later developments in kindergarten education.

#### KINDERGARTENS AS A FOCUS OF MISSIONARY EDUCATION

By introducing new childrearing practices from the West, missionaries helped to open up a variety of new possibilities in the field of childhood socialization. According to Zhang Zonglin's *Evolutionary History of the Kindergarten*, missionaries met with Chinese resistance, but were much more successful when they turned their attention instead to training Chinese women to care for children.<sup>6</sup> Thus, for Zhang, it was important whether missionaries directly or indirectly controlled and socialized children, and it was more acceptable if missionaries could rely on training Chinese female professionals as partners in preschool and kindergarten education. Missionaries were not only disseminators, but also collectors of information. Their presence helped to make the field of childhood education unfamiliar, a subject for Chinese to explore anew.

Early missionaries had long recognized the potential utility of early childhood education as an opportunity to convert and influence the Chinese people.<sup>7</sup> In the Qing dynasty, missionaries like Arthur Smith and Timothy Richards promoted kindergartens<sup>8</sup> and girls' education to target demographic groups they felt were ignored or neglected in the existing system.<sup>9</sup> Despite Arthur Smith's assertion that early childhood was "run absolutely to waste" in China, Chinese valued childrearing practices enough to be threatened by the introduction of missionary orphanages and schools. As Michelle King has argued, childhood was the site of cultural contestation between Chinese and missionaries in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>10</sup>

Childhood education was culturally contested because these schools inculcated foreign values and social habits in Chinese children. Some Chinese scholars today accuse Western missionaries of teaching Chinese children to adopt Western dress, language, and

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<sup>6</sup> Zhang Zonglin, *Youzhiyuan de yanbian shi* [The Evolutionary History of Kindergartens] (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1935).

<sup>7</sup> For example, in the Ming dynasty, Italian Jesuit missionary Alphonsus Vagnoni (writing as Gao Yizhi 高一志) published on childhood education and highlighted the relationship between the Madonna and child, as well as on Confucian high estimation of education and learning. See Gao Yizhi 高一志, *Tongyou jiaoyu* 童幼教育 [Children's Education] (Ming dynasty edition), in Fu Sinian Library Rare Book Collection, Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica.

<sup>8</sup> Limin Bai, "The Chinese Kindergarten Movement, 1903-1927." Timothy Richards wrote articles introducing the Western kindergarten in the Chinese-language *Church News* (*Jiaohui Xinbao* 教會新報), a periodical that was founded by the American Methodist missionary Young Allen.

<sup>9</sup> See Idabelle Lewis, *The Education of Girls in China* (New York: Teachers' College, Columbia University, 1919), 18-19. See Mary Raleigh Anderson, *Protestant Mission Schools for Girls in South China: 1827 to the Japanese Invasion* (Mobile, Alabama: Heiter-Starke Printing Co., 1943).

<sup>10</sup> King, Michelle Tien. "Drowning Daughters: a Cultural History of Female Infanticide in Late Nineteenth Century China," 2007.

customs.<sup>11</sup> Boarding schools were a total emersion experience, “the only way of obtaining a really strong influence over the boys.”<sup>12</sup> Missionaries assured Christians in their home countries that schools effectively molded Chinese children: “The contrast between the home of a woman brought up in a Christian school and that of one trained after the Chinese fashion is wonderful!”<sup>13</sup> In the context of rights to evangelize won through the Opium Wars, Chinese linked missionary efforts to a larger imperialist and evangelical agenda to “enslave China.”<sup>14</sup> Thus, Chinese saw missionaries—and eventually their Chinese partners—as creating a kind of “slave education” in the semi-colonial context of China’s treaty ports.

Interested primarily in religious conversion rather than science education, missionaries in the late nineteenth century were not always at the forefront of pedagogy. In advancing this argument, Thomas Curran traces Chinese interest in educational pedagogy to the 1880s and shows that Western missionaries and translators only began to respond in the 1890s.<sup>15</sup> Nevertheless, even if missionaries did not translate childhood psychology and pedagogical theory in the late nineteenth century, they did study Chinese “character” with the goal of transforming the internal subjectivity of Chinese children.

Especially after the advent of the Reformation, pastors and parents in Western Europe and the United States tried to instill a Christian consciousness and subjectivity among children.<sup>16</sup> In mission schools, this goal was complicated by differences in socialization and manners. For example, the wife of an English businessman praised the “expressiveness” of Chinese girls at a Christian school because the girls’ minds had been “aroused,” thus escaping the “blank, dead-wall Chinese stolidity.”<sup>17</sup> In the place of Cheng-Zhu Confucian injunctions to restrain emotion at its root, missionaries encouraged the “gentle and loving disposition” of Chinese children, and they praised “many striking characteristics of their affection and love for one another.”<sup>18</sup> Missionaries regarded this sort of education as “not merely book-reading, but as *character-building*”; yet, they could only recognize character when expressed in accord with Western cultural norms.<sup>19</sup>

Despite the somewhat limited influence of mission schools,<sup>20</sup> missionaries in their studies and writings helped to present Chinese childhood as a new and unfamiliar subject.

<sup>11</sup> Tang Shu 唐淑, et al., *Zhongguo xueqian jiaoyushi* 中國學前教育史 [The History of China’s Preschool Education] (Beijing: Renmin jiaoyu chubanshe, 2000), 85.

<sup>12</sup> Anglican Bishop Iliff from England wrote these comments. “Letter from Rev. G.D. Iliff, P’ing-Yin, Shantung Province, North China, 28<sup>th</sup> August, 1895,” *North China Mission Quarterly Paper* 3.4 (January 1896): 75.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Tang, 84.

<sup>15</sup> Curran, 155.

<sup>16</sup> Philip J. Greven, *The Protestant Temperament: Patterns of Child-Rearing, Religious Experience, and the Self in Early America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988).

<sup>17</sup> Elizabeth Archibald Little, *Intimate China: The Chinese as I Have Seen Them* (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1899), 239.

<sup>18</sup> H.V. Norman, “Our Boys’ School in Peking,” *North China Mission* 2.4 (January 1895): 75.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> Scholars have debated the real influence and effect of mission schools in China in the nineteenth century. American scholars in the early twentieth century emphasized missionary contributions to the field of education in China. Having overemphasized “Western impact,” American scholars began to dismiss its

By showcasing alternative possibilities for socialization, missionaries helped undermine assumptions about the naturalness of traditional Chinese ways of childrearing.<sup>21</sup> Within missionary publications, the Chinese child became a subject of study. Missionaries used welfare associations and school institutions as venues to gather and circulate information about children often as a way to solicit further support. As Chinese intellectuals began to examine the nature of childhood and children as a field of scientific study, they also began (as will be shown in later chapters) to approach their own institutions for early childhood education as places not just for instructing children, but also for inspecting children and studying childhood.

Missionaries also adapted the idea of “Sunday Schools” to fit the needs of local congregations. Protestant missionaries noted that in traditional Chinese classrooms, “the pupils study out loud, and all separately, quite independent of one another, and without being organized into classes.”<sup>22</sup> (See Figure 1 of the Appendix for a photograph collected by Arthur Smith). Missionaries had attracted so few students during the Qing<sup>23</sup> that they could not easily divide classes into age-specific cohorts. Instead, in the nineteenth-century, missionaries were often so desperate that they had to subsidize Chinese girls’ education or pay parents for access to educate the girls.<sup>24</sup> Missionaries’ efforts were

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importance in the 1980s. See Paul Cohen, *Discovering History in China: American Historical Writing on the Recent Chinese Past* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010). Since the reform era of the 1980s, Chinese scholars had been reevaluating the contributions of missionaries to education in China.

<sup>21</sup> “Traditional” childrearing was nevertheless complex. In *A Tender Voyage*, Hsiung Ping-chen challenges the assumptions about rigorous Confucian upbringings by arguing that Daoist, gentle childrearing was often practiced by “benevolent mothers.” Solomon acknowledges that “benevolent mothers” were gentle counterparts to “stern fathers,” and argues that a mother’s love was necessary to keep the child emotionally invested in the family system. Furthermore, there was room for innovation within the tradition, as is shown in one example in Shu Xincheng’s edited volume on documents on education. The presence of missionaries augmented this diversity and challenged some to articulate their own practices.

<sup>22</sup> “Children’s Page—Chinese Schools,” *North China Mission Quarterly Paper* 3.1 (April 1895): 13-14.

<sup>23</sup> For mission schools in 1869, there were: in Peking, 31 boys in boarding schools, 48 girls in boarding schools, 61 boys in day schools and 12 girls in day schools; in Tianjin, 14 boys in boarding schools, 4 girls in boarding schools, 73 boys in day schools, and no girls in day schools; in Chefu, 18 boys in boarding schools and 14 girls in boarding schools and no children in day schools; in Dongzhou, 30 boys in boarding schools, 21 girls in boarding schools, 6 boys in day schools, and no girls in day schools; in Shanghai, 28 boys in boarding schools, 24 girls in boarding schools, 98 boys in day schools and 20 girls in day schools; in Jiujiang, 10 girls in day schools; in Hankou, 65 boys in boarding schools, 69 girls in boarding schools, 111 boys in day schools, and 34 girls in day schools; in Fuzhou, 42 boys in boarding schools, 61 girls in boarding schools, 481 boys in day schools, and no girls in day schools; in Swatow, 163 boys and 10 girls in day schools in Amoy; 10 girls in boarding schools and 20 boys in day schools; in Hong Kong, 46 boys in boarding schools, 91 girls in boarding schools, 120 boys in day schools, and 7 girls in day schools; in Canton, 6 boys in boarding schools, 12 girls in boarding schools, 2222 boys in day schools and 109 girls in day schools; therefore, a total of 275 boys and 354 girls in boarding schools, and 3553 boys and 202 girls in day schools. See “Statistics of Protestant Missions in China, March 31, 1869,” *The Chinese Recorder* (August 1869): 61-63. However, Ida Lewis indicates that there was remarkable growth in Protestant girls’ schools. In 1849, Protestant schools taught fewer than 50 girls, but 50,173 girls by 1916. Ida Belle Lewis, *The Education of Girls in China* (New York: Columbia Teachers College, 1919), 24.

<sup>24</sup> Frances E. Scott, “The Girls’ School, Peking,” *North China Mission: Quarterly Paper* 1.1 (April 1893): 5-7. The editors wrote, “It is far harder to entice the children to come to us from their country homes, and to induce the parents to spare them, even though we provide for all expenses, except that of clothes, while

neither uniform nor systematic,<sup>25</sup> but they did introduce elements of age cohesion to China. As early as the 1860s, *The Child's Paper* (*Haizi Yuebao*) provided illustrated stories, hymn lyrics, and question-and-answer catechisms for use in Sunday Schools across China and in Chinese-American churches in the United States. This cross-denominational Protestant journal provided a range of information about foreign countries,<sup>26</sup> religious debates, infant care,<sup>27</sup> and stories for youth.<sup>28</sup> In the journal and other publications, missionaries adopted traditional Chinese literary structures of grouping phrases of three, four, or five words.<sup>29</sup> For instance, Christian three-character classics recounted Biblical stories and even described the lives of the young readers who went to school.<sup>30</sup> Thus, missionaries wrote school textbooks that self-referentially promoted their own religious and educational institutions.

Missionaries and Chinese contested childhood in the late Qing in part because of the ritualistic nature of education in both Confucian and Christian schools. For example, scholars have long attributed the anti-Christian violence of the Tianjin Massacre and the Yangzhou Incident to misunderstandings about childrearing practices and religious rituals.<sup>31</sup> Schools in the late Qing maintained Confucian rituals that some Christian

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the children are in school,” (5), and the girls’ school had only eight students, aged 9 to 14 years, in 1893 (6). For information on the organization’s financial subsidization of girls’ education, see Appendix IV—Girls’ School, Peking, —1892, 1.2 *North China Mission: Quarterly Paper* (July 1893): 27. Frances E. Scott describes the anxious desire to fill the Girls’ School in Peking: “After making so many preparations, and getting the premises all put in order, and Miss Jackson moved over to the School-House, week after week went by and no girls turned up—at least only three!”; see “Letter from Mrs. Scott to S. Peter’s, Eaton Square, Associates, Peking, Feb. 28<sup>th</sup>, 1893,” *North China Mission: Quarterly Paper* (July 1893): 39. A “Native Teacher” was given a salary of 3 pounds 16 shillings. The next year, the girls school was able to divide into three small classes; “The Girls’ School, Peking,” 1.4 (January 1894): 77. The *North China Mission Quarterly Paper* regularly published such accounts; see “Appendix III,—Girls’ School, Peking,” *North China Mission Quarterly Paper* 3.3 (July 1895): 33. See also Jane Hunter, *The Gospel of Gentility*, 192.

<sup>25</sup> Protestant groups lacked, comparatively, the uniform organization of Catholic organizations, which focused on orphanages rather than on schools. Kenneth Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1967).

<sup>26</sup> Basle Mission Preacher, “Negroes of the Congo,” *The Smithsonian Institution*, Washington, D.C., 21.10 (February 1896); see also 21.11 (April 1896).

<sup>27</sup> “Xu Xiaoer huoluan lun,” 續小兒霍亂論 [Continuation of Treatment of Infants Having Cholera], *Haizi Yuebao* 孩子月報 [The Child’s Paper] 21 no.10 (February 1896), in the East Asian Library Rare Book Collection, University of California, Berkeley.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>29</sup> Guo Hong 郭红, “Cong ertong jumeng keben dao xuanjiao gongju—1823-1880 nian Jidujiao *Sanzijing* de chuban” 从幼童启蒙课本到宣教工具——1823 至 1880 年间基督教<三字经>的出版 [From Children’s Textbooks to Religious Reference Materials: the Publication of Protestant “Three-Character Classics” from 1823 to 1880] presented on March 31, 2009, in Shanghai University History Department.

<sup>30</sup> Don Cohn’s Library, in New York City.

<sup>31</sup> Missionaries felt that Chinese perceived them as boiling children for medicinal purposes; see “Attack on Missionaries at Yangchow,” *The Chinese Recorder* (September 1868): 88. In the Tianjin Massacre, rumors circulated about missionaries “the kidnapping and taking out the eyes and hearts of children”; see Rev. C.A. Stanley, “The Tientsin Massacre,” (January 1871), 210. For more information, see also Rev. M.J. Knowlton, “The Yangchow Riot,” *The Chinese Recorder* (August 1869): 69-73.



missionaries felt were at odds with Christian worship.<sup>32</sup> For example, historian Jesse Lutz argued:

Ethical indoctrination was at the heart of both the Chinese and Christian schools, and in this fundamental area, they were poles apart. The Christians taught doctrines, which denied the basic values of Confucianism. Nineteenth century Protestantism embodied individualism, an admiration for competition and the work ethic, and a belief in progress; these values stood in contrast to Confucian emphasis on stability, familialism, and the status society, and would, if put in practice, revolutionize China.<sup>33</sup>

In the late Qing, however, the Self-Strengthening Movement (1861-1895) took steps to modernize while still championing “Confucian emphasis on stability, familialism, and the status society.” Yet, Joseph Levenson has argued that combining modern techniques with traditional values was impossible.<sup>34</sup>

Often drawing on information from charity schools, mission institutions also established journals and wrote books about Chinese schoolchildren that were addressed to Western children; thus, the books encouraged sympathy based on age cohort rather than ethnic community. For example, missionaries named individual Chinese children for the prayer lists of children in England.<sup>35</sup> Through institutional charities, Western children invested emotionally and financially in missions for children in China.<sup>36</sup> Missionaries relayed stories through missionary periodicals to connect Western children to their “heathen” counterparts, and thereby shaped the spiritual identity of Western children and their connection to religious and political institutions. Karen Sánchez-Eppler argues that for the children in the United States, “By simultaneously working to convert heathens out there and Christianize children at home, these [Sunday School] stories illustrate how the American child comes both to reflect and inform American imperialism.”<sup>37</sup> While the Christian child in the West reflected and informed cultural imperialism, the converted child in China was expected to challenge and overcome traditional hierarchy.

The Chinese child convert appeared as a heroic trope in both Chinese and Western publications. Missionaries paid small sums of money to Chinese students to teach their mothers to read,<sup>38</sup> in hopes that children from mission schools would

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<sup>32</sup> For example, *Chinese Repository* (1849): 258-259. From the late nineteenth century to the early twentieth century, missionaries transitioned from attacking Confucius to praising Confucius, as Christians began to see in Confucius an ally against Communism. Albert Wu, “Contested Catholicity: Chen Yuan, Furen University, and the Study of Comparative Religions,” World History Association, 2010.

<sup>33</sup> Lutz, 23-24.

<sup>34</sup> Joseph Richmond Levenson, *Confucian China and Its Modern Fate: A Trilogy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), passim.

<sup>35</sup> “The Girls’ School, Peking,” *North China Mission Quarterly Paper* 1.4 (January 1894): 78.

<sup>36</sup> In her article on the Holy Childhood Society, Henrietta Harrison describes a French girl sobbing over her desire to become a “godparent” and decide the baptismal name of a Chinese infant. See Harrison, “A penny for the little Chinese: The French Holy Childhood Association in China, 1843-1951,” *American Historical Review* 113. 1 (2008): 80-81.

<sup>37</sup> Karen Sánchez-Eppler “Raising Empires like Children: Race, Nation, and Religious Education,” *American Literary History* 8. 3 (October 1, 1996).

<sup>38</sup> “Letter from Miss Payson,” *The Life and the Light for Heathen Women* 1.4 (December 1869): 115.

evangelize the native population. For instance, *The Child's Paper* published a story in Chinese about a Chinese girl who, “although a small child,” converted her mother after listening to a foreign preacher’s sermon.<sup>39</sup> In *The Children's Quarterly: Echoes of the Light and the Life*, Emily Gulick reported that when she tried “in vain to interest” a “crowd of young folks” in the gospel, her adopted Chinese daughter Martha suddenly began to tell them stories and “so completely won their attention, that I could not help feeling that my little one had taught them more than I had done.”<sup>40</sup> Gulick then quoted the scripture, “Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings Thou hast perfected praise.”<sup>41</sup> These stories sometimes overemphasized the youth of Chinese “children” (some of whom were in fact teenagers) because missionaries wanted to highlight youthful heroism.<sup>42</sup>

### EDUCATING GIRLS TO REFORM THE FAMILY

Missionaries often blamed “heathen” behavior (especially the refusal to convert) on the patriarchal order in China, and they saw in girls’ education an opportunity to reform the Chinese family.<sup>43</sup> For example, English children were told that Chinese patriarchs had absolute control over their children and power even to inflict death at will or in response to any small offense.<sup>44</sup> Thus, according to missionaries, the Chinese family was an institution of bondage. Rather than powerful patriarchs (already too invested in the system), subjugated women were targeted by missionaries to convert families. For example, in 1868, one missionary wrote, “Notwithstanding all of these disabilities, woman in China, as everywhere else in this fallen world, is the foster mother of religion and of religious ideas.”<sup>45</sup> Protestant missionaries hoped that mission schools would inculcate a new, Christian way of life within families. Despite prioritizing boys over girls when funding became scarce,<sup>46</sup> missionaries also asserted that girls’ training would change daily habits and family life:

Girls’ Schools are so very important, and their influence so far-reaching, because it means that future mothers and mothers-in-law are being taught, and the Christian life lived, a daily example of what they can make their own lives. And we in the interior get glimpses into the stern realities

<sup>39</sup> “Lun yi nü yi ji” 論一女一雞 [Original English title: “A little Girl gives a Fowl to help spread the Gospel”], *The Child's Paper*, 19. 3 (July 1893): 20.

<sup>40</sup> Emily Gulick, “The Child Helper,” *Children's Quarterly: Echoes from the Light and the Life* (September 1870): 246.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Annie Westland Marston, *The Children of China: Written for the Children of England* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1884). See also Mary Isabella Bryson, *Child Life in Chinese Homes* (Piccadilly: The Religious Tract Society, 1885).

<sup>43</sup> Sánchez-Eppler, p. 416, ascribes a revision of a story about infanticide to the cult of domesticity.

<sup>44</sup> Annie Westland Marston, 40-41.

<sup>45</sup> Rev. L.B. Peet, “On Mission Schools: Read before the Foochow Missionary Conference, October 27, 1868,” *The Chinese Recorder* (December 1868): 151.

<sup>46</sup> *North China and Shandong Quarterly Paper* (Vol XVI No 3 July 1908): 97.

and awfulness of heathendom and realize what it means. As it is, we have far more male than female Christians, and our Christian boys *have* to marry heathen wives.”<sup>47</sup>

Although missionaries lamented the scarcity of brides, Chinese male converts were in fact drawn to Western churches that offered below-market prices for brides, whose childhood expenses had been paid by missionary foundling homes.<sup>48</sup> Missionaries especially wanted to provide Christian brides to Chinese catechists and schoolmasters,<sup>49</sup> and helped to arrange marriages in the traditional fashion, without prior introductions.<sup>50</sup> Missionaries’ willingness to subscribe to traditional marriage arrangements somewhat undermined their claims to liberate women from the shackles of an oppressive system.

In mission schools, girls received culturally Western upbringings. Through the “outward push of domestic preoccupations,” missionaries “produced cultural hybrids.”<sup>51</sup> Mission schools socialized Chinese girls as Westerners.<sup>52</sup><sup>53</sup> Aiming at more than just the trappings of Western culture, however, missionaries also hoped to educate and raise Chinese with “high moral and religious tone.”<sup>54</sup> (See Figure 2 for an illustration of a mission kindergarten.)

Westerners considered the growth of native Chinese schools for girls to be a triumph of their own efforts, rather than a Chinese rejection of Christian mission schools. Some missionary women and Christian converts helped to advise and direct the establishment of girls’ schools. In 1911, Margaret Burton quoted a Chinese woman who attributed her success as a school founder to the precedent set by foreign missionaries; she thanked “foreign ladies” for “opening the doors for the women of China.”<sup>55</sup> Burton recognized the limitations of Christian education on secular progress and acknowledged that the push for more progressive reforms in girls’ education had shifted from the missionaries to Chinese efforts;<sup>56</sup> however, she interpreted this shift as evidence that missionaries had successfully changed social values concerning female education.

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<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

<sup>48</sup> Harrison, 87.

<sup>49</sup> Frances E. Scott, “The Girls’ School, Peking,” *North China Mission Quarterly Paper* 1.1 (April 1893): 7. See also Frances E. Scott, “Letter from Mrs. Scott,” *North China Mission Quarterly Paper* 3.3 (October 1895): 52-53. See also “Letter from Rev. G.D. Iliff, P’ing-Yin, Shantung Province, North China, 28<sup>th</sup> August, 1895,” *North China Mission Quarterly Paper* 3.4 (January 1896): 75.

<sup>50</sup> “Children’s Page—Li-Tsun-Lan’s Wedding,” *North China Mission Quarterly Paper* 4.3 (October 1896): 59.

<sup>51</sup> Ian R. Tyrrell, *Reforming the World: The Creation of America’s Moral Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010), 35.

<sup>52</sup> Missionaries wanted to teach girls “housekeeping,” and “rudimentary ideas of cleanliness”; see “The Girls’ School, Peking,” 1.4 (January 1894): 77.

<sup>53</sup> Julia Stone reports that Chinese girls were so thoroughly westernized that their mothers-in-law later complained that the girls could not cook rice nor manage Chinese households. Julia Stone, “Chinese Basket Babies,” *Frei Universitat Ph.D. dissertation*, 2012.

<sup>54</sup> See the advertisements of *Haizi yuekan*.

<sup>55</sup> Burton, 155-56.

<sup>56</sup> Thomas Curran argues that missionaries were never in the vanguard and followed only in the 1890s the interest that Chinese had shown in pedagogy in the 1880s.

## CHINESE TRADITIONAL EDUCATION AND THE INTRODUCTION OF AGE-GRADED CURRICULA

Missionaries intervened in traditional Chinese education also because they argued that it lacked proper physical fitness and training.<sup>57</sup> Missionaries criticized the Chinese schooling system for weakening and dulling boys with undue emotional and physical pressures. For example, missionaries advocated physical “exercise to counteract the exhaustive effect of continuous study.”<sup>58</sup> On the “Children’s Page” of the *North China Mission*, Reverend Henry J. Brown told English children that the rigors of Chinese schooling dwarfed English boys’ trivial complaints about homework.<sup>59</sup> In part chastising children back home in England, Brown argued that the Anglicized schooling that the mission offered was far less taxing than the typical Chinese education that often supplemented it.<sup>60</sup> Chinese boys (Brown explained) spent long days memorizing the Chinese classics, “just as an English boy might be required to commit to memory a paragraph of Virgil, repeating every word accurately, without the slightest idea of the meaning or of the structure of the language.”<sup>61</sup> These boys followed the “native custom” of learning to recite classical texts by “yelling their lessons at the top of their voices.”<sup>62</sup> Thus, Brown recognized that, although Chinese primers of “minor learning” had long begun with simple “three-character” formulations and then graduated to more difficult texts of “greater learning,” Chinese textbooks did not offer an incrementally graded mastery of grammar – which had, as Philippe Ariès would later suggest, revolutionized the structure of academic coursework in Euro-America.

It was difficult to establish age-graded education in China because the Chinese language was not as conducive as Latin-based languages to forming the grammatical architecture that had been invented in Europe. Missionaries like Brown allowed native methods of literacy acquisition to continue because they recognized that intense memorization was necessary for learning Chinese. As a non-native Chinese speaker, Brown argued that the real difficulty lay in the structure of the Chinese language, which was written, not phonically, but rather “pictorially” (given that Westerners often falsely misinterpreted characters as hieroglyphs). Foreign missionaries often relied on visual mnemonics and invented narratives to remember Chinese characters.<sup>63</sup> These devices were so impressive that foreign missionaries often included stories about the characters in

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<sup>57</sup> “Letter from Mr. Henry S. Cousens, Church of England Mission, Tai-an,” *North China Mission* (October 31, 1907), 29.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.* Boys in mission schools played chess and baseball; see Benjamin, “Children’s Page,” *North China Mission Quarterly Paper* 3.3 (October 1895): 62.

<sup>59</sup> Henry Brown, “Children’s Page—Chinese Schools,” *North China Mission Quarterly Paper* 3.1 (April 1895): 13.

<sup>60</sup> Girls were also taught literacy; Lewis, 19.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>62</sup> Francis Sprent, “Extracts from Letters Received by Rev. F.H. Sprent,” *North China Missions* 1.3 (October 1893): 47.

<sup>63</sup> Li Yu, “Learning to Read in Late Imperial China,” *Studies on Asia: Series II, Vol I, No 1*: 7-29.

Western children's books about China,<sup>64</sup> but these stories could also imply that Chinese distinctiveness was embedded in the language.

While missionaries incorporated Chinese characters into their storybooks, Chinese educators were trying to analyze and disaggregate the Chinese language for their own age-graded curriculum. (Thus, in keeping with Joseph Levenson's maxim that the Orient supplemented the Western vocabulary, while the West changed Chinese grammar, Chinese-language learning supplemented Western childhood education, but English grammatical analysis would grow to define Chinese-language learning.) At the turn of the century, new Chinese textbooks not only introduced elementary-school children to foreign material culture, such as coins, clothing, and pens,<sup>65</sup> but they also taught children the English alphabet and vocabulary.<sup>66</sup> The Chinese editors of *The Child Educator* taught labeled parts of speech (and juxtaposed dialectical differences) in pronunciation. They grouped lists of characters according to different levels of difficulty for specific age groups, beginning with age three; these lists later formed age-specific dictionaries that identified the proper age of the reader in the margins.<sup>67</sup> (See Figure 3 in the Appendix for an example.) However, educators would continue to struggle with the question of whether and how to simplify written language instruction for kindergartners.<sup>68</sup>

Western missionaries knew that they were competing with Japanese models and native schools for influence over the field of early childhood education. Japanese textbooks presented missionaries as unqualified ideologues,<sup>69</sup> and missionaries also

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<sup>64</sup> For example, Mary Isabella Bryson, *Child Life in Chinese Homes* (Piccadilly: The Religious Tract Society, 1885), 43.

<sup>65</sup> *Xuebu shending zuixin guowen jiaokeshu: Chudeng xiaoxue yong* 學部審定最新國文教科書：出等小學用 [Newest National Language Readers Ordered by the Ministry of Education for Use in Elementary Schools] 2 (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1906) 1, 6, 31, in the James Hayes Collection, Stanford University Library.

<sup>66</sup> Wang Tao 王燾, *Putong zuixin zazi tuben* 普通最新雜字圖本 [Newest General Illustrated Dictionary]. (Shanghai: Hongcai shuzhuang fuyou ying, 1906), 23-27, in James Hayes Collection, Stanford University Library.

<sup>67</sup> Mengxue congshu. 蒙學叢書 Peking University, Rare Books Reading Room. These changes reflected other innovations in textbook publishing for literacy acquisition. In 1898, *Instructions for Women and Children* listed vocabulary words in terms of common usage. *Furu xu zhi* 婦孺須知 [Instructions for Women and Children] (1898), in James Hayes Collection, Stanford University Library. In 1901, *New Reader for Women and Children* placed the words in a narrative framework with illustrations. *Gailiang furu xin duben* 改良婦孺新讀本 [New Reader for Women and Children], Volumes 1-8, 1901, James Hayes Collection, Stanford University Library. The content of the *New Reader* was also much more explicitly patriotic, with stories about the Qing national flag (*Gailiang furu xin duben*, Volume 1, 14), lyrics to patriotic songs (*Gailiang furu xin duben*, Volume 2, 16), and references to citizens (*guomin*). See *Gailiang furu xin duben*, Volume 2, p. 20.

<sup>68</sup> Zheng Chuncen 鄭春岑, *Youzhi jiaoyu zhi zhongyao* 幼稚教育之重要 [The Importance of Childhood Education], in Beijing Nüzi Gaodeng Jiaoyu Shifan Yanjiuhui 北京女子高等師範幼稚教育研究會 [Beijing Women's Normal Education Research Society], ed., *Beijing Nüzi Gaodeng Shifan Youzhi Jiaoyu Yanjiu* 北京女子高等師範幼稚教育研究 [Beijing Women's Normal Education Research], 1 (December 1920), 15.

<sup>69</sup> "Jiaoshou shu (xu)," republished within a set of educational textbooks: *Mengxue congshu: Like: Jiaoshou Shu*, 2.

accused Japanese teachers of incompetence and disregard for local conditions (such as the need to learn spoken Chinese). Contemporary commentator Margaret Burton (1885-1969) quoted a female missionary, who indicated that Chinese were beginning to feel “dissatisfied with the teaching done by many of the Japanese teachers.”<sup>70</sup> However, the full context of the quotation reads:

Then, too, we must face the fact that our educated girls will be wanted more and more as the years pass to fill positions in government girls' schools, since the Chinese are coming to feel more and more dissatisfied with the teaching done by many of the Japanese teachers who thus far fill those positions. So the outlook for our Mission day school is a little dubious. We have hoped to start village schools in some of our outstations, but thus far, since the Boxer outbreak, we have not been able to do so.<sup>71</sup>

Missionaries were proud that they had elevated the status and demand for mission-educated Chinese kindergarten teachers. However, given increasing anti-foreign sentiment after the Boxer Uprising, Western missionaries faced resistance to teaching Chinese children directly. Later, it became difficult for missionaries to afford to employ their own former pupils as teachers, when female teachers came to be in demand for Chinese kindergartens and age-based educational curriculum.

#### QING EDUCATIONAL REFORMS

As economic decline and military defeats fed critiques of the examination system in the late nineteenth century,<sup>72</sup> Chinese intellectuals increasingly turned to Western models for an age-graded curriculum.<sup>73</sup> After China's defeat by Japan in 1895, intellectuals raised questions about the apparent failure of “new schools,” meant to introduce technical knowledge from the West;<sup>74</sup> moreover, students returning from study abroad increasingly circulated cultural ideas that galvanized intellectuals within China.<sup>75</sup> Late Qing intellectuals introduced a wide variety of new institutions, demonstrating how the conception of the “kindergarten” evolved from a diverse context, but into a trajectory that would influence the institution and expansion of kindergartens in decades after the fall of the Qing in 1911.

In the last decade of the Qing dynasty, “new policies” helped to introduce an age-graded curriculum, in part, to replace the influence that China's merit-based examinations

<sup>70</sup> Margaret Burton, *Education of Women in China*, 140.

<sup>71</sup> Mary Andrews, “Work and Workers in Tung-chou,” in *Light and Life for Women* (Boston: Women's Mission, 1907), 503.

<sup>72</sup> In *A Cultural History of Civil Examinations in Late Imperial China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), Elman stresses internal change, but Sally Borthwick stresses external pressures and cites educational historian Shu Xincheng to note that “had China not been defeated in battle, she might have retained her academies and examinations for centuries to come and offered them as a model for admiring foreigners”; see Borthwick, *Education and Social Change in China*, 38.

<sup>73</sup> Ayers, *Chang Chih-tung and Educational Reform in China*, 118.

<sup>74</sup> Yeh, “Alienated Academy,” 2. Li Guojun 李國鈞, et al., eds., *Zhongguo jiaoyu zhidu tongshi* 中國教育制度通史 [Institutional History of Chinese Education] (Jinan: Shandong jiaoyu chubanshe, 2000), 293.

<sup>75</sup> Schwartz, *In Search of Wealth and Power*. Li Guojun, et al., eds., *Zhongguo jiaoyu zhidu tongshi*, 332.

had exerted on the entire educational system and curriculum as a certification system. These short-lived educational reforms reflected a transitional period, so its institutional categorization has merited careful scholarly attention.<sup>76</sup> Scholars have examined materials on girls' education to chart the popularization of women's rights,<sup>77</sup> normal-school professionalization,<sup>78</sup> and domestic science<sup>79</sup> with a focus on women's history, rather than my focus on children's history and kindergartens. Even though some scholars have viewed new preschool-level institutions as precursors to elementary schools rather than to kindergartens,<sup>80</sup> Chinese administrators saw all of these institutions (and not just kindergartens) as venues for socializing children;<sup>81</sup> for example, teacher and childhood educator Wu Zhuzhe 吴朱哲 wrote that her training in Japan had broadened her understanding of early childhood education, which could "substitute for family education

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<sup>76</sup> For example, Sally Borthwick compares traditional *sishu* and the introduction of Western-style primary schools in *Education and Social Change in China* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University, 1983). For background, see also Angela Leung, "Elementary Education in the Lower Yangtze Region in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries." Wang Di focuses on the establishment of new primary, secondary, and university-level schools and offers statistics for their popularization. However, Li Feng traces the introduction of these new schools to the "foreign matters faction" (*yangwupai*) in the 1860s, but argues that the schools were not widespread, even after the government reforms that began in 1901; these schools emphasized childhood development and prohibited corporal punishment on children under thirteen. Li Feng, "Qingmo xinzheng shiqi xinshi xuetang de fazhan jiqi qishi" [The Development and Inspiration of the New Style Schools in the Period of the New Institutional Reforms in the Late Qing Dynasty], *Heze Xueyuan Xuebao* [Journal of Heze University], 32.6 (2010): 87-90. Liu Shaochun notes that these educational reforms made clear provisions for curricular content at each school level in terms of academic discipline; see Liu Shaochun, "Wanqing kezhu bochu yihou xin jiaoyu de fazhan ji cunzai de wenti" [New Schools after the Abolishment of the Civil Service Examinations and their Development and Inherent Problems] *Hebei Shifan Daxue xuebao*. In 1987, Ruth Hayhoe justified her study of higher education by noting that too much focus had been given to village elites who invested in local elementary schools; see *China's Education and the Industrialized World* (Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 1987), 85. Qifa Liao embeds early childhood education in Chinese history as a whole; see Liao, *Zhongguo you'er jiaoyu shi* 中國幼兒教育史 [Children's Educational History in China], (Taiyuan: Shanxi jiaoyu chubanshe, 2006).

<sup>77</sup> Joan Judge, "Citizens or Mothers of Citizens?: Gender and the Meaning of Modern Chinese Citizenship," in Elizabeth Perry and Merle Goldman, eds., *Changing Meanings of Citizenship in Modern China* (Cambridge: Harvard Contemporary China Series, 2002), 23-43.

<sup>78</sup> Xiaoping Cong, *Teachers' schools and the making of the modern Chinese nation-state, 1897-1937* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2007).

<sup>79</sup> Helen Schneider, *Keeping the Nation's House: Domestic Management and the Making of Modern China* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2011). Ke Xiaojing examines the use of childcare as a method of controlling women in "Suzao muqin: Jindai Zhongguo yuer zhishi de jiangou, 1903-1937" 塑造母親：近代中國 [Making the New Motherhood: The Construction of the Knowledge of Nursing in Modern China, 1903-1937], M.A. thesis, Modern History Institute, Academia Sinica, 2007.

<sup>80</sup> Zhongguo xueqian jiaoyushi bianxiezu, *Zhongguo xueqian jiaoyushi ziliaoxuan*.

<sup>81</sup> In the Chinese context, "social education" often refers to "an enormous variety of officially sponsored activities and institutions whose function was to inform, educate, and persuade citizens" who are often working-class adults; see Glen Peterson, "Peasant Education and the Reconstruction of Village Society," 219. In contrast, I refer to the process of childhood socialization and maturation that is described in childrearing manuals.

and emphasize the physical growth of children” rather than merely basic literacy.<sup>82</sup> Wu and others helped to introduce childhood psychology as a foundational tenet of pedagogical training within the rubric of “science.” The meaning of “science” was in flux at this time in China,<sup>83</sup> and the science of childhood development, as this dissertation will show in successive periods, could be adapted by a spectrum of political actors, interested in establishing the structure of classroom authority and the influence of schoolteachers.

School administrators and government officials drew upon a new discourse about the science of childhood development as they institutionalized age-appropriate learning in the late Qing. Qing officials incorporated modern pedagogy into schools with a conservative political agenda, but intellectuals took the initiative to introduce and implement new ideas, often by way of Japan, about the science of age development and the necessity for age-graded curricula.<sup>84</sup> Age-appropriate learning helped to justify restructuring the educational system in the absence of the examination system. As scholar Xiaoping Cong has argued, preschool institutions created the need for scientifically trained caregivers. Furthermore, the overlap between advice to mothers and guidelines for schoolteachers (sometimes presented in the same journals) suggested that motherhood could be professionalized, and “family education” could transcend the home and extend into the classroom. The classroom itself became a venue for collecting information about childhood, children, and their families to benefit scientific researchers, school administrators, and government officials. Despite adaptation by a spectrum of political actors, the science of Child Study was nevertheless becoming a source of authority in educational programs. These ideas brought the “natural” processes of maturation into realms of scientific inquiry and pedagogical professionalization. As will become evident in Part II, Chinese educators and Qing officials progressively adapted Western concepts of the kindergarten with science-based and aged-graded preschool socialization. Nonetheless, despite having considerable common sources or ground with missionary kindergartens, the Chinese were pursuing a strikingly different agenda, promoting traditional family values, social order, and conservative political loyalties.

Through print media, the Chinese elite published new ideas about educational reforms. Chinese students in Japan, the majority of whom studied education,<sup>85</sup> began to introduce new academic models, especially by surveying schools and translating texts in

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<sup>82</sup> Zhang Jingliang 張景良, et al., *Baomu chuanxisuo jiangyi: chuji*, 保姆傳習所講義：初級 [Lectures for Child Caregivers] (Shanghai: Shanghai gongli youzhishe, 1909), 2. For more on Wu Zhuzhe, see Xiaoping Cong, “From ‘Cainü’ (Talented Women) to ‘Nü jiaoxi’ (Female Teachers): Female Normal Schools and the Transformation of Women’s Education in Late Qing China, 1895-1911,” in Nanxiu Qian, Grace Fong, and Richard J. Smith, eds., *Different Worlds of Discourse: Different Worlds of Discourse: Transformations of Gender and Genre in Late Qing and Early Republican China* (Leiden and Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, 2008): 115-44.

<sup>83</sup> Benjamin A. Elman, *A Cultural History of Modern Science in China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), 199–200.

<sup>84</sup> Wen-Hsing Yeh, “The Alienated Academy: Higher Education in Republican China (St. John’s University, Shanghai University),” Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1984, pp.1-77.

<sup>85</sup> Before 1903, 44.1% of Chinese students in Japan studied subjects relating to education. See See Chen Xuexun 陳學恂 et al., eds., *Zhongguo jiaoyushi yanjiu* 中國教育史研究 [Chinese Educational History Research] (Shanghai: Huadong shifan daxue chubanshe, 2009), 123.



newly founded journals, such as *Educational Review* 教育雜誌 and *Educational World* 教育世界, and “*The Child Educator*” 蒙學報 (See Figure 4 for an illustration of the cover of the journal, depicting a teacher with a young crowd of students.) For instance, *The Child Educator* serially published pedagogical materials, often translated from Japanese, for dissemination primarily within a new association, founded in 1897, for early childhood education.<sup>86</sup> After the creation of a modern Ministry of Education 學部 in 1905, the *Gazette of the Ministry of Education* 學部官報 circulated government edicts, memorials, and surveys, and scholarly translations. These journals provide important contextual information for understanding the terms often used in school mission statements.

During the late Qing, the government wanted to control the introduction of age-graded curricula in order to supersede the examination system’s indirect influence on education.<sup>87</sup> A government-appointed educational committee drafted the “Academic System of 1902” 壬寅學制 to begin with government-run, four-year “halls” *mengxuetang* 蒙學堂<sup>88</sup> for boys ages six to ten *sui*;<sup>89</sup> these institutions were reestablished kindergartens after 1903.<sup>90</sup> After discussions led by the Empress Dowager and government minister Zhang Zhidong in 1903, an imperial edict authorized and outlined the establishment of kindergartens based on German and Japanese models.<sup>91</sup> In 1904, the revised *Memorials on Determining School Regulations* 奏定學堂章程 established kindergartens for children aged three to seven years old.<sup>92</sup>

Chinese “kindergartens”<sup>93</sup> represented a politically conservative form of childhood education especially adapted for China.<sup>94</sup> The 1904 educational plan codified the practice of allowing widows to teach young girls, aged three to eight *sui*, in “institutes for childhood enlightenment” (*mengyangyuan* 蒙養院) as auxiliary institutions<sup>95</sup> that drew female pupils from foundling homes (*yuyingtang* 育嬰堂) and nannies from widows’

<sup>86</sup> Ewald Heck, *Wang Kangnian (1860-1911) und die Shiwubao* (Sankt Augustin: Institut Monumenta Serica; and Nettetal: Kommission und Vertrieb, Steyler, 2000), 32–37; Borthwick, *Education and Social Change in China*, 60.

<sup>87</sup> Guan Xiaohong 关晓红, *Wanqing xuebu yanjiu* 晚清學部研究 [Research on the Late Qing Board of Learning] (Guandong: Guandong jiaoyu chubanshe, 2000), 30. Thøgersen, “State and Society in Chinese Education,” 188.

<sup>88</sup> See Lee, *Education in Traditional China*, 434.

<sup>89</sup> Li Guojun, et al., eds., *Zhongguo jiaoyu zhidu tongshi*, 299.

<sup>90</sup> The Preparatory Committee of the Regional Study Conference on Fundamental Education, *Fundamental Education in China: A Report* (Nanking: Ministry of Education, September 1947), 7.

<sup>91</sup> Limin Bai, “The Chinese Kindergarten Movement,” 142.

<sup>92</sup> Ping Wen Kuo, *The Chinese System of Public Education*, Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1914, p. 80.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>94</sup> Limin Bai, “The Chinese Kindergarten Movement,” 143.

<sup>95</sup> Some non-charitable *mengyang* institutes, such as the one affiliated to the Imperial Normal University, took only male pupils.

homes (*jingjietang* 敬節堂).<sup>96</sup> Because of their emphasis on morality, these institutes have been considered more traditionalistic than the contemporaneous private, co-educational “gardens for childhood enlightenment” *mengyangyuan* 蒙養園.<sup>97</sup> In this last term, the character for “yuan” is different from the more common one above; moreover, the *mengxuetang* 蒙學堂 for boys used a term with greater difference. In short, the diversity of early late Qing terms for “kindergartens” illustrates its early institutional flux.

Notwithstanding the unique characteristics of Qing kindergartens,<sup>98</sup> the 1904 edict placed these institutes in the context of global preschool trends.<sup>99</sup> The edict noted that “all countries have kindergartens” for raising children from the ages three to seven; however, China’s lack of girls’ schools “would not permit adaptation of foreign-style kindergartens” and would instead require creation of Chinese-style kindergartens.<sup>100</sup> Despite the economic differences between charitable institutes for female foundlings and private gardens for co-educational toddlers, school administrators asserted that their schools were comparable to foreign kindergartens. For example, the Hunan Mengyang Institute wrote in its founding documents that it was “different in name, but alike in conception, to foreign kindergartens.”<sup>101</sup> A petition to the Ministry of Education also likened the Qing’s *mengyang* institutes to “the kindergartens of all countries”<sup>102</sup> because they too accepted children who were “not yet school-aged” and “supplemented family education.”<sup>103</sup> Thus, preschool age cohort and family education defined kindergartens as schools that institutionalized non-academic socialization under the rubric of “family education.” Such parallels to the West notwithstanding, officials and educators in the late Qing were writing textbooks and pursuing an agenda particularly focused on nurturing patriots.

<sup>96</sup> Article 7 of Hubei Youzhiyuan kaiban zhangcheng 湖北幼稚園開辦章程 [Hubei Kindergarten Mission Statement], reproduced in Shu Xincheng 舒新城, ed., *Zhongguo jindai jiaoyushi ziliao* 中國近代教育史資料 (Beijing: Renmin jiaoyu chubanshe, 1961), 387. For a critique of Shu Xincheng’s compilations, see Xia Xiaohong, “*Mengxue keben zhong de jiu xue xin zhi.*”

<sup>97</sup> Personal Communication with Lu Yueshan, 2010.

<sup>98</sup> Zhang Zonglin 張宗麟 (1899–1976), a member of China’s Kindergarten Movement, would characterize late-Qing institutions as the precursors to elementary schools, rather than modern kindergartens, and criticized Japanese-influenced “gardens” as too rigidly authoritarian; see his *Youzhiyuan de yanbian shi*, 38. Cao Lu, “Qingmo de xueqian jiaoyu jigou,” 21.

<sup>99</sup> *Zhongguo xueqian jiaoyushi bianxiezu* 中國學前教育史編寫組編 [Chinese Preschool Educational History Editorial Team], ed., *Zhongguo xueqian jiaoyushi ziliao xuan* 中國學前教育史資料選 [Chinese Preschool Education History, Selected Materials] (Beijing: Renmin jiaoyu chubanshe, 1999), 85.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>101</sup> “Hunansheng sheli chudeng xiaoxuetang fushe mengyangyuan: fushe mengyangyuan kaiban zhangcheng” 湖南省設立初等小學堂附屬蒙養院：附屬蒙養院開辦章程 [Hunan Provincial Entry-level Elementary School and Affiliated Mengyang Institute: Mission Statement for the Attached Mengyang Institute], Article 1.

<sup>102</sup> “Jingwai zougao: Mindu fuzou chuangan youzhiyuanpian” 京外奏稿：閩督附奏創辦幼稚園片 [Memorials from the Provinces: Fujian to Establish a Kindergarten] *Xuebu guanbao* 學部官報 No. 33 (1907).

<sup>103</sup> “Hunansheng sheli chudeng xiaoxuetang fushe mengyangyuan” 湖南省設立出等小學堂附設蒙養院，Article 1.

## FAMILY EDUCATION AND THE “REAL SCHOOL FOR PATRIOTS”

Qing government officials hoped that the institutionalization of family education within kindergarten-level institutions would allow the state to maintain and expand control. In an edict, the government pointed to the “insufficiency of family education” in order to justify the establishment of institutions for “early childhood education and family education.”<sup>104</sup> School mission statements often referenced the government’s goal of “supplementing family education.” However, whereas the imperial edict used the term “family education” to indicate moralistic Confucian filial duty (and the injunction against infanticide), school documents tended instead to emphasize childhood growth.<sup>105</sup> This tension between traditional morality and modern science is also apparent in contentions over the question of whether professional nurses should provide family education outside the home.

The Qing government’s movement to establish kindergartens was fundamentally traditionalistic because it preferred to place early childhood education under the care of “virtuous widows” and sagely mothers within the home, rather than under the instruction of professional teachers in the classroom. As a former U.S. Secretary of State John W. Foster (1836–1917) explained in 1906, the Qing Imperial Commission<sup>106</sup>—a diplomatic mission headed by the Manchu official Duan Fang 端方 (1861-1911) and the Cantonese official Dai Hongci (戴鴻慈 1853 – 1910) to the United States—would use female literacy as a vehicle to promote political loyalty: “Tuan Fang’s [Duan Fang’s] idea is that graduates of female high and normal schools may be put in charge of primary schools, and with a constantly growing number of educated women, children will have, in the near future, the valuable privilege of a mother’s teaching at home, the real school for patriots. None, he says, are greater patriots and more loyal to the government than women.”<sup>107</sup> This rhetoric about patriotic women masked anxieties about the subversive potential of female education.<sup>108</sup> Thus, official policy stressed preparing women to be “good wives and wise mothers” 賢妻良母 within the confines of the home as the “real school for young patriots.”<sup>109</sup>

<sup>104</sup> “Hubei youzhiyuan kaiban zhangcheng,” 湖北幼稚園開辦章程 [Hubei Kindergarten Founding Documents].

<sup>105</sup> Zhongguo xueqian jiaoyushi bianxiezu, *Zhongguo xueqian jiaoyushi ziliaoxuan*, 94.

<sup>106</sup> See also Jeremiah W. Jenks, “The Chinese Special Mission,” in Albert Shaw, ed., *Review of Reviews and World’s Work* (The Review of Reviews Corporation, 1906), 299-301. For more information, see Sucheng Chen, ed., *Chinese American Transnationalism: The Flow of People, Resources, and Ideas Between China and America During the Exclusion Era* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2006).

<sup>107</sup> John Watson Foster, *Present Conditions in China* (Washington, D.C: Press of Judd & Detweiler, Inc, 1906), 5. Access online: <http://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/008415767>.

<sup>108</sup> Bailey, “Active Citizen or Efficient Housewife?” 327.

<sup>109</sup> Some considered normal-school education “training for mothers”; see “Diaocha Henan,” 722. For Japanese ideas about “good wives and wise mothers,” called *Ryoosai kenbo*, see Kathleen Uno, “Womanhood, War and Empire: Transmutations of ‘Good wife, wise mother’ before 1931,” in Barbara Molony and Kathleen Uno, eds., *Gendering Modern Japanese History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005), 493-513.

Although the government in 1904 blamed the absence of trained women for its inability to run kindergartens,<sup>110</sup> the government declined to provide public education for girls until 1907. This discrepancy has led some scholars to question the government's commitment to educational reform. In Chinese and Western scholarship, these debates often center on the official Zhang Zhidong, who had introduced kindergartens into government reforms for the academic system.<sup>111</sup> Yet, Zhang Zhidong advocated training virtuous widows for early childhood education, in part, because he objected to Western-style normal schools.<sup>112</sup> As Sally Borthwick comments, "Facing the infection of dissident ideas and consequent destruction of morality,"<sup>113</sup> Zhang shut down a girls' normal school and replaced it with the Revere Chastity School for virtuous widows in 1904.<sup>114</sup> In the process, he also reorganized the Affiliated Hubei Kindergarten as the Wuchang *Mengyang* Institute;<sup>115</sup> thus, his actions helped to create the assessment that such institutions, in contrast to kindergartens, were especially conservative. However, some of Zhang's own historical contemporaries were similarly dissatisfied with the limited nature of these reforms. For example, an editorialist in the Shanghai newspaper *Shen Bao*, noting these trends, criticized "those who promoted kindergartens and prohibited girls' education, seeking instead self-taught nannies to serve as chaste caregivers in foundling homes"; therefore, the commentator condemned a system that offered women scientific training only to the extent necessary to maintain children's health.<sup>116</sup>

Yet, even Zhang Zhidong accepted some modernizing Japanese influences to help train caregivers. He wrote that the Wuchang *Mengyang* Institute should retain three Japanese "female lecturers" 日本女教習 to instruct nannies and wet nurses on "infant care."<sup>117</sup> The Qing's 1903 edict on kindergartens provided for the translation of books, such as Shimoda Utako's 下田歌子 (1854–1936) manual on home economics because it "did not conflict" with Confucian values.<sup>118</sup> 210 female Chinese students studied with Shimoda in a school that she established in 1899 in Tokyo.<sup>119</sup> Thus, Zhang's decision still reflected the popularity of Japanese models and acknowledged that childcare required expertise.

In keeping with the Qing government's endorsement of Shimoda, many Chinese and Japanese intellectuals advocated using preschools as venues to reform family

<sup>110</sup> Zhongguo xueqian jiaoyushi bianxiezu, ed., *Zhongguo xueqian jiaoyushi ziliaoxuan*, 85.

<sup>111</sup> William Ayers, *Chang Chih-tung and Educational Reform in China*, 207.

<sup>112</sup> Chen Xuexun, et al., eds., *Zhongguo jiaoyushi yanjiu*, 141.

<sup>113</sup> Borthwick, 115–116.

<sup>114</sup> For a negative assessment, see Borthwick, *Education and Social Change in China*, 115–16; for a positive assessment, see Limin Bai, "The Chinese Kindergarten Movement," 150.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>116</sup> "Zhongguo zhi suwei youzhiyuanzhe."

<sup>117</sup> Zhongguo xueqian jiaoyushi bianxiezu, *Zhongguo xueqian jiaoyushi ziliaoxuan*, 84. Wang Xiangrong offers information about the salaries of these Japanese lecturers (who often taught subjects like law and science) and their short-lived, decade-long dominance in the history of Chinese university-level education.

<sup>118</sup> Zhang Zonglin, *Youzhiyuan de yanbian shi*, 41. For differences between Japanese and Western female education, see Miyagawa, "Ribei nüzi jiaoyu yu xiyang nüzi jiaoyu zhi chayi bing qi jieguo."

<sup>119</sup> Joan Judge, "Mingzhi Ribei he wan-Qing funü de jiaoyu," 513. For the numbers of young Chinese women who began to study in Japan in 1905, please see Hong Fucai, 78.

education, especially bad habits acquired at home. For instance, in a Chinese translation of Hanjirō Nakajima's 中島半次郎 work on pedagogy, French preschools were heralded for correcting the “bad habits” of children from working families;<sup>120</sup> Luo Zhenyu 羅振玉 (1866–1940) also praised the French kindergarten model for inculcating good social habits in the poor.<sup>121</sup> These texts offered suggestions for improving childhood socialization, mothering, and parent-school relationships. For example, *Educational Review* published an article arguing that girls' education would improve the influence of mothers on small children.<sup>122</sup> Likewise, articles on childrearing, directed toward women, introduced the history of kindergartens.<sup>123</sup> The editors of *The Childhood Educator* (*Mengxuebao*) introduced new academic categories,<sup>124</sup> and they juxtaposed advice on infant care with information on kindergarten education in ways that echoed the government's tendency to emphasize “family education” both at home and in school.

Japan represented a “moderate” model that exalted the role of women as “mothers of national citizens,” rather than as citizens in their own right.<sup>125</sup> Citing the connection between kindergartens and “mothers' schools,”<sup>126</sup> Japanese articles emphasized the interrelated importance of girls' schools, family education, and early childhood education because women had a special duty to maintain and transmit cultural traditions for the nation.<sup>127</sup> Shimoda wrote that it was “within a woman's nature to service family education.”<sup>128</sup> However, rather than rely on the innate abilities and instincts of women, Shimoda offered a new curriculum, including psychology and science to help “women to become good mothers and teachers.”<sup>129</sup> Another article in *Educational World* went so far as to claim, “Women who lack an understanding of physics can never become sagely mothers.”<sup>130</sup> Thus, even though childrearing manuals championed the “natural” gifts of mothers, they nevertheless required women to respect new textbook authority on childcare. At the root of this inherent tension, Chinese government officials, like Zhang

<sup>120</sup> Hanjirō Nakajima, *Putong jiaoyuxue yaoyi*, 49.

<sup>121</sup> Luo Zhenyu 羅振玉 (1866–1940), “Yu youren lun Zhongguo gudai jiaoyushu” 與友人論中國古代教育書 [Discussing China's ancient primers with friends], 2.

<sup>122</sup> “Lun Youzhiyuan.”

<sup>123</sup> Zhu Zhuang, “Yu er fa,” 32.

<sup>124</sup> Mei Jialing, “Wan-Qing tongmeng jiaoyu zhong de wenhua chuanyi, zhishi jiegou yu biaoda fangfa,” 48

<sup>125</sup> Furukawa Hanako 古川花子, and Kyūkyō Taya 田谷九橋, “Ershi shiji de jiating” 二十世纪之家庭 [Twentieth Century Families], *Jiaoyu Shijie* 教育世界 40 (1902): 6.

<sup>126</sup> “Bilishi jiaoyu qingkuang” 比利時教育狀況 [Belgium's Educational Situation], *Jiaoyu Shijie* 教育世界 120 (1906): 1-12.

<sup>127</sup> Nagae Masanao 永江正直, “Nūzi jiaoyu lun” 女子教育論 (未完) [On Girls' Education], Qian Dan trans., 浙江錢單士厘, *Jiaoyu Shijie* 教育世界 40 (1902): 1; based on Nagae Masanao, *Joshi kyōikuron zen* 女子教育論全 [On Girls' Education] (Tōkyō: Ōhashi Shintarō 大橋新太郎: 發兌元博文館, 1892).

<sup>128</sup> Utako Shimoda, “Huanan mengyang jiaoke shuolüe” 湖南蒙養院教課說略 [Outline Explaining the Hunan Child Enlightenment Institute] *The Continental* (published in Shanghai) 3. 7 (1905): Introduction, 1-4.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>130</sup> Ikusei-kai 育成會 [Educational Committee], “Oumei Jiaoyuguan (xuwan)” 歐美教育觀 (續完) [Euro-American Educational Views, Continued], Shen Hong 沈紘, ed., *Jiaoyu Shijie* 教育世界 No. 35 (1902), 15.

Zhidong, aimed to exalt and harness the social role of mothers as a politically stabilizing force, but their recourse to expert knowledge also bespoke the emergence of scientific authority.<sup>131</sup>

The salary rates of caregivers pointed to the economic value of an educated, female workforce at this historical juncture. Records in the *Gazette of the Ministry of Education* indicate that, at least in one case, over twice as much public money was allocated *per student* to an affiliated kindergarten than to the main girls' school.<sup>132</sup> Solicitations published in the newspaper *Shen Bao* for Chinese caregivers, after the departure of Japanese kindergarten instructors,<sup>133</sup> confirm contemporary commentator Margaret Burton's impression about the high demand for trained Chinese nannies. Burton reported that a female Chinese teacher received one hundred and forty (silver) Mexican dollars a month for her services, far above the standard rate for a private tutor, who received only five or six Mexican dollars a month.<sup>134</sup> Educated women were scarcer than unemployed, educated men in the late Qing. Nevertheless, the fact that a female caregiver could receive a higher salary than a male tutor bespeaks the special circumstances of the last years of the Qing, when the abolition of the civil service examination somewhat degraded the economic value of traditional learning.

Some women balked at the institutionalization of childrearing as the primary course for girls' education. In 1904, in the journal *Women's World*, one commentator complained that women were only taught childcare in institutions that should really be called "slave schools" 奴隸學堂.<sup>135</sup> Yet, *Women's World* elsewhere continued to justify girls' education as "the foundation of family education,"<sup>136</sup> and the journal also offered a series on infant care.<sup>137</sup> These critics thus decried the curricular limitations on girls' schools within a context that maintained the value of scientific childrearing. Still, childcare training helped to integrate girls' education within the larger academic structure by driving the professionalization of women's normal education. Furthermore, the

<sup>131</sup> Helen Schneider, *Keeping the Nation's House*. Thanks to Helen Schneider for serving as panel discussant for my paper presentation at the Annual Meeting of the Association of Asian Studies, Honolulu, 2011.

<sup>132</sup> "Gongli diyi nüxuexiao fushe youzhiyuan."

<sup>133</sup> For example, see "Ji youzhiyuan qingxing," "Youzhiyuan qing tian jiaoyuan," and "Zhaokao chuanxi baomu."

<sup>134</sup> Burton, *The Education of Women in China*, 133. For evidence of government efforts to remove the widespread use of Mexican silver dollars and other foreign currency in China, see for example "Imperial Canton Mint," *New York Times*, July 3, 1892.

<sup>135</sup> Bi Cheng 碧城, "Nüxue wencong: lun mo du zha youzhiyuan gongwen" 女學文叢：論某督札幼稚園公文 [Series on Women's Education: On Kindergarten Official Documents], *Nüzi Shijie* No. 9 (1904); reprinted in Xia Xiaohong 夏晓虹, ed., *Nüzi Shijie wen xuan bian* 《女子世界》文選編 [Women's World Edited Selections] (Guiyang: Guizhou Educational Publishing House, 2003), 161-163. Joan Judge also mentions a similar article, "Mingzhi Riben he wan-Qing funü de jiaoyu," *Nübao*, 511.

<sup>136</sup> For example, Zhi Qun 志群 "Nüzi jiaoyu" 女子教育 [Girls' education] *Nüzi Shijie* (1907); reprinted in Xia Xiaohong, ed., *Nüzi Shijie wen xuan bian*, 128.

<sup>137</sup> Zhu Zhuang, "Yu er fa," 29-32.

overlap between motherhood training and normal-school education<sup>138</sup> helped to bring science into the female “domestic sphere” in ways perhaps uncommon in the West.<sup>139</sup> Despite commonalities with the West, such as female educators in kindergartens and good influences in the home, Chinese of course differed in the way they envisioned training teachers and sagely mothers to serve the nation.

#### CHILD EXPERTISE AND THE POLITICS OF AUTHORITY

As has long been recognized, with the nationalistic turn in East Asia, intellectuals adapted Western ideas for their own purposes. For example, Japanese nationalists, like the imperial tutor Motoda Eifu 元田永孚 (1818-1891), combined Confucian attitudes toward family with modern conceptions of childhood in order to align traditionalistic filiality with nationalistic loyalty.<sup>140</sup> Likewise, Japanese pedagogical texts (in Chinese translation) introduced Western-style academic systems, but warned that missionary teachers were more interested in evangelism than teaching; in Japan, government inspections found that missionaries’ lax standards had resulted in “stupidity, unruliness, and sloth” among students.<sup>141</sup> These comments resonated with widespread rumors about missionary mistreatment of children<sup>142</sup> and helped to galvanize the movement to found native-run institutions.<sup>143</sup> Japan appeared, to the writers of a Chinese primer, to have emerged as a leader for the “yellow race” to compete with Euro-American imperialism<sup>144</sup>—even when Japanese and missionary sources shared a common point of origin. Thus, the Japanese role here underscores both common origins of the kindergarten movement in Western sources and divergences in agendas as East Asian adapted the science of the kindergarten to strengthen their own social order and political culture in an age of emergent nationalism.

Friedrich William August Fröbel (1782–1852) has often been considered the “father of kindergartens”; by briefly comparing Japanese and missionary representations of this figure, we can identify some key differences in their approaches to introducing early childhood education. In contrast to a missionary text that alluded to Fröbel’s fraught relationship with his “church friends,”<sup>145</sup> Japanese texts presented Fröbel as an anti-cleric progressive who suffered from conflicts with Church authorities and the feudal

<sup>138</sup> *Mengxue congshu* (Elementary Primer Series) includes both infant education and a discussion of kindergarten institutions.

<sup>139</sup> Schneider, *Keeping the Nation’s House*, 8; Eugenia Lean, “Nüjie de chuangzao jishu.” Paul Baily places “the ‘professionalization’ of household management” within the context of “conservative backlash” to female education; see Baily, “Active Citizen or Efficient Housewife?” 239, 330.

<sup>140</sup> Stefan Tanaka, “Childhood: Naturalization of Development into Japanese Space,” 42.

<sup>141</sup> “Jiaoshou shu (xu),” republished within a set of educational textbooks: *Mengxue congshu: Like: Jiaoshou Shu*, 2.

<sup>142</sup> See Michelle King, “Drowning Daughters.”

<sup>143</sup> Limin Bai, “The Chinese Kindergarten Movement,” 161.

<sup>144</sup> *Mengxue keben*, 35.

<sup>145</sup> Francis Huberty James, Chinese name Xiu Yaochun 秀耀春 (1851–1900), *Yangmeng zhenggui* 養蒙正軌, 12.

nobility.<sup>146</sup> Furthermore, during the Meiji transition away from the ideal order of social stratification of Tokugawa society, Japanese reformers emphasized political message of educational equality in Fröbel's work.<sup>147</sup> Chinese versions of Japanese narratives picked up the implication that kindergartens were antithetical to church hierarchy and feudal society because kindergartens provided education and enlightenment to children from every rank in the same venue.<sup>148</sup> Such forward-looking progressivism enabled Chinese intellectuals in the late Qing to champion the scientific nature of Fröbel's contributions. Whereas missionary Francis James related Fröbel's educational toys to traditional Chinese intellectual philosophy about the materialism of "myriad things,"<sup>149</sup> Japanese texts firmly couched Fröbel in the scientific field of childhood cognitive development.

In the late Qing dynasty, progressive Chinese intellectuals, like their Japanese counterparts, followed German and Japanese models of education not only because these systems were pedagogically innovative, but also because they had an affinity for conservative imperial political culture.<sup>150</sup> Japanese models of instruction advocated regimentation and control in ways that conformed to their paradigms of biological developmentalism and instilled obedience to authoritarian power. For example, in a memorial circulated through the Ministry of Education, the eminent scholar Yan Xiu 嚴修 (1860–1929) championed German and Japanese models because "the German model of education emphasizes imperial unification" and the Japanese model of education organized the world under monarchical rule.<sup>151</sup>

Politicians understood the potential value, to the state, of institutionalizing primary school education. The *Gazette of the Ministry of Education* published surveys about primary and preschool-level schools. Citing foreign truancy laws, officials and lawmakers stressed that schooling should be public and compulsory;<sup>152</sup> the *Gazette* focused on surveys of primary schools and normal schools.<sup>153</sup> Nevertheless, because primary school remained at the most local level of educational administration,<sup>154</sup> the central government had little direct control over early childhood education and normal-school education, which were respectively at the lowest and the highest fringes of a newly developing, age-graded educational system.<sup>155</sup>

<sup>146</sup> Ikusei-kai, "Oumei Jiaoyuguan (xuan)," 30.

<sup>147</sup> See Ronald Philip Dore, *Education in Imperial Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965).

<sup>148</sup> *Mengxue congshu*.

<sup>149</sup> Francis Huberty James, *Yangmeng zhenggui*, 9. For more on James, See Robert Coventry Forsyth, "Heroes," 473–76.

<sup>150</sup> Thomas Curran, 123–72.

<sup>151</sup> Tian Zhengping 田正平, ed., *Zhongguo jiaoyushi yanjiu* 中國教育史研究 1st ed. (Shanghai: Huadong Normal University Press, 2001), 119.

<sup>152</sup> Luo Zhenyu that countries all over the world made elementary school public and compulsory; see, "Xuebu sheli hou zhi jiaoyu guanjian, er." The Normal Imperial Academy cited as a reason to found its elementary school the fact that truancy laws punished parents; see "Guanxue dachen zouni xiaoxuetang zhangcheng," Article 9.

<sup>153</sup> For example, Mongolian normal schools (Guangxu 33-07-11, p. 30); Henan primary schools (Guangxu 33-6-21, p. 28 and continued in Guangxu 33-07-01, p. 29, and Guangxu 33-07-21, p. 31).

<sup>154</sup> Hayhoe, *China's Education and the Industrialized World*, 34.

<sup>155</sup> See Borthwick, *Education and Social Change in China*, 78.



Educational reforms were established in the context of waning state power and burgeoning local control in the years preceding the 1911 Revolution.<sup>156</sup> As Sally Borthwick concludes, “Gentry involvement in educational funding and administration fueled demands for local and provincial self-government, issues that, mishandled by the Qing, contributed as much as radical ideology to the Revolution of 1911.”<sup>157</sup> This distinction between the national and the local is important because, as Philip Kuhn has illustrated, “local self-government” in China often referred to “the arbitrary exercise of power by rapacious local elites and petty functionaries.”<sup>158</sup> Thus, patriotic rhetoric for the central government, such as Yan’s statement, should not be read as a capitulation to all levels and forms of state and semi-official authority. Instead of resisting state encroachment, school administrators (who were often also members of the local elite)<sup>159</sup> often presented themselves as advocates for the national interest when addressing their pupils and their pupils’ families.

Members the Shanghai Kindergarten Society presented the kindergarten as a venue to formalize state cooperation with families. Textbooks prescribed cooperation with parents.<sup>160</sup> School paperwork required contact with families<sup>161</sup> and recorded information about children and their family households.<sup>162</sup> Kindergarten diplomas reflected a larger trend toward educational certification against the background of the decline of the examination degree system.<sup>163</sup> By demanding that parents comply with regulations, school administrators had some degree of direct interference in family affairs;<sup>164</sup> for instance, some schools fined or denied access to girls with bound feet,<sup>165</sup> and thus demonstrated attempts to protect children’s interests even against the wishes of their parents.

Yet, the kindergarten during the Qing initiates a problematique of early childhood educators under later regimes, for appeals to national strength might ultimately undermine children’s rights. Benjamin Schwartz and Susan Glosser have argued that because human rights and women’s liberation were seen as a means for “state wealth and

<sup>156</sup> For example, Ma Xiaoquan sees an inverse relationship between central power and local self-government in the final years of the Qing; see Ma Xiaoquan, “Local Self-Government,” 183–84.

<sup>157</sup> Borthwick, *Education and Social Change in China*, 153–54.

<sup>158</sup> Kuhn, “Local Self-Government under the Republic: Problems of Control, Autonomy, and Mobilization,” 257. In *Origins of the Modern Chinese State*, Kuhn examines the development of political thought among intellectuals who wanted to use central authority to redress some of the abuses of these locally entrenched groups.

<sup>159</sup> Chauncey, *Schoolhouse Politicians*, 86.

<sup>160</sup> Zhang Jingliang, et al., eds., *Baomu chuanxisuo jiangyi: Chuji*. I thank Miriam Gross for directing me to this source.

<sup>161</sup> Some elementary schools had associations for the guardians of students. For example, see “Shiwen: she fuxionghui zhi kuxin” 時聞：設父兄會之苦心 [The Ordeal of Establishing Associations for Fathers and Elder Brothers], *Zhili Jiaoyu Zazhi* 直隸教育雜誌 11 (1908).

<sup>162</sup> Japanese models included rubrics for measuring and recording the data about children’s bodies; Luo Zhenyu, “Ribin jiaoyu dazhi.”

<sup>163</sup> The Yan Clan School provided diplomas upon graduation from its *mengxueyuan*.

<sup>164</sup> “Hubei youzhiyuan kaiban zhangcheng,” 5.

<sup>165</sup> Ibid. Hunan, “Fushu mengyangyuan kaiban zhancheng,” chapter 4: Hours of Instruction and Tuition Fees, sub-item one of Article 10.

power,” intellectual rhetoric provided the foundation for state abuses of such rights in later years.<sup>166</sup> Likewise, educators also believed that “liberating” children—merely from the overwhelming pressure toward academic precocity,<sup>167</sup> if not from the overt abuses of the family system—would benefit China as a whole, and thus implied that childhood education could be treated as means to an end. Because of the eventual rise of state power in China, we often examine historical narratives through the lens of state control, and thus overlook issues concerning the politics of authority on a smaller scale, within schools and textbooks.

#### EXAMPLES OF CHARITY AND ELITE KINDERGARTENS

Kindergartens were often appendages to other schools. The *Gazette of the Ministry of Education* relayed information about affiliated kindergartens merely as footnotes to schools. As affiliated institutions, kindergartens followed similar patterns of geographical establishment as girls’ schools, foundling homes, or “new schools” (primary schools). Coastal cities, with extensive financial resources and strong foreign presence, lead the development in these new schools. By 1907, when the Ministry of Education published its first compilation of statistics, there were discrepancies in the distribution of kindergartens (*mengyangyuan*) across China. No government kindergartens had been established in the provinces of Heilongjiang (with only two girls’ schools),<sup>168</sup> nor in Jiangxi (with ten girls’ schools).<sup>169</sup> There were 53 kindergartens and 5 girls’ schools in Henan;<sup>170</sup> 2 kindergartens and 11 girls’ schools in Zhili;<sup>171</sup> and 1 kindergarten and 12 girls’ schools in the capital.<sup>172</sup>

Even though missionaries had pushed for the establishment of kindergartens,<sup>173</sup> and some Westerners saw the establishment of Chinese kindergartens as a direct result of their efforts to promote girls’ education,<sup>174</sup> a closer look at Qing institutions highlights Chinese characteristics despite borrowed commonalities in science-based and aged-graded early childhood education taught by female teachers. Although many scholars consider the Hubei Kindergarten (in Wuchang), established in 1903, to be “China’s first (native) kindergarten,”<sup>175</sup> the following examples of a charitable and a private institution are both drawn from Tianjin, a foreign concession with a strong native philanthropic tradition.

<sup>166</sup> Schwartz, *In Search of Wealth and Power*. Glosser, *Chinese Visions of Family and State, 1915–1953*.

<sup>167</sup> Limin Bai, *Shaping the Ideal Child*.

<sup>168</sup> *Xuebu Guangxu sanshisan nianfen diyici jiaoyu tongji tubiao* 學部光緒三十三年分第一次教育統計圖表 (Reprint Taipei: Zhongguo chubanshe, 1973), 193.

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.*, 335.

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid.*, 383.

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid.*, 63.

<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.*, 23.

<sup>173</sup> Limin Bai, “The Chinese Kindergarten Movement,” 138–39.

<sup>174</sup> Burton, 155–56.

<sup>175</sup> For example, Zhongguo xueqian jiaoyu yanjiuhui, ed., *Bainian Zhongguo youjiao, 1903–2003*, p. 6.

Tianjin's Changhu Foundling Home 長蘆育嬰堂 incorporated scientific ideas about childcare while maintaining traditional ideals about feminine skills. Originally established in 1794, this large foundling home had by the late nineteenth century several auxiliary institutions, including a preschool;<sup>176</sup> its curricula followed the general outlines of the Japanese model, carefully qualifying each academic subject with notations about the necessity to promote growth and play.<sup>177</sup> The Foundling Home made provisions for the girls to graduate into an elementary school with provide opportunities to test into a female normal school. While hoping to train professional teachers, the Changhu Foundling Home also maintained traditional ideals of female talent in a “factory” that taught the art of embroidery, knitting and weaving.<sup>178</sup> These “workers” attended a day-school, studying not only basic literacy and mathematics, but also “science,” parenthetically specified as “household management” and “child psychology.”<sup>179</sup> Thus, although the school was culturally conservative in terms of championing traditional feminine skills, its curricula included modern scientific knowledge about infant care and childcare. In another example, the *Gazette of the Ministry of Education* wrote that a girls' school affiliated with the Zhili Foundling Home 直隸育嬰堂 “uses old methods to teach new subjects.”<sup>180</sup> This pairing echoed the Self-Strengthening Movement's championing of new subjects with traditional morality.

In another model of expanding early childhood education, well-established girls' schools created affiliated preschools. Private girls' schools, such as the one within the Yan Clan School in Tianjin, expanded to include an affiliated childcare training institutes and a kindergarten based on Japanese models. School head and renowned scholar Yan Xiu 嚴修 (1860–1929), recruited a Japanese headmistress, Ono Suzuko 大野鈴子,<sup>181</sup> to train the first cohort of nurses at the school. The title “Childcare Training Institute” 保姆講習所 reflected Japanese influences; after Ono departed in 1908, the institute was renamed a “normal school.”<sup>182</sup>

The establishment of the Yan Clan's Childcare Training Institute allowed pupils to graduate from the girls' school into an advanced program, while serving as nurses in its preschool program. Young women spent their mornings as student teachers for kindergartners, and then attended lectures for half days. The kindergarten pupils, aged four to six years, graduated with diplomas into either the boys' elementary school or the girls' school; thus, gender segregation began only in grade school. The Childcare Training Institute thus allowed schools to extend their curricula in two directions by expanding coursework for older girls as well as for younger children. Perhaps because of

<sup>176</sup> Yunlan Ren, “Modern Urban Poor and Their Relief,” 213–33.

<sup>177</sup> “Mengyangyuan.”

<sup>178</sup> See also Yunlan Ren, “Modern urban poor and their relief: Case study in Tianjin,” *Frontiers of History in China* 2.2 (April 2007): 218.

<sup>179</sup> “Changhu yuyingtang shixing jianzhang” 長蘆育嬰堂試行簡章, printed by the Tianjin dagongbao guan 天津大功報館 (September 1907), Section Six, p. 26.

<sup>180</sup> “Lun Luoma jiaoyu zhi texing ji Riben zhanhou zhi jiaoyu,” 119.

<sup>181</sup> Zhongguo xueqian jiaoyushi bBianxiezu, ed., *Zhongguo xueqian jiaoyushi ziliao xuan*, 101.

<sup>182</sup> *Ibid.*, 102.

its student teachers, the Yan Clan School employed more caregivers than other schools. With 23 caregivers, 36 female elementary school students, and 18 kindergarten students, the Yan Clan School enjoyed a much higher teacher-student ratio than any of the nine elementary schools in Zhili in 1907.<sup>183</sup> By creating kindergartens, educators helped to reinforce the connections among the different branches of a new system of age-graded education. Despite their rarity,<sup>184</sup> private kindergartens spread progressive ideas through the publication of textbooks and promotion of age-graded socialization.

#### TEXTBOOKS AND CLASSROOM AUTHORITY

The Qing government also tried to control the dissemination of textbooks. The Ministry of Education, established in December 1905, approved empire-wide curricula for primary-school textbooks in 1906,<sup>185</sup> and state-sponsored textbooks prominently advertised their status.<sup>186</sup> With roots in the former Board of Rites, the Ministry of Education controlled textbooks and school rituals to shape the socialization and moral habits of children.<sup>187</sup> For instance, the Ministry of Education banned a set of girls' schoolbooks published by the Hangzhou Childcare Academy 杭州保姆學堂 because its "household rules and family rituals" were "polluted."<sup>188</sup> This prohibition reflected new ideas about "family education," within the context of the classroom, as the basis of public socialization for the Chinese state.

Schools and textbooks also promoted the science of childhood development as a new source of authority. Academies had long served as publishing centers,<sup>189</sup> but new textbooks explicitly commented on methodology<sup>190</sup> and drew upon scientific and even political ideas about citizenship training.<sup>191</sup> Although censored and sanctioned by the state, these textbooks argued for scientific training in childhood psychology, "of greatest importance for normal-school students."<sup>192</sup> For example, the Shanghai Kindergarten Society highlighted the academic qualifications and professional affiliations of its

<sup>183</sup> Tongji: Zhili geshu nüxuetang zhiyuan xuesheng yilanbiao 統計：直隸各屬女學堂職員學生一覽表 [Statistics: Girls' Schools in Zhili], *Zhili Jiaoyu Zazhi* no. 17 (1907).

<sup>184</sup> Ibid. Among the 53 girls' schools surveyed in the province of Zhili in 1907, for example, the Yan Clan School was unique in having a private kindergarten.

<sup>185</sup> *Xuebu diyi shending chudeng xiaoxue zhanyong mulu*.

<sup>186</sup> For example, *Xuebu shending zuixin guowen jiaokeshu*. I thank Don Cohn for access to this book.

<sup>187</sup> For example, Zhang Zhidong sent a memorial to the Ministry of Education and the Board of Rites about mandating school uniforms and ritual uniformity in schools.; *Xuebu Guanbao* No. 32 (Guangxu 33-08-11).

<sup>188</sup> "Wendu: benshi zou Xuebu li tongzha geshu jinyong Hangzhou Baomu Xuetao Jindusuo bian nüzi Guowen jiaokeshu wen" 文牘：本司奉學部札通札各屬禁用杭州保姆學堂監督所編女子國文教科書文 [Prohibition against the Use of Textbooks from Hangzhou's Baomu Academy], *Zhili Jiaoyu Zazhi* 81 (1908); also published in *Jiaoyu Zazhi* 81 (1908).

<sup>189</sup> Keenan, *Imperial China's Last Classical Academies*, 42. Ge Junqi 葛峻起 asked the emperor to allow "charity schools" to publish classical books. I thank the Institute of History and Philology for access to this material.

<sup>190</sup> *Mengyangtang yong*. I thank Don Cohn for access to this private collection.

<sup>191</sup> Zhang Jingliang, et al., eds., *Baomu chuanxisuo jiangyi*, 31.

<sup>192</sup> "Diaocha Zhili," 151.

contributing experts and schoolmasters. Its textbooks referred to experiences in Guangdong's Public *Mengyang* Institute 廣東官立蒙養院 as evidence.<sup>193</sup> Yet, because scientific theory was also necessary, these texts implied that maternal instinct was insufficient for childrearing. Because schools had become venues for gathering information about children and childhood, the Shanghai Kindergarten Society referred to the authority of both experience and science.

Normal-school textbooks indicated that new scientific approaches should provide tools for improving childrearing practices as well as strengthening the Chinese state. Under the banner of the Qing imperial flag, the Shanghai Kindergarten Society published a set of pedagogical materials in 1909.<sup>194</sup> In the context of welcoming government regulation and standardization, *Educational Review* praised these textbooks:

Although the government has ordered the creation of *mengyangyuan* and other institutions, there are very few of them in the countryside. And those *mengyangyuan* and entry-level elementary schools that have been created can conversely hurt people's children and lead to banditry. The reason for this is that caregivers do not yet have an understanding of childrearing and child psychology.<sup>195</sup>

我國走定學堂章程，雖有蒙養院，而內地興辦者寥寥，既辦矣，而知蒙養院之性質，或誤以初等小學之教法施之，反足以戕賊人之子，貽害匪淺。其原因則保姆未識保育法及兒童心理學也。

In the context of the recent demise of the civil service examination, these reviewers pushed for a new curricular basis for empire-wide uniform standards in education. Furthermore, the reviewers questioned the qualifications of uneducated women to instruct even young children. In contrast, the society included experts who held various positions as teachers, principals, or heads of music associations. Although the reviewers in *Educational Review* derided the unpreparedness of country bumpkins (rather than educated, elite women), the two subjects in question—infant care and child psychology—were Western academic subjects, new even to elite women with strong training in the Classical canon. Thus, despite the roots of female education in traditional China,<sup>196</sup> elite female teachers still needed training in a new curriculum concerning not just the content of education, but also pedagogy and childhood.

The Shanghai Kindergarten Society welcomed government regulations to strengthen its own authority to institutionalize “family education” outside of the home.

<sup>193</sup> For example, Zhang Jingliang, et al, *Baomu*, 8.

<sup>194</sup> The Kindergarten Society had grown out of the Wuban Girls' School, first opened in 1901, which had sent Ms. Wu Zhuzhe to study childcare in Japan; Xiaoping Cong, “From Cainü to Nūjiaoxi: Female Normal Schools and the Transformation of Women's Education in the Late Qing Period, 1895–1911,” 132. See also Zhang Zonglin, *Youzhiyuan de yanbianishi*, 42.

<sup>195</sup> “Jieshao piping: Baomu Chuanxisuo jiangyi chuj: baoyufa ertong xinlixue: Zhang Jingliang, Wu Jiazhen bianji, Zhongguo Tushu Gongsì faxing” 介绍批评: 保姆传习所讲义初集: 保育法儿童心理学: 张景良、吴家振编辑, 中国图书公司发行 [Introduction and Criticism of the Nanny Training Institute's Introductory Lectures: Childcare Methods and Childhood Psychology: edited by Zhang Jingliang and Wu Jiazhen and published by China Library Company], *Jiaoyu Zazhi* 教育杂志 1.13 (1909): 29-30.

<sup>196</sup> Xiaoping Cong, *Teachers' Schools*, 32.

According to the society, the state “needed to require that everyone in the nation receive family education” through the institutionalization of kindergartens. Kindergartens provided civic training for the benefit of the state: “These kindergartens are the family of the national citizenry. Caregivers represent the national citizenry and implement family education.”<sup>197</sup> Many intellectuals remained favorable to patriarchal authority through the 1911 Revolution,<sup>198</sup> and the Shanghai Kindergarten Society suggested that classroom teachers could also provide citizenship training in the late Qing. Whereas traditional Confucian texts had posited a father figure who inculcated loyalty to the state,<sup>199</sup> this text suggests that caregivers could serve as representatives—not of paternal authority, but of the “national citizenry”—to train children.

Because professionalized caregivers offered scientific training for children, the classroom itself would also provide a good environment (better perhaps than even the home) for socialization. Kindergartens required children to accept classroom regulations<sup>200</sup> and socialized children as they “newly enter into society.”<sup>201</sup> This rationale touched upon an important distinction between Zhang Zhidong’s model and that of the Shanghai Kindergarten Society. Although both warned that, without specialized training, female servants “would pollute the habits of children,”<sup>202</sup> Zhang Zhidong’s elite wet-nurses graduated to home employment; however, the Shanghai Kindergarten Society explicitly advocated an institutionalized classroom environment for socialized play, under the direction of expert professionals.

Educators saw themselves as cooperating with, rather than conflicting with, family interests because teachers could help to monitor children<sup>203</sup> and reinforce proper socialization.<sup>204</sup> In an “ideal family,” a translation from Japanese in *Educational World* noted, parents would respect the authority of the “grandparents’ superior experience and

<sup>197</sup> Zhang Jingliang, et al., eds., *Baomu chuanxisuo jiangyi*, 31.

<sup>198</sup> Price, “From Civil Society to Party Government,” 142–64.

<sup>199</sup> Michael Nylan, “Confucian Piety and Individualism in Han China,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 116. 1 (January 1, 1996): 1–27.

<sup>200</sup> *Mengxue congshu*, 2.

<sup>201</sup> Zhang Jingliang, et al., eds., *Baomu chuanxisuo jiangyi*, 31.

<sup>202</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.

<sup>203</sup> Makise Goichirō 牧瀬 五一郎, Wang Guowei 王国维, trans., “Oumei jiaoyuguan (weiwan)” 歐美教育觀(未完) [Euro-American Educational Views, to be continued], Shen Hong 沈紘, ed., *Jiaoyu Shijie* 教育世界 No 29 (1902): 3; based on Makise Goichirō’s *Shinpen shinrigaku kōgi: Kyōiku ōyō* 新編心理学講義: 教育応用 [Newly Compiled Psychology Lectures: Applied Education] (Ōsaka: Miki Shoten, 1892). Wang Guowei, an accomplished scholar of oracle bones and “Chinese studies,” was deeply interested in childhood development and cognitive science. According to Geremie Barmé, Wang was especially interested in aesthetic appreciation, incorporating Daoist ideas about the “child mind” with Schopenhauer’s notions of the genius with a childlike heart (See Geremie Barmé, 134-35). For more on Wang’s forays into antiquarianism, see Shana Julia Brown, “Pastimes: Scholars, Art Dealers, and the Making of Modern Chinese Historiography, 1870-1928,” 2003.

<sup>204</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 35 (1902): 2.

knowledge” about childrearing.<sup>205</sup> However, in terms of physical hygiene and emotional training, the same article also drew upon the scientific authority of child psychology:

Child psychologists often explain these principles. In order to establish the foundation for an emotional education, one must now discuss the principles of emotional education. The most effective methods of family education, according to child psychology materials, are divided into three categories: knowledge, emotion, and morality.

兒童心理學。常說明此種原理。以定精神教育之基礎，茲論精神教育義。主家庭教育所能行。據兒童心理學之材料。而最有效之方法。分類有三。曰智育。曰精育。曰德育。或三者。並行。<sup>206</sup>

This categorization closely mirrors the rhetoric used by new institutions, aiming to supplement “family education” by providing training for physical health, knowledge, and morality.<sup>207</sup> This schematization reinforced the idea that true education should include more than just academic training or even moral cultivation, but also include psychological health and physical growth. By turning their attention to childhood development, Chinese educators not only made the child the subject of study, but they also taxonomized play, speech, and other activities as the purview of cognitive science.

#### SOCIAL PLAY AND THE SCIENCE OF CHILD DEVELOPMENT

When early twentieth-century Chinese educators institutionalized schools according to a rubric of age, they followed current international trends in the science of cognitive development. In a departure from traditional Chinese medicine and philosophical ontology, new textbooks focused on the brain as the central node of the nervous system as well as the physical source of psychological feeling.<sup>208</sup> Given the importance of the brain for cognitive functioning, teachers and parents were told to pay careful attention to “brain development,” especially the “hardening of bone marrow in the

<sup>205</sup> Tonegawa Yosaku 利根川与作, “Jiating jiaoyufa” 家庭育教法 [Methods in Family Education], *Jiaoyu Shijie* 教育世界 29 (1902); based on Tonegawa Yosaku, *Katei kyōikuhō* 家庭教育法 [Methods in Family Education] (Tōkyō: Fukyūsha, 1901).

<sup>206</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

<sup>207</sup> For example, Zhang Jingliang, et al., eds., *Baomu chuanxisuo jiangyi: Chuji*, 3. For more information on the instruction of ethics in the late Qing, see Huang Xingtao, “Qingmo xinshi xuetang de lunli jiaokeshu shenlun—jianlun xiandai lixue xueke zai zhongguo de xingqi” 清末新式学堂的伦理教育与伦理教科书探论——兼论现代伦理学学科在中国的兴起 [Ethical Education and Textbooks in the New-style Schools from 1898 to 1911: the Rise of Discipline of Modern Ethics in China], *Studies in Qing History* Vol. 1 (2008); and Cohn, *Virtue by Design*.

<sup>208</sup> Yu Zhiji 宇之吉, *Jingshi Daxue jiangyi: Jingshi Daxuetang xinlixue jiangyi* 京師大學堂講義：京師大學堂心理學講義 [Imperial Normal University’s Lectures on Psychology] (n.d.), Preface, p. 2; later reprinted, roughly verbatim, as Yanjing Daxue Aiguo Yundong Zhou Weiyuanhui 燕京大學愛國運動週委員會 [Yenching University Patriotic Movement Committee], ed., *Yanjing Daxue Aiguo Yundong zhou baogao: Daxuetang jiangxi fubu jiangshu* 燕京大學愛國運動週報告：大學堂講習服部講述 [Yenching University Patriotic Movement Report: Description of University Lectures], 2.

brain.”<sup>209</sup> *Educational World* noted that in the West, “Instilling a spirit of exercise is not simply a matter of developing brawn, but also of building the brain.”<sup>210</sup>

Despite theories regarding gendered<sup>211</sup> and racial differences<sup>212</sup> in “brain quality,” East Asian intellectuals nevertheless willingly adapted foreign models because of assumptions about the shared biological characteristics of childhood. Because the male was normative,<sup>213</sup> Japanese intellectuals, like their Western counterparts,<sup>214</sup> often implicitly described the male child and his needs in universalistic terms (that could also be applied or modified for girls in foundling homes), but explicitly described the caregiver’s role and her training in terms of girls’ education. According to these texts, female caregivers should provide children with only the mental and physical stimuli appropriate for their age. Like parents, school administrators and teachers needed to understand “the nature of childhood,”<sup>215</sup> so that they could institutionalize the proper progression of academic development.

In keeping with Western critiques of Chinese education as crippling the “Sick Man of Asia,” textbooks described childhood development in order to caution teachers and caregivers to decelerate the pace of the child’s academic life. For instance, a Japanese normal-school textbook on educational psychology also warned that educators must adhere to the “natural order” of childhood development by “slowly teaching young children; otherwise, the students will be labored and ineffective.”<sup>216</sup> Similarly, translated Japanese texts about kindergartens prescribed moderate and well-controlled exercises designed to stimulate, but not overtax, the child. The texts warned that instruction must “adhere to the development of the child’s brainpower” because overstimulation could result in “sudden illness.”<sup>217</sup> Each phase of a child’s development required specifically

<sup>209</sup> Jiaoshou shu san” 教授术三 [Art of Teaching, three], originally published in *Mengxuebao* 蒙学报 No 13 (1908); republished in *Mengxue congshu: Jiaoshou shu* 蒙学丛书：教授术 (1902), 5.

<sup>210</sup> Ikusei-kai, “Oumei Jiaoyuguan (xuan),” 17.

<sup>211</sup> “Lun nüxue yi zhuzhong deyu,” 124.

<sup>212</sup> “Lun youzhiyuan zhi yuanze” 論幼稚園之原理 [On the Principles of Kindergartens, translated from the American State of Wisconsin’s Educational report 譯美國文部省教育報告], Wang Guowei 王國維 trans., *Xuebu guanbao* 學部管報 90 (1909): 1; Jintarō Ōse discusses national differences in terms of Galenic humors and *qizhi*; see *Xinlixue jiaokeshu*, 24-25.

<sup>213</sup> Sarah Stevens also notes that male readers were normative for hygienic texts; see Stevens, “Making Female Sexuality in Republican China,” 49.

<sup>214</sup> Hulbert, *Raising America*.

<sup>215</sup> Sugiyama Tomitsuchi 杉山富槌, “Xinli de jiaoshou yuanze (xu)” 心理的教授原则(续) [The Psychology of Educational Principles], *Jiaoyu Shijie* 教育世界 37 (1902): 11, which was probably based on Sugiyama Tomitsuchi, *Shinpen kyōiku shinrigaku*.

<sup>216</sup> Takashima Heizaburo 高島平三郎, translated by Tian Wu of Hubei 湖北田吳, *Zongli Xuebu dacheng panding: Shifan xuexiao jiaokeshu: Jiaoyu Xinlixue* 總理學務大臣審定：師範學校教科書：教育心理學 [Educational Psychology for Normal Schools, as Approved by the Ministry of Education] (Shanghai: Commercial Press, first printing, 1903 and third printing, 1905), 8. Based on Takashima Heizaburō (1865-1946), *Shinsen kyōikugaku kōgi: Joshi shinkyōiku* 新撰教育学講義：女子新教育 (Tōkyō: Gakujutsu Shuppankai, 2009).

<sup>217</sup> “Jiaoshoushu,” *Mengxue congshu* 蒙學叢書 [Elementary Primer Series] (1902), 4.



and precisely controlled amounts of stimulation.<sup>218</sup> Educators argued that kindergartens would improve the health of children.<sup>219</sup> Kindergarten, for children aged three to seven years (*sui*), marked a transitional period for children to adjust to the classroom. Reflecting the concept that age-graded institutions would slow the pace of academic learning in Chinese schools, Chinese educators thus tried to reverse a long-standing trend toward ever-increasing precocity.<sup>220</sup>

Ideas about brain development entered the regulations and curricula of welfare institutions. Translations of Japanese laws included specifically allotted time restrictions for kindergartens in order to avoid overtaxing children.<sup>221</sup> Considerations about the adverse effect of overstimulation were thus directly tied to age. For example, in regulations for its institute for girls aged four to eight *sui*, the Changhu Foundling Home advised that children should only learn simple characters, lest they harm the girls' "brainpower."<sup>222</sup> The Hunan Elementary School's Affiliated *Mengyang* Institute 湖南省設立初等小學堂附屬蒙養院 noted that kindergartens in foreign countries did not teach geography, history and science because "students who are too young lack the cognitive capacity to study these subjects." However, the Institute justified its instruction of these academic subjects for "pupils of a more advanced age" of five to eight.<sup>223</sup> In addition, the Changhu Foundling Home justified teaching these subjects, rather than grammar, by noting the absence of good Chinese-language primers; this statement reflected a growing trend to print specific age ranges in the margins of dictionaries and primers and stories. The science of cognitive development thus helped to promote the industry of age-appropriate educational aids.

Early childhood educators advocated fostering in the child a new relationship with the physical world through objects and toys. "In childhood, we can feel the power of objects," explained a Japanese tract on educational toys: "What the eye and ear come into contact with can leave an imprint on the brain without destroying the body, with the effect of developing the child's mind and correcting his behavior."<sup>224</sup> Japanese psychology textbooks encouraged educators to use concrete objects to teach children in the first stages of cognitive development, before children could comprehend abstract

<sup>218</sup> *Mengxue congshu*, 8.

<sup>219</sup> "Jingwai," *Xuebu Guanbao*, (8<sup>th</sup> month, 11<sup>th</sup> day 1907), 49

<sup>220</sup> Hsiung, *A Tender Voyage*, 117, 119–26. Limin Bai, *Shaping the Ideal Child*, 210–11.

<sup>221</sup> Yazawa Yonesaburo 矢泽米三郎, "Like jiaoshoufa (xu)" 理科教授法(续) [Scientific Pedagogical Methods (Continued)], *Jiaoyu Shijie* 教育世界 22 (1902): 18; translated from Yazawa Yonesaburō, and Reizō Kōno 河野齡藏, *Futsū rika kyōkasho: rikagaku* 普通理科教科書: 理化学及礦物之部 (Tōkyō: Teikoku Tsūshin Kōshūkai, 1901).

<sup>222</sup> *Changhu Yuyingtang shixing jianzhang* 長蘆育嬰堂試行簡章 [Changhu Foundling Home Provisional Documents].

<sup>223</sup> *Hunansheng sheli Chudeng Xiaoxuetang Fushu Mengyangyuan* 湖南省設立初等小學堂附屬蒙養院 (The Establishment of Hunan Provincial Entry-Level School's Affiliated Mengyang Institute), Article 10.

<sup>224</sup> Seki Shinzo 關信三纂輯, "Youzhi jiaoyu: enwu tushuo" 《幼稚教育: 恩物圖說》 (Childhood Education: Pictorial Explanations of Educational Toys), trans., Omata Noriyoshi 小俣規義, *Jiaoyu Shijie* no. 4 (1903): 45. Translated from Seki Shinzō 関信三纂輯, *Nijūasobi: yōchienhō* 二十遊嬉: 幼稚園法 (Tōkyō: Aoyama, 1879).

reasoning and logic.<sup>225</sup> Citing Rousseau, East Asian educators argued that educational toys could excite children's curiosity for the mysteries of nature and science.<sup>226</sup>

Despite the dominance of the Fröbelian principles,<sup>227</sup> Chinese texts focused on the individual child in ways that conformed to the Qing government's emphasis on education within the home rather than in the kindergarten. For example, *Educational World* faithfully translated Shinzo Seiki's 1879 *Nijūasobi: yōchienhō* (Kindergarten Education: Pictorial Explanations of Educational Toys) in 1903, even reproducing the pictures of Japanese children—one of whom, a girl in kimono, demonstrates that these precepts, though written with the male child in mind, could be applied to girls in traditionalistic settings. Although the preface discussed kindergartens, these pictures isolate the individual child. Whereas Seiki described educational toy as classroom tools, *Educational World* omitted mention of the kindergarten. (Compare Figures 7 and 8 in the Appendix.) The individual child and his nurse could thus remain within the home, in keeping with government preferences about the nature of professionalized nursemaids rather than preschool socialization.

Manuals encouraged parents and educators to use educational toys to exercise infants' sensory organs, motor skills, and limbs. Kindergartens often imported educational toys from Japan.<sup>228</sup> Western commentators noted approvingly that a kindergarten playroom in Fuzhou boasted “rocking horses, dumb-bells, pails, carts on wheels in abundance, gaily painted floors, plenty of light and air.”<sup>229</sup> Some kindergartens used foreign music for games, dance, and singing. For example, Yan Xiu imported a piano and an organ from Japan for the music curriculum under the instruction of a Japanese headmistress.<sup>230</sup> Thus, unlike Zhang Zhidong, Yan Xiu was unconcerned about importing foreign objects, tastes, and even habits – as long as these imports enabled self-control and facilitated discipline. Yan's focus on discipline and control dovetailed with his admiration for the German-Japanese educational institutions that promoted political unity.<sup>231</sup> Even after the Qing dynasty ended in 1911, children's journals would continue to champion the relationship between childhood and the state, especially evident through their interest in the institution of boy scouts in various countries.<sup>232</sup>

<sup>225</sup> Ōse Jintarō 大瀨甚太郎, and Tachigara Noritoshi 立柄教俊, translated by Zhang Yunge 張雲閣, *Xinlixue jiaokeshu* 心理學教科書 [Psychology Textbook] (Educational Section Publishing House and Zhili School Office for Translation and Editing 學務處排印書印、直隸學校司編譯處譯行 1903): 19.

<sup>226</sup> Ikusei-kai, “Oumei jiaoyuguan (xuan),” 15.

<sup>227</sup> Yeh Hsueh, et al., “The Chinese Kindergarten in Its Adolescence,” 458.

<sup>228</sup> Susan R. Fernsebner, “A People's Playthings: Toys, Childhood, and Chinese Identity, 1909–1933.” *Postcolonial Studies* 6, no. 3 (2003): 269–293.

<sup>229</sup> Burton, *The Education of Women in China*, 130–31.

<sup>230</sup> Zhongguo xueqian jiaoyushi bianxiezhu, *Zhongguo xueqian jiaoyushi ziliaoxuan*, 102.

<sup>231</sup> Tian Zhengping, ed., *Zhongguo jiaoyushi yanjiu*, 119.

<sup>232</sup> For example, “Yingguo zhi Tongzi Yiyongdui” 英國之桐梓義勇隊 [English Camp Scouts], *Zhonghua Tongziji* 中華童子界 [Chinese Children's World] 1 (September 1914): 28-30. This article emphasized the need for physical exercise and the social service that boy scouts rendered to the elderly and women. “Meiguo Tongzidi” [American Boy Scouts], *Zhonghua Tongziji* 中華童子界 [Chinese Children's World] 4 (October, 1914): 21-23. This article emphasized that American Boy Scouts represented the United States. The photographs and text of this article highlight flag raising ceremonies and parades that allowed

These late-Qing kindergartens would be remembered as overly authoritarian and rigid in retrospect during the relatively free and creative era of the 1920s and 1930s. For example, in “Looking Back at Thirty Years in Education,” Zhang Xuemen 張雪門 (1891-1973) remembered:

They had conversation, blackboard, characters, and other subjects, with a specified time for each subject—there was no flexibility in changing the schedule, nor was there allowed to be any. The teacher sat high up in front, and the children sat properly below. The teacher moved, and the children followed. Without an indication from the teacher, the children could not express their own ideas. And as for toys and teaching materials, if the teacher did not offer them, a child could not freely use them, and they were always put in a place that was hard to reach, so even though the children wanted the toys they couldn’t get them... Under that kind of education, children are passive objects, and each side is full of repressed sadness.”

他們將談話、排板、唱歌、識字、積木等科目，一個時間一個時間規定在功課表上，不會混亂而且也不許混亂的。教師高高的坐在上面，蒙養生很端正坐在下面。教師教一樣，學生學一樣，全部活動不脫教師的示範，兒童不能自己別出心裁，也不許其別出心裁。至於各種工具和材料，如果教師不給，兒童自然不能自由取用，且放置的地方很高，兒童雖欲取而不得... 在這種教育底下... 兒童是被動的、雙方都充滿了壓迫的苦悶。<sup>233</sup>

By the time that Zhang Xuemen had grown up, he would become a proponent of a far more liberal sort of education, one that would encourage play, creativity, and contact with nature. Like Yan Xiu and the previous generation of intellectuals, Zhang Xuemen and other Chinese scholars continued to go to Japan for inspiration about kindergartens. But after the fall of the Qing and the onset of Sino-Japanese military tensions, other Chinese scholars would increasingly take a different direction in the professionalization of scientific childrearing and the institutionalization of preschool education.

## CONCLUSION

The introduction of Western-style kindergartens to China is not simply one of “Western impact, Chinese response.” In contrast to that conventional paradigm, Eugenia Lean has argued that Chinese intellectuals could use scientific vocabularies to describe old technologies to affirm both science and tradition.<sup>234</sup> In both schools and textbooks, late-Qing educators discussed an old technology (of growing up) with a modern, scientific vocabulary (of child study and cognitive development). Structurally established as day-schools, kindergartens provided a transitional space between family and elementary school. Textbooks posited the role of the caregiver in such a way that there was a natural continuum between mother and nurse. Caretakers 保姆 united the principles of protection 保, based on scientific learning, and mothering 母, based on

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boy scouts in the United States to show their patriotic sentiment. The 26<sup>th</sup> issue of this journal, published in 1916, was dedicated to the issue of boy scouts and summer camps.

<sup>233</sup> Zhang Xuemen, “Woguo sanshinianlai youzhi jiaoyu de huigu,” 我國三十年來幼稚教育的回顧 [Review of Thirty Years of Kindergarten Education in China].

<sup>234</sup> Lean, “Nüjie de chuangzao jishu.”

tender care,<sup>235</sup> visionary Kang Youwei 康有為 (1857-1927) even hoped that caretakers could one day transcend the kin-based parameters of a mother's love.<sup>236</sup>

The exact definition of these nurses was contested; whereas the Qing government wanted to focus on the mother and private nurse, the new institutes helped to create a space, outside of the family domain, for the professional schoolteacher. The patriotic Shanghai Kindergarten Society championed the goal of training “citizens,” rather than subjects. Whereas family patriarchs engrained young sons with the notions of filial duty necessary for future service as imperial ministers,<sup>237</sup> kindergarten teachers were beginning to inculcate young children with the notions of patriotic duty necessary for future service as Chinese citizens. Whether in the classroom or at home, caretakers were beginning to learn about the physical and emotional needs of young children.

In the late Qing, the science of childhood development emerged as a source of authority. Proponents for developmental growth called for children to enjoy a period of socialization without academic pressure, so this science helped to justify the introduction of age-based learning. Although the number of preschool-level institutions was limited during the late Qing period, they introduced enduring themes in early childhood education, especially the idea that academic precocity would damage physical growth and brain development. Paradoxically, educators would try to slow the pace of traditional academic learning by institutionalizing ever-younger cohorts of children.

Although childhood development emerged as a source of scientific authority in the late Qing, it would increasingly become a source of political authority in the 1920s. Both radicals and moderates would chart childhood development to draw conclusions about the ideal organization of society. Among a large spectrum of ideas about early childhood socialization, there emerged one particular vision for the stable, “small family” and its relationship to the state. In the next chapter, we will explore these dynamics through a biographical examination of the man, Chen Heqin, who is credited with founding “Chinese” kindergartens. This man promoted a particular brand of moderate family reform, and he justified his authority by pointing to the science of race and the need for indigenization. Thus, the founder of kindergartens would illustrate the political underpinnings of charting childhood development and the scientific underpinnings of claiming instructional authority.

During this overview of diverse trends in kindergartens during the late Qing, we have seen how the cultural influence of foreign missionaries was both a source from which to draw and against which to struggle. Commonalities centered on science-based and age-graded curriculum, child psychology and the professional training of young women. Divergences were illustrated particularly through the turn to Japanese intermediaries of German models that would strengthen the existing political and social order and assist in nation building. Although the diversity of late Qing developments regarding kindergartens is complex, it was a transitional period away from traditional educational practices and the quest for preciosity in the home and slowly toward

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<sup>235</sup> Limin Bai, “The Chinese Kindergarten Movement,” 143.

<sup>236</sup> Zhongguo xueqian jiaoyushi bianxiezhu, *Zhongguo xueqian jiaoyushi ziliao xuan*, 83; See Leutner, 78.

<sup>237</sup> Michael Nylan, “Confucian Piety and Individualism in Han China,” 1–27.

socializing institutions outside of the home that used the science of child development and Child Study. Instead of the patriarch inculcating loyalty to the emperor, professionally trained young women socialized children to become faithful subjects. The possibilities opened by such trends would be further developed during the subsequent Nationalist and Communist periods. Although the degree of openness to relative autonomy and freedom of educators would vary, the dominant political direction would generally move even more in the direction of subordination to the nation's security and goals as increasingly dictated by the state and political authority, even as, paradoxically, child experts would come to promote greater degrees of creativity and freedom in the classroom.

## CHAPTER TWO

### THE SENTIMENT OF SCIENCE AND “CHINA’S FRÖBEL”

By the end of the Qing dynasty, missionaries and intellectuals had introduced a spectrum of new sources of scientific authority concerning childhood socialization that potentially conflicted with the state. The intersection between politics and science became further complicated after the 1911 Revolution and the New Culture Movement. The radical iconoclasm of the New Culture Movement has long impressed scholars, but current scholarship now recognizes the enduring influence of traditional values and modernizing efforts among intellectuals.<sup>1</sup> In concert with these new historiographical trends, I also focus on the more “moderate” proponents of family reform and childhood education. In both this chapter and the next, I argue that, as early as 1920, some Chinese Christian reformers tried to push for family reform and childhood education in ways that would democratize, but not capsize, existing structures of power. In both intellectual conceptions of Chinese childhood psychology (discussed in this chapter) and in charity associations for poor Chinese children (discussed in the next chapter), Chinese Christians promoted the sentimentalization of childhood in order to downplay the imposition of scientific discipline on children and their mothers.

After providing background for the institutionalization of educational psychology as a disciplinary field in China, I focus in this chapter on an autobiographical account of Chen Heqin 陳鶴琴 (1892-1982), often called “the founder of Chinese kindergartens” or China’s Fröbel, and the father of Chinese childhood psychology. Chen tapped into prevailing trends toward the “indigenization” of science and the authority of personal experience, but his definition of the “indigenous” may appear elusive because it was so heavily based on assumptions about racial difference. Race was for Chen a material condition, which constituted an inflection of human nature and thus a distinct object of universally scientific study, so racial difference, for him, created a distinct scientific and administrative subject for Chinese leadership.

Because Chen used his personal life and his own home as a platform for his academic career, his life reveals some of the major political and cultural transitions of his time. By 1919 when Chen returned to China from studying in the United States, there was a demand for Chinese leadership in childhood education. At the Congress of Provincial Educational Association in 1922, China turned from Japanese models to American models.<sup>2</sup> While adapting American ideas about kindergartens and childhood, Chen considered his work specifically “Chinese” because he researched “the Chinese child.” Furthermore, Chen used these scientific observations to justify moderate family reform encouraging stern fathers to be emotionally sensitive and traditional mothers to be scientifically informed. Chen promoted himself as an objective scientist and a “child expert” for China akin to public intellectuals like Dr. Arnold Gesell. Chen’s reform

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<sup>1</sup> See, for example, Wen-hsin Yeh, *Provincial Passages*; and Rahav Shakhari, “Yun Daiying and the rise of political intellectuals in modern China: Radical societies in May Fourth Wuhan,” Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 2007.

<sup>2</sup> Susan Pepper, 38, 62.

agenda, with an emphasis on family values, formed a political response to the radicalism of student youth in the New Culture era.

#### CAI YUANPEI AND THE DISCIPLINE OF EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY

In 1912, the Minister of Education Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培 (1868-1940) outlined “the divergence between old and new education” in order to set the educational goals for the new Republic. Cai asserted that Republican education would differ from traditional education because it would “adhere to the principles of childhood developmental psychology.”<sup>3</sup> Yet Cai also outlined an educational plan that focused on military citizenship training for the new Republic. Other scholars have noted the internal contradictions in Cai’s dual focus on educational psychology (assumed to be child-centered) and military discipline (assumed to be state-centered).<sup>4</sup> However, despite the apparent tension between child-centered and state-centered educational goals, psychology emerged as a tool for *both* modernization and discipline in the early Republic.

As a nationally prominent intellectual, Cai Yuanpei’s influence extended beyond his role as Minister of Education. With a rare combination of accreditations, Cai held a degree from the traditional civil service examination and a foreign doctoral program. Cai Yuanpei promoted child psychology as a foundation for normal education, and institutionalized educational psychology as a department in higher education. Cai had studied experimental psychology with Wilhelm Wundt (1832-1920) in Germany and lent prestige to the field of psychology, including pedagogy and child development.<sup>5</sup> When Cai became the president of Peking University, he helped Chen Daji 陳大齊 (1886-1983) to establish a psychology department with China’s first psychological laboratory. Chen Daji wrote and translated psychology textbooks, especially from Germany and Japan.<sup>6</sup> Thereafter, Chinese universities founded departments of psychology, usually within either the college of sciences or the department of education.<sup>7</sup> Thus, the development of the field was not uniform.

<sup>3</sup> Cai Yuanpei, “Duiyu jiaoyu fangzhen zhi yijian,” 對於教育方針之意見 [On the Direction of Education] *Dongfang Zazhi* 東方雜誌 [“Far Eastern Miscellany”] (April 1912).

<sup>4</sup> Thomas Curran, 186.

<sup>5</sup> Guo Yicen 郭一岑 (1894 – 1977) graduated with a Ph.D. from Tubingen University in Germany in 1928. In addition to a number of teaching positions, including Beijing Normal University, Guo also took a post as president of Sun Yatsen Normal College. Although his degree was in “naturalism” in philosophy, he published articles on mass education in *Minfeng* and Zhang Yinian’s *Psychology Journal*. In 1934, he wrote *Su’e xinxing xinlixue* 蘇俄新興心理學 [The Soviet Union’s New Theories on Psychology]. In 1937, he wrote *Observations on Modern Psychology*.

<sup>6</sup> Timothy B. Weston, *The Power of Position: Beijing University, Intellectuals, and Chinese Political Culture, 1898-1929* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 207.

<sup>7</sup> For example, Peking University in 1926; National Central University in 1927; and Shanghai Hujiang 滬江 University. In 1920, Daxia University originally placed the department of philosophy and psychology in the humanities division 文科 and a department of educational psychology in the education division 教育科. However, in 1925, the university created an Institute of Psychology under the College of Sciences.

Foreign-educated Chinese scholars were instrumental in institutionalizing the study of psychology in China in the 1920s and 1930s.<sup>8</sup> In the 1920s, Chinese students—such as Ling Bing,<sup>9</sup> Zhang Yaoliang,<sup>10</sup> Chen Xuebing,<sup>11</sup> and Liao Shicheng<sup>12</sup>—returned

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<sup>8</sup> Chinese intellectuals not only drew on foreign scholarship on child study, but also American doctors eventually drew upon their experiences in China to help shape their arguments about the physiological hazards of modern American life. In the 1940s, professor of psychiatry David Ballin Klein quoted from two doctors who had worked in China in the conclusion of a chapter that critiqued American ambitiousness. First, he cited Otto Klineberg's passage: "In the psychopathic hospital in Peking, the writer observed several cases in which people suffering from schizophrenia showed simultaneously an increased interest in Buddhism and the Buddhist classics.... It is possible that many persons may actually be saved from the disease of schizophrenia because their introvert tendencies find in Buddhism a satisfactory world" (Klein, *Mental Hygiene: The Psychology of Personal Adjustment*, 471; original quotation from Klineberg *Social Psychology*, New York: Henry Holt & Co, 1940, pp. 509-510). Although neither Klein nor Klineberg were evangelizing for Buddhism, they were trying to point to cultural resources that allowed Asians to fight the onset of mental illness. Klein builds on this argument to assert, "The Chinese people [living in China] are seemingly immune to high blood pressure," not because of "any biological factor" but because of their "pattern of life" (Klein, 472). He quoted Dr. William R. Houston, who had worked as a doctor in Yale-in-China in 1923-24: "It has been said that the Chinese living in America have arterial tension of the same level as Americans and show the same susceptibility to essential hypertension. The only case of essential hypertension that I have observed of a Chinese in China was that of a nurse who had spent many years in America and brought back with her such notions of go-getterish efficiency that she was daily balked and ruffled in her attempts to induce Chinese nurses to live up to her Western standards..." (Klein, 472-473; "Guide to Yale-in-China Association Records," <http://drs.library.yale.edu:8083/fedora/get/mssa.ru.0232/PDF>). The "go-getterish efficiency" of American life thus infects other countries with not only mental illness, but also physical ailments like hypertension. Klein uses the Chinese example in contrast to the American situation in order to critique the competition and ambition of American life, especially in schools. His critique concludes a chapter devoted to the ways in which mental hygiene experts need to respond to the realities of academic failure and low IQ's in children and youth—and allow children to accept imperfection while understanding that the "limit of educability" should not limit their intellectual curiosity (454). It is interesting that Klein choose China as a contrast, given its history of pushing preparation for the entrance examinations on children of increasingly younger ages over the centuries (see Hsiung Ping-chen, *A Tender Voyage*). My point is not that Klein and other Americans "misread" the Chinese situation, but that they understood mental illness to be, at least in part, a product of the strains of "modern life" (Groves, 33). If one assumes that modern conditions exacerbate problems of mental illness, then one might find fewer cases in a less developed country, like China in the 1930s, since rural life (if it is free from famine) is healthier and better for children. These Western assumptions seem to run counter to progressive Chinese ideas that, after feudal enslavement to tradition, modernity should provide children with true "childhoods." Yet one can see among Western observers some ambivalence toward modernity and modern urbanization, especially in relationship to childhood.

<sup>9</sup> Ling Bing 凌冰 (1894 - ) went to Columbia University and Clark University to obtain a doctorate in educational psychology. Originally from Henan, he returned to China in 1919 and in 1928, he became concurrently the President of Kaifeng's Sun Yatsen University and the Head of the Education Department 教育廳廳長 in Henan Province. He authored *Ertongxue gailun* 兒童學概論 [Lectures on Child Study].

<sup>10</sup> Zhang Yaoliang (1893-1964) received a master's degree in psychology at Columbia University. In 1920, he established the psychology lab at Beijing Normal College. When the Chinese Psychology Association was established in 1921, he was elected as its head. In 1922, he founded the journal *Psychology* 心理教育學. In 1948, he wrote *Children's Speech and Thought*. Shen Youqian (沈有乾) wrote a book about his experiences in America, called "Journey to the West" (the same title as the original of Arthur Waley's epic *Monkey King*, the title for his translation of the *Xi you ji* 西遊記. See Youqian Shen,



from Columbia University with doctorates in education and psychology. Perhaps because of their shared experiences and training, these scholars often collaborated in research and administration. Because the small field of psychology focused primarily on cognitive development and educational testing rather than on individual psychiatry, some scholars today overlook the emergence of the field in the 1920s and 1930s.<sup>13</sup>

Academic circles became especially interested in educational psychology especially after John Dewey taught in China from 1919 to 1921.<sup>14</sup> Dewey was so popular that in the first year he lectured in China, the Congress of the Provincial Education Association requested the 1912 educational aims be revised to include “the Deweyian statement ‘the cultivation of a healthy personality and the development of the spirit of democracy.’”<sup>15</sup> Dewey trained influential Chinese scholars, especially Hu Shi 胡適 (1891-1962)<sup>16</sup> and Tao Xingzhi 陶行知 (1891-1946) and Chen Heqin 陳鶴琴 (1892-1982). Hu Shi once introduced John Dewey to an audience at a lecture at Yenching University by predicting that Dewey would someday exert greater influence over China than Confucius.<sup>17</sup> Tao Xingzhi adapted Dewey’s ideas about literacy training to schools

*Xi You Huiyilu* 西游回憶錄 (Shanghai: Xifeng she, 1941). Youqian Shen, *Lun Lixue* 倫理學 [Discussing Psychology] (Shanghai: Zhengzhong shuju). Cai Lesheng 蔡樂生 became the principle of Western Streams National Elementary School 西溪國小.

<sup>11</sup> Chen Xuebing 陳雪屏 was educated in educational psychology and became an official in the Examination Yuan. Among his books are the following: *Xinli yu rensheng* 心理與人生 [Psychology and Human Life] (Taipei: Taiwan Commercial Press, 1966); and *Xinli yu jiaoyu* 心理與教育 [Psychology and Education] 7<sup>th</sup> edition (Taipei: Yuntian, 1970).

<sup>12</sup> Liao Shicheng 廖世承 (1892 – 1970) received a James Manning Scholarship in the United States, and obtained doctorate degrees in psychology and education at Columbia University. Originally from Jiangsu (present-day Shanghai Jiading), he returned to head normal schools in that area. He wrote books on educational psychology and middle-school education, and worked closely with Chen Heqin.

<sup>13</sup> In a class that I was fortunate to audit in China, Professor Ronnie Sha said that he assumed that psychology as a field entered China after the 1980s reform. His major point was about the importance of psychology in Western historiography relative to Chinese historiography. I think his major point is correct, but his minor point reflects a common and understandable misconception, given the decline of psychology in the Communist era.

<sup>14</sup> See Zhang Zonglin, *Youzhiyuan de yanbianishi*, 45.

<sup>15</sup> John Cleverley, *The Schooling of China: Tradition and Modernity in Chinese Education* (Sydney; London: Allen & Unwin, 1985), 51.

<sup>16</sup> Jessica Ching-Sze Wang, *John Dewey in China* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2007). Wang’s excellent dissertation closely examines Dewey’s two-year stay in China and his interactions with Chinese intellectuals. She argues that, even though Dewey was dismissed and Russell was championed by later Chinese Communists, Dewey displayed much more sensitivity and curiosity about Chinese culture. See also Ding Zijiang, “A Comparison of Dewey’s and Russell’s Influences on China,” *Dao* 6, no. 2 (June 2007): 149-165.

<sup>17</sup> Peking University Archives BD1919027/1 (May 1919- December 1919). See also H. Peng, “A conversation between Confucius and Dewey on individual and community---A hope for human unity” (The University of Tennessee, 2007). David L. Hall and Roger T. Ames, *The Democracy of the Dead: Dewey, Confucius, and the Hope for Democracy in China* (Chicago: Open Court, 1999).

in the Chinese countryside.<sup>18</sup> While Chen Heqin never studied directly with Dewey at Columbia Teachers College,<sup>19</sup> he was nevertheless exposed to Dewey's pervasive influence. For example, in the 1940s, Chen devoted an entire issue of his journal *Living Education* to the theme of John Dewey's influence. Chinese scholars, trained at Columbia Teachers College, responded to Dewey's call to enact education in society.<sup>20</sup>

The field of educational psychology not only entered into emerging institutions of higher education, but also into middle schools under Chinese provincial authority. Provincial educational associations responded to Cai Yuanpei's call to incorporate childhood psychology into the middle-school curriculum (which often operated as normal schools). Childhood psychology provided the theoretical foundation for professionalizing teachers in both Chinese and missionary schools.<sup>21</sup>

Cai's injunction to focus on childhood psychology further galvanized trends toward age-specific textbooks (as seen in the first chapter) in the educational publishing industry. Children's textbooks began to emphasize their adherence to the principles of childhood psychology. Educators in the late Qing had already begun to publish age-specific primers. With the development of the publishing industry in China, pedagogical materials became increasingly specialized. Prefaces to children's textbooks specifically echoed Cai Yuanpei, noting the need to "suit the principles of children's psychology." These new textbooks were endorsed by the Ministry of Education and municipal authorities. When the Beiping (Beijing) Board of Education offered a model form for kindergartens to use, it offered examples of books on childhood education that were written by well-known psychiatrists and published by both commercial and academic presses.<sup>22</sup> Thus, in the absence of civil-service degrees, academic training in educational psychology became a selling point for textbooks.

Academic publishing further validated the expertise and authority of educational administrators. In the late Qing, journals, such as *Educational World*, helped to promote and publicize new trends in kindergarten education by publishing translations of Japanese articles. Japanese authors were always credited, but the names of the translators were sometimes omitted. Especially after the 1911 Revolution, *Educational World* drew greater attention to its Chinese authors and translators. The journal also developed an aesthetic layout more graphic and more accessible to readers, especially a growing female readership (with a special section on mother's education beginning in the late aughts). *Educational World* and *Educational Review* provided a platform for the political

<sup>18</sup> Barry Keenan, *The Dewey Experiment in China: Educational Reform and Political Power in the Early Republic* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Council on East Asian Studies, distributed by Harvard University Press, 1977).

<sup>19</sup> De L. Rinsland, letter, in *Wei Zhonghua ertong jincui de jiaoyujia Chen Heqin 為中華兒童盡瘁的教育家陳鶴琴* [All-For-Chinese-Children-Exerting-the-Utmost Educator, Chen Heqin] (City: Jiangxi Publishing House, and Hong Kong: Hong Kong Cultural and Educational Publishing House, 1992), 14.

<sup>20</sup> Jessica Wang, *John Dewey in China*.

<sup>21</sup> For the inclusion of psychology in normal schools, please see Ida Belle Lewis, *The Education of Girls in China* (New York: Columbia Teachers College, 1919), 78.

<sup>22</sup> Beijing Municipal Archives J004-003-00874 北京市私立全瑞幼稚園開辦用表 (1912-1-1 to 1949-9-30) page 7A.

careers of some of its contributors after 1911.<sup>23</sup> Although these journals could theoretically provide a platform for a new generation of educators to rise after the 1911 Revolution, roughly fifty percent of Republican-era educational leadership retained their positions from the late Qing.<sup>24</sup> In the late Qing, statesmen like Zhang Zhidong were concerned about who controlled preschool children. But educational leadership became an even more fraught political question after the overthrow of the dynastic order in 1911.

While educational psychology was emerging in higher education and the publishing industry, early childhood educators also wanted to receive professional training. Even after the fall of the Qing dynasty in 1911, educators continued to argue, as they had in the preceding years, that kindergarten constituted an important part of education all over the world.<sup>25</sup> Kindergarten was the foundation of not only personal cognitive development,<sup>26</sup> but also China's personnel resources.<sup>27</sup> According to the Western-oriented students of *The World*, Chinese educators thus had a responsibility to work with families and train parents in managing their children, as well as to import Western scientific methods in the establishment of kindergartens and orphanages for the poor. These students continued to tour Japanese childrearing institutes and affiliated kindergartens for information about how to structure classrooms and construct curricula,<sup>28</sup> as well as to take field notes on child training in Chinese kindergartens.<sup>29</sup> Students pushed to increase educational services for the poor by creating student tutoring groups<sup>30</sup> and advocating for state reform in institutional charity.<sup>31</sup>

In the context of the anti-Manchu ethnic sentiment after the overthrow of the Qing dynasty, normal school students also stressed that childhood psychology should accord with an indigenous institutions and philosophies. In 1920, the Peking Women's Normal College compiled an edited volume that reflected both the political and intellectual desire for an indigenous childhood education. In this volume, one student Hu Renzhe 胡人哲 argued:

<sup>23</sup> Bailey, *Reform the People*, 66.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 135.

<sup>25</sup> Ma Qingqu 馬清渠, "Youzhi jiaoyu" [Kindergarten Education], *Huan Qiu* 環球 ["The World's Chinese Student's Journal"], 2.1 (March 1917): 1.

<sup>26</sup> Liang Wenming 梁文明, "Jiaoying xinfa" 教嬰新法 [New Ways of Raising Infants], *Huan Qiu* 環球 ["The World's Chinese Student's Journal"], 2.1 (March 1917): 13.

<sup>27</sup> Song Minghuang 宋銘黃, "Youzhiyuan duiyu jiating shehui guojia zhi guanxi" [The Relationship of Kindergartens to Families, Society, and State], *Huan qiu* 環球 ["The World's Chinese Student's Journal"], 2.1 (March 1917): 6.

<sup>28</sup> For example, Sun Shichao 孫士炒 "Canguan Riben youzhiyuan biji" 參觀日本幼稚園筆記 [Record of Touring Japanese Kindergartens], *Huan qiu* 環球 ["The World's Chinese Student's Journal"], 1.2 (June 1917): 11-14.

<sup>29</sup> Yimin Zhouzhi 一民幼稚園, "Peizhen Youzhiyuan Canguanji" 培真幼稚園參觀記 [Observations of a Kindergarten], *Huan qiu* 環球 ["The World's Chinese Student's Journal"], 2.2 (June 1917): 14.

<sup>30</sup> Hsu Sze K'weng, class of 1919, "The Importance of 'Social service' in Education," *The Fuh-Tan Journal* (June 1918): 20-23.

<sup>31</sup> H.K. Yü, 俞厚階 "The Need of Reformation of Charitable Service in China," *The Fuh-Tan Journal* (June 1918): 23-25.

The location in which we are establishing childhood education is China, so we need to research a specifically Chinese kind of childhood education. Before our own [Chinese version of] childhood education comes forth, we must use other people's methods in order to raise our own pupils. We don't want to become other people's slaves. Blindly following them will not allow our own pedagogy to emerge.

我們辦幼兒教育的地點，是在中國，所以我們就要研究一種中國的幼稚教育出來，我們幼稚教育沒有出來之前，我們就要利用人家的方法，來培養我們幼稚生。不要替人家做奴隸，一味的服從，使我們自己的教育方法，不得出來。<sup>32</sup>

Without specifically referring to “imperialism,” Hu employed the metaphor of “slavery” to describe China's reliance on foreign forms of pedagogy. (This longstanding metaphor of “slave education” would be repeated over the course of the twentieth century to describe missionary education, Americanized education, and Japanese wartime education.) Despite the political thrust of her rhetoric, she justified the need for indigenization on the basis of the logic of difference because “Chinese children are neither foreign children nor ancient Chinese.”<sup>33</sup> By asserting that modern Chinese children differed from both their foreign and ancient counterparts, Hu implied that modern Chinese children had a complex psychology all their own. Thus, despite the politicized nature of her argument, Hu defined difference in terms of ethnicity and modernity. Hu and a new generation of Chinese women, who studied childhood education in Beijing, argued for an indigenous childhood psychology. (See a photograph of the group of women who formed the research society in Figure 7 in the Appendix.) However, the person who is now most credited for indigenizing Chinese childhood psychology was a Chinese man who studied abroad in the United States.

#### “CHINESE” CHILD PSYCHOLOGY AND CHINA'S FRÖBEL

Chen Heqin tapped into Chinese and American trends to emphasize racial difference by “discovering” and exploring a specifically “Chinese” childhood psychology. Chen is often called “China's Fröbel” for his pioneering efforts to found modern Chinese kindergartens in the 1920s, after he returned to China from his training in the United States.<sup>34</sup> While others were developing the field of educational psychology in higher education, Chen saw an opportunity to contribute to the field of childhood education and to professionalize training of normal school education. With limited public funding, Chen received only a Master's Degree. Without a Ph.D., Chen collaborated, as second author, with doctors of philosophy who developed the field of educational psychology in higher education. Given these limitations, Chen drew upon his family and

<sup>32</sup> Hu Renzhe 胡人哲, “Shu wodi youzhi jiaoyu fangzhen” 述我底幼稚教育方針 [My plan for kindergarten education], in Beijing Nūzi Gaodeng Jiaoyu Shifan Yanjiuhui 北京女子高等師範幼稚教育研究會 [Beijing Women's Normal Education Research Society], ed., *Beijing Nūzi Gaodeng Shifan Youzhi Jiaoyu Yanjiu* 北京女子高等師範幼稚教育研究 [Beijing Women's Normal Education Research], 1 (December 1920). My translation.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> Wang Lunxin 王倫信, *Chen Heqin jiaoyu sixiang yanjiu* 陳鶴琴教育思想研究 [Chen Heqin's Educational Thought], (Shenyang: Liaoning jiaoyu chubanshe, 1995).

home as a springboard for gaining a popular audience for childrearing manuals. Chen was the first in China to draw upon his own private life as the basis for researching and establishing a specifically “Chinese” child psychology.

Chen’s background in the United States helped to inform his understanding of race as a factor that influenced children’s intellectual capacities and tendencies, and he asserted that Chinese children exhibit natural “characteristics” fundamental to understanding their innate proclivities and shaping their learned behaviors. Chen worked to popularize and to professionalize the field of childhood education. As a way to increase the cultural and political status of the child, Chen deliberately colored his scientific approach with a sentimentalized lens for popular audiences.

Because of Chen often used personal stories and data, his biography offers clues to his intellectual life. Born in 1892 to a poor family, Chen Heqin was the product of two educational systems: traditional Chinese private schools 私塾 for primary school, and mission schools for middle school and above—specifically, a Baptist middle school in Hangzhou and a year of St. John’s College in Shanghai before qualifying on a national scholarship for Tsinghua University in Beijing in preparation for college in the United States. Chen relates a story that resonates with Lu Xun’s famous first-person narrative about the decision to set aside a medical career in favor of becoming an educator akin to a public intellectual or a doctor for China’s spiritual ills. Chen wrote that he felt conflicted about his choice of major. Despite his love for teaching elementary-school children in Beijing, he nevertheless decided to enter Johns Hopkins as a pre-medical student in order to serve China as a doctor. However, on the ship to the United States, fellow student Tao Xingzhi convinced him of China’s need for educational professionals. Because Chen had already committed to Johns Hopkins, he received his undergraduate degree there before pursuing a master’s degree in education in graduate school at Columbia Teachers College. Johns Hopkins’ science-centered education taught him to esteem the scientific method. Whereas Lu Xun’s first person narrator experienced an emotional crisis precipitated on the anti-Chinese racial slurs of his Japanese classmates in medical school,<sup>35</sup> Chen’s transition from physical medicine to educational training was smoother, with a greater degree of explicit acceptance of medical practices. Chen’s admiration for the scientific method may have also influenced his selective absorption of “scientific racism,” in American academic circles.

After finishing his own secondary and higher education in Anglo-American schools, Chen advocated reforming the primary-school institutions that he had experienced as a child. Chen drew upon his life experiences in order to contrast the traditional style of Chinese learning with the modern style of Western schooling, but his evaluation of traditional education, at least during midlife, was much more ambivalent and respectful than we might expect from so zealous a “pioneer” of the new order. As a Christian, Chen had boycotted Confucius “worship” as a student at Tsinghua.<sup>36</sup> But by

<sup>35</sup> Lu Xun, Preface to *Nahan* 呐喊 [Call to Arms], in *Lu Xun: Selected Works*, tr., Yang Xianyi and Gladis Yang, 4 vols. (Beijing: Foreign Language Press, 1956, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 1980). Of the multitude of studies on Lu Xun, see particularly Leo Ou-fan Lee, *Voices from the Iron House* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987).

<sup>36</sup> Chen Heqin, *Wo de bansheng*, 61.

the 1940s, Chen praised traditional Confucian rituals for properly socializing children and fostering community.<sup>37</sup> Traditional Chinese learning contained many of the elements of individual attention considered progressive by contemporary Euro-American models.<sup>38</sup> But even before the 1940s, Chen was no radical iconoclast. Chen promoted new family values, influenced in part by his early conversion to Christianity.

Chen benefitted from important ties to the Christian educational community. After his early training in traditional schools, Chen attended Christian mission schools for middle and higher education. Chen converted to Christianity while attending the Baptist Middle School in Hangzhou. As he described in his autobiography,

Formerly, I had only thought about bringing honor for relatives and fame for myself, and planned for my own personal welfare. Now [after baptism], I had a little bit of that Jesus-like compassion and sincerity, a spirit of sacrifice. Formerly, I had looked out for myself, but now I looked out for others. On the day I received the rite of baptism as a Christian, I was in my third year at Huilan, and I offered my body up to Christ. I professed that Jesus was my savior, and I committed to Jesus as my model. From that point forward, my worldview completely changed. Other people allowed their “little egos” to become their “larger selves,” but I transformed my “little ego” into “selflessness.” At that time, “selfless,” those two syllables, become my hidden [personal] name. 從前我只知道顯親揚名，謀個人的福利。現在我有點象耶穌那種愛人的熱誠，犧牲的神經。從前是為自己，現在是為人了，我曾經在受浸禮做基督徒那一天，就是在惠蘭的第三年，把我的身體獻給耶穌。我承認耶穌是我的求主，我承認耶穌是我的模仿。從那時候起，我的人生觀完全改變了。別人把“小我”變成“大我”，而我把“小我”竟變成“無我”了。那時候，“無我”兩字作我的隱名。<sup>39</sup>

In this chapter of his autobiography, Chen described his Christian conversion with more definite religious imagery than anywhere else in his autobiography; one imagines that Chen could have offered this narrative as a testimonial at one of the many Christian revivals that he attended in the United States.

Despite the religious language evoking “Christ” and “Jesus as my savior,” Chen illustrated the secular ways that he had applied his understanding of Christianity to his everyday life, especially his physical person. When Chen “offered [his] body up to Christ,” he vowed to abstain forever from alcohol, narcotics, and prostitution, even though his teetotalism prevented him from toasting those who congratulated him with wine on his wedding day.<sup>40</sup> Thus, Chen willingly snubbed local friends and transgressed cultural norms in order to maintain what he regarded as a good, clean life according to Christian norms. Chen told his children that a daily regimen was an essential component

<sup>37</sup> Chen Heqin, *Wo de bansheng*, 30. For Chinese Communist reaction to Chen’s relationship to “feudalism” and Confucianism, see Luo Han 洛寒, “Cong ‘wo de bansheng’ kan Chen Heqin de jiaoyu sixiang” 從“我的半生”看陳鶴琴的教育思想 [Understanding Chen Heqin’s Thought on the Basis of *My Half-Life*], *People’s Education*, 4.2 (December 1, 1951): 30.

<sup>38</sup> Chen’s assessments are in general reinforced by those of Michael Nylan; she provides an assessment of the benefits of the traditional *sishu* system in her article, “Childhood, Formal Education, and Ideology in China,” in *Beyond the Century of the Child: Cultural History and Developmental Psychology*, ed., Willem Koops and Michael Zuckerman (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 137-55.

<sup>39</sup> Chen Heqin, *Wo de bansheng*, 53.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*

of good health, study habits, and academic success.<sup>41</sup> His account suggested that he understood Christianity primarily in terms of public service and personal virtue, manifest in his personal habits and hygiene, as the embodiment of identity and a strategy for achievement. Yet Chen's account, especially of "non-self," counters Chen Duxiu's 陳獨秀 (1879-1942) public rejection of traditional Chinese humility and an embrace of a new (Western-style) Chinese identity of assertive individualism in the first issue of *New Youth* in 1915.<sup>42</sup> Chen's baptismal resolutions also resonates with old Chinese views of cultivating "selflessness" ("wu xin" 無心 and "wu wo" 無我) that had been advocated by some Confucians since the late Han and also by many Buddhists.<sup>43</sup> Thus, even before Chen embarked for study abroad in the United States, he had been exposed to foreign influences, some of which confirmed or intersected with longstanding Chinese intellectual trends.

#### AMERICAN CHILD EXPERTS IN CHINA

While exploring the special experiences that shaped Chinese students in the United States, it is also important to note that professional expertise in the United States was shaped in part by Americans' service abroad. Institutions like the Rockefeller Foundation created opportunities for American experts to work abroad, where their encounter with local conditions helped them to see the necessity for issues like public health, rather than simply private medicine.<sup>44</sup> Given Chinese interests in national self-strengthening, American experts channeled Western knowledge for issues public health and mass revitalization. Yet, this dynamic, between China and the United States, could include missed opportunities for explicit conversations. For example, Chen's interest in infant care intersected with American trends brought to China through the American doctor, Richard A. Bolt, who worked at Tsinghua University during Chen's time as a student there.

Chen felt torn between a career in medicine and a career in education because he saw these careers as distinct. Although he eventually chose education, Chen later taught mothers about infant care, drawing upon his U.S. college training in medical studies. At Tsinghua University, Chen could have followed the example of Dr. Richard Bolt, but he did not explicitly make this connection. When entering Tsinghua University, Chen, like all other students, was given medical examinations by Bolt, who was the Tsinghua college physician and the medical examiner for the US Embassy. Tsinghua was the gateway training college for publically funded study abroad, and Bolt also administered examinations to students in the "cold Chinese buildings near the foreign office," where the "only heat was derived from Chinese coal-ball braziers which gave out about as much

<sup>41</sup> Chen Heqin, *Wo de bansheng*, 46.

<sup>42</sup> Chen Duxiu, "Jinggao qingnian," 警告青年 [Awakening Youth], *Xin qingnian* 新青年 [New Youth], 1. 1 (September 1915): 1-6.

<sup>43</sup> Ronald Egan, *Poems* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 1994), 178.

<sup>44</sup> Linda Wong, *Marginalization and Social Welfare in China* (London; New York: Rutledge, 1998), 160, cites Wang Kang, p. 37. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., also underwrote the expenses for founding the Shanghai American School; see Anne Waltner Fearn, *My Days of Strength*, 290.

carbon monoxide as heat!”<sup>45</sup> Although serving as a school doctor and medical examiner, Bolt brought with him a special interest in maternal and infant care.

Before coming to China, Bolt had created a conference exhibition, with an emphasis on comparative statistics about infant and maternal mortality, at the first annual meeting of the American Association for the Study and Prevention of Infant Mortality. Attending the conference, Bolt heard many of the “leading pediatricians and public health workers in the field of ~~public health~~ [word stricken in original document] CHILD HYGIENE,” such as doctors J H Mason Knox, Helen Putnam, Henry Helmholz,<sup>46</sup> William Palmer Lucas, and he heard speeches given by “Dr. Abraham Jacobi, ‘Father of American Pediatrics’, Dr. L Emmett Holt whose textbook on *The Diseases of Childhood I* [Bolt] had studied at Michigan, Dr. William Welch, etc.”<sup>47</sup> Bolt would later serve in government positions for public health and advocate for the “education of mothers in infant and child care” and for legal and medical services for children.<sup>48</sup> Bolt revised the topic of the meeting, from public health to child hygiene, in a way that reflected his commitment to these two issues. Through his experiences in China, Bolt would come to focus on public health, and to see child hygiene as an issue of public health.

In Christian universities, Western missionaries were increasingly turning to native Chinese leadership and secularized mission statements.<sup>49</sup> The idea for a self-sustaining Church under Chinese leadership, sometimes called “devolution” or the “three-self church,” and grew even more attractive as Western missionary societies increasingly lost funding after the Great Depression and the First World War.<sup>50</sup> Yet the relatively affluent American missionaries tended to couch the promotion of Chinese leadership in patriotic and political, rather than efficient and economic, terms. Congregationalist missionary and educator Roderick Scott<sup>51</sup> proclaimed, “Turn the church over to the Chinese. Turn the schools over to Chinese principals and presidents.”<sup>52</sup> Scott was proud that “We Congregational missionaries were the most progressive in this regard and in 1927 we turned our whole establishment over to the Chinese committees” and the university presidency to Jingren Lin 林景潤 (1897-1946) who had received a Ph.D. from Columbia University.<sup>53</sup> Scott explained that Chinese leadership lent both cultural capital and political assets. Later, under the anti-religious laws of the Nationalist period, President

<sup>45</sup> Richard Arthur Bolt Papers, Folder 2, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

<sup>46</sup> E. H. Christopherson, “Obituary Henry F. Helmholz 1882-1958,” *Pediatrics* 23.1 (January 1, 1959): 172–173.

<sup>47</sup> Richard Arthur Bolt Papers, Folder 1, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

<sup>48</sup> Richard Arthur Bolt Papers, Folder 2, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

<sup>49</sup> Wen-hsin Yeh also notes the trend of secularization for Christian colleges, like St. John’s University, especially after 1920. See Wen-hsin Yeh, *Alienated Academy*, 66; this trend reflects the commercialization of education rather than the traditional transmission of culture from teacher to student, 195.

<sup>50</sup> Albert Wu, “Contested Catholicity: Chen Yuan, Furen University, and the Study of Comparative Religions” The World History Association, Beijing, China (July 9, 2011).

<sup>51</sup> For a brief biography of Scott and an exploration of the complexities of his political, educational, and theological views, see Brad Bauer, “Wading into the Stream of Chinese Life: The Life and Missionary Career of Roderick Scott in China, 1916–1949,” *Journal of Modern Chinese History* 3.1 (2009): 71–88.

<sup>52</sup> Roderick Scott Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California at Berkeley, 89.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*



C.J. Lin revised the school's explicitly Christian mission statement to the implicitly Christian spirit of "love, service, and sacrifice."<sup>54</sup> Because of such maneuvers by the famous Chinese president, the University "escaped a great deal of suspicion and regulation."<sup>55</sup> Christian universities thus followed the tide of increasing Chinese leadership and secular education.

Tsinghua University illustrates that secularization could retain existing networks with Christians. Tsinghua University, founded with funds from the Boxer Indemnity to the United States, was staffed by foreign professors with connections to Christian associations. Bolt had been recruited to go to China by Arthur Rugh, of the International Department of the National YMCA in China, and Dr. James B. Angell, who had served as minister there in 1880-81 before becoming president of the University of Michigan. Angell professed "great faith in the education of Chinese students" and argued that the Indemnity College would be preparing these students for study in the United States, including the University of Michigan, which had already "graduated a number [of Chinese students,] among them two Chinese medical students who had become prominent in Chinese medicine (Dr. Mary Stone and Dr. Ida Kahn)."<sup>56</sup> Dr. Mary Stone (Shi Meiyu) and Dr. Ida Kahn (Kang Cheng) were Chinese Christian women with special symbolic significance for mission communities because they were in a unique position to provide Western medicine (and the Christian message) to Chinese women.<sup>57</sup> In the late Qing, mission schools cherished opportunities to teach and foster girls.<sup>58</sup> Because of restrictions on the accessibility of male physicians and proselytizers in the inner quarters, "Bible women could visit homes when men couldn't, a little bit like Catholic nuns,"<sup>59</sup> and female doctors like Stone and Kahn became especially important and prominent in China. These specific examples must have especially influenced Bolt, given his special interest in reproductive health and obstetrics.

Bolt's contact with China helped to push him in the direction of public health, preventative medicine, and public services. Bolt himself wrote: "China experiences as physician for Tsing Hua College turned my attention more and more to preventive medicine."<sup>60</sup> Bolt had been promised, and was given, latitude and "every consideration in

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<sup>54</sup> Roderick Scott Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California at Berkeley, 24.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid, 94.

<sup>56</sup> "China Experiences," Richard Arthur Bolt Papers, Box 1, Folder 1, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

<sup>57</sup> Female missionary doctors had been in special demand; see "Female Missionary Physicians," *The Chinese Recorder* (September 1868), 91-93. Charlotte Furth, "Concepts of Pregnancy, Childbirth, and Infancy in Ch'ing Dynasty China," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 46.1 (February 1, 1987): 7-35. For more information on the upbringing of Stone and Kahn, see Carol Chin, "Beneficent Imperialists: American Women Missionaries in China at the Turn of the Century," *Diplomatic History* 27 (June 2003): 327-52.

<sup>58</sup> See also Margaret Burton, *The Education of Women in China* (New York, Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1911).

<sup>59</sup> William Hill Topping (1885-), *Years in China* (1911-1951), 9, China Missionaries Oral History Project, Oral History Program, Claremont Graduate School, Claremont, CA, 1970; Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

<sup>60</sup> Richard Arthur Bolt Papers, Box 1, Folder 5, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

setting up my work there [at Tsinghua].”<sup>61</sup> For example, he vaccinated every student and staff member for smallpox. While performing the medical examination for entrance to college, Bolt rarely found cases of venereal disease,<sup>62</sup> but he found even more “puzzling” outbreaks of diseases like beriberi, which required improvements in diet.<sup>63</sup>

Foreign welfare organizations, and other foreign experts, shaped Bolt’s interest in public health. While in Beijing, Bolt met Dr. William Welch (1850-1934), who was then evaluating the possibility of creating the Union Medical College for the Rockefeller Commission.<sup>64</sup> As Dean of Medicine in Johns Hopkins and president of both the Committee for Mental Hygiene and the American Foundation for Mental Hygiene (a movement to be discussed in Chapter Four), Welch advised the Rockefeller Foundation regarding ways to implement public health measures for prevention of both physical and psychological illness.<sup>65</sup> In the 1920s, the Rockefeller-funded Union Medical College pushed for Beijing to found a municipal health department, including a Bureau of Child Hygiene, including “health centers for prenatal, infant and preschool clinics,” “public health nursing service[s] to provide assistance at clinics and for home supervision of expectant mothers and infants,” and a “division of school health” for sanitary regulations.<sup>66</sup> The Union Medical College successfully convinced the Bureau of Social Welfare to reorganize a sanatorium as the City Psychopathic Hospital in October 1, 1933.<sup>67</sup> Thus, American organizations in China aimed not at individual treatment, but public health on a large scale. The work of the Rockefeller Foundation and the YMCA abroad emphasized preventative medicine and public health, in turn reinforcing the orientation toward public service among Chinese students who studied abroad in the United States.<sup>68</sup>

Chen Heqin would eventually enter into a career path that intersected with Bolt’s. Like Bolt, Chen organized exhibits and published materials about infant care. Even though Chen Heqin chose education and Bolt chose medicine, both men had interests that

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<sup>61</sup> “China experiences,” Richard Arthur Bolt Papers, Box 1, Folder 1, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

<sup>62</sup> “Tsinghua College,” p. 3, Richard Arthur Bolt Papers, Box 1, Folder 3, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

<sup>63</sup> “International Sleuth,” p. 4, Richard Arthur Bolt Papers, Box 1, Folder 4, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

<sup>64</sup> Richard Arthur Bolt Papers, Box 1, Folder 1, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

<sup>65</sup> As one of the founders of Johns Hopkins, Welch was a major figure who helped to shape American expectations for the miracles of modern science. Welch was “the president (1923) honorary president (1924-34) of the National Committee for Mental hygiene and the president of the American Foundation for Mental Hygiene (1928-1934).” Theresa R. Richardson, *The Century of the Child: The Mental Hygiene Movement and Social Policy in the United States and Canada* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989), 21-22.

<sup>66</sup> “Syllabus on Hygiene and Preventative Medicine,” Peking Union Medical College—Department of Hygiene, Rockefeller Center Archives, China Medical Board, Inc., (2B 09), Box 76, Folder 532, p. 13.

<sup>67</sup> Peiping Union Medical College, Rockefeller Center Archives, China Medical Board, Inc., (RG 1048), Box 34, Folder 352.

<sup>68</sup> The Rockefeller Foundation’s Dr. William Welch further encouraged Bolt to focus on public health; after Bolt received a Ph.D. in public health at the University of California at Berkeley in 1924, Welch recommended Bolt for a fellowship at Johns Hopkins University in 1924-25.

intersected public education and infant health. Chen may not have focused on Bolt as a mentor because he had not yet developed this career path, but even in the 1940s, Chen remembered Bolt simply as the school physician, rumored to have become a prominent hospital administrator somewhere in the United States.<sup>69</sup> In contrast, Chen spoke effusively about Bolt's wife, an "ardent Christian," who gave sermons to the students.<sup>70</sup> Although the Bolts both lived in the Methodist Mission in Beijing and had extensive missionary contacts, Mrs. Bolt appeared to be a much more active missionary than her husband. It seems proper and likely that this would be the case, precisely because she did not have an official position at the university. Dr. Bolt had entered China through Christian connections, but he was hired as a physician rather than as a missionary, and his position and behavior reflect a transitional period in which officially secular institutions, like Tsinghua, might recruit Christians and facilitate their activities (or those of their families) without formally endorsing them.

#### CHINESENESS AND RACIAL SELF-STRENGTHENING

Chen's experiences in the United States helped him to see "Chineseness"—or what it meant to be Chinese—as a racial category, rather than a civilizational designation. According to Joseph Levenson, Chinese intellectuals in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were preoccupied with defining China as either a civilization or a nation-state, and thus, a dilemma of either preserving civilization or modernizing China. As we shall see, Chen circumvented this question by incorporating race into his understanding of Chineseness. In Chen's view, because Chinese-Americans faced race-based discrimination in the United States, they were linked to China in an international context.<sup>71</sup> Race helped to bind Chinese and Chinese-Americans together in a form of cultural patriotism that included a civic concern for China's national interests (rather than simply a Darwinian push for Chinese racial advancement).<sup>72</sup> Chinese reformers had argued for national self-strengthening, and Chen adapted that rubric to include self-strengthening based on Booker T. Washington's ideas about self-improvement and self-segregation.<sup>73</sup> Self-segregation would allow minorities to foster their own leadership and develop their own ideas. These ideas all informed Chen's decision to become a leader of the "Chinese" Kindergarten Movement with a specifically "Chinese" childhood psychology.

In the United States, Chen's encounter with Black students at the Tuskegee Institute and Hampton College reinforced the way that he defined the scope of education to include social acculturation and personal hygiene. Chen later commented about the African-American Home Economics students who served delicious cornbread:

<sup>69</sup> Chen Heqin, *Wo de bansheng*, 62.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, 62-63.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, 32, 109.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, 32.

<sup>73</sup> Chen Heqin, "Shenme jiaozuo huo jiaoyu?" 什么叫作活教育? [What is Living Education?] *Huo jiaoyu de chuangzao* 活教育的創造 [The Creation of Living Education] (Shanghai: Huahua shudian, 1950), 4. Chen Heqin, *Wo de bansheng*, 93-94.

These girls wore snow-white kerchiefs and snow-white hats, and were much cleaner and prettier than the lower-class Black girls that we had seen in the North. Education can certainly change human life.

這些女生穿了雪白的圍巾，戴了雪白的帽子，比我們在北方所見的下等黑人女子要清潔得多，美麗得多。教育可以改變人生的。<sup>74</sup>

If this well-meaning compliment seems crude and paternalistic, it also reflected Chen's understanding of his own social acculturation as a minority in the United States. Chen not only read education as reflected in the way that these Black women prepared and presented the meal, but also self-consciously saw education reflected in the way that he, a Chinese man, consumed and enjoyed the food. Both the presentation and the consumption of the food reflected these actors' "racial self-strengthening" through learned acculturation.

Chen clearly saw refined acculturation and personal habits as a mechanism for survival and advancement. Chen had taken a "course in eating" at the Shanghai YMCA before embarking on the ship to America.<sup>75</sup> Although Chen gently mocked his instructor, Mr. Chou, as the "master of eating" and himself and his classmates as the "disciples," he appreciated the course because the training helped him to eat and digest unfamiliar food on board and in America.<sup>76</sup> For Chen, food culture meant good digestion—emphasized as the basis for excellent health—in a foreign environment. Mr. Chou offered detailed instructions on hierarchical seating, correct posture, and polite conversation; clean dress, straight posture, and refined manners changed one's physical bearing as well as one's social status. According to later Communist critics, Chen epitomized the colonized elite, who mimicked Western customs and spread Western ideas, to the detriment of their countrymen (see Chapter Six). Most damningly, from the perspective of these critics, Chen praised Southern African-Americans who willingly accepted segregation and thus subordination.<sup>77</sup> In fact, Chen considered Black Schools to be a model for China.<sup>78</sup>

Americans (and later Communists) readily interpreted Chen's activities within the rubric of assimilation to American cultural values. Chen served as scoutmaster to the first Chinese-American Boy Scout Troop, a triumph in race equality, proving that "Chinese youngsters are no different than youngsters of any other race."<sup>79</sup> In New York in 1916, Samuel Fung and his friends had improved their "athletic club" by seeking "full-fledged"

<sup>74</sup> Chen Heqin, *Wo de bansheng*, 91.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 77. Shakhar Rahav argues that May Fourth intellectual Yun Daiying was drawn to the YMCA, its retreats and publications, because he admired the willingness of Christians to live out their religious ideals. Although not a believer, Yun published in the Christian journal, *Association Progress*, and he modeled his own student groups on Bible studies at the YMCA. Shakhar Rahav, "Yun Daiying and the Rise of Political Intellectuals in Modern China: Radical Societies in May Fourth Wuhan," Ph.D. dissertation, UC Berkeley, 2007.

<sup>76</sup> Chen Heqin, *Wo de bansheng*, 79.

<sup>77</sup> Even before Chen left for the United States, he was deeply moved by *Uncle Tom's Cabin*; Chen Heqin, *Wo de bansheng*, 68.

<sup>78</sup> Chen Heqin, *Wo de bansheng*, 93-94.

<sup>79</sup> Warner M. Van Norden, *Who's Who of the Chinese in New York*, (READ BOOKS, 2010). [Reprint of 1917 Edition], 96; Google Books, accessed October 4, 2010.

membership into the Boy Scouts of America. Among the benefits of being “‘for really’ Boy Scouts,” they enjoyed access to the institution’s activities, education, and rituals with the “fife, drum and bugle corps.”<sup>80</sup> The legitimacy of the organization helped to reinforce the authenticity of the boys as wholesome “youngsters” in America. All but two of the boys had been born in New York, and “each and every one attends American schools.”<sup>81</sup> The Chinese Boy Scouts were also praised for doing “their bit among their own people” by raising funds and selling Liberty Loan Subscriptions for the American war effort in the First World War.<sup>82</sup> Despite rhetoric about racial equality,<sup>83</sup> this Boy Scout troop remained exclusively Chinese in membership and leadership.

In keeping with his praise of Booker T. Washington,<sup>84</sup> Chen led a racially segregated Boy Scout troop as a form of self-empowerment. Chen guided scouts in reading Booker T. Washington’s *Up From Slavery* as a model of self-improvement in the face of institutional prejudice.<sup>85</sup> It was the idea that the troop gave the adolescents an opportunity to be “among their own people” that mattered most to Chen, who encouraged the troop of Chinese-Americans to learn about Chinese culture and society.<sup>86</sup> These relationships were important because of the significant economic and diplomatic capital that overseas Chinese remitted back to China.<sup>87</sup> As we will see in Chapter Five, overseas Chinese played an important role in providing wartime relief and securing diplomatic ties during the Second World War.

Chen’s role as leader in the first Chinese-American boy-scout troop complimented his mission to introduce Chinese culture to American society. For his Chinese audiences, Chen emphasized the significant number (“several hundred thousands”) of Chinese-Americans in the United States and the need to serve the minority community.<sup>88</sup> In the context of the United States, the racial categorization of Chineseness appeared more important than cultural distinctions among subgroups; this racial categorization helped promote Chinese transnationalism, a Chinese cultural cohesion that crossed political and geographical borders. For example, although most of the scouts were Cantonese, and therefore spoke a different dialect than Chen, Chen succeeded in helping the boys feel emotionally close to China. One of Chen’s scouts, Li Yang’an 李揚安, praised Chen as a bridge to his “ancestral homeland.” In addition to the routine hiking excursions and study sessions, Chen also arranged to introduce the adolescent

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<sup>80</sup> Ibid.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid. Guoqi Xu argues that China was also more invested in, and a greater contributor to, the First World War than is often imagined. Guoqi Xu, *China and the Great War: China’s Pursuit of a New National Identity and Internationalization* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

<sup>83</sup> Ibid.

<sup>84</sup> Chen Heqin, *Wo de bansheng*, 91.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid., 32.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid., 33.

<sup>87</sup> Jonathan Spence, *The Search for Modern China* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1999). Sucheng Chan, ed. *Chinese American Transnationalism: The Flow of People, Resources, and Ideas Between China and America During the Exclusion Era* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2006).

<sup>88</sup> Chen Heqin, *Wo de bansheng*, 109.

boys to famous Chinese educators.<sup>89</sup> Through exposure to eminent professors, some of the boys developed an interest in higher education. Later in life, Li “returned” to China to teach engineering. Fellow scout Hong Weileng 洪煨稜 became a professor at Yenching University in Beijing, and another scout, Li Zhaochang 李兆昌, became a professor of Chinese at the University of Hawaii. Thus, whereas the *Who’s Who Among Chinese Americans in New York* saw the group as authentically American, Chen and the scouts saw the organization as a way to develop their own sense of community and even civic duty to China.

For the editors of *Who’s Who*, the Christian nature of the troop, founded with the help and guidance of a “Sunday School teacher,”<sup>90</sup> helped to add to its truly American character, but Chen never commented on the religious or evangelical nature of the organization. Despite Chen’s omission, Li Yang’an commemorated Chen by noting:

I also remember that he would often talk with me about the virtue of Christianity, and [he] furthermore hoped that I would someday become an ardent Christian. Later, I did, as a result, believe in Christianity.

我還記得他常常和我們講基督的大道，並且希望我將來作為一個熱心的基督徒。到後來我果然信仰基督了。<sup>91</sup>

Li thus felt that Christianity was one aspect of Chen’s message about becoming a decent, upstanding citizen. Chen endorsed this statement by including it in the Preface of his autobiography. Since Chen himself made no mention of trying to convert any of the scouts, this record seems to suggest that (by the 1940s) Chen downplayed his own active contributions to the religious events and organizations. Instead, in his autobiography, Chen turned the conversion narrative on its head.

In the United States, Chen saw himself as a cultural diplomat who sought out opportunities to give formal and informal speeches on the subject of Chinese culture.<sup>92</sup> In many ways, his autobiography reversed the paradigm of a normal conversion narrative: He was a cultural ambassador for China rather than a religious convert to Christianity. For instance,

In this student group, I was the only Chinese person, so they were very happy [to have me join them] and treated me just like a brother. The Maryland School of Dentistry also had one Chinese student named Zeng Quanye who went with me [to a Christian summer camp]. In the American South, [they] don’t often see Chinese people, so they asked us about the strengths and weaknesses of China. I took this opportunity to spread Chinese culture...

<sup>89</sup> Chen Heqin, *Wo de bansheng*, 32-33. Among them were: Fan Yuan 范源 (1875-1927); Zhang Bolin 張伯苓 (1876-1951), who founded Nankai Middle School, which later became Nankai University; and Timothy Ting Fang Lew 劉廷芳 (1892-1947), who received degrees from the University of Georgia, Columbia Teacher’s College, and Yale Divinity School before returning to China to become a professor of educational psychology at Yenching University; see Chapter Four.

<sup>90</sup> Warner M. Van Norden, *Who’s Who of the Chinese in New York*, (READ BOOKS, 2010). [Reprint of 1917 Edition], 96; Google Books, accessed October 4, 2010

<sup>91</sup> Chen Heqin, *Wo de bansheng*, 33.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, 108.

這個學生團只有我一個中國人，所以他們非常高興，待我好像兄弟一樣。美麗蘭大學牙科有一個中國學生，名叫鄭全也和我同去的。美國南方不常看見中國學生的，所以我們到了那裡，他們都看看我們，問我們中國人怎樣長，怎樣短。我便乘此機會全傳中國的文化。。。<sup>93</sup>

Thus, Christian revivals provided Chen with opportunities primarily to promote China and “spread Chinese culture,” rather than to study Christianity. Americans respected Chen for his superior knowledge about China.<sup>94</sup> Chen assumed the position of cultural ambassador by virtue of his personal background and racial distinction rather than his academic training or extensive knowledge. For example, the first time that he gave a public lecture, a teacher introduced him with effusive praise and heartfelt gratitude for the opportunity to learn about Confucius from “a real Chinaman.” No expert on Confucius, Chen failed miserably and cried afterward.<sup>95</sup> Chen must have understood that he derived authority among American audiences from his racial background rather than his intellectual knowledge. As we will see, Chen would continue to draw upon the authority of personal experience, and to use personal experience as a resource for knowledge production and intellectual authority in China.

Although Chen emphasized that the Americans “treated [him] just like a brother,” he knew that he was valued because of his cultural and racial profile. At one revival, his best friend was “an African prince,” and the pair, “one Yellow, one Black,” cooked all their meals together to save money.<sup>96</sup> He considered the African prince to be his superior in culinary, musical, and athletic talent, and willingly served as washer-boy to the Prince’s chef. Chen also considered African-American students to be superior to Chinese students in their willingness to perform manual labor to build their schools themselves. Even though Chen felt that Blacks and Asians occupied similar positions as minorities in the United States, he championed the model of African Americans.<sup>97</sup>

With his training in educational psychology in the United States, Chen had also learned that racial difference was a major factor in scholarly analysis. Although he did not finish his degree, Chen conducted a year of doctoral research. The chair of the psychology department, Woolworth, “assigned” him to write a dissertation on “a comparison of intelligence capacities among different races.”<sup>98</sup> Cross-racial analysis was a common subject in psychology in the early twentieth century. Another dissertation, defended shortly after Chen returned to China, suggests that Chinese graduate students

<sup>93</sup> Ibid., 97-98. My translation.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid., 109. My translation.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid., 108.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid., 98. My translation.

<sup>97</sup> This message is reinforced in contemporary documentaries about Chen’s life: “Chen Heqin Dangdaipian” 陈鹤琴当代篇 [Contemporary Chapter on Chen Heqin], n.d., [http://v.youku.com/v\\_show/id\\_XMTIwMTA4NDUy.html](http://v.youku.com/v_show/id_XMTIwMTA4NDUy.html); “Zhuming jiaoyujia Chen Heqin” 著名教育家陈鹤琴, n.d., [http://v.youku.com/v\\_show/id\\_XMTIwMTA0MjYw.html](http://v.youku.com/v_show/id_XMTIwMTA0MjYw.html); “Chen Heqin xiansheng dui xiandai Zhongguo youer jiaoyu de kaichuangxing gongxian,” 陈鹤琴先生对现代中国幼儿教育 的开创性贡献, [http://v.youku.com/v\\_show/id\\_XMzcyNDIyMjg=.html](http://v.youku.com/v_show/id_XMzcyNDIyMjg=.html); Dashi-20 Chen Heqin, 大师-20 陈鹤琴 n.d., [http://v.youku.com/v\\_show/id\\_XMjUyMDU0MzY=.html](http://v.youku.com/v_show/id_XMjUyMDU0MzY=.html).

<sup>98</sup> My translation of 各民族智力之比较. Chen Heqin, *Wo de bansheng*, 94.

could use their personal connections to conduct research on Chinese-American students for cross-racial analysis between “Orientals” and “Caucasians.”<sup>99</sup> In their research, scholars from China often questioned the innate or learned characteristics between Chinese and Americans.<sup>100</sup> Professors may have encouraged Chinese students to conduct research using race as one variable (among others) because Chinese-American scholars had enjoyed greater access and insider-status than Caucasian scholars to Chinese-American schools and organizations. Had Chen remained in New York to continue his dissertation research, he would likely have conducted research on the Chinese Boy Scouts in their schools. Chen accepted the premise that Chinese children were innately different from non-Chinese children, no matter what their educational training or cultural habits. Thus, instead of importing or translating the content of Western psychological principles, Chen wished to formulate his own principles, based on the unique nature of Chinese childhood, by using Western methodologies and models. Thus, he was responding to the demands of the Peking Women’s Normal College and other women and mothers who wanted a scientific, but specifically Chinese, way of raising children.

#### CHEN AND CHARLES DARWIN: INVESTIGATING CHILDHOOD

Even though Chen Heqin argued against wholesale adoption of Western child psychology, he nevertheless drew from the methodology of among the most influential figures in modern science, Charles Darwin. Scholars have noted the profound influence of Darwin and social Darwinism on Chinese intellectual reform in an age of radical

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<sup>99</sup> Mien Woo, “A study of effects of some incentives upon mental efficiency of school children,” Ph.D. dissertation, University of California [Berkeley], 1929. Mien Woo was born in 1894 in Yangzhou, Jiangsu. He was principal of an elementary school in Jiangsu from 1913 to 1915 before studying at Fudan University from 1916 to 1919. He then went to San Francisco, where he became a teacher of Chinese at the Morning Bell School of San Francisco in 1920. He received an AB from the University of California, Berkeley, in 1922 and then a Ph.D. in Education, with a minor in Psychology, from UC Berkeley in 1929. In his dissertation, Woo examined the influence of encouragement on test results, and disaggregated his results according to age, gender, and race. In terms of race, he compared Caucasian with “Orientals” and found the differences to be negligible. As a teacher at the Morning Bell School for Chinese Americans in San Francisco, Mien Woo was in a good position to test and evaluate “Oriental” students there. In “Teaching Chinese Americans to be Chinese,” Him Mark Lai notes that Morning Bell School was founded by Nationalist Party sympathizers in San Francisco in 1919 as the first Chinese-language co-educational school in the area; see Sucheng Chan, ed., *Chinese American Transnationalism: The Flow of People, Resources, and Ideas Between China and America During the Exclusion Era* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2006), 199-200. Lai argues that such schools not only taught Chinese-American (and specifically Cantonese-American) students Chinese language skills, but also included a broad curriculum on politics and geography that tied them to their “homeland.” Even though the Morning Bell School closed after only six years of operation, due to lack of funds, it nevertheless provided a lasting model and conduit for Chinese textbooks.

<sup>100</sup> For example, William Keh-ching Chen, *The Influence of Oral Propaganda Material Upon Students’ Attitudes* (New York: Psychological Review Publications, 1933); Robert Chin, *An Analysis of Conformity Behavior* (New York: Psychological Review Publications, 1943); Tsu Lien Wang, *The Influence of Tuition on the Acquisition of Skill* (New York: Psychological Review Publications, 1925); Chung-yuan Chang, *A Study of the Relative Merits of the Vertical and Horizontal Lines in Reading Chinese Print* (New York: Psychological Review Publications, 1942).



change. As James Pusey has written, Classical scholar Yan Fu translated the works of Darwin and Spencer “not to introduce an interesting discovery of modern science, but to usher in a Western witness to the vital necessity of change.”<sup>101</sup> The mantra “survival of the fittest” pushed Chinese intellectuals to reconsider individual contributions to state “wealth and power.”<sup>102</sup> The model of evolutionary growth also undergirded an interest in childhood development among modern Chinese intellectuals—both as an analytical explanation for physical growth<sup>103</sup> and as an interpretive model for national history.<sup>104</sup> Advocating eugenics and the small family, many Chinese intellectuals nevertheless continued to employ traditional Chinese structures of thought even while championing Western academic content.<sup>105</sup> In contrast to using Western content and Chinese structures, Chen applied Western research methodologies on the subject of the Chinese child. This emphasis on “good childrearing” is emblematic of the small Chinese school of eugenics, led by Chen’s contemporary Pan Guangdan 潘光旦 (1899–1967).<sup>106</sup>

Chen followed Charles Darwin’s methods of studying his own son. Darwin’s 1877 article, “A Biographical Sketch of an Infant,” placed “child observation” in the realm of scientific inquiry.<sup>107</sup> In 1939, Yale Professor Dr. Arnold Gesell wrote, “Darwin, more than any other single individual, initiated the genetic rationalism which now characterizes the investigation of human infancy.”<sup>108</sup> Gesell credited Darwin with the trend toward “child observation” that spurred the growth of fields in pedagogy and pediatrics after the turn of the century. Thus, Darwin had helped lend scientific legitimacy to the field of child study.<sup>109</sup> However, Darwin merely observed children, whereas later scholars would run experiments on them.<sup>110</sup> Despite the influence of Darwinism in China, Chen was the first Chinese person to draw upon the example of Charles Darwin in researching his own child.

The theories of Charles Darwin radically challenged sentimental conceptions of childhood by offering a scientific gaze on children. By extending his scientific methods

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<sup>101</sup> James Reeve Pusey, *China and Charles Darwin* (Cambridge, Mass: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1983), 8.

<sup>102</sup> Benjamin Schwartz, *In Search of Wealth and Power: Yen Fu and the West* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1964).

<sup>103</sup> See Li Baimin’s analysis of Liang Qichao’s “On Child Education” and “On Female Education”; *Shaping the Ideal Child: Children and Their Primers in Late Imperial China* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2005).

<sup>104</sup> See Andrew F. Jones, “The Child as History in Republican China: A Discourse on Development,” *positions: east asia cultures critique* 10.3 (2002): 695-727.

<sup>105</sup> Susan Glosser, *Visions of Family and State*, 5.

<sup>106</sup> Please see Yuehtsen Juliette Chung, *Struggle for National Survival: Chinese Eugenics in a Transitional Context, 1896-1945* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999).

<sup>107</sup> Charles Darwin, “A Biographical Sketch of an Infant,” *Mind* 2.7 (July 1877): 285-294.

<sup>108</sup> Arnold Gesell, “Charles Darwin and Child Development,” *The Scientific Monthly* 49, no. 6 (December 1939): 548-553. For more information on this movement, see Ann Hulbert, *Raising America: Experts, Parents, and a Century of Advice About Children* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003).

<sup>109</sup> George Washington Andrew Luckey, *The Essentials of Child Study: Including Class Outlines, Brief Discussions, Topical References, and a Complete Bibliography* (The University Publishing Co., 1917).

<sup>110</sup> Ruth C. White, *Methods and Techniques in Child Study as Employed by Charles Darwin, William Preyer and Milicent Shinn* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1936).

(of detailed journal keeping and evolutionary analysis) to his own offspring, Darwin included human infants within the same categories of species evolution as other animals. In his “Biographical Sketch,” Darwin draws upon a journal recording the growth of his son.<sup>111</sup> With reference to the exact dates and events, Darwin organizes his sketch thematically, in terms of his son’s development of emotional behavior and moral sensibility. Guarded against age-conflation, Darwin carefully describes his son’s behavior in terms of what “would be considered” a particular emotion “in an older child.” However, Darwin focused his attention on “unexpected” surprises. Often, behaviors only seemed surprising given misconceptions about age-related development, but could be readily explained through the lens of animal instinct. For example, Darwin was at first surprised that his son appreciated humor at only three months, but then Darwin reflected on the ability of kittens and puppies to play.<sup>112</sup> Thus, evolutionary development could offer a better explanation for individual behavior than age-related development. Likewise, his son’s early understanding of words “is what might have been expected, as we know that the lower animals easily learn spoken words.”<sup>113</sup> Darwin found that infants exhibit behaviors considered precocious for their age, but natural given their species-evolution. Darwin’s explanations influenced Sigmund Freud to question the natural innocence of children.<sup>114</sup> Chen could also have cited Darwin to challenge stereotypes about childhood innocence, but Chen wanted to promote, rather than to subvert, the sentimentalization of childhood. Chen used scientific methods for the Chinese subject, so he could modify Darwin’s specific findings in a Chinese context.

Like Darwin, Chen Heqin viewed children within the framework of species evolution. Chen Heqin further cited the ideas of philosopher and historian John Fisk (1842 - 1901),<sup>115</sup> who helped popularize Darwinism, and anthropologist Alexander Chamberlain (1865 - 1914), who asserted that childhood played an important role in human evolution. In *The Meaning of Infancy*, Fiske asked, “What is the meaning of the fact that man is born into the world more helpless than any other creature, and needs for a much longer season than any other living thing the tender care and wise counsel of his elders?”<sup>116</sup> His answer was that “the lengthening” of human infancy had contributed to the evolution of man’s “capacity for progress.” As an educator, Chen was probably drawn to the idea that a child should be receptive to “the tender care and wise counsel of his elders.” Chen followed Fisk’s characterizations of childhood in terms of plasticity and

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<sup>111</sup> Charles Darwin, “A Biographical Sketch of an Infant,” *Mind*, vol. 2, no. 7 (July 1877): 285-294.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, 289.

<sup>113</sup> Darwin, 294.

<sup>114</sup> See the chapter, “The Darwinian Revolution’s Legacy,” in Frank J. Sulloway, *Freud, Biologist of the Mind: Beyond the Psychoanalytic Legend* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992), 238-277.

<sup>115</sup> See Irving H. Anellis, “Fiske, John,” *The Dictionary of Modern American Philosophers*, Continuum (n.d.); retrieved 1 Dec. 2012, from <http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199754663.001.0001/acref-9780199754663-e-317>.

<sup>116</sup> John Fiske, *The Meaning of Infancy* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1909), 1. <http://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/000429758>.

educability.<sup>117</sup> After comparing charts with the pregnancy and childhood periods of different animals, Chen concluded:

In general, human pregnancy can be considered the longest. The length of the fetal period is closely related to his later period of growth; humanity's fetal period is long, but its childhood is even longer. Now, by comparing the charts of human and animal childhoods, we can see the importance of childhood.

大概說來，人的胎期可算長久了。這種長期的胎內生活，於後天發展有密切關係，人類胎氣即長，兒童期尤長。現在把人和動物的兒童期，比一比坡表，就可看出兒童期之重要。<sup>118</sup>

A lengthy pregnancy and childhood allowed humans a longer period of time to learn and to grow. This analytic framework thus reinforced the drive among educators, already begun in the late Qing, to curb long-standing trends to pressure Chinese children towards literary achievement at increasingly precocious ages. Because childhood played an important role in the development of both an individual and a species, these social Darwinian texts may have conflated the individual and the collective.<sup>119</sup>

In keeping with the model of Charles Darwin, Chen Heqin recorded his observations of his son as the basis of his scientific work. Chen kept a journal of observations about his son Yiming. Chen carefully recorded time with precision, both relative to the child's life and to real time, beginning with the first notation that "This child was born at 2:09 on December 26, 1920."<sup>120</sup> Each notation was enumerated, so that Chen could refer easily to a specific cry, sound, or gesture. Not only did Chen consistently refer to his son as "this child," but he also referred to himself as "the father" and to his wife as "the mother." Chen thus maintained a scientific tone of critical distance, even when describing his own actions and role. For instance, Chen wrote that on the 179<sup>th</sup> day, the child cried until his parents returned home at 9:00. There were, he feared, two possible explanations for the child's discomfort: "one, extreme hunger; two, the absence of those he most intimately loves."<sup>121</sup> With these two alternative explanations, Chen juxtaposed physical instincts and emotional needs. Because Chen completely erased any references to himself in an effort to remain as scientifically neutral as possible, he referred to his son's growing affection for him in tentative terms that belie a degree of anxiety.

The tension here between science and sentiment is reminiscent of the contradictions (noted above) that scholars have observed in Cai Yuanpei's dual goals of

<sup>117</sup> Plasticity was translated as *kexingxing* and educability as *kejiaoxing*.

<sup>118</sup> Chen Heqin, Beijingshi Jiaoyu Kexue Yanjiusuo ed., *Chen Heqin quanji* [Complete Works of Chen Heqin] (Jiangsu: Jiangsu jiaoyu chubanshe, 1987), 57. My translation.

<sup>119</sup> For the importance of the conflation of the individual and the collective, see comments about Schwartz and Glosser in the Introduction.

<sup>120</sup> Chen Heqin, "Ertong xinli zhi yanjiu," 兒童心理之研究 [Research on Child Psychology], reproduced in Beijingshi Jiaoyu Kexue Yanjiusuo 北京市教育科學研究所, *Jiaoyu wenji* 教育文集 [Educational Works of Chen Heqin] (Beijing: Beijing Shi Jiaoyu Kexue Yanjiu, 1983), 62. The precision of the exact time of birth also followed popular folk traditions about the importance of time of birth, down to the time of day, for a person's fate according to his or her "eight characters."

<sup>121</sup> My translation of: 這恐怕是兩種緣故，第一是飢餓，第二他不見了最親愛的人。Ibid, 68.

having Republican education adhere to both the discipline of “military training” and the child-centeredness of “childhood psychology.” However, “child-centered” child psychology was rooted in science. Child-centered and adult-centered goals overlapped in the minds of many child advocates.

Chen’s visual records tended to express, even more clearly than his textual notes, sentimental depictions of childhood because the visual image and captioning convey a unique discourse. In addition to his journal, Chen also collected and annotated a photograph as a visual supplement to his journals. Even though each photograph was titled, dated, and enumerated for scientific observation, many photographs captured the warmth of family affection. For example, one caption read, “Grandma loves to hold the baby,” and thus preserved a moment of family intimacy. Other annotations described the toddler’s play, celebrating his cognitive abilities and physical achievements at particular milestones.<sup>122</sup> The photographs had brief, scientific captions in *Child Psychology Research* (see Figure 8 in the Appendix), but the same photographs became much more sentimentalized in his book, *Family Education* (see Figure 9 in the Appendix).

With these photographs and scientific captions, Chen created a model or template for the creation of norms and normative growth. Despite obvious comparisons to Piaget and Darwin, Chen wrote that he was inspired by the examples of Preyer, Baldwin, Shinn, Moore, Dearborn, and Stern to write about childhood psychology.<sup>123</sup>

These photographs also help to indicate some of the problems with the representativeness of his sample selection. In *Family Education*, Chen used anecdotal information from his kindergarten to supplement his assertions about children’s “characteristics” or their affinity and orientation. For example, Chen noted that his son “likes to play outside,”<sup>124</sup> and a photograph of his son playing outside, alone, was included in his *Family Education* as an illustration. Photographs of solitary child did nothing to prove that all children, or even all Chinese children, enjoy these activities. Chen’s descriptions of what children *are* like are easily confused with proscriptions for what children *should* do—for instance, to play outside for health and fresh air. Chen’s evaluation of his son playing outside happened to coincide with the emphasis, in the 1920s and 1930s, that children should be “natural” and in “nature,” reinforced by colorful textbook pictures of female teachers who lead their kindergarten students outdoors for play.

Other members of the scientific community also self-consciously used Darwin’s model of family observation. In his 1929 educational survey, educational psychologist Ge Chengxun 葛承訓 also explicitly drew upon Darwin. For example, when introducing the subject of fear in childhood, the author referenced Darwin’s observations, as well as his own personal observations:

<sup>122</sup> For instance, his motor skills and ability to put things in his mouth, Chen Heqin, *Chen Heqin quanji* (Jiangsu jiaoyu chubanshe), 67.

<sup>123</sup> Chen Heqin, Preface, *Ertong Xinli zhi Yanjiu* 兒童心理之研究 [Child Psychology Research] (July 3, 1925) reproduced in Beijingshi Jiaoyu Kexue Yanjiusuo 北京市教育科學研究所, *Chen Heqin jiaoyu wenji* 陳鶴琴教育文集 [Chen Heqin’s Educational Works] (Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 1983).

<sup>124</sup> Chen Heqin, *Chen Heqin quanji* (Nanjing: Jiangsu jiaoyu chubanshe), 68.

Newborn infants actually have our collective responses of fear. For example, Darwin experimented with his four-and-a-half-month old son; he suddenly made a loud noise, and the child cried loudly. Three days after my son was born, he was sleeping when I banged a pot, and in his sleep he shirked in alarm.

出生的嬰兒確有集中恐懼的對象。如達爾文試驗他的四個半月的孩子，忽然作一個大聲他就噉哭。我的孩子生後三天，睡著的時候我用磁盤用力敲一下，他在睡中驚逃一回。<sup>125</sup>

Thus, Ge mentioned Darwin in order to introduce and justify the precedent of observing one's own children. Direct and close observation of children added legitimacy to the work of the social scientist. Although Ge Chengxun began each chapter by introducing examples from Western theories, he did not expect race to be the primary factor distinguishing Chinese society. For instance, when his findings differed from Western counterparts (because primary-school students in Zhejiang were more forgiving of bullies), he concluded that education and training were the most significant factors. Thus, despite the prevailing influence of Charles Darwin, Chinese intellectuals could also explain differences in terms of culture, rather than race.

Ge Chengxun and Chen Heqin were a part of the same community of educators. They worked together, and Ge was first author in a book that they published together. In the 1930s, Ge Chengxun would write a book, *Kindergarten Education*, which drew heavily on materials from charity organizations, as well as from Chen Heqin's Gulou Kindergarten. Despite their differences in interpretation, they were in the same community of intellectuals.

Chinese intellectuals placed research findings on childhood in a global context. As one psychologist Fei Jinghu wrote in an article about the "psychophysical development" of infants until the age of six months:

There is already not an insignificant amount of research on this topic in Europe and America. Some of the most famous examples are Dietrich Tiedemann,<sup>126</sup> Lobisch,<sup>127</sup> Sigismund [Sigmund Freud], [Adolf] Kussmaul,<sup>128</sup> [Charles] Darwin, William Preyer,<sup>129</sup> [Millicent Washburn] Shinn,<sup>130</sup>

<sup>125</sup> Ge Chengxun 葛承訓 *Ertong xinli yu xingwei* 兒童心理與興味 [Child Psychology and Interests] (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1929). My translation.

<sup>126</sup> Dietrich Tiedemann (1748-1803), *Tiedemann's Record of Infant-Life*, translated by Bernard Perez (Syracuse, NY: C. W. Bardeen, 1890). For information on Tiedemann, see "Tiedemann, Dieterich," *The Dictionary of Eighteenth-Century German Philosophers*, Continuum (n.d.); retrieved 2 Dec. 2012, from <http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199797097.001.0001/acref-9780199797097-e-0570>.

<sup>127</sup> Löbisch, J.E. *Entwicklungsgeschichte der Seele des Kindes* (Wien, C. Haas, 1851).

<sup>128</sup> "Kussmaul, Adolf," *The Oxford Companion to German Literature*, Oxford University Press (n.d.); retrieved 2 Dec. 2012, from <http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780198158967.001.0001/acref-9780198158967-e-3071>.

<sup>129</sup> William Preyer, *The Mind of the Child ... Observations Concerning the Mental Development of the Human Being in the First Years of Life* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1905). <http://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/008679568>. For the influence of Preyer and Shinn on education, see Ruth White *Methods and Techniques in Child Study as Employed by Charles Darwin, William Preyer and Millicent Shinn* (Berkeley: University of California, School of Education, 1936).

Mrs. Stanley Hall, and Mrs. Moore, who all used observation to research their own infants or those of others. In China, Chen Heqin was the first to conduct research on his son Yiming, and then Ge Chengxun researched his daughter Huiming. Afterwards, no findings have appeared.<sup>131</sup>

Like Chen, Fei then used information from these previous findings to draw his own conclusions. For Fei, each child was representative of its ethnic group, belying the tensions between the nationalistic claims and universalistic discourses about developmental paradigms that Andrew Jones has noted. Jones argued that Chinese intellectuals of the New Culture Movement charted childhood development as an analogy—and even a means—for evolutionary progress. Such examples provide context for seeing how Chen’s specific experiences in the United States colored the way he viewed the contribution of childhood psychology to racial self-strengthening. Chen then helped to formulate a new framework for early childhood education based on the indigenization of scientific principles.

#### SCIENTIFIC MOTHERHOOD

To gain a broader audience outside of academia (and in part because of his limited standing inside academia), Chen Heqin presented himself as a “child expert” for Chinese mothers. By the turn of the century in the United States, child observation had influenced not only established scientists, but also public intellectuals, called “child experts,” who used their studies to inform childrearing in terms of both physical and emotional growth. These child experts often used their academic credentials in order to gain credibility with mothers. The earliest child experts “envisaged mothers as their able collaborators in a data-gathering enterprise that had just begun.”<sup>132</sup> With the help of information collected from mothers, for example, L. Emmett Holt pioneered the field of pediatrics at the turn of the century in the United States and prescribed scientific schedules and formula milk for children. Holt was among the first of a long line of child experts who would try to inform and reform “scientific” motherhood in the United States.<sup>133</sup> His work was introduced to China in the 1920s by Chen, as well as others, through citations, summaries, and translations.<sup>134</sup>

<sup>130</sup> Milicent Washburn Shinn, “Milicent Washburn Shinn Papers 1889-1935,” Bancroft Library. Milicent Washburn Shinn, *Notes on the Development of a Child*, University of California Studies, v. 1. (Berkeley: The University, 1893). Milicent Washburn Shinn, *The Biography of a Baby* (Boston, New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1900).

<sup>131</sup> My translation. Fei Jinghu 費景瑚: “Jun Liugeyue de Shenxin Fazhan” 均六個月的身心發展 [“Six Months’ Observations of the Psychophysical Development of a Newborn Child”] (Original translation of title), *Xinli Banyuekan* 心理半月刊 [*The National Central Journal of Psychology*], 1.2 (June 1, 1934).

<sup>132</sup> Ann Hubert, 10.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

<sup>134</sup> L Emmett Holt (Huo’erte 霍爾特), Qu Xuanying 瞿宣穎, trans., *Yu’er wenda* 育兒問答 [Questions and Answers about Raising Children] (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1933). H.L. Yu 于化龍, “Ertong de Zongjiao Jiaoyu” 兒童的宗教教育 [Religious Education for Children], *Nü Qingnian*, 女青年 [“The Green Year”] 9.10 (December 1930): 12; reproduced in *Zhongguo jin xiandai nüxing qikan huibian*, 中國近現代

Likewise, Chen Heqin incorporated his scientific ideas into his popular parenting manual, *Family Education*. In contrast to his scientific journals, however, *Family Education* incorporated anecdotal information in an informal style of writing. In this volume, Chen drew heavily from the authority of personal experience, from both his own children and his kindergarten students. He evaluated these experiences through the lens of physical hygiene and mental health. In order to assert the novelty of scientific childrearing, Chen's childrearing manual aggressively criticized old-fashioned approaches. Chen claimed that "Fröbel was a revolutionary."<sup>135</sup> Like many other twentieth-century intellectuals, Chen assumed that traditional China had tried to mute the exuberance of childhood:

Our old-fashioned families often viewed children as "little adults." Not only do they put a lively child into long-sleeved mandarin gowns to restrict their movement, but they also tell children to imitate adults in every single movement. No wonder there are so many 'precocious' children in our country.

我們舊式家庭往往把小孩子當作“小成人”看待。既叫一個活潑好動的小孩子穿起長袖馬褂來以限制他的動作，又叫小孩子一舉一動要模仿成人的樣子。無怪國中多“小年老成”的孩子了。<sup>136</sup>

As Andrew Jones has noted, assumptions like these aligned somewhat with Aries's paradigm of traditional society as having viewed children as "miniature adults." Jones notes that for May Fourth intellectuals, "the scientific recognition of the child as a distinct epistemological entity entails nothing short of a 'Copernican Revolution' in the study of childhood psychology and education."<sup>137</sup>

This watershed discovery of childhood had political, as well as intellectual, implications. Communists, such as Shen Jianshi, wanted to subvert traditional power structures by organizing society around the "natural development" of children, but they overlooked the artificial construction of childhood.<sup>138</sup> Instead of learning about revolution from their students, progressive teachers often had to promote reform to their own elementary school students. For example, a prominent children's writer Ye Shengtao (葉聖陶 1894-1988),<sup>139</sup> recounted that a young teacher's survey found that 70% to 80% of his primary-school students voted that "children should always obey their parents." One student even responded, "Our parents gave us our lives, so we should obey them. Even if they told us to die, we should die. We should obey our fathers, and our

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女性期刊匯編 [Compilation of Chinese Modern and Contemporary Women's Journals] (Beijing: Xianzhuang shudian, 2007), 2212.

<sup>135</sup> Chen Heqin, "Youzhi jiaoyu de xin qushi" 幼稚教育的新趨勢 [New Trends in Childhood Education], originally published in *Jiaoyu Zazhi*, 19.2 (1927), republished in Ye Liqun, ed., *Chen Heqin jiaoyulun zhuxuan*, 陳鶴琴教育論著選 [Selections from Chen Heqin's Discourses on Education] (Beijing: Renmin jiaoyu chubanshe, 1994), 127. My translation.

<sup>136</sup> Chen Heqin, *Jiating Jiaoyu* 家庭教育 [Family Education]. My translation.

<sup>137</sup> Andrew Jones, "The Child as History," 725, footnote 36.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*, 708, footnote 27; Shen Jianshi, "Ertong gongyu" [Communal child-rearing], *Xin qingnian* 新青年 6.6 (January 1919): 635.

<sup>139</sup> For example, see Geremie R. Barmé, *An Artistic Exile: A Life of Feng Zikai (1898-1975)*, 140.

fathers should obey the emperor.” The young teacher sighed, “Alas, this child was even talking about the emperor; what could I say in response?”<sup>140</sup> Because Confucian ideology had long analogized service to the emperor and to the father, the overthrow of the emperor also had ramifications for the position of the patriarch and of the child.

As a political moderate, Chen wanted to soften the family patriarch, rather than to overthrow him. According to Chen, fatherhood should reflect new political and emotional values in modern China, and fathers should be modern “companions” rather than simply “old-fashioned” disciplinarians.<sup>141</sup> Because Chen emphasized making fathers less strict and mothers less permissive, his classmate Tao Xingzhi observed, “I can see that he has taught Yimin to feel that he has a maternal father, a sister-like father, but he [Chen] has never lost his fundamental role as a father.”<sup>142</sup> Chen contrasted his sibling-like relationship with his son with his painful memories of his “extremely strict” father.<sup>143</sup> Chen consciously used his personal autobiography as a rhetorical tool to make his case more compelling, much in the manner that contemporary Chinese women (or men writing on behalf of women) were publishing personal stories of victimhood for political reasons.<sup>144</sup>

Even though Chen criticized “old-fashioned” stern fathers, he maintained traditional parenting goals. He presented child psychology as a parenting tool for socializing and controlling children. Chen’s *Family Education* offered advice to parents about how to solve practical problems. He often spoke of “using this [particular insight in] psychology” to ameliorate children’s behavior. His parenting would benefit not only children, but also parents. For example, allowing children to play on their own would allow parents to rest. Likewise, Chen argued that placing children in kindergartens would prevent them from “pestering” parents.<sup>145</sup> Thus, for all of his affection and concern for children, Chen argued that good childrearing would lessen parental burdens and improve family life as a whole.

In his childrearing manual, Chen employed autobiographical detail and sentiment in ways that contradicted the scientific observation of his journals. In the captions to his photographs, Chen encouraged the reader to view children through a sentimental rather than scientific lens. As a caption to the text’s first photograph, one of his daughters in a garden, Chen writes, “Children are especially cute.” Another caption contained a common political message: “Today’s children are tomorrow’s citizens.” (See Figure 9.) These sentimental and political messages were unequivocal. The photographs often

<sup>140</sup> Ye Shaojun [Ye Shengtao] 葉紹鈞, Preface, Feng Sha 風沙, *Geinian Shaozhe* 給年少者 [For Youth] (Shanghai: Shanghai xian shi chubanshe, 1936), from Shanghai Municipal Library. My translation.

<sup>141</sup> My translation. Chen Heqin, *Jiating jiaoyu* [Family Education].

<sup>142</sup> My translation. Tao Xingzhi, “Yuan yu tianxia fumu gongdu zhi,” *Xin jiaoyu pinglun* 新教育評論 [New Discourses on Education], 1.2 (1925), Reprinted in Beijingshi Jiaoyukexue Yanjiusuo, eds., *Chen Heqin jiaoyu wenji*, 3.

<sup>143</sup> My translation. Chen Heqin, *Jiating jiaoyu* [Family Education].

<sup>144</sup> Christina Gilmartin, *Engendering the Chinese Revolution*, 20.

<sup>145</sup> Chen Heqin, “Youzhi Jiaoyu,” 幼稚教育 [Kindergarten Education], reprinted in Lü Jing 呂靜 and Zhou Guping 周谷平, eds., *Chen Heqin jiaoyu lun zhuxuan* 陳鶴琴教育論著選 (Beijing: Renmin jiaoyu chubanshe, 1994), 76. My translation.



served as proof that the children were happy with the childrearing methods described. Chen explained child psychology in terms of proclivities—what children naturally “like” to do, and how parents could use these proclivities to their own advantage. Despite the pejorative language about “long-sleeved gowns,” Chen did not combat the actual goals of training children to become scholars, for example. He simply asserted that the best path toward adult maturation was a playful and naturally “childlike” childhood. Thus, Chen allowed parents to maintain traditional goals while sentimentalizing children as innocent, rather than primal in a Darwinian sense.

Despite the tension between Chen’s observations as a father and as a scientist, he could nevertheless derive a sense of the importance of the family from his understanding of scientific evolution. The family as an organizational unit had evolved according to the needs of children. As Fiske wrote, “But with our half-human forefathers it is not difficult to see how infancy extending over several years must have tended gradually to strengthen the relations of the children to the mother, and eventually to both parents, and thus give rise to the permanent organization of the family.”<sup>146</sup> Fiske lauded the family as an advancement in civilization, and wrote that “Real monogamy, real faithfulness of the male parent, belonged to a comparatively advanced stage.”<sup>147</sup> Thus, a stance—popular among May Fourth intellectuals and college students—against concubinage adhered to a particular conceptualization of social Darwinism and Western notions of practical morality; male monogamy was a part of a new set of cultural values substantiating the ideology of the family. For Chen, the moral center of the family was the parent-child bond because it necessitated husband-wife monogamy.

Chen selectively translated texts of social Darwinism to justify his political support for the family. In the concluding paragraph of his work introducing Fiske and Chamberlain, Chen wrote:

As for the family, children have a very important status. First, in terms of the cohesive force of the family, a family with children is not easy to separate; if there are no children, then the likelihood of divorce more readily occurs. Second, if there are children, family life can spread happiness, without so much loneliness and monotony. Third, if there are children, the sympathetic sentiments in a family can develop, the spirit of sacrifice can be nurtured; mutual cooperation can thus grow. So, the period of childhood is important for the socialization of the family; it is also a resource for advancing the family, society, and culture.

對於家庭的方面，兒童的佔極重要的地位，第一鞏固家庭的團結力，家庭有了兒童就不容易分離；沒有兒童，離婚的問題，就容易發生了。第二有了兒童，家庭生活可以倍增快樂，不致孤苦無味。第三有了兒童，家庭間的同情心可以格外的發展，犧牲的精神因而得着培養；互助互愛的動作，也可因此養成。所以兒童期是一種家庭化和社會化的主要分子；也是一種改進家庭改社會和促進文化的原動力。<sup>148</sup>

<sup>146</sup> Fiske, 12-13.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid.

<sup>148</sup> Chen Heqin, “Youzhiqi zhi yi,” 幼稚期的意義 [The Meaning of Infancy] reproduced in: Beijingshi Jiaoyu Kexue Yanjiusuo 北京市教育科學研究所, ed., *Chen Heqin Quanji* 陳鶴琴全集 [Complete Works of Chen Heqin] (Nanjing: Jiangsu Jiaoyu Chubanshe, 1987), 60. My translation.

Like Fiske and Chamberlain, Chen valued childhood because of the function that it played in collective growth for species evolution and specific civilizations. Whereas his European counterparts could analyze the contribution that Western childhood *had* played in advancing civilization, however, Chen elevated the “status” of children in order *to promote* family reform. Chen quietly championed these family values when he took on leadership positions in both welfare and educational associations. Thus, Chen’s scientific and popular work was a part of a much larger agenda to increase the social status and legal position of children as a means to preserve the moral integrity and political viability of the “small family.” The “small family” was promoted by a relatively conservative group of middle-class reformers who saw the fragmentation of the extended family as a factor in, rather than as a consequence of, industrialization.<sup>149</sup> The sentimentalization of childhood helped to promote their particular vision of family and state.

#### “CHINESE” KINDERGARTENS

In 1920s, Chinese teachers wanted to create “indigenous” educational psychology and establish native Chinese kindergartens. In order to place Chen’s kindergarten in the context of other programs for children of that era, I will briefly compare it to two other institutions for children. First, as a result of his charity work with famine relief, Premier Xiong Xiling 熊希齡 (1870-1937) created the Fragrant Hills Orphanage. This “orphanage” (which operated as a poor children’s home) restricted and regulated children’s interaction with their relatives and parents because, Xiong explained, it would otherwise be hard to inculcate good habits in children. The Fragrant Hills Orphanage also opened a year-long class for nannies in the art of caring for small children.<sup>150</sup>

Second, on the opposite side of the socioeconomic spectrum, the elite Shung Tak Middle School for Girls 私立崇德女子初级中学, established by Southern Baptist missionaries, expanded their program by opening a kindergarten in 1920. They touted teatime, providing not just snacks, but training in proper etiquette and decorum.<sup>151</sup> Whereas poor children at Fragrant Hills cultivated moral and hygienic habits, wealthy children at the Shung Tak School acquired the cultural trappings of the elite.

<sup>149</sup> Susan Glosser, *Chinese Visions of Family and State*, 24-25.

<sup>150</sup> *Xiangshan Youzhiyuan chuangbanshi* 香山幼稚園創辦史 [The History of Establishing Fragrant Hills Kindergarten], compiled by Beiping Xiangshan Youzhiyuan dongshihui zhangcheng 北平香山慈幼院董事會章程 [Beiping Fragrant Hills Charity Home Board of Trustees] (Beijing: Fragrant Hills, 1933). *Xiangshan Ciyoyuan gaikuang* 香山慈幼院概況 [Situations of the Fragrant Hills Institution] (Beijing: Fragrant Hills, 1930). *Xiangshan ciyoyuan jin liunianlai jiaoyu jingguo ji gaige gaoshu* 香山慈幼院近六年來教育經過及改革報告書 [Last Six Years of Fragrant Hills Orphanage] (Beijing: Fragrant Hills, 1933). *Xiangshan Ciyoyuan ertong xili, laodong, zhijiafa* 香山慈幼院兒童習禮、勞動、治家法 [Fragrant Hills Orphanage Children’s Schedules, Labor, and Regulations] (Beijing: Fragrant Hills, 1933). *Xiangshan Ciyoyuan zi Zhonghua Minguo shiliunian qiye qizhi ershier nian qi yue shouzhi jingfei gaoshu* 香山慈幼院自中華民國十六年七月起至二十二年七月止收支經費總報告書 [Financial Reports of Fragrant Hills Orphanage, July 1927 to July 1933] (Beijing: Fragrant Hills, 1933). All of these were found in the Shanghai Municipal Library.

<sup>151</sup> Shanghai Municipal Archives Q235-1-043-668.

In contrast to these two schools, Chen's Gulou Kindergarten in Nanjing catered to the needs of middle-class teachers at Dongnan University.<sup>152</sup> Many of the first kindergartners were the children of teachers. Rather than challenge parental influence, the school deliberately fostered ties to families. Children performed in plays for parents, who viewed their artwork and school plays at parent-teacher conferences.<sup>153</sup> Nevertheless, Chen Heqin continued trends from the Qing to measure and monitor the growth of children, and he also educated the families about vaccines and other medical measures.<sup>154</sup> Children at Gulou Kindergarten enjoyed opportunities to play and garden outside, to take field trips, and to pet animals. Thus, the co-educational Gulou Kindergarten offered more robust and vigorous training than the Shung Tak School and less strict and regimented discipline than the Fragrant Hills Orphanage.

Chen's "experimental" kindergarten provided him with a basis for conducting educational experiments and publishing children's textbooks. Chen used his own home as the space for Gulou Kindergarten, and thus he continued his penchant to use materials from his private life as a platform for his career. Even though Chen's kindergarten seemed very American in terms of its goals and orientation (and even some of its staff), the school was nevertheless secular and Chinese. Chen presented himself as a racially and culturally distinct leader of Chinese kindergartens, in contrast to mission kindergartens, as an effort to create a native system of kindergartens.

Gulou Kindergarten provided Chen even more opportunities to research and to publish. Chen admitted that a "huge problem" with the Gulou Kindergarten was its reliance on "foreign goods."<sup>155</sup> Chen's comments are in keeping with scholar Susan Fernsebner's assessment that Chinese educational toys were especially promoted in the 1920s and 1930s because the kindergarten movement intersected with the "native-goods movement" to boycott foreign goods on patriotic grounds.<sup>156</sup> Educational toys were merely one tool in a larger philosophical and institutional program for the kindergarten movement. Chen reiterated concerns articulated earlier by the students at Peking Women's Normal School:

China has established kindergartens for several years now, but it still does not have a unified curriculum or textbooks. All kindergartens follow mission-school methods and tired Western precedents. If not directly mimicking Fröbel, [they] are directly mimicking Montessori. No one is willing to change anything, nor do they care how children take in these methods, whether or not it fits children's tastes, and the most laughable thing is that kindergarten instructors give up just as they are close to achieving these goals. It's as if they are forcing traditional methods by cutting off toes in order to fit the feet into ill-fitting shoes.

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<sup>152</sup> See Zhang Zonglin, *Youzhiyuan de yanbianishi*, 48.

<sup>153</sup> Chen Heqin, *Nanjing Gulou Youzhiyuan ertong shenghuo xiezhen* 南京鼓楼幼稚园儿童生活写真 [Nanjing Bell Tower Kindergarten Children's Lives and Photographs] (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1938), 78.

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*, 91.

<sup>155</sup> My translation. Chen Heqin, Lu Jing and Zhou Suping, eds., *Chen Heqin jiaoyu lun zhuxuan*, 73.

<sup>156</sup> Susan R. Fernsebner, "A People's Playthings: Toys, Childhood, and Chinese Identity, 1909–1933," *Postcolonial Studies* 6. 3 (2003): 269–293.

我國興辦幼稚園年歲也不少了，但是沒有一個課程，也沒有一些教材，所有的幼稚園都是宗法西洋成法，不是直抄福祿培爾就是直抄蒙台梭利，不肯自己加以變化，也不管兒童是否受納，是否適合兒童的脾胃，最可笑的就是捨棄近而易得的，若心的削足適履發球合於古法。<sup>157</sup>

Like the female students at Beijing Normal, Chen wanted to go beyond Fröbel and Montessori. They all felt that these precedents did not represent the most cutting-edge pedagogy, and that these foreign methods did not best suit Chinese students.

Chen developed educational materials on the basis of running and studying the Gulou Kindergarten. The curricula provided teaching materials about the kindergarten's garden, petting zoo,<sup>158</sup> and class pets.<sup>159</sup> The school encouraged children to observe changes in the flowers and trees from fall to spring. (See Figure 10, documenting the children drawing *en plein air*.) The kindergarteners also took field trips, such as to the post office, to learn about the way that letters work,<sup>160</sup> and went aboard a boat to learn about public transportation.<sup>161</sup> (As to be discussed in Chapter Six, despite the civic-minded nature of these public institutions, they would be condemned as bourgeois by critics in the 1950s.) Kindergarteners did homework that reinforced hygienic and bourgeois habits like brushing teeth.<sup>162</sup> They also commemorated Sun Yatsen in early March. Built into the curricula were discussions of diphtheria and vaccinations.<sup>163</sup> In November, the school ran medical examinations, and investigated the health situation of their home lives.<sup>164</sup> The questionnaire for parents asked about sleeping patterns, diet, and digestion—regular themes in Chen's parenting manual. The Gulou Kindergarten also invited parents to the school and offered regular performances. (See Figure 11 in the Appendix.)

Because of its publications, Gulou Kindergarten's curriculum was widely influential. These educational materials would provide *the* standard reference for kindergarten instructional materials for years to come.<sup>165</sup> Educators followed the example of Gulou Kindergarten in part because of Chen Heqin's contributions to institutional and governmental organizations. In 1926, Chen Heqin, Zhang Zonglin, and other prominent educators contributed immensely to the Republic of China's curricular standards for

<sup>157</sup> My translation. Chen Heqin, Lu Jing and Zhou Suping, eds., *Chen Heqin jiaoyu lun zhuxuan*, 67.

<sup>158</sup> Chen Heqin, *Nanjing Gulou Youeryuan ertong shenghuo xiezhen*, 138.

<sup>159</sup> *Ibid.*, 145, 230.

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.*, 118.

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid.*, 125.

<sup>162</sup> Chen Heqin, *Ertong zuowen keben*, lesson 3.

<sup>163</sup> Chen Heqin, *Nanjing Gulou Youeryuan ertong shenghuo xiezhen*, 91.

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.*, 58-59.

<sup>165</sup> For example, in 1942, the preface to a children's play manual, "on the one hand, drew from instructional material from the Nanjing Gulou Kindergarten," and on the other hand, incorporated some new innovations and research; the author noted that the book was a response to the difficulties of obtaining instructional materials. See Zhong Zhaohua 鐘昭華, *Ertong youxi 兒童遊戲* [Child Play] (Guilin: Huahua shudian, 1942), preface.

kindergartens.<sup>166</sup> These standards explain the goals and methods that teachers should use in the kindergarten curriculum. The main goals of kindergartens were to increase children's mental and emotional health, to facilitate children's happiness, and to assist parents in family education.<sup>167</sup> The focus on "family education" and mental and emotional health continued trends from the late Qing, explored in Chapter One, but the children's happiness emerged as a new focus.

In efforts to promote childhood play, the daily schedule of kindergartens should include play, work, and learning into its curricula. When Chen Heqin and Zhang Zonglin wrote *Kindergarten Curriculum*, they defined the modern kindergarten as different from old methods: every day, there should be cleanliness inspections, outside play, snack time, and naptime.<sup>168</sup> The curricular standards advocated naptime and quiet time, according to the Montessori Method, in a six-hour school-day.<sup>169</sup> According to the standards, play had various functions, including increasing motor skills (as educators had noted in the late Qing), as well as to serve as a method to introduce children to new ideas and information. For example, Chen and other authors of children's books described child play in terms of contact with nature,<sup>170</sup> but "observational research" of nature in parks also formed part of children's "general knowledge."<sup>171</sup> "Free play" and contact with nature differed from the military drill and organized sports that had been championed in the late Qing. (Although "playing soldier" continued in kindergarten books in the 1920s,<sup>172</sup> military drill and scouting were generally reserved for older students.) In addition to this new emphasis on child play, normal school psychology textbooks also noted that educators had a responsibility to develop the individuality and unique traits of each child.<sup>173</sup> Even though

<sup>166</sup> Contributors and editors included: Gan Mengdan 甘夢旦, Wu Yanyin 吳研因, Jin Haiguan 金海觀, Hu Shuyi 胡叔異, Yu Ziyi 俞子夷, Zhang Zonglin 張宗麟, Chen Heqin 陳鶴琴, Ge Liting 葛鯉庭, Yang Baokang 楊保康, and Jiang Xicen 蔣息岑. See Jiaoyubu 教育部 [Board of Education], *Zhonghua Minguo ershiwunian qiye jiaoyubu xiuzheng banxing: youzhiyuan xiaoxue kecheng biao zhun* 中華民國二十五年七月教育部修正頒行：幼稚園小學課程標準 [The Republic of China 1926 Kindergarten and Elementary School Curricular Standards] (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1926), especially "Youzhiyuan xiaoxue kecheng biao zhun bianding bing xiuzheng jingguo." 幼稚園小學課程標準編訂並修正經過 [After Compiling and Correcting the Kindergarten and Elementary School Curricular Standards (Preface)], 1.

<sup>167</sup> Ibid, "Youzhiyuan kecheng biao zhun" 幼稚園課程標準 [Kindergarten Curricular Standards], 1.

<sup>168</sup> Chen Heqin and Zhang Zonglin, *Youzhiyuan de kecheng* [Kindergarten Curriculum].

<sup>169</sup> Ibid, "Youzhiyuan kecheng biao zhun," 幼稚園課程標準 [Kindergarten Curricular Standards], 14, 16.

<sup>170</sup> For example, see "Luxing" 旅行 [Field Trip], *Ertong Shubao* 兒童書報, no. 22 (Shanghai: Commercial Press).

<sup>171</sup> *Zhonghua Minguo ershiwunian qiye jiaoyubu xiuzheng banxing: youzhiyuan xiaoxue kecheng biao zhun* 中華民國二十五年七月教育部修正頒行：幼稚園小學課程標準 [The Republic of China 1926 Kindergarten and Elementary School Curricular Standards] (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1926); and "Youzhiyuan kecheng biao zhun," 幼稚園課程標準 [Kindergarten Curricular Standards], 7.

<sup>172</sup> For example, see "Zuihou de shengli" 最後的勝利 [The Last Victory] *Ertong Shubao*, No. 23 (Shanghai: Commercial Press), and "Yidui xiaobing" 一隊小兵 [An Army of Little Soldiers (paper doll cut-outs)], no. 28. Military drill is also depicted as an innocent, sweet activity: *Ertong Shijie* 兒童世界 [Children's World], 18.20 (Issue 235) (November 13, 1926).

<sup>173</sup> Shifan Jiangxishe 師範講習社 [Normal-school Lecture Society] and Yang Jiachun 楊嘉椿, "Jiaoyubu shending: shifan jiangxi keyong: xinti xinlixue jiangyi" 教育部審定：示範講習科用：新體心理學講義

the kindergarten curricula included “work,” that course was defined by such activities as drawing, folding origami, playing with clay, and singing in performances.<sup>174</sup> Ultimately, however, the goal of “work” was to develop the habit of physical exertion, increase working capacity, and inculcate a spirit for community service.<sup>175</sup> Despite the emphasis on childhood happiness and play, schools helped to organize time and learning in ways that prepared children for future work.<sup>176</sup>

These standards included and promoted political and patriotic education in indirect ways. For example, musical training should include songs that about the national flag, patriotic stories, and folk tales.<sup>177</sup> Children should learn “General knowledge” that included information about history, geography, and citizenry rituals.<sup>178</sup> These regulations make explicit the patriotic goals and citizenship training in kindergartens and primary schools. Not only did kindergarten curricular standards presuppose a connection to the Chinese state, but they also posited kindergarten teachers as the intermediaries between child and state. For example, teachers surveyed students for bodily hygiene and health inspections.<sup>179</sup> These institutions helped to enforce new social customs regarding citizenship (such as bowing to the flag). Because most kindergartens were private, teachers needed to be reached through private publications, model kindergartens, and governmental regulations. As the founder of an influential and seminal kindergarten, Chen built institutions and professional associations to encourage standardized practices.

#### PROFESSIONALIZING EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION

Just as Chen sought to educate mothers through instruction on “Chinese” child psychology, he also wanted to professionalize teachers through institutions for Chinese children. Chen helped in 1926 to found the Chinese Educational Society, which aimed to “promote a professional spirit among educators,”<sup>180</sup> especially those in primary and kindergarten-education.<sup>181</sup> The Chinese Educational Society’s members were originally drawn from the Gulou Kindergarten, the Central University’s Experimental School, and

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[New Method Series: Lectures on Psychology: Approved by the Board of Education], (Shanghai: Commercial Press, first printing 1918, seventh printing 1932), 53.

<sup>174</sup> Zhonghua Minguo ershiwunian qiye Jiaoyubu zuzheng banxing: youzhiyuan xiaoxue kecheng biaoqun 中華民國二十五年七月教育部修正頒行：幼稚園小學課程標準 [The Republic of China 1926 Kindergarten and Elementary School Curricular Standards], (Shanghai: Zhonghua ahuju, 1926),

“Youzhiyuan kecheng biaoqun,” 幼稚園課程標準 [Kindergarten Curricular Standards], 11.

<sup>175</sup> Ibid., 9.

<sup>176</sup> In poor houses and work homes, children’s labor could make a material contribution and the goal was more explicitly training for work. See Janet Chen, *Guilty of Indigence*.

<sup>177</sup> Ibid., 2.

<sup>178</sup> Ibid., 7.

<sup>179</sup> Ibid., 8.

<sup>180</sup> “Zhonghua Ertong Jiaoyushe shezhang,” 中華兒童教育社社章 [Founding Chapter of the Chinese Children’s Education Society] reproduced in Chen Heqin, Chen Xiuying and Chen Yifei, eds., *Chen Heqin wenji*, volume 6, pp. 264-67.

<sup>181</sup> “Zhonghua Ertong Jiaoyushe Gaikuang (1932)” 中華兒童教育社概況 [General History of the Chinese Children’s Education Society], 268-70; originally broadcast over the radio in December of 1932, and published in *Ertong Jiaoyu* 4.10.

the Xiaozhai Normal School. However, by 1934, the Society expanded to include 1600 members. Chen emphasized the scientific goals of the organization, describing the Society as “a pure research organization that studies primary school, childhood education, and family education, and having an emphasis on practical problems concerning childhood education and providing practical reference materials for childhood education.”<sup>182</sup>

With the creation of a professional society, elementary-school and kindergarten teachers were able to publish and circulate their ideas. The Chinese Educational Society met annually during the 1930s to discuss different themes in childhood education. The Society published a periodical, *Children's Education* 幼稚教育, which was edited by the Gulou Kindergarten, as well as a series of books for and about children. *Children's Education* was later published by the Commercial Press, a major Shanghai publishing house.<sup>183</sup> Thus, the Chinese Educational Society provided Chen with a venue to publish his findings, textbooks, and curricula developed at the Gulou Kindergarten. Therefore, as if a belated response to Cai Yuanpei's announcement that the “new” form of education would “conform to childhood psychology,” the Chinese Educational Society published textbooks by teachers, like Chen, with training in child psychology. Furthermore, the society offered primary-school teachers opportunities for professional advancement by allowing some of its members to survey schools in Euro-America.<sup>184</sup> Just as educators had explicitly turned to Japan as a model in the late Qing, these educators deliberately pointed to Euro-American models in order to emphasize the modern and progressive nature of their new ideas. The Chinese Educational Society expressed the hope that these theories would reach the poor as well as the elite. Among the professional goals of the organization was to “push for progress in children's welfare services.”<sup>185</sup> As we will see in Chapter Four, child experts focused on childhood not only as a special field of study and knowledge, but also as a target of welfare and service.

#### CHINESE RECEPTION AND CHINESE “MINORITIES” IN SHANGHAI

Other kindergarten administrators and childhood theorists took the call for indigenization a step further. Wang Junsheng 王駿聲 returned from Japan to establish

<sup>182</sup> “Zhonghua Ertong Jiaoyushe Zhuxi Chen Heqin zai diwujie nian hui shang zhi kaimuci (1934)” 中華兒童教育社主席陳鶴琴在第五屆年會上之開幕詞 [Chairman of the Chinese Childhood Education Society Chen Heqin's Speech at the Opening Ceremony of its Fifth Annual Meeting (1934)], 261, originally published in October 5, 1934 in *Ertong Jiaoyu*.

<sup>183</sup> For more information about the Commercial Press, see Ka Kui Lee, “The Commercial Press of Shanghai and Its Dissemination of Knowledge and Formation of Culture in the Modern China, 1897-1949: From the Perspective of the Book History,” (Ph.D. dissertation, Chinese University of Hongkong, 2002).

<sup>184</sup> “Zhonghua Ertong Jiaoyushe Zhuxi Chen Heqin zai di wujie nian hui shang zhi kaimuci (1934)” 中華兒童教育社主席陳鶴琴在第五屆年會上之開幕詞 [Chairman of the Chinese Childhood Education Society Chen Heqin's speech at the opening ceremony of its Fifth Annual Meeting (1934)], originally published on October 5, 1934 in *Ertong Jiaoyu*; reproduced in Chen Heqin, Chen Xiuying, and Chen Yifei, eds., *Chen Heqin wenji*, volume 6, 261-62.

<sup>185</sup> “Zhonghua Ertong Jiaoyushe Shezhang,” reproduced in *Ibid*, 264-67.

kindergartens in Zhejiang.<sup>186</sup> The Preface to Wang's book, *Kindergarten Education*, was written by educational psychologist Zhu Zhaocui 朱兆萃 on the "Day Commemorating National Humiliation" in 1926. Zhu complained that the overwhelming majority of kindergartens in China had been established by foreigners; there were 156 mission kindergartens and only 27 public and 7 private Chinese kindergartens. Wang repeated Zhu's sentiment and cited Chen Heqin's 1924 report as the source of these statistics. Like other members of the Kindergarten Movement,<sup>187</sup> Wang traced the roots of the kindergarten to the West, but looked forward to its indigenization in China.

Although Chen Heqin's efforts could be seen within the larger movement to create "native" kindergarten institutions, he nevertheless faced criticism for the way he raised his children. In the Preface to the second (1924) edition of *Family Education*, Chen responded to charges of sexism and Western assimilation. Chen defended himself by arguing that his choice of documenting his son rather than his daughter, and of speaking English rather than Chinese at home, was a matter of circumstantial resources rather than preferential bias because Chen assumed that his children would pick up Chinese from their environment. Foreshadowing Pierre Bourdieu,<sup>188</sup> Chen assumed that the social *habitus* had more power to absorb than to be absorbed. The context of Chen's kindergarten curriculum, coupled with his assertions that he was paving new ground in "Chinese" child psychology, indicate an underlying assumption that that his children would always remain Chinese, no matter how they dressed or what language they spoke. Even though Chen had appropriated an American academic definition about the biological demarcation of race as a form of distinction, his audience was sensitive to the possibility of ethnic mimicry. Children could "become little foreigners." This critique would become symptomatic of the way that some Chinese intellectuals, like Wang Junsheng, responded to Chen's larger interactions with the foreign community, especially missionary educators.

Critiques of Chen indicate that his definitions of indigenization could appear ephemeral to people who did not share his understanding of racial distinctions. Within the parameters of studying the "Chinese" child, Chen rarely if ever made comparisons between Chinese and non-Chinese children; hence, it is difficult to pinpoint the way that Chen arrived at the "indigenous" within his work. Whereas local educators might gloss Filipino children as especially musical and responding well to a musically integrated curriculum,<sup>189</sup> for example, as a justification for local differences in using an especially music-oriented classroom, Chen defined the characteristics of childhood in much broader terms, which may hardly seem unique to the Chinese child. Instead, the innovations of his curriculum appear purely political. For example, Chen incorporated new political content,

<sup>186</sup> Wang Junsheng 王駿聲, *Youzhiyuan jiaoyu 幼稚園教育* [Kindergarten Education] (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1933).

<sup>187</sup> For example, see Zhang Zongling 張宗麟, *Youzhiyuan de yanbian shi 幼稚園的演變史* [The Evolutionary History of Kindergartens], (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1935).

<sup>188</sup> For example, Pierre Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), 53. See also Mathieu Hilgers, "Habitus, Freedom, and Reflexivity," *Theory & Psychology* 19 (December 2009): 733.

<sup>189</sup> For example, see the work of Jose Orata.



such as the commemoration of national leader Sun Yatsen. These revisions bespeak a distinct political environment rather than innate racial differences.

Because of his background and family values, Chen Heqin found the most receptive audience to be Chinese Christians and Western leaders who understood and accepted Chen's adaptation of American models and his definition of race-based Chineseness. While May Fourth intellectuals highlighted the differences between religion and science, Chinese Christians—in both China and in the United States—and foreign missionaries continued to emphasize the commonalities between Christianity, Confucianism, and progressivism.<sup>190</sup> For example, the Young Christian Women's Society journal, *The Green Year*, discussed issues about child psychology and childhood sexuality.<sup>191</sup> Chinese Christians couched discussions about Freud within a much larger context of sentimentalizing childhood and motherhood. The sentimentalization of childhood helped to mask the more unsavory aspects of Freud, just as it obscured the more unpleasant aspects of Darwin for Chinese audiences. This volume was also illustrated with paintings from the famous artist Feng Zikai 豐子愷 (1898-1975), who drew inspiration from his own children and promoted the sentimentalization of childhood and the Buddhist-Daoist and Mencian "child-like heart."<sup>192</sup> Thus, in both the journal and Chen's *Family Education*, illustrations depicted childhood in sentimental terms while the text analyzed children with a scientific lens.

Chinese Christians were interested in using child psychology, such as Chen's, for the purposes of religious education. In an article about religious education in *The Green Year*, Yu Hualong argued that all teachers and caretakers needed to understand childhood psychology in order to carry out God's will: "If instructors who guide children neglect the principles of child psychology, their work will betray God's purpose and go against the intentions of those who work with God."<sup>193</sup> Yu assumed that the readers of this

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<sup>190</sup> Shehong Chen notes that Chinese-American organizations during the exclusion era were dominated by merchant groups that had supported a republic form of government at home, but one that was compatible with both Christianity and Confucianism—thus differing from the May Fourth Movement in China. Shehong Chen, "Republicationism, Confucianism, Christianity, and Capitalism in American Chinese Ideology," in Sucheng Chan, ed., *Chinese American Transnationalism: The Flow of People, Resources, and Ideas Between China and America During the Exclusion Era* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2006), 174-193.

<sup>191</sup> In the 1920s, the YWCA was a progressive organization that welcomed indigenization and offered courses on contraceptives, childcare, etc. Elizabeth Little-Lamb argues that the YWCA provided a forum for elite Chinese women to articulate a sense of a specifically Chinese, modern woman. For more information, see Elizabeth A. Little-Lamb, "Going Public: The YMCA, "New" Women, and the Social Feminism in Republican China," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Carnegie-Mellon, 2002).

<sup>192</sup> See especially Geremie Barmé, "The Cult of the Child," *An Artistic Exile: A Life of Feng Zikai (1898-1975)*, 128-156. Barmé argues that Feng was artistically inspired by not only his children, but famous European painters like William Blake (156) and Jean-François Millet (148). Furthermore, his elegant paintings of children, published in well-crafted reproductions, were criticized by the Creation Society for overlooking issues of class (137). Like Chen Heqin, Feng Zikai drew on cultural ideas about the sentimentalization of childhood from the West without pointing to political and class issues about imperialism.

<sup>193</sup> My translation of: 指導兒童的教師，若果忽視兒童心理學的原理，那末，他們所作的指導，既是違背上帝的旨意，既與上帝同工的意思相反了。H.L. Yu 于化龍, "Ertrong de zongjiao jiaoyu," 兒童

YWCA journal would be more familiar with the principles of theology than with childhood psychology. She invested childhood experts and psychologists with great authority by asserting that their principles were necessary for religious maturation. Yu explained the children's qualities and characteristics at different ages, often by using the same vocabulary as Chen Heqin. Thus, the article drew upon Chen Heqin's descriptions of the "characteristics" of childhood.

Chen also supported Christian-influenced charity campaigns and organizations. In the early 1920s, as Chen was writing *Family Education*, he also sometimes lent his expertise in "Chinese child psychology" to the Child Labor Commission, a fact-finding mission aimed at abolishing child labor in Shanghai. Given the importance of the biological distinction of race, the Child Labor Commission felt the need to prove that Chinese children also required a Western-style childhood. For instance, one doctor noted "that from a medical point of view, he did not think that the question of employment of Chinese children differed from that of European children."<sup>194</sup> In a subsection titled, "In China as in England," the *North China Daily News* reported that the same objections to the abolition of child labor had also been posed in England. With the expertise of female factory inspectors from England,<sup>195</sup> the Child Labor Commission asserted that Chinese children, too, needed to learn and to play in schools, rather than to labor and to produce in factories. Thus, like Chen Heqin, the Child Labor Commission combined scientific and cultural definitions of childhood in an effort to reassess social discipline and family order.

Through his involvement with the foreign community in Shanghai, Chen developed both his administrative career and his intellectual views. Later, in the 1930s, Chen would become the Minister of Chinese Education in Shanghai's International Settlement. As Minister, Chen toured European schools, where he continued contacts with religious leaders whom he had met in China.<sup>196</sup> His ability to connect with Westerners was an important aspect of his career. Yet, he thought it was important that a Chinese man occupy positions of educational leadership. Chen oversaw the education of Han Chinese "minorities" (actually the racial majority) in Shanghai's International Settlement. Chen applied his experiences with minority Chinese children in the United States to "minority" Chinese children in the International Settlement. Harkening back to Booker T. Washington's model of racial self-strengthening as a model for Chinese self-improvement, Chen would later encounter severe criticism for the "racial self-strengthening" of schoolchildren in Shanghai.

## CONCLUSION

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的宗教教育 [Religious Education for Children], *Nü Qingnian* 女青年 ["The Green Year"] 9.10 (December 1930): 12; reproduced in "Zhongguo jin xiandai nüxing qikan huibian" 中國近現代女性期刊匯編 [Compilation of Chinese Modern and Contemporary Women's Journals], (Beijing: Xianzhuang shudian, 2007), 2212.

<sup>194</sup> Ibid.

<sup>195</sup> "The Factory Worker in Shanghai," *North China Daily News*, 14.

<sup>196</sup> Chen Heqin, translated into Chinese by Chen Yifei, "Ouzhou jiaoyu kaocha baogao," 歐洲教育考察報告 [Survey Report on European Education]; Reproduced in Chen Heqin, Chen Xiuying, and Chen Yifei, eds., *Chen Heqin wenji*, volume 6, pp. 178-200.

Today, contemporary Chinese scholars recognize Chen's efforts to "make indigenous and scientific the field of childhood education."<sup>197</sup> This scholarly assessment closely follows Chen's own understanding of his work. Chen was influenced by racial analysis in the scholarly works and ethnic differences in school institutions in the United States of his era. He also returned to an environment that welcomed his contributions to the understanding and institutionalization of a specifically Chinese childhood education. By the 1920s, Chinese educators had begun to turn away from Japanese-German models and to argue more critically for establishing their own styles of modern education. Although Chen never became as celebrated as his friend Tao Xingzhi, he also successfully tapped into these prevailing trends to "indigenize" education through social action. The very idea of "indigenization" helped justify the positions of leadership that he assumed in educational administration. Chen found a niche in childhood education, allowing him to take on many roles: academic scholar, institution builder, and child expert for popular audiences.

Despite his commitment to academic research, Chen couched his findings in ways that would promote a political agenda. Chen wanted to elevate the political and social status of the child and to maintain the political and social viability of the family. The child could become the glue for the stability of the family, especially if the child were valued and sentimentalized. Chen directly obfuscated scientific views of childhood that challenged sentimentalization—even the tensions in his own journal—in order to promote a picture of innocence in the family and its potential for the nation.

Even though Chen and others wanted to "reform" the family patriarch, in part by supplementing "family education" with kindergarten curricula, he did so primarily to support the institution of the family during a period of radical attacks on family institutions. For example, the radical Sichuanese anarchist Zhang Lūqian 張履謙, who wrote under the pen name Qiande, proclaimed:

Everyone knows that the unit of society is not the family, but the foundation lays in the economic organization of production and specialization; yet, even today social scientists and socialists still rely on a belief that the unit of social organization is the family (however, they emphasize the small family [often called the nuclear family] and only oppose extended and clan families). They have really overlooked the phenomenon of women "leaving the kitchen and entering the factory," and homes have simply become like hotels. They fundamentally do not understand social organization.

誰也知道，社會組織的單位，不是家庭，而是濟處于生產與經濟組織，然而到現今的社會學者和社會主義者，他們還依然的相信社會的組織單位是家庭（不過是主張小家庭制，反對家族和氏族制的家庭組織罷了），這真是他們忽視了婦女們由“廚房到工廠”的社會事實，家庭變成了旅館等的事例，而且根本的不了解社會組織。<sup>198</sup>

<sup>197</sup> Li Xuan 李瑄, *Chen Heqin yu zhonghuohua, kexuehua de ertong jiaoyu* 陈鹤琴与中国化，科学化的儿童教育 [Chen Heqin on the Sinification and Science of Child Education], *Haidian Xueyuan* 邯郸学院 *Journal of Haidian College* 15.2 (2005).

<sup>198</sup> My translation. Zhang Lūqian 張履謙, *Funü yu shehui* 婦女與社會 [Women and Society], (Shanghai: Shanghai guangming shuju, 1929), 9. For more information on Zhang Lūqian, see Rachel Hsu's forthcoming study. Thanks to Professor Hsu for identifying Zhang.

Social scientists looked upon the movement “from kitchen to factory” with great alarm, precisely because they wanted to buttress the family as the basic social unit and as the child’s home environment. Factory reform represented a different sort of challenge and opportunity not only for radicals like Zhang, but also for reformers like Chen, who was called in as an expert for a special study on child labor in the early 1920s. The next chapter will explore the movement to abolish child labor in the International Settlement of Shanghai, where modernized charity organizations (with representation of “indigenous” leadership) used the investigation of children to mask its coordination of larger, intersecting motives for institutionalizing discipline.

**CHAPTER THREE**  
**THE PRODUCTION OF DISCIPLINE:**  
**“SHANGHAI’S CHILD LABOR PROBLEM,” 1922-1925**

Beginnings always have a unique interest for students of social evolution. The Child Labor Commission of Shanghai is such a beginning, and to its report, just issued, historical investigators of the future will turn to study an ambitious attempt to protect Chinese children from the evils of work during the very early formative years of childhood.

-- *The Chinese Economic Monthly*, September 1924

In a global moment of crisis in the 1920s, Christians and industrialists in Shanghai attempted to counter the possibility of an international labor revolution with their own efforts for reform. They found common ground in the issue of child labor. International Christian associations coordinated with the Shanghai Municipal Council and local business organizations to push their agenda to remove infants and children from factories. These international trends and local concerns for childhood protection converged at a specific moment of industrialization in Shanghai,<sup>1</sup> when child labor in silk filatures was still profitable and when infant breastfeeding on factory floors was still tolerated.

In 1922, both Christians and Communists held separate conventions in Shanghai that addressed the issue of female and child labor in China. Spurred by prominent Christians, the Shanghai Municipal Council authorized the independent Child Labor Commission to investigate the problem of child labor in the foreign-controlled International Settlement of Shanghai. However, by the summer of 1925, the labor violence of the May Thirtieth Movement and the failure of the Child Labor Bylaw vanquished hopes for promoting the humanitarian reform of labor relations.<sup>2</sup>

According to humanitarian reformers, children belonged in crèches and preschools rather than factories, and the movement to abolish child labor was deeply connected to the movement to establish institutions for early childhood socialization. Since the late Qing, Chinese had resisted placing children in the control of foreign missionaries, and legislation might push infants and children into Christian daycare institutions. In contrast to Christian promotion of religious education, factory owners were more concerned with female workers than child laborers; they favored skilled technicians over child labor and factory discipline over family production. By abolishing child labor, state economists sought to protect, and improve adult labor markets and regulate private factory conditions. Sending infants and children to institutions would free women from childcare duties, and factories would thus benefit from greater factory

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<sup>1</sup> S.A. Smith, *Like Cattle and Horses: Nationalism and Labor in Shanghai, 1895-1927* (Durham: Duke UP, 2002). CCP labor union organizers in Henan worked with many of the same issues as the Child Labor Commission. Because the Yufeng Cotton Mill in Zhengzhou employed many women and children who worked twelve-hour shifts, the labor union fought for shorter days and longer rest periods. See Ordoric Wou, *Mobilizing the Masses: Building Revolution in Henan* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1994), 26.

<sup>2</sup> Lucius Chapin Porter, *China's Challenge to Christianity* (New York: Missionary Education Movement of the United States and Canada, 1924), xvii.

discipline and government regulation. These theories, however, only represented an ideal benefit that could be gained if everyone mandated the abolition of child labor, and only a few corporations willingly implemented reform in the absence of a universal enforcement of the law.

The Child Labor Report provides only a small glimpse of factory conditions from 1923 to 1925, but indicates the reasons reformers attempted to abolish child labor and mandating school institutionalization.<sup>3</sup> The Commission lobbied to convince businesses, the Municipal Council, and the Peking government to prohibit children from working in factories. However, while government offices wanted greater access to inspect factories, and businesses wanted greater control over factory discipline, and missionary groups wanted to provide (on a voluntary basis) charity preschools and kindergartens. The Child Labor Commission represented an attempt, on the part of Christians, to transition from traditional charity to professionalized welfare for children—to turn to public authorities rather than merely private resources and to ally with multiple organizations rather than merely individual establishments.<sup>4</sup> The failure of the Child Labor Bylaw should also be attributed in part to taxpayers' unwillingness to fund the daycare centers and kindergartens.

Contemporary commentators and later historians, in both China and the West, blamed the failure of the 1925 Bylaw on the rise of Chinese nationalism in opposition to Western exploitation.<sup>5</sup> However, this narrative overgeneralizes foreign economic imperialism and Chinese nationalistic reactions. By contrast, the Child Labor Report and its critics recognized important nuances, in terms of gender and age, in worker exploitation. These nuances were later subsumed by the overarching importance of Chinese nationalism. Even at the time, Chinese nationalism also had important ramifications for changing the organization of humanitarian relief. The Child Labor Commission was a self-consciously diverse organization, with Chinese representation. The failure of the Bylaw helped to prove that Chinese representation was not enough; these organizations needed Chinese leadership.

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<sup>3</sup> Knowledge of historical labor conditions is often mediated through the lens of reform movements. See Dipesh Chakrabarty, "Conditions for Knowledge of Working-Class Conditions: Employers, Government and Jute Workers of Calcutta, 1890-1940," in Ranajit Guha and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, eds., *Selected Subaltern Studies* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988).

<sup>4</sup> In the late 1880s, Christians had used transnational networks for premillennial evangelism, but by the 1920s, a new era of more secularized Christian transnational philanthropy had begun; see Ian Tyrrell, *Reforming the World: The Creation of America's Moral Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010), 73. Tyrrell argues that the organizations thought of as purely American were really transnational, but that American exceptionalism ironically allowed such organizations to argue for greater American interventionism in foreign countries; see for example, Tyrrell, 237. For gender and the professionalization of charity organizations in the United States, see Linda Gordon, *Heroes of Their Own Lives: The Politics and History of Family Violence—Boston, 1880-1960* (University of Illinois Press, 2002). Gordon argues that poor women used charity organizations as leverage within traditional family systems.

<sup>5</sup> For example, see Porter, *Industrial Reformers*, xv. In 1927, Robert T. Pollard argued that child labor was a factor in the rise of Chinese nationalism (854); see Robert T. Pollard, "The Economic Background of China's National Movement," *The American Political Science Review* 21.4 (November 1927): 853-57.

In this chapter, I explain some of the ramifications of the movement to abolish child labor as an innovation in childhood protection services in the 1920s. By examining this historical moment, we can see not only a diverse set of political groups and institutions rallying around the issue of protecting children, but also how these organizations influenced later Communist critiques and reforms. In the 1920s, some Communist intellectuals “misinterpreted” the Child Labor Report in ways that would support the CCP platform of mobilizing female and youth labor. The Chinese Communist Party focused on raising the class-consciousness of youth workers, whereas the Child Labor Commission focused on protecting and educating infants and young children. According to Communists, economic imperialists exploited Chinese workers, but the Municipal Council pointed to environmental hygiene (requiring worker compliance with industrial discipline) as among the most immediate threats to worker safety.

Despite the vociferous Communist criticism of the Child Labor Commission, the People's Republic of China during the 1950s would adopt many of its general policies. Like the Child Labor Commission, the People's Republic of China tried to shift from traditional charity to professional welfare for childhood protection in the 1950s. In some ways, the policies of the government in the 1950s were a reversal of the platform of the Chinese Communist Party in the 1920s. Even though the Chinese Communist Party had supported workers who wished to bring infants to factories in the 1920s, the government in the 1950s removed infants and children from industrial production to new factory crèches. Cynics may argue that the CCP upon assuming power was merely adopting theories of state modernization. However, the government still echoed 1920s critiques of the business of exploitation and the culture of charity among Christians. Communists objected to “charity,” but accepted the idea of childhood protection. Thus, I argue that the Child Labor Report played a role, often overlooked, in reinforcing and reorienting some Communist assumptions about childhood protection.

#### INVESTIGATING CHILD LABOR: INTERNATIONAL PRESSURE AND LOCAL INTEREST

The 1920s witnessed a confluence of attention on childhood and industry in political, religious, and business circles around the world. In the aftermath of World War I,<sup>6</sup> international agencies used diplomatic channels to address children's welfare.<sup>7</sup> The International Labor Organization (ILO) issued idealistic labor guidelines in 1919, including the “Recommendations for Special Countries” like China (although developed

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<sup>6</sup> Ellen Boucher argues that the experiences of the Great War helped to galvanize transpacific efforts for child welfare. “Defining International Responsibility: Media, the State, and the Origins of the Save the Children Fund,” *Society for the History of Childhood and Youth*. See also Ellen Boucher, “The Limits of Potential: Race, Welfare, and the Interwar Extension of Child Emigration to Southern Rhodesia,” *Journal of British Studies* 48. 4 (October 1, 2009): 914–934.

<sup>7</sup> Dominique Marshall, “The Construction of Children as an object of International Relations: the Declaration of Children's Rights and the Child Welfare Committee of the League of Nations,” *International Journal of Children's Rights* 7 (1999): 103–47.

countries like the United States also lacked national child labor laws).<sup>8</sup> In 1920, the ILO directly sent a letter urging the Peking Government,<sup>9</sup> as a member of the League of Nations, to regulate labor conditions.<sup>10</sup> Recognizing the Peking Government's difficulties in dealing with foreign concessions and tariff autonomy, the ILO applauded the Peking Government's Provincial Regulations, passed by the Bureau of Commerce and Industry of the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce, in 1923.<sup>11</sup> Despite this praise, Western commentators at the ILO criticized the vagueness of these regulations.<sup>12</sup> Indeed, the Peking (Beiyang) Government lacked the political legitimacy to enforce the Constitution of 1923, and the regime would be overturned by 1924.<sup>13</sup> Such global humanitarianism directly informed child labor activism in Shanghai, because international organizations responded enthusiastically to the Child Labor Commission and exerted pressure on the Chinese government to abolish child labor.<sup>14</sup>

In spite of the futility of the labor guidelines, the introduction of ILO definitions of youth had important ramifications for new Chinese perspectives on the subject. As a member of the League of Nations, the Peking Government incorporated, almost point-by-point, ILO recommendations into its own regulations. The regulations included terms that the Peking Government could not possibly enforce, about maternity leave and the abolition of child labor, as well as safeguards for apprentices and youth workers under the age of eighteen.<sup>15</sup> Nonetheless, these regulations dovetailed nicely with Communist definitions of youth as they were defined in the agenda of the Chinese Communist Party's 1922 convention.<sup>16</sup> The ILO category of youth labor also resonated with May Fourth leaders' definitions of "new youth." Because the CCP sought to raise class-consciousness rather than offering humanitarian aid, the category of youth worker was useful for its purposes. Whereas the Child Labor Commission focused on the relatively

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<sup>8</sup> "Labor Conditions and Labor Regulation in China," *International Labor Review* 10.6 (July 1923), 1010.

<sup>9</sup> For more information on the Peking Government, see Andrew Nathan, "A Constitutional Republic: The Peking Government, 1916–28," in *Republican China 1912–1949*, edited by John Fairbank, 256–283.

<sup>10</sup> "Labor Conditions and Labor Regulation in China," *International Labor Review* 10.6 (July 1923), 1010. (*ILR* cites the Washington Conference's Stenographic Record, 231.)

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 1011–1027.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 1026–1027. See also Thomas C. Blaisdell and C. C. Chu, *Peking Rugs and Peking Boys: a Study of the Rug Industry in Peking* (Peking: Chinese Social and Political Science Association, 1924), 2.

<sup>13</sup> William Tung, *The Political Institutions of Modern China* (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1964), 79.

<sup>14</sup> Augusta Wagner lists these supporters in *Labor Legislation in China*, (Peking: Yenching UP, 1938), 88–89; Wagner cites *Toward the Regulation of Child Labor in Shanghai*, Bulletin no. 1, p. 60. Many supporters included anti-child labor activists abroad, like Mary Anderson (director of the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor) and Grace Abbott (head of the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor) in the United States, but some business interests, like the New Zealand Chamber of Commerce, might have wanted to create equal conditions for the labor market. On page 113, Kotenev reprints the entire letter from Miss Dorothy E. Evans, secretary of British Section of the Women's International League, London, to Mr. ESB Rowe, secretary of the Municipal Council on February 24<sup>th</sup>, 1925.

<sup>15</sup> See also Robin Porter, *Industrial Reformers*, 24.

<sup>16</sup> "Zhongguo Gongchandang jiaru disan Guoji Jueyi An" 中國共產黨加入第三國際決議案 [On China Entering the Third International]. By pointing to examples of the international Communist youth like the Berlin Conference, the delegates implied that youth should follow a model of Communist mobilization.



young infants and child laborers, the CCP vacillated in its usage of the terms “child workers” and “youth workers” (as a relatively older group that would include apprentices).<sup>17</sup> The CCP targeted the “new youth”<sup>18</sup> who had emerged as a viable political force with the May Fourth Movement.<sup>19</sup> In keeping with the CCP’s focus, the 1923 Provisional Industrial Regulations, issued by the Peking Government, also called for the creation of a special category of “youth workers” entitled to specific rights.<sup>20</sup> The Peking Government’s category of “youth workers” thus dovetailed with Communist efforts to raise solidarity and consciousness among youth workers in its 1922 Conference.

By contrast, business interests opposed using the category of “youth workers” even while agreeing to prohibit “child labor.”<sup>21</sup> Chinese silk manufacturers had been

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<sup>17</sup> “Guanyu Shaonian Yundong wenti de jueyi an” 關於少年運動問題的決議案 [Decisions Concerning the Youth Movement], originally published in *Xiangdao*; republished in Tuanzhongyang qingyundongshi yanjiushi 團中央青運動史研究室, Zhongyang Danganguan, ed., 中央檔按館 Central Archives, ed.,] also appears in *Zhonggong Zhongyang qingniantuan yundong wenxian xuan bian (yijiuyinian qiuyue—yijiui sijiunian jiu yue* 中共中央青年運動文件選編 (一九二一年七月—一九四九年九月) [Edited Documents of the National Central Youth Movement from July 1921 to September 1949] (Beijing: Zhongguo Qingnian chubanshe, 1988).

<sup>18</sup> At this time, the Chinese Communist Party wanted to consolidate power and organize cells along hierarchical lines. Hans J. Van de Ven and University of California, Berkeley, *From Friend to Comrade: The Founding of the Chinese Communist Party, 1920-1927* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991). Because the dominance of the Communist Party was paramount, the delegates argued that the Chinese Socialist Youth League, while remaining independent, should be subordinate to the Chinese Communist Party. The Chinese Communist Party followed several policies to reinforce its control over the Socialist Youth League. First, it dictated the League’s leadership. Second, it restricted League membership in terms of age. The Communist Party noted that many of the members of the Socialist Youth League were “not true youth.” The CCP wanted to “make the Socialist Youth League young” and stipulated that members should not stay in the League after they turned twenty or at most twenty-five. By making this stipulation, the CCP encouraged League members to join the CCP, thus expanding its own membership. Furthermore, by mandating that members graduate from the League into the Party, the CCP ensured that the League would remain limited to a transitional group of young people who could not develop into a fully mature, rival organization. Almost as a byproduct of the process of subordinating the Socialist Youth League, the Chinese Communist Party defined “youth” in precise terms. In a letter to the Socialist Youth League, Chen Duxiu and Lin Yunan complained that it had yet to make itself youth and urged the organizations to investigate its members. Thus, League members should enter the party as soon as possible. The Chinese Communist Party, called CP or 種英 in communications, sent copies of journals like *New Youth* to the Socialist Youth League. See Tuanzhongyang qingyundongshi yanjiushi 團中央青運動史研究室, Zhongyang Danganguan, ed., 中央檔按館 Central Archives, ed.,] *Zhonggong Zhongyang qingniantuan yundong wenxian xuan bian (yijiuyinian qiuyue—yijiui sijiunian jiu yue* 中共中央青年運動文件選編 (一九二一年七月—一九四九年九月) [Edited Documents of the National Central Youth Movement from July 1921 to September 1949] Beijing: Zhongguo Qingnian chubanshe, 1988), 16.

<sup>19</sup> Vera Schwarcz, *The Chinese Enlightenment: Intellectuals and the Legacy of the May Fourth Movement of 1919* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 61-62.

<sup>20</sup> See also Robin Porter, *Industrial Reformers*, 24.

<sup>21</sup> “Yihe shachang duiyu zhanxing gongchang tongze zhi yijian” 怡和紗廠對於暫行工廠通則之意見 [Thoughts Concerning Jardine Matheson Textile Factory’s Provisional Regulations] *Fangzhi Shibao* 紡織時報 [Textile Times] 69 (1924), in the Fudan University Library. Wang Genying, born in 1906, became a

pushing to removing infants from factory floors since at least 1914, when an article in *China's Business World* claimed that ten should be set as the appropriate minimum age of workers.<sup>22</sup> In the 1920s, Chinese industrialists influenced the Child Labor Commission to change its minimum age from thirteen to ten. Wanting to enforce factory discipline rather than empower young workers, these silk manufacturers objected to the age standards and terms of the Peking Government's 1923 labor guidelines, even while elsewhere asserting that they would comply with Chinese national regulations (and thus abnegating the need for the International Settlement's reforms) in their own companies in the International Settlement.<sup>23</sup> The textile companies disagreed with the Government's labeling of adolescent workers below the age of eighteen as "youth workers" as inconsistent with traditional Chinese categories of childhood.<sup>24</sup> In contrast, Chinese textile manufacturers praised the prohibition of workers under the age of ten because the result will be "greater safety and happiness." Like the Child Labor Commission, textile manufacturers aligned factory safety with childhood "happiness." Thus, the article implies that textile management shared the CLC's sensibilities about childhood safety and happiness, but wanted to suppress the Western definition of an extended adolescence because, in the Chinese context, it would lend credibility to the Communist empowerment of "youth workers."<sup>25</sup>

Despite long-standing interest among textile manufacturers (and their presence on the Child Labor Commission), humanitarian women were the most visible and vocal members of the organization. The CLC arose from the social service concerns of women's organizations.<sup>26</sup> The Joint Women's Federation of China pushed for reform because the "social service" organs of these women's organizations were especially interested in the issue of women's and children's welfare in a rapidly industrializing city.<sup>27</sup> Because silk filatures were overrun with little girls, these female philanthropists had a gendered interest in abolishing child labor. Journalist Cheng Wanzheng worked for the YWCA and published about the CLC in Chinese-language YWCA journals. Dr. Mary

child laborer in the company at the age of 8, but was educated in a Communist party school and became an agitator.

<sup>22</sup> Yong Sheng 庸生, "Gongchang baohufa zhi yanjiu jiqi shishi" 工廠保護法之研究及其事實 [Industrial Protection: Research and Implementation] *Zhonghua Shiyejie* 中華事業界 [Chinese Business World] (July 10, 1914), in Fudan University Library.

<sup>23</sup> "Letters from the Chinese Cotton Mill Owners' Association and the General Chamber of Commerce of Shanghai," in Shanghai Municipal Archives, U1-3-2195.

<sup>24</sup> "Youth workers" is my translation of *youtong gongren*. "Provisional General Factory regulations" (March 29, 1923) reproduced and translated in Lin Tung-hai, *The Labour Movement and Labour Legislation in China* (Shanghai: China United Press, 1933), 125.

<sup>25</sup> Some companies were willing to implement the Japanese practice of apprenticing teenaged girls, who were "not yet of age," i.e., *weichenggong*.

<sup>26</sup> Anderson reported that women were moved to action because of their medical service for child workers who had experienced industrial accidents; see Anderson, 26-27. See also Elizabeth Littell-Lamb, "Caught in the Crossfire: Women's Internationalism and the YWCA Child Labor Campaign in Shanghai, 1921-1925." *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 32.3 (2011): 134-166.

<sup>27</sup> Anderson, 31.

Stone, a famous medical missionary, lent credibility to the CLC. Song Meiling (Soong Mei-ling), the daughter of a wealthy businessman and a graduate of Wellesley College, served as secretary for the CLC.<sup>28</sup> After Song married Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, she became an important force in raising international funds for child welfare during the war.<sup>29</sup> (See Chapter Five.) This new generation of indigenous leaders—some trained in the US, and aided and accompanied by foreign experts—represented a new direction in Christian charity work.

In China, the Christian movement against child labor arose from its charity work among women and children, but represented a new approach to Christian intervention in child protection. Foreign missionaries had experienced resistance when trying to gain direct access to Chinese children. In response to anti-Christian sentiment, culminating in the anti-Christian violence of the Boxer Uprising in 1900, foreign missionaries increasingly relied on Chinese leadership and interdenominational cooperation. The 1922 National Christian Council drew unprecedented numbers of Chinese Christians from different Protestant denominations, and the meeting reflected a surge of missionary hope regarding the indigenization of Western values and the cooperation between potentially contentious groups—not only between Chinese and foreigners, but also between labor and management. For example, in a lecture during the meeting, prominent businessman C.C. Nieh (Nie Yuntai) argued that it was prudent during a time of global labor unrest for businesses and the state to regulate labor.<sup>30</sup> The National Christian Council brought together business and religious interests. With this coalition, the YMCA and the Joint Women's Charity Organization pressured the Municipal Council to form the Child Labor Committee in 1923. From the perspective of Western Christians, the Child Labor Committee successfully brought together six prominent businessmen and four community activists, as well as equal numbers of Chinese and Westerners. A tone of confident (if naïve) optimism permeated letters from YWCA leaders who advised the Head of the Municipal Council on the political art of aligning a broad-based coalition.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Later, as the wife of Chiang Kai-shek, Soong heavily patronized orphanages and children's welfare. Her sister Soong Qingling was in Canton and first welcomed Anderson to China. See Adelaide Mary Anderson, *Humanity and Labor in China: An Industrial Visit and Its Sequel (1923 to 1926)* (London, Student Christian Movement, 1928), 44-47.

<sup>29</sup> Yang Kaihui 杨开慧 became a member of the Socialist Youth League in 1920 before joining the Chinese Communist Party in 1921; in 1923, she moved to Shanghai, where she taught at a night school for working women. Yang also married Mao Zedong, so it just so happened that the wives of Mao Zedong and Chiang Kai-shek worked to improve Shanghai labor conditions in the early 1920s.

<sup>30</sup> See C.C. Nieh, "The Report of the Committee on the Church and China's Economic and Industrial Problems," Minutes of the National Christian Council, 461-62. The National Christian Council reported that CC Nieh and HY Moh were already introducing changes to labor policies in their Shanghai cotton mills (Minutes of the National Christian Council (1922), 168; Online Archive [www.archive.org](http://www.archive.org) accessed June 2010). Some companies had their own welfare departments; see James Chuan (Manager of Chin Ch'eng Bank, Peiping), "The Vocation," in William Hung, ed., *As It Looks to Young China; Chapters by a Group of Christian Chinese* (New York: Friendship Press, 1932), 82.

<sup>31</sup> Letter, Agatha Harrison to H.C. Simms (November 24, 1922), in Shanghai Municipal Archive U1-3-2195.

Christian missionaries campaigned against child labor to curb intense anti-Christian sentiment among Chinese intellectuals. The abolition of child labor gave the Christian Church a “unique opportunity” to reclaim the position of progressivism during the early stages of China’s industrial development. Missionaries had witnessed Chinese interest in Western learning grow alongside a concurrent disdain for Christian evangelism. Young Chinese intellectuals accepted missionary critiques of Chinese social practices (such as footbinding and concubinage), but then proceeded to even more radically denounce the traditional Chinese family.<sup>32</sup> Nevertheless, given its connections to the Municipal Council and business interests, the Child Labor Commission represented a moderate mediation between business and the state, rather than between Christians and radicals.

Yet, the National Christian Council hoped that a progressive platform of industrial welfare would also appeal to members of the radical intellectuals in the May Fourth generation of 1919. For example, the *China Mission Yearbook* wrote that the industrial program could “bring more closely together the Christian students and the socially-minded element in the Anti-Religious Movement which is at present so important a factor in the general student movement of China.”<sup>33</sup> Christian reformers in 1924 asserted that May Fourth intellectuals would recognize the value of their social programs: “In spite of their criticism of religion and of Christianity, many leaders of the Intellectual Renaissance, *Hsin Ch’ao* [Xin Chao], have acknowledged that they find among Christians a clearer understanding of their social program and a heartier willingness to support it than among others.”<sup>34</sup> Even Chinese Communists sometimes publically acknowledged Christian social services for Chinese women and children.<sup>35</sup> Likewise, leaders of the YWCA became increasingly progressive and, according to some scholars, and eventually spread Communist ideals among Shanghai textile workers.<sup>36</sup>

Shanghai’s semi-colonial districts rendered it even more complicated to introduce uniform labor legislation.<sup>37</sup> Chinese companies responded to international pressure by reiterating their willingness to comply with the Peking Government’s Regulations,<sup>38</sup>

<sup>32</sup> In *Alienated Academy*, Wen-hsin Yeh argues that some radicals may have turned from tradition precisely because of tension between their commitment to filial duty and their inability to adhere to it in modern times. Porter calls these Christian progressive reformers “conservative,” see *Industrial Reformers*, xv.

<sup>33</sup> Helen Thoburn, “The Church and Modern Industry,” *The China Mission Year Book* (1923), 231.

<sup>34</sup> Lucius Porter, *China’s Challenge to Christianity* (New York: Missionary Education Movement, 1924).

<sup>35</sup> See, for example, “Yantai Diaocha” 煙臺調查 [Yantai Survey] in 嚮導 (*The Guide Weekly*) May 8, 1924. The article outlines various forms of Christian organizations in Yantai, Shandong, and states that they have been active in workers’ associations, poor workhouses, and orphanages. Du Qian, the author of the article, asserted that the most conspicuous problem was that of female virtue, and that women benefited greatly from lectures. The article also lists the English names and responsibilities of ministers’ wives.

<sup>36</sup> Roger Boshier and Yan Huang, “The Untold Story of “Foreign Devil” Adult Educators in Shanghai Silk Factories (1920 to 1949),” *Adult Education Quarterly* 57.4 (August 2007): 329-345.

<sup>37</sup> See Lucius Porter’s comments in *China’s Challenge to Christianity*, p. 68: “China’s problems would be more easily solved if she had to meet only her own Chinese factory owners and managers, and to convert them alone to humane and kindly ways. The Western industrialist complicates the situation.”

<sup>38</sup> Shanghai Municipal Archives, U1-3-2195: “January 6<sup>th</sup>, 1923 CC Nieh, Vice-President of the Chinese Cotton Mill Owners’ Association to NC Liddell, Secretary Commissioner General of the Shanghai

defensively guarding against foreigners' dismissive ignorance regarding the Chinese government. For example, C.C. Nieh,<sup>39</sup> the vice president of the Chinese Cotton Mill Owner's Association, wrote: "we beg to say that the matter has engaged the attention of this Association for many years [and that] legislation is now being drawn" up by the Peking Government.<sup>40</sup> Nieh had first reported the problem to great approbation at the National Christian Council of 1922, when he presented the problem as one between labor and management in general, rather than between Chinese management and foreign capital. The head of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce, H.C. Sung (Song Hanzhang 宋漢章 1872),<sup>41</sup> added that the Peking Government's regulations would offer uniform standards that would be necessary for a level playing field among companies.<sup>42</sup> Likewise, chairman of the Employers Federation E.F. Mackay wrote that reform needed to be uniform "inside and outside the Settlement," or else progressive businesses would become vulnerable to competition.<sup>43</sup> Thus, given Shanghai's proximity to Chinese cities, some warned that over regulation would only encourage companies to move short distances to more welcoming regulatory environments.<sup>44</sup>

Western reformers wanted to level the inequalities in the international labor market by encouraging the Chinese economy to follow the English path of economic development and political liberalization. They suggested that the science of political economy pointed to the correct path for China. Western experts hoped that China could implement labor reform by regulating factory discipline and imposing elementary-school education.<sup>45</sup> As in the United Kingdom, abolishing child labor constituted the first step towards codifying industrial law because "History reveals that in England industrial

Municipal Council"; and also HC Sung, Chairman of the General Chamber of Commerce of Shanghai's correspondence on April 11<sup>th</sup> and April 18<sup>th</sup>.

<sup>39</sup> For more information about CC Nieh (Yuntai Nie), see "The Golden Age of Chinese Capitalism," in Denis Crispin Twitchett and John King Fairbank, eds., *The Cambridge History of China* (Volume 12), 757. Nieh was the maternal grandson of Tseng Kuo-fan, and the son of Nie Qigui, Governor of Zhejiang and Director of the Shanghai Arsenal. He built the Heng-feng Cotton Mills and the Da Zhonghua Mills. In 1918, he helped to found the China Cotton Millowners' Association.

<sup>40</sup> Shanghai Municipal Archives, U1-3-2195: "January 6<sup>th</sup>, 1923 CC Nieh, Vice-President of the Chinese Cotton Mill Owners' Association to NC Liddell, Secretary Commissioner General of the Shanghai Municipal Council."

<sup>41</sup> For more on the biography of Song Hanzhang, see Howard Lyon Boorman, and Richard C. Howard. *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China* (Columbia University Press, 1970), 195-97.

<sup>42</sup> Shanghai Municipal Archives, U1-3-2194, "April 18<sup>th</sup>, 1923, Sung Han-cheng, chairman of the General Chamber of Commerce of Shanghai to the Employee's Federation." The file also contains Sung's April 11<sup>th</sup>, 1923 letter, which is reproduced in part in Anderson's *Humanity and Labour*, 130-31.

<sup>43</sup> Anderson, *Humanity and Labour*, 129.

<sup>44</sup> A "ratepayer" wrote: "I cannot believe that it is the deliberate intention of the Council to force the large cotton mill industry out of Shanghai, but that is what obviously must occur if production conditions are less favorable here. *North China Daily Herald* (May 28, 1925).

<sup>45</sup> For instance, Mary Dingman and Helen Thoburn, "Child Labor and the Church," *The China Mission Yearbook, 1925* (Shanghai: Christian Literature Society), 348. The article places the Christian Church of China's efforts "in the long story which Lord Shaftsbury held in the corresponding struggle in England one hundred years ago." See also *NCH* comments about Robert Owen's factory schools.

regulation began with attempts to safeguard little children.”<sup>46</sup> The Child Labor Commission included British “experts” on child labor, such as YWCA Chairwoman Augusta Harrison, British Chief Lady Inspector of Factories Adelaide Anderson, who began her career with an interest in the plight of female industrial workers,<sup>47</sup> and the Industrial Secretary of the National YWCA Mary Dingman. The credentials of these experts allowed them to promote the cause abroad.<sup>48</sup> Because British reformers assumed that economic development followed universal models, their expertise was valid in China.<sup>49</sup> Some Westerners felt responsible for importing industrialization, with its problems, to China,<sup>50</sup> but many reformers felt that the right form of industrialization would usher China into a modern era of advanced technology and skilled labor.<sup>51</sup> These views of historical development differed sharply from those of foreign businessmen who assumed that with the globalization of market production, England had lost its factories to countries like China (and predicted that corporations would continue to follow cheap labor markets) around the world.<sup>52</sup>

By the 1920s, exploitative economic conditions in Shanghai had created labor unrest. Foreign businesses had established factories in Shanghai that employed cheap female and child workers.<sup>53</sup> Desperate workers fled famine in the countryside to enter the

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<sup>46</sup> *Report of the Hon Richard Feetham, Judge of the Supreme Court of the Union of South Africa, to the Shanghai Municipal Council*, Volume II (Shanghai: North-China Daily News and Herald, Ltd., 1931), 25. Judge Feetham supported “the return of the settlement to China as the ultimate goal” (1031) and compiled this study of Shanghai “at the invitation of foreign authorities” in 1930 (1043); see William W. Lockwood, Jr., “The International Settlement at Shanghai, 1924-31,” *The American Political Science Review* 28.6 (December 1934): 1030-1046. Industrial reform was pushed both by “utilitarians” who simply wanted child workers to attend school part time, as well as “romantics” who wanted childhood to be completely free from labor; Hugh Cunningham, “Saving the Children, c. 1850-c. 1920,” in Heidi Morrison, ed. *The Global History of Childhood Reader* (Routledge, 2012), 364.

<sup>47</sup> Hilda Martindale, *Some Victorian Portraits and Others* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1948), 48.

<sup>48</sup> She published about the CLC in Christian journals; for instance, she wrote an article praising Anderson’s efforts; *Bulletin of the National Christian Council*, Number 8 (April 1924).

<sup>49</sup> Newspapers often called British Chief Lady Inspector Adeline Anderson and Agatha Harrison such experts. Furthermore, an anonymous American contributor to the *North China Daily Herald* cites her experience with child labor abuse and legislation in the United States as an indicator of her expertise in the area. Interestingly, she notes that she had worked in a state with many minority and immigrant children, and seems to imply that, having worked with that demographic, she is especially able to comment on the situation in China. It is true, for example, that most workers in Shanghai were migrants from other areas.

<sup>50</sup> See, for instance, the *Manchester Guardian*, which will be discussed more thoroughly below. Similarly, in *Labor Legislation in China*, 73, Augusta Wagner writes, “They saw the conditions of the early days of the factory system in the West repeating themselves.”

<sup>51</sup> E.g., Anderson, *Humanity and Labour*, 198.

<sup>52</sup> See footnote 14.

<sup>53</sup> Jean Chesneaux speaks of the “extreme youthfulness of the Chinese proletariat”; H.M. Wright, trans, *The Chinese Labor Movement, 1919-1927* (Stanford: Stanford UP), 65. In *Ibid.* 71, Chesneaux also offers a table of the proportion of child workers in Shanghai factories on page 71. Betty Peh-T’i Wei references a 1899 survey that found 20,000 women and 7,000 children were working in Shanghai, out of a total labor force of 35,500 laborers; Betty Peh-T’i Wei, *Shanghai: Crucible of Modern China* (Hong Kong and New York: Oxford UP, 1986).

surging number of factories in Shanghai.<sup>54</sup> The newly founded Chinese Communist Party seized this ideal moment of industrial expansion to organize labor. For example, in the Communist-supported Pudong Weavers Union Strike of 1922, strikers demanded that management establish a school for workers and give them permission to breastfeed babies at work.<sup>55</sup> Japanese Nikko management enlisted the help of Catholic priests to dissuade the female workers (over two thousand of whom were Catholics from Shandong), and the Socialist Youth League countered with accusations against the ecclesiastic “henchmen of Japanese capitalists.”<sup>56</sup> Communists interpreted Christian efforts to cooperate with leftists as a way to co-opt workers into less radical reforms.<sup>57</sup>

Even though labor reformers believed that labor laws would eventually extend to all workers, workers did not welcome all of these reforms. The example of the Pudong Weavers’ Strike illustrated some of the tensions between female workers and factory managers. Factory managers supported child labor abolition in order to impose industrial discipline against the wishes of their female laborers. When the Child Labor Commission exposed the danger of placing infants near machinery, they were arguing *against* workers’ demands. In contrast, Communists of the 1920s addressed the needs of female and youth workers, even to the detriment of factory development.

#### BENEFITS OF FACTORY HYGIENE FOR BUSINESS AND STATE

Even with all its attendant abuses, the factory system opened up the possibility for government regulation and inspection, especially with regards to hygiene. The British Foreign Office asserted,

It is important, however, to note that in China as in the West this exploitation with all its attendant evils was in full vigor before there was even a beginning of a factory system, and that though the establishment of a factory system intensifies certain evils, such as the liability to accidents or to the effects of poisons, yet it is only in the factory system that there is any potentiality of improvement, for it is only under the factory system that general hygiene is practicable and the introduction of regulations dealing with these evils becomes possible.<sup>58</sup>

The major justification for government regulation was “the liability to accidents” and “the effects of poisons” that needed to be remedied through government regulation of “general hygiene.” Children and infants were the most vulnerable to fumes and prone to

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<sup>54</sup> Ono Kazuko, and Joshua Fogel, eds., *Chinese Women in a Century of Revolution, 1850-1950* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1989). Cotton spindles increased 35% and looms by 57%. See Emily Honig, 17; Marie-Claire Bergère, 70-71; and Elizabeth Littell-Lamb, “Caught in the Crossfire: The YWCA Campaign for Child Labor Legislation in Shanghai, 1920-1925,” paper presented at the annual meeting of the Association for Asian Studies (April 7, 2006), footnote 10. Also see Dorothy Johnson Orchard, 565.

<sup>55</sup> Information about this strike is taken from S.A. Smith, 141-145.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>57</sup> Lo Sen 羅生 “Yellow Union Exploiting BAT Struggles,” *Zhongguo Lun* 中國論 2.12 (October 22, 1933), in Shanghai Municipal Archives, D2-0-0331-36.

<sup>58</sup> *Memorandum on Labour Conditions in China*, 4.

accidents, and their removal from factory floors would improve the general hygiene and factory order.

Inspectors for the Shanghai Municipal Council objected to the presence of infants in factories also because of the health risk due to poor ventilation. In order to prove this point, the CLC tabulated statistics about native children's deaths according to district, and correlated those numbers against not only the statistical numbers of child workers per district but also the number of "dangerous" industries in each district.<sup>59</sup> The implication being that even in cases in which children did not labor themselves, the labor environment adversely affected children. For example, Inspector G. Ernst wrote that even though feather cleaners do not directly employ children,

...mothers bring them every day to the feather sorting and cleaning rooms and have them in baskets amongst all the thick clouds of dust from cleaning. Usually the baskets are covered over with a piece of cloth, but not sufficiently to keep the dust from the babies. The women workers say they are too poor to give the children in the care of others while at work and have no option but to bring them to the place of work. These babies are all very young and unable as yet to walk, otherwise they would be able to sport around outside in the factory yard. It is impossible to breathe in this place without a covering for the mouth, as the dust is to say the least, terrible.<sup>60</sup>

These comments were coupled with information about the prevalence of tuberculosis and other contagious diseases as the cause of death of native children. Because children were more susceptible than adults to some forms of disease, such as bovine tuberculosis,<sup>61</sup> the commission concluded from "medical evidence" that "existing industrial conditions are extremely adverse to the bodily and mental welfare of the Chinese child employee."<sup>62</sup>

In addition to unhygienic factory conditions, reformers were also concerned about squalid living conditions, and the epidemics that could result from subletting and overcrowding.<sup>63</sup> These concerns, for home conditions, indicate that reformers wanted to extend the reach of their welfare services into the homes of the poor. Squalid home conditions were not conducive to maximal childhood growth. Chen Heqin's "Family Education" indicated that the standards for the home environment, in both poor and elite families, should be high.

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<sup>59</sup> Shanghai Municipal Archives, U1-16-2094: Reports to the Shanghai Municipal Council Department of Health: "Deaths Among Resident Chinese Children aged 14 and Under, from January 1<sup>st</sup> to October 31<sup>st</sup>, 1923" with resident Chinese population estimated at 815,642 according to disease (smallpox, cholera, typhoid, dosa-typhoid, scarlet fever, tuberculosis, dysentery, chronic diarrhea, cerebrospinal fever, stillborn and found dumped, and other causes); and "Native Deaths for Children 14 years of age and younger," January 1<sup>st</sup> – October 31<sup>st</sup>, 1923" according to Central, Northern, Eastern, and Western districts.

<sup>60</sup> Shanghai Municipal Archives, U1-16-2094: G. Ernest, Factory Inspector (December 6, 1923), 50.

<sup>61</sup> Shanghai Municipal Archives, U1-16-2094: "Witness of Dr. CN Davis, November 1<sup>st</sup>, 1923." Robin Porter reports that 22 percent of children and 14 percent of women had tuberculosis in one particular factory, *Industrial Reformers*, 20.

<sup>62</sup> "The Child Labour Commission Report," *Christian Industry*, 2.

<sup>63</sup> For example, Anderson, *Humanity and Labour in China*, 183; and Vera Kelsey, "China's Industrial Workers," *North China Daily News*, Monday March 12, 1923. Kelsey's article begins by contrasting the uniform company houses of the United States with the "chaos of disorder" in workers' housing, sometimes in mud huts and boats, in China.



In addition to health risks, the Child Labor Report also explained the exploitation of children. The children's physical development and social standing disadvantaged them in the noxious environment of the factory. The following passage describes the children in a silk filature:

It was stated that fainting in hot weather is not uncommon. The children earn from twenty to twenty-five cents a day. In the main they present a pitiable sight. Their physical condition is poor, and their faces are devoid of any expression of happiness or well-being. They appear to be miserable, both physically and mentally. The adults are given a certain number of cocoons from which they have to produce a certain quantity of silk. Should they fall short of this quantity, they are fined. They then frequently revenge [avenge] themselves by ill-treating the children working under them. The Commission is satisfied that the conditions under which these children are employed is [*sic*] indefensible.<sup>64</sup>

The “hot weather,” like the social structure, provided a poor environment for children to work. Children bore the brunt of exploitation by both greedy employers and disgruntled adult employees.

According to economic theory, which linked individual health and state growth,<sup>65</sup> welfare could benefit both children and the state. According to contemporary ideas about biological development, child and female labor diminished state resources by stunting the growth of children and the fertility of women. While defending the Child Labor Bylaw, YMCA head Moutchen Thomas Tchou (Zhu Maocheng 朱懋澄, 1895–1965) argued:

The fact that these children are employed in industry points to the corollary that they are taking the places of adults and older children who would be employed in their stead, if the younger children were liberated. For the sake of the economic welfare of the community, the question ought to be asked: Should able-bodied adults now unemployed and therefore tempted to become beggars and thieves be employed so that they might find some support for their needy families, or should young, feeble-bodied and industrially inefficient children continue to be employed?<sup>66</sup>

Tchou argues that “feeble-bodied and industrially inefficient” child laborers crippled the Chinese economy and state. Tchou later became Director of the Labor Department of the Nationalist Chinese government.

Chinese industrial theorists echoed Tchou's concern about the biological implications of factory work. For instance, Dr. Lin Donghai, Ph.D., 林東海 (Lin Tung-hai or Jefferson Duon-Hoy Lamb) wrote that factory laws should prevent anything “seriously affecting the child-bearing capacity of women and arrest[ing] the physical

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<sup>64</sup> “The Child Labour Commission Report,” *Christian Industry*, 3.

<sup>65</sup> Andrew F. Jones analyzes the paradigm of “development” in Republican China in his article, “The Child As History in Republican China: A Discourse on Development,” *positions: east asia cultures critique* 10.3 (2002): 695-727.

<sup>66</sup> *North China Daily Herald* (April 18, 1925), 112.

growth of children.”<sup>67</sup> Factory hygiene and order also depended upon the existence of factory crèches for the children of women workers. Lin also wrote, “. . .in certain cotton mills or silk filatures nurseries are provided, where babies of the woman workers are kept, but in many mills and factories the babies are just left scattered about among the machines. The result of this practice cannot be but racial suicide.”<sup>68</sup> National weakness and “racial suicide” would result if children were not safely placed in preschools and kindergartens rather than factories.

The Peking Government shared these concerns about public health and factory discipline. The Bureau of Economic Information, established in 1920, facilitated efforts to inspect and condemn child labor conditions,<sup>69</sup> and trained government inspectors to survey factory and agricultural conditions in order to compile government statistics.<sup>70</sup> The Bureau of Economic Information’s *Chinese Economic Monthly* published a 1924 article, “The Child Labor Commission of Shanghai,” endorsing the CLC’s recommendations. The journal also augmented coverage by including a report by a Dr. Henry W. Decker of the Yangtzepoo Industrial Hospital of Shanghai,<sup>71</sup> which reached the Child Labor Commission too late for inclusion or consideration. Dr. Decker reported on 880 medical cases from the cotton mills in order to categorize the ways in which child laborers had suffered from industrial accidents, deaths, and diseases.<sup>72</sup> (See Figure 12 in

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<sup>67</sup> Lin Tung-hai, Ph.D., J.D. Adviser to the Ministry of Education and formerly Professor of Social Legislation, Yenching University, Peiping, *The Labour Movement and Labour Legislation in China* (Shanghai, China United Press, 1933), 130-31.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, 49.

<sup>69</sup> Thomas C. Blaisdell and C. C. Chu, *Peking Rugs and Peking Boys: a Study of the Rug Industry in Peking*, 2. See also C. H. Lowe 駱傳華, *Jinri Zhongguo laogong wenti 今日中國勞工問題* [Facing Labor Issues in China] (originally published Shanghai: Qingnian Xiehui Shuju, 1933; reprinted Hongkong, s.n., 1970), 196.

<sup>70</sup> DK Lieu, “Fact-Finding in China. The Chinese Government Bureau of Economic Information.” *News Bulletin (Institute of Pacific Relations)* (March 1, 1928): 1-4. D.K. Lieu 劉大鈞 (1891-1962) was the nephew of prominent novelist and antiquarian Liu E. D.K. Lieu studied at the YMCA School in Shanghai and Peking University before going to the University of Michigan for a BA in economics, graduating in 1915. Lieu returned to become a professor of economics at Tsinghua University and to head the research and investigation department of the Bureau of Economic Information from 1920 to 1928. See [http://www.chinaheritagequarterly.org/features.php?searchterm=030\\_desk.inc&issue=030](http://www.chinaheritagequarterly.org/features.php?searchterm=030_desk.inc&issue=030).

<sup>71</sup> *The Phi Gamma Delta* (Board of Trustees of the Fraternity of Phi Gamma Delta, 1922), 87.

<sup>72</sup> Decker, “A Review of 880 Cases from the Cotton Mills,” *The Chinese Economic Monthly* also published a “Survey of 880 Patients from Shanghai Cotton Mills” in that issue. This article congratulated mills and factories for *help* and financial support. Despite initial funding in 1919 from Shanghai College and Brown University (to address the needs of workers in the “foreignised” industrial sector), the hospital was only solvent because of the financial support of the cotton mills themselves. The article then gives a table of fifteen factories and the number of employees in each and the fees that each paid. This report includes additional tables and information about industrial accidents. The journal also published, along with the statistics, two group photographs of children in the hospital: “Patients Waiting in the Yangtzepoo Industrial Hospital’s Dispensary”; and “A Typical Corner in the Children’s Ward.” The first photograph depicts stony-faced children and adolescents waiting patiently under large stone archways in front of a courtyard with shrubs. The photograph also draws attention to the Western-style architecture and medicine that characterizes the hospital. In the second photograph, very young children lie in hospital beds far too large

the Appendix.) With statistical tables about the number of cases, and the percentage, of industrial accidents reported to the hospital, Decker concluded that although adult men faced the worst hazards, children most frequently fell victim to industrial accidents due to their lack of training and experience.<sup>73</sup> Thus, the likelihood for permanent disability was nine percent higher for children than for adults.<sup>74</sup> Decker also confirmed children's higher rates of incurring diseases like tuberculosis because of the stifling air in the factories.<sup>75</sup> Thus, the *Chinese Economic Monthly* endorsed efforts to ensure public sanitation and industrial health through scientific management and governmental regulation.

#### INSPECTION AND INVESTIGATION AS THE BASIS OF STATE SURVEILLANCE

Despite the advocacy evident in the Commission's report, The Municipal Council had established the Child Labor Commission in 1923, not necessarily because of a commitment to abolish child labor, but primarily because of a desire to survey factory conditions. A two-year fact-finding mission, the Child Labor Commission held thirty-three meetings, interviewing experts and witnesses, circulating a questionnaire, and touring factories in Shanghai and the surrounding provinces. Authorizing the Child Labor Commission as an instrument for collecting information about labor conditions was the utmost expression of the Municipal Council's right to interfere in factory production in the mid-1920s (and thus similar to levels of state activism at the time in other countries like the United States). As a memo from the 1920s found in the Shanghai Archives states, the Municipal Council acknowledged that it had "practically no authority to impose conditions on mills and factories and demand inspection." However, this memo continued, "There is no question that the Council should have authority to make conditions and be empowered to appoint inspectors for factory inspection. This authority should be obtained as soon as possible...."<sup>76</sup> Chief Health Inspector Herbert Bland explained this situation to the Joint Committee on March 21, 1923.<sup>77</sup> Health inspections (beyond food products), zoning regulations and factory licenses remained inoperative in the Foreign Settlement for years to come.<sup>78</sup> Yet, despite the legal limitations of the

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for them, with bandages around their heads and casts around what appears to be amputated arms. This photograph, too, displays the resources of the hospital, with neat beds and large windows. Doctors have addressed, and somewhat hidden, the children's injuries, but the children still appear to be extremely unhappy.

<sup>73</sup> "Survey of 880 Patients from Shanghai Cotton Mills," *The Chinese Economic Monthly* 12 (September 1924), 29.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>75</sup> "The Child Labor Report," *The Chinese Economic Monthly*, 12 (September 1924), 3.

<sup>76</sup> Shanghai Municipal Archives, U1-16-2093.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*; Letter from Chief Inspector's Office, Herbert Bland, to the Joint Committee. Bland recommended that there should be "three or four foreigners to inspect factories once a week."

<sup>78</sup> However, even as late as the 1930s, Shanghai lacked zoning regulations and factory licenses. In 1933, the Municipal Government enforced factory licenses. This lack of regulation and control allowed small workshops, like those that buffeted chromium plates, to move shop frequently and to operate under

Municipal Council, corporate cooperation<sup>79</sup> with the Child Labor Commission allowed the Department of Public Health access to survey factories. Citing English practices, the Commissioner of Public Health argued that factory inspectors required special training with professional certificates.<sup>80</sup> The Child Labor Commission understood the Municipal Council's "need for simple factory laws," and even deftly reminded the Head of the Municipal Council that their organization increased the authority of the Municipal Council to regulate labor.<sup>81</sup> Thus, the CLC was serving an activist role in advocating for labor conditions and regulatory regimes to promote the public welfare, especially centered on children.

Chinese government officials showed they understood that the Chinese state could use child labor as a platform to impose a greater degree of inspection and control over factories and businesses. For example, when Chief Lady Inspector of Factories Adelaide Anderson toured factory conditions in China, she was delighted with her reception by government officials. As she later wrote, "It has always seemed to me that nowhere in the world could I have expected to meet with greater willingness to co-operate or swiftness to perceive the meaning of the cause presented than I found in Chinese officials."<sup>82</sup> In 1924, Minister of Agriculture, Commerce and Industry, Dr. W.W. Yen (Yan Huiqing 顏惠慶 1877-1950)<sup>83</sup> "showed strong interest in [her] plea for more accurate statistics in relation to the study of health and safety, for means whereby workers could really voice their needs, and for traveling Inspectors of Factories."<sup>84</sup> The governor of Jiangsu Province, Han Guojun (Han Kuo-Chuen 韓國鈞, 1857-1941) also told Anderson that he wanted to appoint a local Child Labor Commission to "work on similar lines to those of the Commission appointed by the Municipal Council of the Foreign Settlement of Shanghai."<sup>85</sup> Chinese officials thus perceived that industrial reform

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dangerous conditions. See Harriet Sargeant, *Shanghai: Collision Point of Cultures: 1918-1939* (New York: Crown, 1991), 221-223.

<sup>79</sup> Wagner lists these companies on page 89, footnote 28. British: Jardine Matheson and Co, Ltd; Butterfield and Swire, Ltd; Mackenzie and Co, the China Soap Co, Ltd, Liddell Bros. Co, Arnhold and Co, Ltd; British American Tobacco Company, Ltd. American: The Robert Dollar Co; the American Trading Co, Ltd; The Shanghai Building Co; Standard Oil Co; China General Edison Co. Japanese: Mitsui Bussan Kaisha; Nippon Yusen Kaisha; Osaka Shosen Kaisha; South Manchurian Railway; Mitsubisha Kaisha Dah Dong Spinning Company. Chinese: Sincere Co; The Commercial Press; The Wing-On Co; K. Willey Commercial Co; CC Nieh Cotton Mills; Sung Sing Cotton Spinning and Weaving Co. Wagner cites *Toward the Regulation of Child Labor in Shanghai* (Bulletin no. 1), 15-16.

<sup>80</sup> Shanghai Municipal Archives, U1-16-2093. BT Prideaux, Commissioner of Public Health, also wrote in "Supervision of Factories in Matters Relating to Ventilation."

<sup>81</sup> Shanghai Municipal Archives, U1-3-2195, Augusta Harrison to HC Simms, November 24, 1922. Ruth Rogawski argues that the concept of "public hygiene" allowed the state to justify increasing its control over the environment. Ruth Rogawski, *Hygienic Modernity: Meanings of Health and Disease in Treaty-Port China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004).

<sup>82</sup> Anderson, *Humanity and Labour in China*, 198.

<sup>83</sup> Yan Huiqing 顏惠慶 (1877-1950) was a native of Shanghai and served as Minister of Agriculture, Commerce and Industry in 1924 in the cabinet of his father-in-law Sun Baoqi.

<sup>84</sup> Anderson, *Humanity and Labour in China*, 197.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid*, 199.

would benefit statist agendas. Nevertheless, in Shanghai's "semi-colonial" context, labor legislation was interpreted as counter to Chinese nationalism.

#### DISTRICT DATA AND THE POLITICS OF NATIONAL OWNERSHIP

The Municipal Council's Department of Health surveys informed and mapped child labor according to district, in keeping with the spatial method of collection by health inspectors who had surveyed different quadrants of the city. According to documents in the Shanghai Archives, the Child Labor Commission tabulated the incidents of child deaths, correlated with space and proximity to "dangerous trades."<sup>86</sup> The Health Department's "List of Mills and Factories" mapped Shanghai's neighborhoods of working populations because data had been collected according to district. (See Figure 13 in the Appendix.) Furthermore, the Child Labor Commission wanted to prove that certain types of work were detrimental to child health because the Municipal Council would be legally able to regulate exemptions from certain kinds of work, rather than certain kinds of workers.<sup>87</sup> Neighborhoods were dominated by particular types of production and labor. For example, child labor was negligible (at 1.4% of all workers employed in that area) in the iron foundries of the Harbin District. On the other hand, the cotton mills of the (Chinese) Zhabei and the (International Settlement's) Gordon Road and Bubbling Well Districts most accurately reflected the type of industrial labor that most troubled factory managers. Although these districts largely employed women over twelve, a significant number of children accompanied their mothers into the factories and later worked there when they reached six or seven years of age. (See Figure 14 for a photograph of a woman taking a young child to an industrial job.) At just under 3,000 children, these children represented a little less than 5% of total employees in those factories, so their numbers were significant even if they did not represent the main type of worker in that area.

Silk filatures and tobacco-rolling companies' factory work favored small hands and child labor and could thus employ independent "contract labor" that the Child Labor Commission condemned. The largest employers of child labor were the foreign-owned silk filatures in the West Hongkou District.<sup>88</sup> The Child Labor Report commented that in silk filatures, "one child is employed for every two adults,"<sup>89</sup> but the Municipal Council's "List" indicates a far larger ratio. An especially egregious example was the Italian-owned Yung-Tai Silk Filature Company, which employed 80 men over twelve, 900

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<sup>86</sup> Shanghai Municipal Archives, U1-16-2094.

<sup>87</sup> Joshua H. Howard, "History of Child Labor in China," in Hugh D. Hindman, ed., *The World of Child Labor: An Historical and Regional Survey* (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 2009), 871-876.

<sup>88</sup> "List of Mills and Factories." Reprinted in: Kotenev, Anatol M. *Shanghai: Its Municipality and the Chinese; Being the History of the Shanghai Municipal Council, and Its Relations with the Chinese, the Practice of the International Mixed Court, and the Inauguration and Constitution of the Shanghai Provisional Court*. (Shanghai: North-China Daily News & Herald, 1927), 306-310.

<sup>89</sup> "Being the Official Organ of the Executive Council for the Foreign Settlement of Shanghai," 17.947 *The Municipal Gazette* (Saturday, July 19, 1924), 261, in Shanghai Municipal Archives, U1-16-2094.

women over twelve, 200 boys, and 1,180 girls.<sup>90</sup> The original surveys thus stated a far greater presence of child labor than the Child Labor Report would later generalize. The Child Labor Report's figures seemed low to some urban residents at the time.<sup>91</sup>

The very companies that the Commission had been championing as reformers were also the ones with the largest numbers of child laborers. As Joshua Howard has noted, in the 1920s, Chinese companies in Shanghai could access social networks to employ the preferred adult, disciplined labor, but foreign companies needed to rely on contract labor—and child labor—in order to recruit workers.<sup>92</sup> The British and American Tobacco Company (BAT) employed child labor, although at a very small percentage of its overall workforce. BAT complied with the commission because BAT had independently begun to institute reform. Likewise, Anderson championed BAT by circulating a charcoal sketch of an orderly, well-run institution employing Chinese children in her 1928 memoir. In another example, Japanese companies championed their practice of vocational training for teenaged boys, rather than underage girls, in silk filatures, but this practice of apprenticeship,<sup>93</sup> known as *yangchenggong* 養成工 would later be reviled in postwar China as merely an attempt to inculcate pro-Japanese sentiment among workers.<sup>94</sup>

The Child Labor Commission and others insisted that the ownership and management of these “foreign-owned factories” were in name only. Perhaps the Commission simply deferred to business interests, especially given the fact that five of the ten original members were prominent businessmen.<sup>95</sup> Some reformers suggested publicly specifying the names of individual companies and their national origin to hold companies publically accountable.<sup>96</sup> Despite this potential framework of accountability and regulation, a which note prefaced the Commission's “List” indicated: “the nationality given is no doubt merely that of a foreign nominee, lending his name for the purpose of obtaining foreign registration. The evidence given before the Commission was to the effect that there was little, if any, foreign capital invested in silk filatures.”<sup>97</sup> British representatives would repeat the assertion that the list contained misleading information about the national ownership of the factories; moreover, the British representatives claimed that “no silk filature in Shanghai, with the exception of the Ewo silk filature mentioned above, is in any way owned or managed by British subjects.”<sup>98</sup> (See Figure 25; Anderson and others depicted child labor in British-owned factories as orderly.) With

<sup>90</sup> Shanghai Municipal Archives, U1-16-2094. Ages are given in *sui*, a Chinese term that corresponds with the lunar rather than solar calendar and may inflate age; thus, children may have been younger than twelve.

<sup>91</sup> Letter to the Editor from “Ajax,” *North China Daily Herald* (April 9, 1925).

<sup>92</sup> Joshua Howard, 873.

<sup>93</sup> Anderson, *Humanity and Labour*, 153.

<sup>94</sup> Joshua Howard, 875.

<sup>95</sup> Wagner, *Labor Legislation in China*, 78.

<sup>96</sup> Porter, *China's Challenge to Christianity*.

<sup>97</sup> Kotenev, Appendix 306-310.

<sup>98</sup> “Counsel-General Barton to Sir Austen Chamberlain,” (August 27, 1925) in Great Britain Foreign Office, *Memorandum on Labour Conditions in China* (London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1927), 16.

such comments contradicting the data presented, it was easy for nationalistic Chinese to regard the Child Labor Commission as simply whitewashing or deflecting the sensitive issue of foreign imperialism.

The Child Labor Commission downplayed the role of foreign capital investment in silk filatures in part to ward off Chinese resentment and racial tensions during a period of increasing Chinese nationalism and incipient Communism. For instance, while arguing in favor of eliminating child labor, prominent businessman George Matheson (of Jardine Matheson & Co.) reminded fellow businessmen: “Agents of Bolshevism are quick to seize any argument which can be used to arise anti-foreign feeling and create disturbances. One hopes that all cause for suffering and complaint in the present case can be avoided.”<sup>99</sup> Matheson, like some Chinese Christian business owners, argued for industrial charity and labor reform in order to ease tensions between labor and management and forestall workers’ radicalization. Their willingness to cooperate with labor interests seems progressive in comparison to other business leaders, who feared that “behind the Child Labor question there are very strong Labour Union interests at work.”<sup>100</sup>

Casting industrial charity in another light, a Communist commentator recast industrial welfare and “imperialism’s unrealizable trick!” Writing under the cover name Qi Ying, the commentator asserted:

Foreign imperialism’s so-called proposal for ‘protection’ (!) of child workers is enough to expose their false paternalism; this is foreign capitalism’s fear that the workers will become [class] conscious, and they want to use these toadying illusions, that’s all! ... Oppose imperialism’s unrealizable trick! The entire country’s working class and true nationalist revolutionaries should provide child workers with support.”<sup>101</sup>

Besides the obvious openings by some statements from the CLC and some of its members, this Communist stance against the “false charity” of imperialist capitalism would also draw upon misrepresentations of the Child Labor Report.

Amid escalating labor tensions and nationalistic fervor, Communist commentators reconstructed data from the Child Labor Report to implicate foreign imperialism. One of the founders of the Communist Party, the intellectual Li Dazhao 李大釗 (1888-1927),<sup>102</sup> reproduced an abbreviated table compiled from the “List of Mills and Factories,” but omitted the titles of the individual companies in order to accentuate the total number of factories owned by foreign nationals.<sup>103</sup> (See Figure 16.) Furthermore, Li misrepresented the Child Labor Report by aggregating the figures for adults and children as “child

<sup>99</sup> *North China Daily Herald* (April 14 1925). Matheson was also an active philanthropist in Shanghai; see Anne Waltner Fearn, *My Days of Strength*, 172.

<sup>100</sup> *North China Daily Herald* (May 28, 1925), 429.

<sup>101</sup> Qi Ying 其穎, “The Shanghai Child Labor Problem,” *The Guide* 嚮導 *Xiangdao* 110 (12 April 1925: 1012.

<sup>102</sup> For more on Li Dazhao, see Maurice Meisner, *Li Ta-Chao and the Origins of Chinese Marxism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967).

<sup>103</sup> *Li Dazhao xuanji* 李大釗選集 [Selected Works of Li Dazhao] (Beijing: People’s Press, 1962), 516-522.

laborers” (in part because of differences in how Communists defined youth and child labor). Thus, both the Child Labor Report and its Communist critics imposed their own analysis of statistical figures to diminish or to emphasize the role of foreign capital. In contrast, the Child Labor Report argued that the immediate context of the factory environment had a greater impact on the exploitation of child workers than the larger context of factory ownership.

#### FINDING SOLUTIONS: SCHOOLS, NOT FACTORIES

The Child Labor Commission felt that factory work was by definition inappropriate for young children. In *The China Mission Yearbook*, CLC members wrote that children belonged in schools rather than in factories.<sup>104</sup> Reformers repeatedly harkened to Britain’s Factory and Workshops Act of 1847,<sup>105</sup> which limited hours of employment and mandated hours of schooling. According to this line of thought, a modern economy required a skilled and educated workforce, so a modern educational system would naturally result from developing the economy. For example, Anderson wrote confidently, “In an industrialized country an illiterate people become an impossibility” because “a suitable provision of elementary school education lies the key to the remedy” of child labor.<sup>106</sup> Because Anderson believed that management would invest equally in workers as they would in machines, her fight against child labor actually constituted a fight against unskilled labor.<sup>107</sup>

Christian reformers were happy to combine work, play, and school for children in their own institutions. Many reformers advocated “factory schools” based on the example of the Scottish industrialist Robert Owen, allowing children to study and work part time.<sup>108</sup> Their labor would somewhat offset the cost of education,<sup>109</sup> while providing both training and education. Work-study followed missionary goals of imparting vocational education. Inverting the model of a scholar learning to perform manual labor, Shanghai reformers advocated that child workers enjoy compulsory schooling. By channeling children into charity schools, Christians envisioned expanded opportunities to influence and convert the needy. However, although the foreign business community had responded with an “ironical offer to aid in establishing a social center where workers and their children might receive an education,”<sup>110</sup> many Shanghai ratepayers opposed public schooling.

<sup>104</sup> Mary Dingman and Helen Thoburn, “Child Labor and the Church,” *The China Mission Yearbook*, 1925 (Shanghai: Christian Literature Society), 348.

<sup>105</sup> Shanghai Municipal Archives, Chief Health Inspectors Office (March 7, 1923).

<sup>106</sup> Anderson, *Humanity and Labour*, 133.

<sup>107</sup> Anderson, *Humanity and Labour*, 189.

<sup>108</sup> Lizzie A. MacGillivray, editor of “Happy Children,” *North China Daily Herald* (November 29, 1923).

<sup>109</sup> When people who ran orphanages appealed to the public for donations, they often mention such labor to show their frugality and the limits of their ability to maintain themselves. For instance, in Madame Dieterich’s orphanage, expatriate Russian “girls do needlework for sale, but this realizes very little the demand for what they are able to produce ...” See *North China Daily Herald*, (January 3, 1924), 4.

<sup>110</sup> Augusta Wagner, 76.



Despite its cooperation with the Child Labor Commission, the Shanghai Municipal Council opposed to extending child protection laws to establish mandatory education laws. The Shanghai Municipal Council reacted negatively to a letter from the League of Nations congratulating them on their endorsement of child labor legislation and encouraging them to promote compulsory primary-school education.<sup>111</sup> The Minutes of the Shanghai Municipal Council meeting elaborated: “Members are unanimously of the opinion expressed by a member that the question of general primary education for Chinese is quite another thing and that the Council has no intention of embarking on any such project.”<sup>112</sup> Thus, the Minutes of the Council clearly recorded the ratepayers’ objections to providing compulsory primary school education, even if they had somewhat reluctantly endorsed child labor reform. Ironically, the letter from the League of Nations successfully persuaded these ratepayers that, without primary school education, “the Child Labor Legislation is likely to do more harm than good.”<sup>113</sup>

#### CULTURAL CRITIQUES OF GENDERED LABOR, FAMILY PRODUCTION, AND THE CONTRACT SYSTEM

The Child Labor Report was colored by its origins as a charity movement among Christian groups and women’s clubs.<sup>114</sup> In archival records from the Department of Health, municipal inspectors recommended a day of “Sabbath rest,”<sup>115</sup> thus using Christian vocabulary to articulate the needs of the workers. Even though municipal inspectors were trained and accredited independently of the Child Labor Commission,<sup>116</sup> they shared its vocabulary and values, including the sentimentalization of childhood. For

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<sup>111</sup> “Child Labor and Primary Education for Chinese -- A letter is submitted from Mr. F. Henry of the League of Nations International Labour Office congratulating the Council on supporting the Child Labour Legislation and inquiring what further steps in the matter of general primary education for all Chinese are in contemplation, since, unless the latter follows the Child Labor Legislation is likely to do more harm than good,” Minutes of the Shanghai Municipal Council (April 8), 36.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid.

<sup>114</sup> Women’s clubs in Shanghai had taken on a variety of causes in conjunction with the Shanghai Municipal Health Department. For example, in 1918, the women of Shanghai organized what was called a “campaign” against the “ubiquitous mosquito,” since women cleaned and scrubbed their houses most vigilantly. Dr. Alvin Cox had waged a similar campaign against the mosquito in Manila as Director of the Bureau of Science, and was called in as an expert. The head of the Municipal Health Department, Dr. Davis, did not welcome the intrusion of women into his department’s ongoing campaign against the mosquito; according to Anne Waltner Fearn: “‘And now,’ roared the doctor, ‘now everybody’s saying that since the women have taken hold of the mater something will be done!’ ... I sat still and listened, and realized that this meant the end of the mosquito campaign,” see *My Days of Strength*, 206. Fearn also wrote that “the American Women’s Club had the temerity to tackle the Shanghai Municipal Council” to provide shelter for rickshaw pullers; rather than a government subsidy, it was the charitable donation of George Matheson who provided the shelters (157-58).

<sup>115</sup> “Inspection Report: Sub-inspector of the Eastern Region,” Shanghai Municipal Archives U1-16-2094, 66.

<sup>116</sup> “Chief Health Inspector’s Office” (March 7 1923), Shanghai Municipal Archives U1-16-2092.

instance, in the 1922 National Christian Council, Christians had characterized child labor as “a veritable slaughter of the innocents.”<sup>117</sup> The National Christian Council responded to the spectacle of child laborers,<sup>118</sup> and the Child Labor Report also emphasized the “pitiable sight” of child workers in Shanghai. Concerned with the physical and emotional development of Chinese children, the Commission read the emotional suffering of children in their physical bodies. Like Chen Heqin, the Child Labor Commission presented scientific research through the lens of the sentimentalism of childhood.

The Child Labor Commission wanted to enforce British models<sup>119</sup> and Christian values, rather than to respond purely to local demands. Even though contemporary British experts joined the Child Labor Commission in China, they harkened back to the reforms of the Industrial Schools Acts of the previous century, rather than the current reforms of the early twentieth century. The Industrial Schools Acts had addressed a concern for girls coerced into prostitution.<sup>120</sup> Likewise, British colonial authorities in Hong Kong and Shanghai tapped into global concern in the 1920s for international human (female) trafficking, and called for state intrusion into the family domain.<sup>121</sup>

The Child Labor Commission was a part of a much larger movement, originating in Britain in the mid-nineteenth century, to protect young girls from exploitative work. The Child Labor Commission often referred to concurrent British efforts to regulate the abuses of *mui-tsai* 妹仔 (“slave girls” who were charitably adopted before betrothal)<sup>122</sup> in Hong Kong with laws in 1923 to delimit ages and ensure wages.<sup>123</sup> By stipulating age limits and minimum wages,<sup>124</sup> the British government clearly identified *mui-tsai* as

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<sup>117</sup> Reverend A. M. Sherman, “Minutes of the National Christian Council,” 466; Online Archive [www.archive.org](http://www.archive.org).

<sup>118</sup> Ibid. See also TC Chao, “The Church,” in William Hung, ed., *As It Looks to Young China; Chapters by a Group of Christian Chinese* (New York: Friendship Press, 1932), 160.

<sup>119</sup> Lin Tung-hai, *The Labour Movement and Labour Legislation in China*, 4, 6, 20; see also “Influence of the British Labour Movement,” 9-10. Lin hoped for the “possibility of industrializing China without at the same time introducing those evils which afflicted early industrialization in the West,” 248.

<sup>120</sup> Marianne Moore, “Social Control or Protection of the Child? The Debates On the Industrial Schools Acts 1857—1894,” *Journal of Family History* 33. 4 (October 1, 2008): 362.

<sup>121</sup> For example, in Shanghai, women’s clubs, led by Cornelia Bonnel and Maude Henderson, helped to organize the “Door of Hope” as a sanctuary for escaped prostitutes. See also Anne Waltner Fearn, *My Days of Strength*, 143-44; and Christian Henriot, *Prostitution and Sexuality in Shanghai: A Social History, 1849-1949* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

<sup>122</sup> Eleanor M. Hinder, *Social and Industrial Problems of Shanghai* (New York: Institute of Pacific Relations), 60.

<sup>123</sup> Great Britain Foreign Office, *Question of Slavery: Memorandum from the British Government on the subject of “mui-tsai” in Hong-Kong* (Geneva: League of Nations, 1925). See also Hong Kong, Mui-tsai Committee and F. H. Loseby, *Mui-tsai in Hong Kong: Report of the Committee Appointed by His Excellency the Governor, Sir William Peel* (London: H.M.S.O., 1936); Accessed online: Slavery and Anti-slavery: a Transnational Archive: [http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:hul.ebookbatch.SLAVE\\_batch:galsas002996](http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:hul.ebookbatch.SLAVE_batch:galsas002996).

<sup>124</sup> See the correspondence that various groups sent to Winston Churchill in *Hong Kong: Papers relative to the Mui-tsai Question, Presented by the Secretary of the State for the colonies to Parliament by Command of His Majesty*, November 1929, London: Printed and Published by His Majesty’s Stationary Office, 1929. The contemporary scholar who has written most extensively on the development of anti-*mui-tsai* regulations is the Reverend Carl T. Smith. Please see “The Chinese Church, Labour and Elites and the Mui

domestic laborers rather than adopted children. Thus, for reformers, what was at stake was jurisdiction over the child as a rightful citizen rather than family property,<sup>125</sup> but the overlap between the two movements exposes the colonial dimension of child welfare movements in the Hong Kong colony and the foreign-controlled International Settlement in Shanghai.<sup>126</sup> Furthermore, *mui-tsai* laws indicated British commitment, not just to policing individual families in England, but also to reshaping family and work institutions in the British colonies.

Whereas British reformers distinguished between “good” and “bad” families at home, they readily condemned intrinsic problems with the institution of the Chinese family *per se*. Missionary reformers and colonial officials interpreted Chinese family practices within the framework of economic slavery. Because of the “unilateral authority of the [Chinese] father,”<sup>127</sup> he enjoyed even the right to sell and enslave his children.<sup>128</sup> When the CLC wrote that the “conditions of life [for child laborers in China] are practically slavery,”<sup>129</sup> the CLC adapted missionary imagery about “child slaves” in the Confucian patriarchy.<sup>130</sup> Because modernizers (including those not aligned with Chinese Christianity, such as Governor Han Guojun) wanted to reform labor in ways that would segregate factory work from traditional forms of family production, they found much

Tsai Question in the 1920s,” *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 21 (1981): 91-113; and “The First Child Labour Law in Hong Kong,” *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 28 (1988).

<sup>125</sup> M. Colette Plum argues that World War II marked a sea change in Chinese attitudes toward children, from clan property to national citizens; see “Unlikely Heirs: War Orphans During the Second Sino-Japanese War, 1937-1945” (Stanford Ph.D. dissertation, 2006).

<sup>126</sup> Even after the Child Labor Bylaw failed, the British continued to influence attitudes and laws in the International Settlement. For example, in 1937, the Shanghai Municipal Council placed responsibility of “Protector of *Mui-tsai*” on the Chief of the Industrial and Social Division; see Hinder, 61. It is telling that they employed the Cantonese term *mui-tsai* rather than adopting a Mandarin or Shanghainese term. The Romanized pronunciation of the characters is Cantonese. The term 妹仔 *meizai* is rarely used in Mandarin.

<sup>127</sup> Valentin Aleksandrovich Raisanovsky, *Chinese Civil Law* (Tiensin: 1938), 265.

<sup>128</sup> George Jamieson, *Chinese Family and Commercial Law* (Shanghai: Kelley and Walsh, 1921). See also M. Geraldine Guinness’s plea to Western readers in *The Story of the China Inland Mission* (London: Morgan and Scott, 1894), 2:284: “It is not an uncommon thing for wealthy families to be brought to poverty and shame through the vices of husbands and fathers; and men are at liberty even to *sell* their wives and daughters to obtain money for opium, or to pay their gambling debts. Picture it! Ponder it! Pray over it! And think--do they not need us?”

<sup>129</sup> Child Labor Commission Appendix I, p. 10, Shanghai Municipal Archives, U1-3-2195.

<sup>130</sup> See, for example, in M. Geraldine Guinness, *The Story of the China Inland Mission*, 2:285, she wrote: “Little daughters-in-law living like slaves in the homes of their future husbands, whose parents, too poor to care for them, have been obliged to let them go as children to the families that have bought them for their sons--oh, how they need the protection of a friend! Thousands of these poor children continually endure indescribable sufferings from the unrestrained violence of those who have legal right to do with them what they will. It is the commonest thing for such little sufferers to take poison, or jump down a well, to end their misery.” See also photographs that missionaries circulated to demonstrate the need for their charities; for instance, “Slave girls in St. Elizabeth’s Hospital, Shanghai,” and “Main Building, St. Luke’s Hospital, Shanghai,” published in Arthur Gray and Arthur Sherman, *The Story of the Church in China* (New York: The Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, 1913).

common ground with missionary and May Fourth economic critiques of family practices in China.

The Child Labor Commission challenged gender assumptions that allowed under-aged girls to dominate domestic service and the silk industry.<sup>131</sup> The commission opposed employing six- or seven-year old girls to pick cocoons out from boiling water, scalding their fingers; instead, the CLC championed the new “Japanese Method.” The example of the Japanese Method offered by a model silk filature in Hangzhou employed sixteen-year old males who operated modern machines.<sup>132</sup> In contrast to the old “Italian Method,” the “Japanese method” was superior to the Italian method by every single measure of quality and efficiency.<sup>133</sup> Reformers thus projected common interests between business management and humanitarian reform. With statistical data about industrial efficiency, the Child Labor Report challenged Chinese cultural assumptions that girls should practice sericulture. Despite challenging prevailing gender norms in China, the commission used gender-free language in its recommendations because “no [legal] distinction should be made between the sexes,”<sup>134</sup> but in practice, the commission injected itself into a system that favored the unskilled labor of women and young girls.

The commission criticized the institutionalized labor customs that rendered children vulnerable to the exploitation of adults. In the “contract labor system,” an institutional system by which children were recruited and hired,<sup>135</sup>

the parents [were given] \$2 a month for the services of each child. By employing such children in the mills and factories the contractor is able to make a profit of about \$4 a month in respect of each child. These children are frequently most miserably housed and fed. They receive no money and their conditions of life are practically those of slavery.<sup>136</sup>

The commission adapted missionary imagery about the enslavement of Chinese children,<sup>137</sup> and showed that children were exploited in real economic terms. Child

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<sup>131</sup> Ibid.

<sup>132</sup> Kotenev, 295; and Anderson, *Humanity and Labour*, 153.

<sup>133</sup> Quality was defined by the rate of silk production, the amount produced from one catty, the amount of waste, and the stickiness. The newer method of silk reeling, called the Japanese method, involved cooling the cocoons in cooler water and fishing them out with ladles. The table compares reeling cocoons in spring and summer in terms of the hours required in reeling 10 ounces of silk, the silk quantity coming from one *tou* of cocoon, and the strength of the silk. It also notes that these statistics were compiled by “the Japanese Cocoon Examination Bureau and were written by a Japanese.” (Given the names that were applied to the newer and older methods of silk reeling, one wonders what happened to native Chinese methods.) “The Child Labor Commission of Shanghai,” *The Chinese Economic Monthly* 12 (September 1924), 4.

<sup>134</sup> Ibid, 8.

<sup>135</sup> For more on the contract labor system, please see Emily Honig, “The Contract Labor System and Women Workers,” *Modern China* 9.4 (October 1983). Honig highlights the role of Cora Deng.

<sup>136</sup> “The Child Labour Report,” 294.

<sup>137</sup> See, for example, in her *The Story of the China Inland Mission*, 2:285, Geraldine Guinness wrote:

“Little daughters-in-law living like slaves in the homes of their future husbands, whose parents, too poor to care for them, have been obliged to let them go as children to the families that have bought them for their sons—oh, how they need the protection of a friend! Thousands of these poor children continually endure indescribable sufferings from the unrestrained violence of those who have legal right to do with them what

laborers entered into a type of “slavery” because of the harshness of their living conditions and the absence of true economic remuneration. Once inside the factories, children suffered because of their low status in a miserable hierarchy of exploitation. According to the Child Labor Report, children are not necessarily exploited for their labor *per se*, but rather as victims for the frustrations of Chinese adults. Because the contract system pointed to the exploitation of Chinese overseers, it was a convenient target for Western factory owners—especially because, as Lin Tung-hai noted, the contract system necessitated middlemen that ended up demanding additional expenses for foreign business owners (who might not otherwise be able to recruit and handle the Chinese workers themselves).<sup>138</sup>

Reformers and business owners blamed Chinese parents for the prevalence of children in their factories—either because fathers could sell their children into the contract system, or because mothers wanted their infants and children to accompany them into factories. According to the *North China Daily*, Chinese parents felt that in factories, they “avoided the risk of having children stolen, always a haunting fear among the Chinese.”<sup>139</sup> The Cotton Mill Owners’ Association of China claimed: “the employment of children by mills is a matter of charitable nature towards the parent workers; for so long as their children are employed it adds to their income relieving the burden of supporting their children and also removes their anxiety for the safety of their children who, from the parents’ point of view, are safer and more comfortable in the mills than they would be if left to run wild in the street.”<sup>140</sup> The Cotton Mill Owners Association had purportedly tried to eliminate child labor, but faced opposition from parents.<sup>141</sup> The association expressed the fear that parents would work elsewhere, thus creating a labor shortage in Shanghai.<sup>142</sup> Miss Tak Hing-shin, a social worker who studied economics in London, publicly derided this line of corporate self-defense, a criticism that easily arose from economic theories about the threat of child labor to the adult labor market.<sup>143</sup>

Critiques about family order and adult supervision reflected economic concerns about overpopulation. The child labor supply exacerbated economic problems. Children glutted the labor market, providing an excess that drove down wages; as a result of low

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they will. It is the commonest thing for such little sufferers to take poison, or jump down a well, to end their misery.” See also photographs that missionaries circulated to demonstrate the need for their charities; for instance, “Slave girls in St. Elizabeth’s Hospital, Shanghai,” and “Main Building, St. Luke’s Hospital, Shanghai,” published in Gray and Sherman, *The Story of the Church in China*.

<sup>138</sup> Lin Tung-hai, *The Labour Movement and Labour Legislation in China*, 97-98.

<sup>139</sup> *North China Daily Herald* (November 25, 1922). For more on the fear of kidnapping in Chinese society, see Philip A. Kuhn, *Soulstealers: The Chinese Sorcery Scare of 1768* (Harvard University Press, 1992).

<sup>140</sup> Letter from the Cotton Mill Owners Association, included in the CLC Appendix, p. 32, Shanghai Municipal Archives, U1-3-2195.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>142</sup> *The Municipal Gazette: Being the Official Organ of the Executive Council for the Foreign Settlement of Shanghai*, 17. 947 (Saturday, July 19, 1924): 265, in Shanghai Municipal Archives, U1-16-2094.

<sup>143</sup> “Factory Conditions in China,” *North China Daily Herald* (April 4 1923).

wages, children's incomes were needed to sustain the livelihood of the family unit.<sup>144</sup> Because the link between the labor market and population growth, the CLC's report argued that the "large birthrate," alongside other problems of late modernization, child labor contributed to "the population ever tend[ing] to outstrip the means of substance."<sup>145</sup> Many liberals blamed the "amazing fecundity" of the Chinese for economic, social, and even political problems.<sup>146</sup> By eliminating "unwanted" children and restricting the labor market, reformers hoped to "relieve ... the present sufferings of the people."<sup>147</sup> Thus, liberal reform in Shanghai reflected Neo-Malthusian sentiments.

#### COMMUNIST FOCUS ON YOUTH CONSCIOUSNESS

Communists accepted Western definitions of an extended adolescence as part of their support for the "new youth" and youth activism of the May Fourth period. Communists commented on the report about the "Shanghai Child Labor Problem" by reconfiguring data about "child workers" to reflect Communist categories of childhood and work. For example, the short-lived Communist journal *The Chinese Worker* 中國工人 republished an abbreviated version of the "List of Mills and Factories." By aggregating disaggregating employees over and under twelve as "child labor" while retaining gender distinctions, Communist intellectual Li Dazhao referred to the general categories of "gender and youth" outlined in the 1922 CCP conference. (In keeping with those categories, an article on the same topic in the Communist periodical *The Guide*, Qi Ying slipped back and forth between references to "child workers" and "youth workers.") Because Li also noted that "many child laborers are not over five years old,"<sup>148</sup> he exaggerated the number of child laborers and gave the impression that the problem of underage labor was far more widespread. In the context of his description of how these children "work standing" without rest, Li assumed that all such "children" were actively engaged in labor. Thus, Li conveniently sidestepped or ignored the issue of nursing infants in the environment of factories (which Communist organizers had supported in the Pudong Weavers Strike). By thus inflating the numbers of child workers, Li over-reported not only the numbers of children but also the amount of labor in order to emphasize exploitative conditions and their transformative power.

Communist responses undercut and critiqued business owners' purported efforts to modernize the Chinese economy. Placing child labor in a feudal context, Li Dazhao used the word "apprentice" rather than "child worker." When he wrote, "Many female

<sup>144</sup> "Factory Conditions in China: Reformers Campaign at Home; Sad Stories of Mill Life; the Opposition of Parents," April 4, 1923; Shanghai Municipal Archives, U1-16-2094.

<sup>145</sup> Kotenev, 293.

<sup>146</sup> FT Tung, "The Food Problem in China—How to Solve it," *China Weekly Review* (August 30, 1924). The first problem Tung gives is the rise in population. The food shortage is responsible for "all sorts of social evils, local and international wars, labor unrest and other unavoidable calamities of society."

<sup>147</sup> Ibid.

<sup>148</sup> Li Dazhao, *Li Dazhao xuanji* 李大釗選集 [Selected Works of Li Dazhao] (Beijing: People's Press, 1962), 519

laborers eventually fall into prostitution; apprentices' ages and quality [the quality of the education that they are receiving] differ, but the utmost limit is five years of age,"<sup>149</sup> Li contrasted the defects of the present system with the relative benefits of a truly feudal system, when apprentices received training and girls were betrothed rather than (eventually) prostituted. (Like Cora Deng, the head of the YWCA, years later,<sup>150</sup> Li Dazhao also implicitly referred to "apprentices" as male workers who required training, and "child workers" as unskilled girls.) He implied that businesses "limited" the vocational training of apprentices in order to retain a supply of cheap, unskilled labor. Qi Ying expanded this critique of "half-feudal production methods":

At the same time, in terms of modern industrial development, they [business owners] have no choice but to abandon these half-feudal production methods, and to obtain capitalistic modes of production. On the pretext of developing and expanding the power of production, they implement even greater exploitation of youth workers.<sup>151</sup>

According to a model of economic determinism, business owners had "no choice" but to "obtain capitalistic modes of production." Where textile manufacturers saw the presence of infants as a half-feudal form of family production, Communists presented reform efforts, either by liberals or by manufacturers, as further "exploitation of youth workers." Ironically, when Communists decried reductions in wages that correspond to reduction in hours, they alluded to the benefits of a working wage for child laborers (because they were also gesturing toward youth workers). Qi Ying did not acknowledge the role of businesses in introducing to China mechanical modes of production because businesses' stated desire to modernize China was only a "pretext" for "even greater exploitation."

Communist interest in the "Shanghai Child Labor Problem" focused on the issue of raising class-consciousness among exploited workers. Like the Child Labor Commission, Li Dazhao blamed the institutional systems that *enslave* child workers when he calls them "those little slaves 小奴隸 of the factory managers and contractors." Thus, both Li and the Child Labor Commission used this imagery to describe the position of children in factories. But Li Dazhao lamented the lack of class-consciousness among child workers, who are "exploited yet unaware."<sup>152</sup> Li Dazhao entreated "Honorable journalists and young comrades who care for society, [to] look and see that your little friends' 小朋友們 lives are so miserable, so painful, and think of a way to improve it."<sup>153</sup> Li shared with the Child Labor Commission assumptions about the inherent vulnerability of very young children, who require outside protection and help; nevertheless, Li presented the vulnerability of children as rooted in their lack of class-consciousness

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<sup>149</sup> Ibid, 519.

<sup>150</sup> Cora Deng, "Labour Problems," *China Christian Year Book, 1934-35* (Shanghai: Christian Literature Society for China; National Christian Council of China), 13.

<sup>151</sup> Qi Ying 其穎 "The Shanghai Child Labor Problem," *The Guide* 嚮導 *Xiangdao* 12.110 (April 1925): 1011-1012.

<sup>152</sup> Li Dazhao, *Li Dazhao Xuanji*, 520.

<sup>153</sup> Ibid, 522.

rather than their innocence. Much like Christian missionaries, Li presented himself and his organization as the benefactors of helpless children.

Unlike the Christian groups who wanted to retake the progressive political vanguard for themselves, Qi Ying went a step further to suggest that child laborers should speak on their own behalf, so he took the logic of self-expression and self-empowerment to a new level. Qi wrote, “Hopefully, Shanghai’s 733,272 little slaves 小奴隸 will gather together [at the April 15, 1925 International Settlement’s Ratepayers meeting] to put forth conditions that would be truly beneficial [such as vocational schools and tuition waivers for child workers].”<sup>154</sup> Despite his forceful call for self-representation, Qi’s concrete demands, like the Child Labor Commission’s recommendations, thus focused on wages and schooling. Qi’s recommendations – such as the establishment of vocational schools, tuition waivers, and weekly periods of rest – are only slightly more generous in terms of length and benefits than the Child Labor Commission’s. Like the CLC, Qi Ying thought that the most appropriate place for children was in school. The fact that Communists could not offer substantially different recommendations indicates that, despite the ideological differences between the various groups in Shanghai, their concerns about child labor converged far more than has commonly been assumed.

#### CONCLUSION

The Child Labor Commission defined diversity primarily in terms of race,<sup>155</sup> but its Chinese Christian participants did not adequately reflect popular currents of Chinese nationalism. Western historians have generally blamed nationalistic fervor and the labor strikes of the May 30<sup>th</sup> Movement for the failure of the Child Labor Bylaw.<sup>156</sup> The Mixed Council derailed the bylaw by linking it to an unpopular press law commonly considered a threat to Chinese sovereignty.<sup>157</sup> Moreover, the Special Session to discuss further possibilities unfortunately coincided with rising labor tensions in the May 30<sup>th</sup> Movement.<sup>158</sup> Because “nationality” of companies had played such an important part of the initial report and popular commentaries,<sup>159</sup> national blame thus constituted a large

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<sup>154</sup> Qi Ying 其穎 published “The Shanghai Child Labor Problem” in the CCP publication for cadre *The Guide* 嚮導 *Xiangdao* 12.110 (April 1925): 1011-1012. His forceful statement for self-representation was somewhat undermined in the context of the Communist Party’s takeover of the Socialist Youth League in China.

<sup>155</sup> Anderson, *Humanity and Labour*, 137.

<sup>156</sup> See, for example, Emily Honig, *Sisters and Strangers: Women in the Shanghai Cotton Mills, 1919-1949* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1986), 26-27.

<sup>157</sup> See Wagner, 93.

<sup>158</sup> Robin Porter, *Industrial Reformers in Republican China*, 111.

<sup>159</sup> The Commission also carefully emphasized Chinese, rather than foreign, ownership of companies that employed child labor. For instance, in a short notice about the creation of the Child Labor Commission, the *China Weekly Review* listed a number of companies who were associated with child labor in some way in the International Settlement. (Perhaps this list of child-labor factories functioned opposite of their “Who’s Who” listing, but the Commission was careful not to accuse these companies of any specific harm.) Furthermore, the article indicated the national ownership of the company involved, but gave the caveat that



factor in discussions during the aftermath of the failure of the bylaw.<sup>160</sup> Given the failure of the Child Labor Bylaw, China's semi-colonial context created a web of power relations into which issues of childhood growth and child protection were subsumed.

Even as child welfare advocates championed the cause of child protection and labor laws, they tended to defer to issues of national patriotism. In the 1931 Yenching University student Zheng Huizhu, for example, drew heavily from the Child Labor Report, but predicted that the International Settlement would be the last to abolish child labor: "With the passage of the various new Labor Laws the employment of children will be regulated and perhaps eradicated throughout China in a course of time except in concessions such as Shanghai, which will be a problem so long as it remains an International Settlement."<sup>161</sup> This prediction implies that the international imperialism was to blame for child exploitation, but elsewhere, Zheng points to the lack of sentimentalism as the major factor. Her larger point was about the proper value of childhood and the social and economic costs of child labor for "the child in terms of diseases, lack of education and material as well as spiritual loss," for industry in terms of "waste of products, less profit in the long run and lower efficiency," and for society in terms of "wrecked human beings, broken homes, ignorant citizens and potential criminality."<sup>162</sup> In part through the transmission of its figures and tables, the Child Labor Commission had persuasively argued that the social and economic value of childhood outweighed the benefits of exploitation. Government offices continued to survey child labor in the 1930s,<sup>163</sup> but the philanthropic elite of the Child Labor Commission redounded their attention to alleviating conditions through charity rather than legislation. Even if the Commission had failed either to push forward legislation or to showcase Western charity, it had helped to embed the value of childhood within the ideal calculus of national labor and state economics.<sup>164</sup>

The Child Labor Commission represented an important trend in child protection and the spread of intellectual and cultural beliefs based on the sentimentalization of childhood. Although the commission had included Chinese representation, the shock of

some foreigners may have lent their names to a company for legal and economic purposes (for instance, allowing them to operate in the International Settlement).

<sup>160</sup> An anonymous contributor wrote that perhaps the German community would have attended in greater numbers if there were a German representative on the International Settlement's Council. The *China Weekly Review* carefully noted that one half of the British ratepayers attended the meeting. Interestingly, no one in the press mentioned the language and translation difficulties that an international community had to face. The Council had discussed the possibility of providing translation into Japanese in order to encourage the Japanese ratepayers to attend; this suggestion was overturned because it would require too much time.

<sup>161</sup> Cheng, Hui-chu, "Child Labour in Shanghai," (MA, Yen-ching University, Department of Sociology, 1931), 1.

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.*, 45.

<sup>163</sup> For example, *Nankai Weekly Statistical Service* 4.9 (March 2, 1931); and *Chinese Economic Bulletin* 25.13 (September 29, 1934).

<sup>164</sup> Anderson would continue to serve the British Foreign Office in the 1920s, and in 1931, she served the International Labour Office (ILO) on a factory inspection mission for China. See Hilda Martindale, *Some Victorian Portraits and Others*, 50.

nationalistic backlash showed that welfare organizations needed Chinese leadership, rather than merely Chinese representation. The West, however, remained a source of economic aid. After the failure of the Child Labor Commission, the “National Child Welfare Association” (with complex ties to international organizations) took up the mantle of consciousness-raising and charity work through explicitly patriotic venues. Although continuing to promote changes to laws,<sup>165</sup> the National Welfare Association shifted its main focus to creating welfare institutions for poor children. The future bride of Chiang Kai-shek, Song Meiling (Soong Meiling), had served on the Child Labor Commission, and she would continue to appeal to Western and Christian philanthropists in her wartime efforts to help refugee and orphaned children (See Chapter Six). Thus, the Child Labor Commission played an important part in the long-term narrative of Chinese welfare and childhood protection in the twentieth century.

Chinese Communist historiography drew heavily on the Child Labor Report’s statistics about numbers of child laborers in China and elsewhere, as well as figures concerning wages and work shifts,<sup>166</sup> but Communists generally omitted any reference to the organization or its history.<sup>167</sup> Communists emphasized the subtext of China’s semi-colonial status, but they obfuscated the issue of youth or child labor.

Nevertheless, the Communists’ engagement with the Child Labor Commission’s Report certainly provided a forum to challenge perceptions of charity and welfare. Li Dazhao’s essay, in response to the Child Labor Commission, also indicated that some Communists shared concerns for child protection. Statistical tables, as the enduring legacy of the Child Labor Commission, contained implicit assumptions about the proper environment for infant hygiene and the pre-modern backwardness of traditional family labor – notions that would later drive institutional changes during the 1950s, when the Chinese Communist Party began to implement some of the statist theories of the 1920s. As we will see in Chapter Six, the government implicitly explained this reversal by pointing to the “false charity” of business interests, as Communist commentators had done in the 1920s. Thus, despite Communist mistrust of Christian liberalism, attempts at

<sup>165</sup> Economists like H.D. Fong, Ph.D., Professor of Economics at Nankai University, continued to study child labor and industrial accidents. Fong noted that 95% of the industrial accidents that women and children suffered were on their hands or above, because of the type of work they do; see H.D. Fong, *Cotton Industry and Trade* 1.4 (August 1932), 152. Of the 327,842 cotton workers in the 28 cities in China, 202,738 (61.84%) were women, and 20,633 (6.29%) were child workers (145).

<sup>166</sup> Zhong Gongzhuan 鍾恭撰, *Qingnian Gongren Wenti* 青年工人問題 [Youth Worker Issues] (Shanghai: Chang Jiang shu dian, 1927), in Stanford University Library.

<sup>167</sup> Lu Yungeng 魯運庚, “Minguo chunian de ertong yanjiu” 民國初年的童工研究 [Early Republican Child Labor Research], *Minguo Dang’an* 民國檔案 [Republican Archives] 2 (May 5, 2002); Yi Mingming 尹明明 and Lu Yungeng 魯運庚, “20 shijichu Zhongguo de tonggong yanjiu wenti” 20世紀初中國的童工問題研究 [Research on China’s Child Labor Problem in the Early 20<sup>th</sup> Century], *Shandong Shifan Daxue Xuebao* 山東師範大學學報 3 (May 18, 2003); Lu Yungeng 魯運庚 and Liu Changfei 劉長飛, “Minguo chunian de tonggong xianxiang” 民國初年的童工現象 [The Phenomenon of Child Labor in the Early Republican Period], *Laodong Baohu* 勞動保護 [Labor Protection] 6 (May 1, 2003): 54-55. Articles accessed via China Academic Journal Electronic Publishing House.

liberal humanitarian reform—for poor children, factory discipline, and state development—would help to shape Communist ideas about welfare and discipline.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### PATRONAGE AND PROTECTION IN THE NEW LIFE MOVEMENT

During the Nanjing decade (1927-36), civic and educational associations cooperated with the Nationalist Party to protect “children’s rights” and promote Chinese leadership. The rights of childhood were play and dependency, rather than the rights of adulthood to pursue independence and freedom, and children’s rights thus required the empowerment of political leaders to protect them.<sup>1</sup> The Nationalist government established a Bureau of Social Affairs in Shanghai in 1928, in part to prove to Western powers that the Chinese government could manage treaty ports on its own.<sup>2</sup> Civic associations and government bureaus coordinated a synthesis between the symbolic significance of child welfare and the pedagogical theory behind childhood education; in terms of both curricular content and symbolic function, educated elites cultivated an image of Chinese leadership both in society and within the home.

The National Child Welfare Association 中華慈幼協會 aimed to sentimentalize childhood, but professionalize parenthood, because children’s need justified modern, scientific leadership. This organization facilitated “new citizenship rituals” based around children, thinking about the reshaping of child subjectivities, and the transnational sentimentalization of children. Providing direct aid when possible, the Child Welfare Association was often limited to consciousness-raising and indirect models because of financial constraints. In contrast to American fundraisers, the Child Welfare Association circulated images of healthy rather than poor children, and included in textbooks, lessons to promote the civic-mindedness of a new generation of young Chinese philanthropists and parents. Like Chen Heqin, the Welfare Association drew upon both institutional examples and family stories to create an ideal standard for childhood growth. With journals and publications, the association celebrated the comfortable lifestyles of the Shanghai urbanites who consumed ideas about child psychology and supported outreach for child welfare. With the encroachment of Japanese military aggression, the Welfare Association displayed the health and vigor of Chinese children to garner patriotic support. With rituals like Children’s Day and Children’s Year, the Welfare Association increased the symbolic and sentimental value of childhood.

Civic associations like the National Child Welfare Association and the Mental Hygiene Association 心理衛生協會<sup>3</sup> produced and supported academic theories to

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<sup>1</sup> Hugh Cunningham, “Saving the Children, c. 1850-c. 1920,” in Heidi Morrison, ed. *The Global History of Childhood Reader* (Routledge, 2012), 370.

<sup>2</sup> Frederic E. Wakeman, *Policing Shanghai, 1927-1937* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 45-47, especially footnote 19.

<sup>3</sup> For example, see The Department of Philanthropic Information, *The Mental Hygiene Movement: From the Philanthropic Standpoint* (New York: Central Hanover bank and Trust Company, 1939), 12. In the United States, the Mental Hygiene Movement helped push the fields of neurology and psychiatry toward “cooperating—not quarreling” (23), especially under the direction of the United States Army, so that “psychiatry, which entered upon its war duties almost unknown as far as the public was concerned, ‘emerged with enormous experience, enormous accomplishments, enormous prestige.’ It was no longer ‘the Cinderella of medicine’” (23). The Department of Philanthropic Information advocated that social workers

undergird the basic tenants of the Nationalist's New Life Movement, a government-led campaign to inculcate patriotism through new daily practices. Although the New Life Movement has typically been judged a top-down failure to reach the masses,<sup>4</sup> the movement was supported by academic theories and popular psychology about the connection between daily practice and habitual thinking. Furthermore, intellectuals in these associations modeled and publicized new childrearing practices to deepen the effect of a patriotic, Nationalistic curriculum. By articulating the mechanism joining daily practice and subject formation, the Child Welfare Association helped to strengthen the connection between childhood education and state power.

#### NEW LEADERSHIP UNDER THE NATIONAL CHILD WELFARE ASSOCIATION

In the wake of the failure of the Child Labor Bylaw and the rise of the Nationalist Party, the National Child Welfare Association was established in 1928 in Shanghai.<sup>5</sup> The association drew upon many of the wealthy Chinese and Western elites who had also supported the abolition of child labor. Observers had blamed the failure of the child labor bylaw on Chinese nationalism, but the association had Chinese leadership and provided Chinese nationalism.<sup>6</sup> While cooperating with the Nationalist government, the association promoted philanthropy and industrial welfare. Instead of legislating against child labor, the association established "model" daycares for industrialists to provide their own welfare centers and preschools for workers. Like the Child Labor Commission, the Welfare Association devoted much of its attention to consciousness raising and publicity. In contrast to the Child Labor Commission and many missionary associations, however, the Welfare Association overtly celebrated a strong Chinese family and encouraged Chinese elites to lead philanthropic efforts for Chinese children.

Prominent Chinese politicians ran the National Child Welfare Association. H.H. Kung (Kong Xiangxi), a 75<sup>th</sup> lineal descendent of Confucius and brother-in-law to Chiang Kai-shek, founded the association in Shanghai in 1928. Kung later served as President of the Executive Yuan,<sup>7</sup> thus continuing the patronage of child welfare

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(30-31) and medical doctors (63) learn about mental hygiene. Defining mental hygiene as "simply mental health or the rules by which mental health may be attained and maintained" (7), the Department of Philanthropic Information charted the early years of mental health reform to Dorothea Lynde Dix (19-20), but also attributed the rise of the movement to Clifford Beers (33). American reformers established child guidance clinics (47-52) and advocated using IQ testing in schools and the army.

<sup>4</sup> Arif Dirlik, "The Ideological Foundations of the New Life Movement: A Study in Counterrevolution," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 34.4 (August 1, 1975): 945-980.

<sup>5</sup> Shanghai Municipal Archives, Q6-9-27.

<sup>6</sup> "Ertongjie an" 兒童節案 [Files on Children's Day], *Academia Historica*, 001-051616-0023. This document was written on March 1, 1940 concerning preparations for Children's Day.

<sup>7</sup> Yu Liang, *Kong Xiangxi: The Biography of a Former Premier of Nationalist China* (Alumni Club of Oberlin Shansi Memorial College, 1957). H.H. Kung studied at Oberlin and founded Oberlin in Shansi with funds from Oberlin, and later also the British Boxer Indemnity Fund and the Rockefeller Foundation. See Hubert Freyn, *Chinese Education in the War* (prepared under the auspices of the Council of International Affairs, Chungking) (Shanghai, Hong Kong, and Singapore: Kelly, Walsh, Limited, 1940), 58.

philanthropy by top government leaders, a precedent set by the first premier of China, Xiong Xiling. In Children's Year (1935-36), the National Child Welfare Association organized a national conference on child welfare with H.H. Kung as president, and Chiang Kai-shek and Dai Jitao 戴季陶 (1891-1949), the first head of the Examination Yuan, as honorary presidents.<sup>8</sup> Local politicians in Shanghai gave speeches.<sup>9</sup> (The association used publications to showcase the family lives of the elite; see Figure 16.) These politicians gained publicity and social legitimacy from child welfare, but they also provided visibility and networking resources to the Welfare Association.

Charity work served as a venue for self-promotion for prominent politicians and business leaders. For example, the National Child Welfare Association lobbied the Shanghai municipal government for the creation of a Child Welfare ("Happiness") Committee 兒童幸福委員會 that included, like the Child Labor Commission, a mixture of donors, experts, and representatives from philanthropic associations.<sup>10</sup> The list included the famous Buddhist philanthropist, Wang Yiting,<sup>11</sup> and child psychologist Chen Heqin, as well as the infamous gang leader, Du Yuesheng.<sup>12</sup> Missionary doctor Anne Walter Fearn recalled, "If it hadn't been for Tu Yueh-sung [Du Yuesheng], the man of mystery generally conceded to be Shanghai's Number One gangster, many is the time one of my entertainments for charity might have failed."<sup>13</sup> Du's charitable contributions and invaluable help provided the gangster a greater degree of political and cultural legitimacy.

In addition to Chinese leadership the Child Welfare Association received the support of Western Christians. An editorial in the Christian journal, *The Chinese Recorder*, presented the establishment of child health centers, through the National Child Welfare Association of China, as a step forward for "the rights of children."<sup>14</sup> According

<sup>8</sup> Xiong Xiling, former premier of China and founder and president of the Western Hills' Child Welfare Home of Beijing as a vice-president; Xu Shiying (Hsu Shi-ying) former premier of China as a vice-president; Huang Zhaoxiong (Huang Chao-hsiung), Minister of Interior as a vice-president; General Wu Tiecheng (Wu Te-chen 吳鐵城), Mayor of Shanghai, as a vice-president; Qu Yingguang (Chu Yingkwang),<sup>8</sup> former governor of Zhejiang, as chief secretary; S.I. Zao, former Vice-Minister of Industries, as chairman for the committee for the preparation of the conference; see Andrew V. Wu, "Child Welfare Conference," *The Chinese Recorder* Vol. 66 (January 1935), 62.

<http://140.112.114.9/cr/image.php?v=66&sp=62&q=Association+for+the+Welfare+of+Children&scr=941>

<sup>9</sup> "Meeting of the National Child Welfare Association," *The Chinese Recorder* 68 (March 1937), 193.

<sup>10</sup> Shanghai Municipal Archives, Q235-1-50 (May 2, 1933).

<sup>11</sup> For more information on Wang Yiting, see Paul R. Katz, "The Religious Life of a Renowned Shanghai Businessman and Philanthropist, Wang Yiting," in Wu Renshu 巫仁恕, ed., *Cong chengshi kan Zhongguo de xiandaixing* 從城市看中國的現代性 [The City and Chinese Modernity] (Taipei: Zhongyang Yanjiuyuan Jindaishi Yanjiusuo, 2010).

<sup>12</sup> Frederic E. Wakeman, provides a short biography of Du Yuesheng in *Policing Shanghai, 1927-1937* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 117; Wakeman then goes on to discuss Du's role in the narcotics trade, the Green Gang, and Nationalist politics. See also Brian G. Martin, *The Shanghai Green Gang: Politics and Organized Crime, 1919-1937* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996).

<sup>13</sup> Anne Walter Fearn, *My Days of Strength; an American Woman Doctor's Forty Years in China*, 1st ed. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers, 1939), 293.

<sup>14</sup> "The Rights of Children," *The Chinese Recorder* Vol. 60 (1929), 685.

to this editorialist, healthy children “with growing personalities” were a requirement for a “strong” China. The nation had an interest in protecting children both physically and psychologically. In an appeal to concerned Christians, the journal compared the National Child Welfare Association to an “infant facing a Goliath.” This Biblical allusion highlighted the importance of age and innocence in the face of larger, corruptive forces. In U.S. news articles, China Child Welfare, Inc., assured contributions that “native Christian groups” distributed relief, and the Christian leadership of the National Child Welfare Association helped draw foreign donors.<sup>15</sup>

The China Child Welfare, Inc., established in New York in 1928, almost concurrently with the National Child Welfare Association, raised funds specifically for Chinese children. The China Child Welfare, Inc., remitted funds to the National Child Welfare Association of China.<sup>16</sup> In July 1929, the China Child Welfare, Inc., sent board-member Peggy Dougherty to China to coordinate the operations of the two groups, especially “to make certain that American aid was desired and needed.” Although the Board had proposed a formal agreement with the National Child Welfare Association, Dougherty did not secure a contract before she left Shanghai on January 3, 1930. To facilitate communication between the two groups, Dougherty identified six American businessmen in Shanghai to serve as members of an American Executive Committee.<sup>17</sup> American members more forthrightly asked for money than did the Chinese members: “There were no complaints made [by the Chinese]; only the fact to be faced that they could not go on without money. The comments regarding this were from the foreign members of the Board; not from the Chinese.”<sup>18</sup> Dougherty carefully maintained that the Chinese leaders were worthy and grateful recipients of American funding.

Cooperation with the Nationalist state was important for both the National Child Welfare Association of China and for the China Child Welfare, Inc. Peggy Dougherty was sent to “make personal contacts with Chinese leaders,” such as Chiang Kai-shek and the Ministers of Health and Education, as well as representatives of private organizations such as the Rotary Club, the YMCA, the YWCA, and the Christian Ginling (Jinling) College Alumna Association.<sup>19</sup> Dougherty thus targeted the same demographic of wealthy Christian philanthropists who had earlier supported the campaign against child labor in Shanghai. As Anderson had similarly written regarding child labor abolition, Dougherty wrote, “utmost cooperation was promised when needed by each and every one

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<sup>15</sup> “PLANS \$2,000,000 DRIVE FOR CHINESE CHILDREN: New Welfare Association Would Create 10 New Centers and 25 Others,” *New York Times* (January 28, 1928), sec. Radio.

<sup>16</sup> Like the Fragrant Hills Orphanage in Beijing, the organizations began by providing aid for famine victims in China. “Ask Aid for Chinese Children,” *New York Times* (December 22, 1927).

<sup>17</sup> The businessmen were: Mr. T.J. Cokely, Dollar Steamship Company; Mr. P.S. Hopkins, Standard Oil Company; Mr. K. Torrey, National City Bank of New York; Mr. Karl Crow, Owner of the *Shanghai Post*; Mr. Shumaker, Equitable Eastern Bank; Dr. Goerge Sellert, District Attorney. See Peggy Dougherty, “Report of my trip to China in the Interest of China Child Welfare, Inc.,” H. H. Kung Papers, Hoover Institute.

<sup>18</sup> Peggy Dougherty, “Report of my trip to China in the Interest of China Child Welfare, Inc.,” H. H. Kung Papers, Hoover Institute.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*

of them [i.e., the Chinese politicians].”<sup>20</sup>

The China Child Welfare, Inc., solicited state and local cooperation on the ground level in both China and the U.S. The China Child Welfare, Inc., also needed to meet the standards and receive the endorsement of the National Information Bureau in the United States. An important part of Dougherty’s mission was to explain these fundraising conditions to the National Child Welfare Association<sup>21</sup> so that the Chinese offices would comply with the necessary information. Differences between the two national venues and fundraising methods created tension between the two offices.

The National Child Welfare Committee began with significant donations from local Chinese leaders. Like many NGOs in China today, the Association leaned heavily on its Executive Committee for financial contributions.<sup>22</sup> For example, in May 1931, donations for that month were 8,145.60 (unspecified national currency) dollars, 4,200 of which had been donated by Executive Committee Head H.H. Kung.<sup>23</sup> Kung also purportedly paid for the salaries of some clerks from his own pocket.<sup>24</sup> In addition, the National Child Welfare Association also solicited funds from Chinese and foreign businesses and local governments.<sup>25</sup> It published glossy vanity-style photographs of middle-class families active in the association to reward the largest donors and financial contributions to the organization.<sup>26</sup> The association showcased strong, happy Chinese families rather than weak, poor Chinese children. These families also provided models for ideal childhood growth. By offering these examples of “modern families,” the association used the same methodology that Chen Heqin had, in mixing the personal and the political.

In contrast, the China Child Welfare continued missionary fundraising strategies exposing dire need. Executive secretary Dr. J. Stewart Nagle was a successful fundraiser. A former missionary to China,<sup>27</sup> Nagle took up the cause of destitute and disabled children in the United States and abroad.<sup>28</sup> Like the *Chinese Recorder*, Nagle emphasized that Chinese Christians undertook relief work in China (omitting the fact that there was a separate organization in Shanghai with its own overhead); he also assured American donors that, despite transportation problems, “every dollar will reach its destination.”<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> Shanghai Municipal Archives, Q6-9-27.

<sup>23</sup> “Executive Committee of the National Child Welfare Association, May 16<sup>th</sup>,” H. H. Kung Papers, Hoover Institute.

<sup>24</sup> Anne Walter Fearn, *My Days of Strength*, 293.

<sup>25</sup> For example, “Zhongfa yaofang guanyu Zhonghua Ciyou Xiehui de laiwang xinjian,” Shanghai Municipal Archives, Q38-76-12.

<sup>26</sup> For example, the first few pages of a conference volume on family education depict page-length photographs of politicians and their wives: Wu Tiecheng, *Jiating jiaoyu jiangzuo* 家庭教育講座 [“Municipal Child Welfare Association Committee on Family Education, A Symposium on Family Education”], (Shanghai, 1935), Columbia Teachers College Library.

<sup>27</sup> Dr. William Harrison de Puy, *The Methodist Year-book* (Philips & Hunt, 1913), 96.

<sup>28</sup> See Frances Koestler, *The Unseen Minority: a Social History of Blindness in America* (New York: D. McKay Co, 1976), 153.

<sup>29</sup> “Child Welfare Progresses in China,” *New York Times* (March 20, 1930).



After Nagle resigned to work for the Christian Children's Fund in 1932,<sup>30</sup> “consequently the wonderful structure he had built is in a very tottering state,” from the perspective of the Shanghai office.<sup>31</sup> The Shanghai office requested a full list of American donors (perhaps to conduct their own direct fundraising campaigns), but the New York branch demurred, arguing that the long list of small donors would hardly be worth the time and paperwork.

American fundraising strategies focused on mass campaigns, often through Christian churches and organizations, for small donations. From a Christian perspective, it may have been as important to mobilize congregations at home as it was to have helped the poor abroad. One of the most important tools in the American fundraising campaigns was photography. The National Child Welfare Association circulated pamphlets in English and Chinese to various Chinese businesses, but their photographs emphasized the modernity and efficiency of their institutions.<sup>32</sup> For example, photographs of the Shanghai Child Welfare Clinic depicted orderly lines, well-equipped rooms and Chinese nurses with children, sitting underneath the framed portrait of founder H.H. Kung. (See Figure 17 in the Appendix.) Welfare thus reinforced the celebrity of politicians. The Welfare Association never supplied materials and photographs sufficient for American fundraising needs. Such photographs were difficult to capture. Peggy Dougherty commented that even though “needy children...surround you at every hand,”

It is not possible to get pictures in these localities. The children run away from the camera and the adults drive the photographer off. For these reasons I had no success in getting the pictures though I tried it many times.<sup>33</sup>

Dougherty attempted to photograph “needy children”—the ones whose “pitiable sight” had moved urban residents to campaign against child labor in the 1920s. In the end, she reported, “The best I could do was to secure pictures of the Lunsha Orphanage where we have 37 children, and those of the Child Health Exhibit which should be useful in campaign work.”<sup>34</sup> Photographs of individual needy children would have been more effective than these photographs of healthy children in good institutions for effective fundraising.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Edmund W. Janss, *Yankee Si: the Story of Dr. J. Calvitt Clarke and His 36,000 Children* (New York: William Morrow & Company, 1961), 24.

<sup>31</sup> “Report of Mr. G. B. Fryer and his visit to the China Child Welfare, Inc., New York,” H. H. Kung Papers, 1917-1949, Hoover Institute Archives. George Fryer's father John Fryer established a school for the Chinese blind; see Anne Waltner Fearn, *My Days of Strength*, 170.

<sup>32</sup> Those institutions included: 上海慈幼教養院, 關北貧民教養院, 上海戰區兒童、嬰孩、女孩收養院, see “Zhongfa Yaofang guanyu Zhonghua Ciyou Xiehui laiwan xingjian” 中法藥方關於與中華慈幼協會來往信件 [Correspondence between the ChuangFa Pharmacy and the National Child Welfare Committee] (1939-1943), Shanghai Municipal Archives Q38-76-12. Note: correspondence started in 1930. For more information on the ChungFa Pharmacy, established in 1890, see: <http://www.yananpharm.com/home/aboutus/history/tabid/525/Default.aspx>

<sup>33</sup> Peggy Dougherty, “Report,” p. 7, H. H. Kung Papers, 1917-1949, Hoover Institute.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

In a similar cultural gap, the New York office requested the “adoption” of particular Chinese children, to the alarm of the Shanghai office. Dougherty reported that adoption was “never understood by the National Child Welfare Association of China.” Chinese leaders could not feasibly find specific children, but they willingly responded to Dougherty’s suggestion that they select the “best-looking” children already in their care to photograph for foreign donors. They were also “quickly satisfied” that “designated funds” would specifically support such adopted children.<sup>36</sup> American sponsors expected updates from their “children,” who would ask “aunties” for special birthday gifts.<sup>37</sup> The intimacy of these expectations for personal, sentimental connections confused Chinese leadership about the meaning of “adoption.” As with the photographs, the Shanghai office preferred to draw on institutional resources already at hand, or even surveying demographic information about street children, rather than “locating a child” with particular qualities for photographs or interviews.

In part because of differences in fundraising practices, the Shanghai and New York offices questioned each other’s spending and efficiency. The dominant role of Chinese politicians could raise American suspicions about Chinese executive control and management. After touring New York’s China Child Welfare, Inc., offices, George B. Fryer, superintendent of the Institution for the Chinese Blind,<sup>38</sup> and reported back to the National Child Welfare Association: “Mrs. Roberts told me that they were continually receiving letters from China in regard to the way the Shanghai office was run [which would suggest] that overhead expenses were met with American money, that the funds they sent were not used judiciously but very lavishly, that everything was done in an unbusiness-like manner and that the general secretary engaged his own relations on the office staff at exorbitant salaries. I tried to point out that such letters should not be taken seriously.”<sup>39</sup> At the same time, Fryer himself looked askance at China Child Welfare’s rent and office employees in New York, “the salaries of whom I could not ascertain.”<sup>40</sup> Fryer found that the group had collected \$108,000, of which \$65,000 was designated for campaigning, and “43,000 is supposed to have been remitted to Shanghai.”<sup>41</sup> Despite signs of mutual mistrust, Roberts still promised Fryer that the New York office would continue to send an agreed-upon 20,000 annuity in Mexican dollars, even though “we could not trace this agreement.”<sup>42</sup> Thus, despite cooperation, both New York and Shanghai offices each suspected the other of wasting funds on overhead expenses rather than relief work. These internal memos undermine the newspaper reports and assurances that every dollar arrived at its destination, and indicate how difficult it was to account for

<sup>36</sup> Peggy Dougherty, “Report,” H. H. Kung Papers, Hoover Institute.

<sup>37</sup> Edmund Janss, *Yankee Si!: The Story of Dr. J. Calvitt Clarke and his 36,000 Children*, 30.

<sup>38</sup> “Shanghai Yutong xuexiao” 上海育童學校 [Shanghai Yutong School], Shanghai Municipal Archives, U38-5-1634.

<sup>39</sup> Report of Mr. GB Fryer and his visit to the China Child Welfare, Inc., New York, H.H. Kung Papers, 1917-1949, Hoover Institute Archives.

<sup>40</sup> “Report of Mr. GB Fryer and his visit to the China Child Welfare, Inc., New York,” p 2, H.H. Kung Papers, 1917-1949, Hoover Institute Archives.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*

the fair use of charitable funds; if welfare organizations could not internally account for 20,000 US dollars, it would be that much more difficult for Chinese elites to withstand accusations, later articulated by Communist in the 1950s, of gross embezzlement and mismanagement.

Just as the Child Labor Commission followed the British models, so too did the New York office outline U.S. models for Chinese institutions. For example, the Child Welfare Association long planned to create a model child health center, including a kindergarten, hospital, and research center. Local administrators, as well as educational experts like Chen Heqin and Tao Xingzhi, served as executives for planning the center.<sup>43</sup> In addition to their annual funds, the New York office also promised 40,000 USD for this special construction project. The architect designing the building was Henry Murphy (1877–1954),<sup>44</sup> who had also planned Peking Union Medical College and many benevolent associations in San Francisco Chinatown.<sup>45</sup> The New York office envisioned the Nanjing Center as a high-profile building to attract attention at the national level with cooperation from “Madame Chiang Kai-shek and other Nanking friends in regard to their ideas and suggestions before proceeding with detailed plans.”<sup>46</sup> With important connections to Madame Chiang Kai-shek and her family, the Child Welfare Association could build a center with as a “model for the Chinese government to use in erecting similar buildings in different parts of China.”<sup>47</sup> After disagreement over locating the center in Shanghai or the government capital of Nanjing,<sup>48</sup> the choice of Nanjing indicated a capitulation, on the part of the Executive Committee in Shanghai, to government authority. The Nationalist government donated seven acres of land, adjacent to Ginling College (a Christian women’s college founded in 1913), in the center of Nanjing.<sup>49</sup> Given its curriculum in domestic science and child welfare,<sup>50</sup> it was probably intended that women from Ginling College would be able to serve at the Center. Since the demonstration center would “comprise a model kindergarten and a Child Study bureau together with a clinic, hospital and playground,”<sup>51</sup> these plans continued longstanding trends of combining children’s services with childhood research.

New York’s office offered blueprints of its own buildings for Chinese to construct a high-profile monument to the importance of child welfare services. Fryer reported, “Mr. Roberts took me to see an orphanage and receiving home built by Mr. Edwin Gould, in hopes that the plans of its buildings will be useful in our Nanking Home. It is clearly a

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<sup>43</sup> “Zhonghua Ciyou Xiehui kaihui ji” 中華慈幼協濟會開會記 [The Opening Ceremony on the Chinese Children’s Charity Association], *Shen bao* 20188 (June 6, 1929), 14.

<sup>44</sup> H.H. Kung Papers, Hoover Institute.

<sup>45</sup> See Jeffrey W. CODY, *Building in China: Henry K. Murphy's "Adaptive Architecture", 1914-1935*, Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press; Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001.

<sup>46</sup> H.H. Kung Papers, Hoover Institute.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

<sup>48</sup> Peggy Dougherty, “Report,” H. H. Kung Papers, Hoover Institute.

<sup>49</sup> “China Aids Child Welfare Work,” *New York* (September 14, 1930), 2.

<sup>50</sup> See Helen Schneider, *Keeping the Nation’s House*, 200-203.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

splendid piece of work but entirely unsuitable for our Nanking needs.”<sup>52</sup> Fryer’s comments reflect long-standing complaints that overseas funders misunderstood local concerns. Yet, when planning for the construction first began, Mrs. Peggy Dougherty had noted that “the Committee [members] at present are lost in the maze of plans on paper with no money with which to make a beginning of the construction program.”<sup>53</sup> The relationship between the National Child Welfare Association of China and the China Child Welfare, Inc., of New York followed a predictable pattern of misinterpretations of unreasonable standards from foreign donors and unrealistic expectations from local organizations. Such tension between limited funding and high expectations often resulted in concentrating investments in a few “model centers” rather than providing direct aid.

Nevertheless, the National Child Welfare Association of China extended its services, with the help of local Chinese experts and specialists. For example, the organization built a Child Hygiene Area in Shanghai 上海兒童衛生處 with Chinese leadership.<sup>54</sup> They built an orphanage for poor children, and an institute for handicapped infants.<sup>55</sup> Even before the war, the National Child Welfare Association aided and relocated hundreds of child victims of famine. Children from famine-struck areas like Henan and Shandong were sent to the association’s orphanages in Shanghai and Hangzhou.<sup>56</sup> In 1929, Vice-Director Madame Guo Bingwen 郭秉文 provided aid to 333 child victims of famine, of whom 88 were girls. In this relief campaign, the association focused on providing “educational and hygienic resources,” especially by vaccinating children to prevent an outbreak of smallpox.<sup>57</sup>

After the setback of the failure of the Child Labor Bylaw, the National Child Welfare Association expanded its focus from effecting child labor abolition to providing welfare services for children of industrial workers. For example, in 1936, the Shanghai Municipal Childhood Happiness Committee established a preschool for workers’ children (who performed on Children’s Day).<sup>58</sup> With limited finances, the National Child Welfare Association aimed to show industrialists that a factory crèche could be economical, rather

<sup>52</sup> “Report of Mr. GB Fryer and his visit to the China Child Welfare, Inc., New York,” H.H. Kung Papers, 1917-1949, Hoover Institute Archives.

<sup>53</sup> Peggy Dougherty, “Report,” p. 6, H. H. Kung Papers, Hoover Institute.

<sup>54</sup> “Zhonghua Ciyou Xiehui kaihui ji,” 中華慈幼協濟會開會記 [Record of the opening ceremony of the National Chinese Child Welfare Association] (June 6, 1929), *Shen bao* 14.20188. Ge Chenghui 葛成慧, Hu Xuanming 胡宣明, Wei Bulan 偉步蘭, and Huang Jiahui 黃嘉惠 were on the planning committee.

<sup>55</sup> Begun in 1857, the cottage system was an alternative that would make institutional homes more like a “family” than traditional orphanages did; reformers thought that these homes would provide rehabilitative opportunities for juvenile delinquents, but the cottage system encountered obstacles when girls appeared to be more hardened criminals than had been assumed. Arnold Binder et al., *Juvenile Delinquency: Historical, Cultural, Legal Perspectives* (New York and London: Collier Macmillan, 1988), 207-08.

<sup>56</sup> “Ciyouhui choushe ciyouyuan,” 慈幼會籌設慈幼院 [Child Welfare Association establishes a welfare institute] (March 13, 1929) *Shen bao* 16.20105.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

<sup>58</sup> Shanghai Municipal Archives, Q123-1-542, (November 21, 1933). See also “Minguo ershisannian zhi Zhonghua Ciyou Xiehui” [1935 Activities of the National Child Welfare Association], *Modern Parents* 3.2 (February 1935), 53.

than to attempt to serve all needy children directly.<sup>59</sup> With permission of the department of hygiene, the resulting First Industrial Preschool was located in the southern part of the city.<sup>60</sup> Like the factory managers, the Childhood Happiness Committee encountered conflicts with industrial workers when appropriating land, used as shanties, for the purpose of building the industrial preschool.<sup>61</sup> In 1936, the Committee asked the Shanghai International Settlement and the Chinese city to subsidize the industrial preschool.<sup>62</sup> Because it provided public services in removing vagrant children from the street,<sup>63</sup> the association asked for public support for the French Concession.<sup>64</sup> In addition to this direct aid for famine victims and orphans, the association also used its extensive political capital to raise consciousness about children's rights, especially through ritual symbols like Children's Day and Children's Year.

#### NEW PATRIOTIC RITUALS FOR CHILDREN

The Welfare Association weaved child advocacy into the emerging citizenship rituals of the Nanjing decade. The National Child Welfare Association had lobbied for the creation of "Children's Day" on April 4<sup>th</sup> in order to "raise children's status" and ensure "children's happiness" across class lines.<sup>65</sup> According to H.H. Kung, Western philosophers understood that "the advancement of a nation... depends on the pitter-patter of little feet."<sup>66</sup> Kung repeated clichés that children were "the life of a civilization," and thus it was a "patriotic duty to protect children."<sup>67</sup> The Foreign Ministry compared celebrations of Children's Day around the world,<sup>68</sup> and the association claimed that the

<sup>59</sup> Herman CE Liu, "The University of Shanghai During the Time of National Crisis" *Chinese Recorder* Vol. 63 (October 1932), 608.

<sup>60</sup> Pengye Luo banfang 蓬業洛洋坊; Shanghai Municipal Archives Q215-1-8330.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

<sup>62</sup> Shanghai Municipal Archives, Q123-1-543 (April 22, 1936); and Q123-1-542. The Committee coordinated with the Bureau of Social Affairs, Public Hygiene, Education, and Police for cooperation and economic aid. As a part of that process, the committee submitted receipts for the financial cost of the preschool; see Q123-1-1317 (October 1936).

<sup>63</sup> For more about the campaigns against vagrancy, see Janet Chen, *Guilty of Indigence*.

<sup>64</sup> In correspondence soliciting donations from the French Municipal Council in 1938, treasurer Ling Kong Hou (Lin Kanghou 林康候 1876-1949) reminded Director General Mr. Jean Brediam of the French Concession that the Child Welfare Association had accepted sixty-nine street children sent from the District Court of the Second Special Area in Shanghai. Shanghai Municipal Archives, U23-1-167.

<sup>65</sup> Zhongyang Zhixing Weiyuanhui, "Ertongjie an" 兒童節案 [Cases Regarding Children's Day], *Academia Historica* 001-051616-023 (April 25, 1931 - March 17, 1947). See also Shanghai Municipal Archives Q6-9-27, "Shanghaishi Shehuiju guanyu Zhonghua Ciyou Xiehui zhuce dengji deng wenjian" 上海市社會局關於中華慈幼協會註冊登記等文件 [Shanghai Municipal Bureau of Social Affairs documents concerning the registration materials, etc., of the National Child Welfare Association], (1945-1949), p. 26 (p. 16 of the original file).

<sup>66</sup> *Modern Parents* 2.1 (March 1934), 31.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid.

<sup>68</sup> *Academia Historica*, "Ertongjie an" 兒童節案 [Cases Regarding Children's Day], (1931 - 1947), 001-051616-0023.

United States commemorated Children's day for "happiness of impoverished children."<sup>69</sup> Thus, these rituals to were occasions to justify the political protection of children in terms of their sentimental value and political potential.

Children's Day and Children's Year were venues for displaying and galvanizing patriotism. In August 1931, the Ministry of Education published a "Plan to Commemorate Children's Day" to promote the "spirit of patriotic families."<sup>70</sup> This rhetoric reflected contemporary interest in mass psychology and mass mobilization in the context of national militarization.<sup>71</sup> With the New Life Movement, Chiang Kai-shek and Soong Mei-ling promoted state-sanctioned practices to inspire mass-mobilization, and the observance of Children's Day was in keeping with those trends.

Despite aspirations for nation-wide influences, Children's Day activities remained urban phenomena. Just as the inescapable visibility of destitute children had galvanized welfare efforts in cities around the world,<sup>72</sup> the display of patriotic children was meant to spark mobilization in the context of Japanese military incursions. The Department of Education organized competitions among elementary and kindergarten children in Shanghai, Nanjing, and Chongqing.<sup>73</sup> In response to the local petitions by the National Child Welfare Association, the Bureau of Social Affairs in Shanghai agreed to make April 4<sup>th</sup> Children's Day in 1931.<sup>74</sup> The commemoration of Children's Day thus coincided with "national humiliation" at the hands of the Japanese imperial army.

Children's Day publicly displayed the health and vigor of childhood in China, a display of the promise of the upcoming generation that was especially important in the context of the military encroachment of Japan. In 1933, Shanghai's Bureau of Social Affairs entrusted the Childhood Welfare [Happiness] Committee 兒童幸福委員會 to organize celebrations of Children's Day. On Children's Day, children enjoyed free admission to museums and films, and the Committee claimed that children enjoyed "happiness" as a result.<sup>75</sup> The Chinese Child Health Association petitioned the government to hold infant health contests (often called "better baby contests") on

<sup>69</sup> "Ertongjie de youlai" 兒童節的由來 [Origins of Children's Day], *Ertong zhi you* 兒童之友 [Friends of Children] (Shanghai: Shenbao guan, 1935).

<sup>70</sup> "Ertongjie jinian banfa" 兒童節紀念辦法 [Plan for celebrating Children's Day], in *Min'guo Fagui jicheng* 民國法規集成 (Taipei: Huangshan shushe, 1999), Vol. 58, p. 424.

<sup>71</sup> For example, William Keh-ching Chen, Ph.D., "The Influence of Oral Propaganda Material Upon Students' Attitudes," *Archives of Psychology* No. 150 (New York, April 1953); Hsuan Shan Chen, Ph.D., "The Comparative Coachability of Certain Types of Intelligence Tests," *Contributions to Education*, No. 338 (Bureau of Publications, Columbia Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, 1928).

<sup>72</sup> See Hugh Cunningham, *Children and Childhood in Western Society Since 1500* (Harlow, England ; New York: Pearson Longman, 2005).

<sup>73</sup> Zhongyang Zhixing Weiyuanhui, "Ertongjie an" 兒童節案 [Cases Regarding Children's Day], *Academia Historica*, 001-051616-023, (April 25, 1931 - March 17, 1947).

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>75</sup> Shanghai Municipal Archives Q38-76-12, "Zhongfa Yaofang guanyu Zhonghua Ciyou Xiehui lai wang xing jian" 中法藥方關於與中華慈幼協會來往信件 [Correspondence between the ChungFa Pharmacy and the National Child Welfare Committee], 1939-1943.

Children's Day.<sup>76</sup> Better baby contests had been introduced to China by the YMCA in order to spread knowledge about infant and maternal health.<sup>77</sup> Like the Child Welfare Association, these contests appealed to mothers by rewarding the healthiest cherubs, and the results were circulated in women's journals. The Nanjing Bureau of Health and the Central Social Affairs Bureau supported better baby contests and provided prizes.<sup>78</sup>

Children publically preformed on Children's Day. Boy scouts marched in parades on Children's Day, awarded with red ribbons with the insignia of the Republic of China.<sup>79</sup> The Child Welfare Committee organized children's charity groups, such as the Shanghai Orphanage 上海孤兒院 and the Worker's Preschool 職工托兒所 to parade, sing, and dance, as well as the School for the Blind 盲童學校 to sing.<sup>80</sup> During the encroachment of war, these activities provided a visual reminder of China's hope for its vigorous future, embodied in the health of children.<sup>81</sup>

On Children's Day during Children's Year, 1934-35, Chen Heqin gave a lecture about the creation of "new China's new children." "If China is to become a new China," he reportedly said, "China's children need to become the children of new China."<sup>82</sup> According to Chen, the new educational program needed to bolster the full health of children, develop the natural capabilities of children, and foster a spirit of social service in children. Having recently returned from a tour of European countries,<sup>83</sup> Chen praised excellent programs allowing mothers to send even four-month-old infants to preschools

<sup>76</sup> "Zhongguo ertong jiankang xiehui" 中國兒童健康協會 Ertongjie an 兒童節案 [Cases Regarding Children's Day] (1931-1947), *Academia Historica*, 001-051616-0023.

<sup>77</sup> Hu Xuanming 胡宣明, "Wei Qingnianhui daichou zujin defang renmin jiankang ce" 為青年會代籌促進地方人民健康策 [YMCA promotion of plans to promote the people's health at the local level], *Qingnian Jinbu 青年進步* [The Association Progress], (Vol. 17, No. 3), p. 12, Stanford University Library.

<sup>78</sup> "Jiankang bisai zizhu" 健康比賽資助 [Economic aid for athletic awards], *Academia Historica*, 001095550002 (1933-1945).

<sup>79</sup> *Academia Historica*, 001-051616-00023.

<sup>80</sup> "Shanghaishi Shehuiju guanyu Zhonghua Ciyou Xiehui zhuce dengji deng wenjian" 上海市社會局關於中華慈幼協會註冊登記等文件 [Shanghai Municipal Bureau of Social Affairs documents concerning the registration materials, etc., of the National Child Welfare Association], 1945-1949, Shanghai Municipal Archives, Q6-9-27, p. 33, or p. 23 of the original file.

<sup>81</sup> Kong Xiangxi (H.H. Kung), "Guonan qi zhong jinian Ertongjie de yiyi" 國難其中幾年兒童節的意義 [Remembering the Significance of Children's Day during National Crisis], *Xiandai fumu 現代父母* [Modern Parents] 2. 1 (March 1934): 31. Boy scouts and girl scouts gave speeches and performed plays to rally the troops, as well as serving wounded soldiers; see Hubert Freyn, *Chinese Education in the War* (prepared under the auspices of the Council of International Affairs, Chungking) (Shanghai, Hong Kong, and Singapore: Kelly, Walsh, Limited, 1940), 109.

<sup>82</sup> Chen Heqin 陳鶴琴, "Peiyang xin Zhongguo ertong de san yaojian" 培養新中國兒童的三要件 [Three Prerequisites for Raising New China's Children], *Jiaoshi zhi you 教師之友* ["The Friend of Teachers"] 1.11 (November 1, 1935): 1623.

<sup>83</sup> "Zhonghua Ertong Jiaoyushe zhuxi Chen Heqin zai di wu jie nianhui shang zhi kaimuci (1934)" 中華兒童教育社主席陳鶴琴在第五屆年會上之開幕詞 [Chairman of the Chinese Childhood Education Society Chen Heqin's Speech at the Opening Ceremony of its Fifth Annual Meeting (1934)], originally published on October 5, 1934 in *Ertong Jiaoyu*; reproduced in Chen Heqin, Chen Xiuying, and Chen Yifei, eds., *Chen Heqin wenji* 6: 261-62.

with professional nurses, educational toys, and sanitation tools.<sup>84</sup> In contrast, Chen attributed the weaknesses of Chinese children to China's relative lack of institutions like preschools. Chen thus echoed missionaries who blamed the weak health of Chinese children on traditional schooling and academic pressure, a force that could be restrained through childhood play and physical education in preschools and kindergartens.

Children's Day was an occasion to encourage elite Chinese children to practice charity for the poor in keeping with larger efforts to replace Western philanthropists with the Chinese elite. The lesson entitled "Children's Day," in the book *Children's Mental Hygiene*, depicted elite children distributing gifts of red envelopes to impoverished neighborhood children.<sup>85</sup> Just as Western missionaries had targeted Western children as small philanthropists, so too, by the Nanjing decade, did the Chinese elite target children as potential philanthropists. The National Child Welfare Association promoted Children's Day to help destitute children, to display healthy children, and to foster Chinese leadership over the issue of poverty.

The National Child Welfare Association used Children's Day as a platform to promote children's rights. On the occasion of Children's Day, for example, Shanghai Mayor Wu Tiecheng, a leading member of the National Child Welfare Association, advocated for the protection of children's rights in the national constitution.<sup>86</sup> Pushing to ensure children's special and separate status in legal venues, the association lobbied for the creation of juvenile courts for children and youth,<sup>87</sup> especially in Shanghai.<sup>88</sup> Even in the absence of a juvenile court, the Child Welfare Association advocated for children both in the court system and in the press by bringing cases of neglect to the public's attention; in 1935, the Association represented 123 children brought to court.<sup>89</sup> They advocated on behalf of apprentices and child workers, as well as "adopted children,"

<sup>84</sup> Chen Heqin, "Peiyang xin Zhongguo ertong xe an yaojian," 1624.

<sup>85</sup> Chen Meiyu 陳美愉 and Jia Jinhua 賈金華, eds., *Ertong xinli weisheng 兒童心理衛生* [Children's Psychological Hygiene] (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1936), 20.

<sup>86</sup> Wu Tiecheng 吳鐵城, "Ertong yundong yu minzu qiantu," 兒童運動與民族前途 [The Children's Movement and the Future of the Folk], *Xiandai fumu 現代父母* [Modern Parents] 2. 1 (March 1934): 31. As mayor of greater Shanghai, Wu Tiecheng, who later became a general, built a model tenement village and a civic center to improve public sanitation in Shanghai; see Anne Waltner Fern, *My Days of Strength*, 292. The YMCA also turned to creating experimental model villages for laborers, in order to provide ideal working conditions with educational and recreational opportunities; see TC Chao, "The Church," in William Hung, ed., *As It Looks to Young China; Chapters by a Group of Christian Chinese* (New York: Friendship Press, 1932), 161.

<sup>87</sup> Academia Historica Archive, 1-51616-23.

<sup>88</sup> "Ertong fayuan zuzhi dagang Zhongguo Ciyou Xiehui ni" 兒童法院組織大綱 中華慈幼協濟會擬, [Outline for Organizing Juvenile Courts According to the Plans of the National Child Welfare Association], *Shen bao* 20597 (August 1, 1930), 11. "Ciyou Xiehui zuo kai baozhang zu weiyuanhui Kong Xiangxi Wu Tiecheng yingshi deng jun chuxi yi jueqing lifa yuan zhiding ertong falü bing hanqing Sifabu fushe ertong fating," 慈幼協會 昨開保障組委員會 孔祥熙吳鐵城應時等均出席議決請立法院制定兒童法律并函請司法部附設兒童法庭 [The National Child Welfare Association Petitions for juvenile court and rights] *Shen bao* 21783 (December 3, 1933), p. 15.

<sup>89</sup> *Xiandai fumu 現代父母* [Modern Parents], 3. 2 (1935), 53.



including adopted female domestic servants, a practice associated with child labor.<sup>90</sup> (See Chapter Three.) Through the courts, the association extracted promises from adoptive mothers ensuring the wellbeing of child concubines. Judge W.Y. Hu, a member of the Executive Committee of the National Child Welfare Association, officiated at the wedding of Miss Sung Feng Chin, who had been rescued by the Shanghai Public Safety Bureau and the Child Protection Department of the National Child Welfare Association; her marriage to a respectable dry cleaner indicated her successful reentry into society.<sup>91</sup> The National Child Welfare Association thus intervened in labor and family traditions, especially the tradition of raising future daughters-in-law, but its aims remained conservatively family-oriented. Despite some similarities with missionaries, the association addressed Chinese audiences directly through the Chinese press and courts.

In keeping with the extending reach of welfare organizations, the National Child Welfare Association surveyed, served and treated street children. The National Child Welfare Association's Chapei Clinic and Yangtzepoo Industrial Clinic (where Dr. Henry W. Decker had reported on industrial accidents and the dangers of child labor for the Child Labor Commission) offered welfare services.<sup>92</sup> Nurses at the Chapei Clinic and the Yangtzepoo Industrial Clinic made 154 home visitations in 1931.<sup>93</sup> In addition, the National Child Welfare Association conducted surveys of street children in Shanghai.<sup>94</sup> The association also received in their welfare institutions the street children who had been relayed to them by the Shanghai Municipal Court, especially after the onset of Japanese bombing of the city in 1932.<sup>95</sup> Thus, the association not only extended itself into the urban streets, but it also conducted social science research.<sup>96</sup>

<sup>90</sup> "Ciyou Xiehui shouyang shounüe binu 慈幼協濟會收養受虐婢女" [Welfare Association Raises Abused Slave Girls], *Shenbao* (April 24, 1930), Shanghai Archive, 16.20501.

<sup>91</sup> "Executive Committee of the National Child Welfare Association, Minutes, May 16<sup>th</sup> 1931," H.H. Kung Papers, Hoover Institute.

<sup>92</sup> *Modern Parents* 3. 2 (1935), 53.

<sup>93</sup> "Executive Committee of the National Child Welfare Association, Minutes, May 16<sup>th</sup> 1931," H.H. Kung Papers, Hoover Institute.

<sup>94</sup> Zhonghua Ciyou Xiehui 中華慈幼協會 [National Child Welfare Association], "Langtong qi'er diaocha jianmingbiao" 浪童乞兒調查簡明表 [Survey of begging street children], Shanghai Municipal Archives, U38-1-167. See also Janet Chen, *Guilty of Indigence: The Urban Poor in China, 1900-1953* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012).

<sup>95</sup> "List showing the how and where of the children sent to the Child Welfare Association by the Second Special District court French Concession, Shanghai," (December 7, 1938), Shanghai Municipal Archives U38-1-67.

<sup>96</sup> These investigations also intersected with the bureaucratic management of elementary schools. In keeping with forms for student enrollment in the late Qing, teacher's magazines circulated forms for children to fill out upon matriculation. (See Xu Chenglin 徐昌麟, "Xiaoxue xingzheng chubu kexue guanlifa" 小學行政初步科學管理法 [Basic Management of Elementary School Administration Science], *Jiaoshi zhi you* 教師之友 ["The Friend of Teachers"] 1.10 (October 1, 1935): 1443-1450. These magazines also included forms requiring teachers to ask about the "home situation" of the students, the occupations of their parents and the economic conditions of the home, as well as information about relatives who lived with the child, including the "attitudes" of their siblings and their daily diet. See Chen Jueming 陳厥明, "Xiaoxue gongmin xunlian wenti de shiji shentao" 小學公民訓練問題的實際深討 [Concrete Investigation

The National Child Welfare Association promoted the work of child experts on “family education.” As its general secretary, Chen Heqin’s *Family Education* was published by the National Child Welfare Association. Psychologist Chen Zhengfan contributed articles to the association’s journal *Modern Parents*, and the National Child Welfare Association also published Chen Zhengfan’s *The Road of China’s Parents*<sup>97</sup> and *On Parenting in a Military Country*.<sup>98</sup> The association translated and advertised the work of Dr. Carl Mosse, the German pediatrician who headed the Shanghai Children’s Clinic, an institution founded and run by the association. Thus, the association engaged in this publishing work as a form of outreach to change parenting habits and styles, and promoted the work of experts institutionally affiliated with the association.

Professors of child psychology applauded and outlined the advocacy of the National Children’s Welfare Association for “children’s rights,” through journals like *Modern Parents* 現代父母 and *Children’s Education Monthly* 兒童教育月刊, and *Children’s Welfare Monthly* 慈幼月刊. This intersection of journals of welfare institutions and modern parenting indicating that welfare preschools and elite kindergartens were two sides of the same project to provide advice and to propagate the sentimentalization of childhood. The Child Welfare Association sought to modernize and professionalize childrearing in both elite homes and welfare institutions; moreover, it drew upon examples of each for its theories about modern childrearing and childhood socialization. *Modern Parents* provided examples of a modern, happy, and healthy childhood. (See Figure 18.)

These professional child experts, like Chen Heqin, helped to buttress the haven of the domestic sphere and the family home against the challenge of political revolution and socioeconomic change. As China imported forms of modern capitalism, these Chinese reformers also adapted forms of bourgeois culture, including the glorification of the family and childhood.<sup>99</sup> While assuming middle-class morality as normative, child experts also sought to expand their influence to institutions for the poor.

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of Questions Regarding the Training of Elementary-School Citizens]. *Jiaoyu zhi you* 1.10 (October 1, 1935), 1451-56.

<sup>96</sup> Chen Zhengfan 陳征帆, *Zhongguo fumu zhilu* 中国父母之路 [The Road for China’s Parents] (Zhonghua Ciyou Xiehui 中華慈幼協會 [National Child Welfare Association], 1936).

<sup>97</sup> Ibid.

<sup>98</sup> Chen Zhengfan 陳征帆, *Zhongguo fumulun* 軍國父母論 [On Parenting in a Military Country] (Zhonghua Ciyou Xiehui 中華慈幼協會 [National Child Welfare Association], 1937).

<sup>99</sup> Theresa Richardson captures the relationships among bourgeois culture, child expertise, and family ideology in the following lines: “A bourgeois social organization and the modern nuclear family evolved, increasing distinctions emerged between the public sphere with its formalism, external legal sanctions and emphasis on status and power, and the cushion of the personal and internalized haven of the private sphere. The potential break down of former mechanisms of conformity encourages public control into the hidden sphere of the individual psyche and the institutions in the family and school. The twentieth century has, not surprisingly from this standpoint, placed great emphasis on the socialization of children. Professions, and their expanded role as public entities with esoteric knowledge, were well placed to penetrate and exert social constraints and pressures to conform on those loose structure of the private sphere.” See Theresa Richardson, *The Century of the Child: The Mental Hygiene Movement and Social Policy in the United States and Canada* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989), 186.

MENTAL HYGIENE, CHILD PSYCHOLOGY, FAMILY, AND THE STATE

In addition to legal interventions in response to specific problems, the National Association of Child Welfare promoted preventative measures to ward off future social problems. The National Association of Child Welfare committed itself to reforming the family as the foundation of society and government. The association promoted child experts who scientifically analyzed and politically championed the family in keeping with the Nationalist Government's socially conservative platform.

In the late 1920s and 1930s, psychologists promoted the Mental Hygiene Movement as a popular base for integrating physical and emotional health in accordance with the National Government's New Life Movement. For example, the National Child Welfare Association's journal *Modern Parents* argued for more attention to be given to mental hygiene, and reprinted government statements about the principles of the New Life Movement regarding family education. Through such activities, private institutions and professional associations served as venues for the patriotic goals of the New Life Movement and the intellectual foundation of the Mental Hygiene Movement.

In the Mental Hygiene Movement, begun in the United States, Chinese psychologists found a program that combined political action and preventative medicine with scientific professionalization. Chinese texts attributed the origins of the Mental Hygiene Movement to American C.W. Beers (known to Chinese as Biersi 比爾斯), a Yale University student who published a record of his mistreatment in a sanatorium.<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>100</sup> For example, see Song Siming, 宋思明 *Jingshenbing zhi shehui yinsu yu fangfa* 精神病之社會因素與方法 [Mental Illness and its Social Origins and Methods] (Zhonghua shuju, 1943, 1946), 27; Zhang Yinian, 11. American psychologists also lionized the contributions of Biers, in part perhaps, because he represented an example of a patient who could successfully recover from his treatment; see William A. White, "The Origin, Growth and Significance of the Mental Hygiene Movement," *Science* 72. 1856, New Series (July 25, 1930): 78. Although Dr. Isaac Ray had written a book titled *Mental Hygiene* in 1863, the term did not become widely used until Clifford Beers popularized the "Mental Hygiene Movement" in the early 1900s. A former hypochondriac, Beers wrote about his harrowing experiences in mental institutions in his autobiography. For a two-page synopsis of his goals and reasons for publishing his autobiography, see "Classics of Science: Beginnings of Mental Hygiene," *The Science News-Letter* 16. 451 (November 30, 1929): 338-339. While in the sanatorium, Beers deliberately acted out in order to investigate different wards; see for example Clifford Whittingham Beers, *A Mind That Found Itself* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1953), 99. First published in 1908, the autobiography reads in parts as investigative journalism; in 1953, an epilogue to the account reprints a number of letters by readers who were deeply impressed by the story. Despite the efforts of Song Siming and other intellectuals, J. Heng Liu (Liu Ruiheng 劉瑞恆), the Director of the National Health Administration (Weishengshu) and president of the Harvard Club of Nanjing, wrote in 1933 that "the Mental Hygiene Movement is not yet existent in China, where the more grave health problems—acute infectious disease, tropical disease, opium addiction, tuberculosis, leprosy, infant welfare—are already more than we can handle with our present resources in money and in trained men." Yet Liu had first read the book "some ten or twelve years ago." Liu was writing to commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Mental Hygiene Movement, as well as William Henry Welch (1850-1934), who passed away shortly after he wrote the Introduction. See Wilbur L. Cross and William Henry Welch, eds. *Twenty-five Years After; Sidelights on the Mental Hygiene Movement and Its Founder*. Garden City, N. Y: Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc, 1934), 440-441.

This movement incorporated political activism for the rights of the mentally ill and social activism to prevent the spread of mental illness.<sup>101</sup> The Mental Hygiene Movement did not focus on psychoanalyzing neuroses according to Freudian models, but rather on preventing, especially in childhood, the possible future onset of mental illness.<sup>102</sup> Thus, this Mental Hygiene Movement further focused attention of childhood. Academics presented the Mental Hygiene Movement, to non-academic academic audiences, as a broad-based political program. Chinese intellectuals expressed interest in using psychology to prevent personal illness and social disorder, and even to transform Chinese society.<sup>103</sup>

This message of social order and preventative measures could be couched in traditional Chinese terms with classical allusions.<sup>104</sup> For example, Song Siming quoted from the ancient philosopher Mozi<sup>105</sup> in order to emphasize that mental hygiene as a tool

<sup>101</sup> The first Committee for Mental Hygiene (established in Connecticut in 1908) was primarily concerned with reforming mental institutions to ensure that patients were properly “housed, clothed and fed” and provided with the “best possible scientific treatment”; the Committee was also concerned about preventing mental illness through research and by increasing “the mental stamina of all men, women and children” (Kaplan, 26). In the United States, the Mental Hygiene Movement was successful in obtaining funds from the Commonwealth Fund and the Rockefeller Foundation, but clinics relied upon local funding for their operations. On 3 July 1946, Congress passed the national Mental Health Act. The First International Congress on Mental Hygiene was held in Washington, D.C., in 1930; see Wilbur Cross, ed. *Twenty-Five Years After: Sidelights on the Mental Hygiene Movement and Its Founder* (New York: Doubleday, 1934). The agenda included mental hygiene in education of different levels, discussions about child guidance clinics, the significance of “parent-child and teacher-child relationships,” “parent and teacher training,” a separate point on the problems of the pre-school period, child problems of various sorts, as well as the “significance of these problems for the future of the child as individual as well as citizen.” Please see the “First International Mental Hygiene Congress to Be Held in Washington, D.C., May 5-10, 1930,” *Public Health Reports* (1896-1970) 45. 2 (January 10, 1930): 69-70. Representatives came from 40 countries including Japan and Siam; see Paul Weindling, *International health organisations and movements, 1918-1939* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 285, but I have not been able to find any references to people attending from China.

<sup>102</sup> Although one can make a generalization that European Freudianism focused on psychoanalyzing preexisting mental illnesses (with their origins in childhood), Americans focused on preventing the development of mental illnesses by altering the conditions of childhood. However, the Mental Hygiene Movement also spread to Europe and other countries; see Erwin Stansky, ed., *Leifaden der psychischen Hygiene* (Vienna: Urban & Schwarzenberg, 1931), 11-15, 285-305.

<sup>103</sup> For example, the psychologist Wang Jingxi 汪敬熙 later reflected on the “belief” that psychology was one tool to transform society. Americans were also interested in the aspect of “preventative medicine” involved in mental hygiene (79) and its application in social issues such as birth control, prostitution, and alcoholism (80-81); see William A. White, “The Origin, Growth and Significance of the Mental Hygiene Movement,” *Science* 72. 1856, New Series, (July 25, 1930): 77-81.

<sup>104</sup> In another example, Zhang Yinan noted that Zhu Xi (1130-1200) and other great thinkers established rules for family rituals and childhood socialization. According to Zhang, *The Character Classic* had concisely expressed the truism of parental responsibility in six short words: “Raising [children] without educating [them is the] mistake of the father” (135). In an era of modern education, Zhang invoked the legacy of parental responsibility without commenting on the content of the *Three Character Classic* or the *Zhu Family Rituals*.

<sup>105</sup> Mozi was a thinker during the Hundred Schools of Thought period in ancient China, roughly 500 to 221 B.C. Mozi advocated frugality and a simple way of life, and encouraged scholars to till the soil along with farmers. He challenged both the excess ritualism and pomp of Confucians. Mozi was also a pacifist and

for assuming control of one's "fate." Mozi had written, "What is dyed green becomes green, and what is dyed yellow becomes yellow." In other words, social conditions, represented as dye, color a person's nature, represented as silk. Song continued,

The starting point of the Mental Hygiene Movement is still to take children as its subject, in order to research and cure troubled children. These children often cause parents and teachers to worry; probably because their [behaviors] that can disrupt social peace, such as participation in improper things, or excessive activity and no activity, or debilitated constitutions, or silent boredom, or even outbursts of anger, worry, hyper-sensitivity, telling lies, stealing, difficulty in school, etc. If correction is not applied during childhood [these] problems will definitely become much worse after adulthood.

心理衛生運動，其出發點亦以兒童為對象，其目的卻為研究及治療有問題之兒童。此兒童，平日皆為父母教師所憂慮；蓋以其能攪擾社會安寧如舉動異常事惑過於活動與不活動，惑神經衰弱，惑性悶不語，甚惑好發脾氣，性慮，神經過敏，撒謊，偷盜，在校困難等。倘幼時不加矯正，成年後問題將更嚴重矣。<sup>106</sup>

While acknowledging the American origins of the Mental Hygiene Movement, Song found a Chinese equivalent (in unstained silk) to the Lockean notion of "the blank slate."<sup>107</sup> This context highlighted the movement's traditionalistic concerns about rearing children and maintaining order. Rooted in local concerns and the natural "worries of teachers and parents," these issues were not regarded as problems invented by foreign-trained scientists. Furthermore, Song cautioned that childhood neuroses developed into adult crime that would "disrupt social peace," and it was therefore in the public interest to cultivate the mental hygiene of children.<sup>108</sup>

Psychologists linked the Mental Hygiene Movement to the government-sponsored "New Life Movement" in the 1930s. The New Life Movement asserted that citizens could revitalize the national spirit by changing their daily habits, and the field of Mental

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produced strong statements about the criminality of war. (He also disliked war because it wasted resources; therefore, he trained followers in defensive warfare in an effort to convince people that aggressive war was unprofitable.) His thought lost favor during the Qin, but one can still see his influence, especially in terms of frugality, pacifism and logic. See A.C. Graham, *Disputers of the Tao: Philosophical Argument in Ancient China* (Peru, Illinois: Open Court, 1989); *Later Mohist Logic, Ethics and Science* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press; and London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1978); and *Divisions in Early Mohism Reflected in the Core Chapters of Mo-tzu* (Singapore: National University of Singapore, Institute of East Asian Philosophers, 1985).

<sup>106</sup> Song Siming, 28, originally published in 1934 in conjunction with Beijing Xiehe Hospital 北平協和醫學院, the Beiping Municipal Bureau of Health 平市衛生局, and the Beijing Mental Asylum 北京瘋人院 which became the Beiping City Mental Health Hospital 北平市精神病院.

<sup>107</sup> Ruth Rogaski, *Hygienic Modernity: Meanings of Health and Disease in Treaty-Port China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004). Lydia Liu argues that this strategy should be considered a "translingual practice" rather than a translation, because it allowed people to find creative ways to adapt—rather than fully import—Western notions into the Chinese context. Lydia He Liu, *Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture, and Translated modernity--China, 1900-1937* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995).

<sup>108</sup> The original meaning of the word "hygiene" in traditional China was "guarding life." Ruth Rogawski explores the ways in which this word was transformed as a result of public hygiene movement, which gave the state opportunities to justify further reach into the lives of private citizens.

Hygiene justified the idea of psychological conditioning. Furthermore, both movements stressed the importance of reforming the physical and psychological environment. For example, the journal *Psychological Construction* 心理建設 included articles, such as “The New Life Movement and Psychological Construction” 新生活運動于心理建設, about the positive legacy of Confucianism and the critical importance of the family. Thus, in contrast to Child Study during the iconoclastic New Culture era, the Mental Hygiene Movement of the 1930s intersected with the New Life Movement and assumed a greater degree of traditionalism and government cooperation.

With goals to transform society, psychologists circulated ideas about child mental health. On 19 April 1936,<sup>109</sup> the Chinese Association for Mental Hygiene 中國心理衛生協會 was founded,<sup>110</sup> and dedicated itself to spreading knowledge and raising consciousness.<sup>111</sup> A member of the Chinese Association for Mental Hygiene, Professor Zhang Yinian presented his book on mental hygiene as a textbook, a household reference,<sup>112</sup> and professional primer for teachers, parents, doctors and lawyers.<sup>113</sup> *The Chinese Journal of Psychology* recommended pairing Zhang Yinian’s textbook with Randolph C. Sailer’s *Personality and Everyday Behavior*.<sup>114</sup> Whereas Zhang Yinian focused on the professional and scientific understanding of mental hygiene, Sailer explained to university students their own habits of thought and behavior.<sup>115</sup>

Sailer had taught at Columbia Teacher’s College, where Chen Heqin studied with him.<sup>116</sup> By the early 1924,<sup>117</sup> Sailer and his wife moved to Yenching University, where he served as assistant professor under Chair T.T. Lew (Liu Tingfang 劉廷芳). Like the wife of Dr. Richard Bolt at Tsinghua University (see Chapter Two), Randolph Sailer’s wife Louise Egbert Sailer assumed a more active evangelical role than her husband by preaching in the university chapel; her work indicates that the Sailers considered their work at Yenching to be a form of evangelical service.<sup>118</sup> Yet, the Sailers did not define evangelism as the importation of an ancient, “Western thought-forms of a time gone

<sup>109</sup> Academia Historica, 001-095800-002.

<sup>110</sup> The Association’s activities were disrupted by war. Following the Civil War, the Association effectively split into two groups. In Taiwan, the Association was renamed 中華心理衛生協會 in 1955. In the People’s Republic of China, the foundation began to function again after a meeting in Shandong in 1985. For more on the history of the mental hygiene movement, please see Wang Xiaodao 王效道, ed., *Xinli weisheng* 心理衛生 [Mental Hygiene] (Hangzhou: Zhejiang keshu chuban, 1990).

<sup>111</sup> Zhang Yinian 章頤年, *Xinli weisheng gailun* 心理衛生概論 [Introduction to Mental Hygiene] (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1936), 234.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>114</sup> Randolph C. Sailer, *Personality and Everyday Behavior* (Peiping: The San Yu Press, 1935). Reviewed in CW Luh (Yenching University) and Siegen K Chou and KH Sun (Tsinghua University), eds., *The Chinese Journal of Psychology* 1.2 (December 1936): 177.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, iv.

<sup>116</sup> *Wei Zhonghua ertong jincui de jiaoyujia Chen Heqin*, 14.

<sup>117</sup> *Peking University Bulletin No 24 1924-25*, Peking University Archives, YJ 1924 0006

<sup>118</sup> For example, Sailer donated money in the name of his mother Josephine for a psychology library at the university. *Ibid.*

by.”<sup>119</sup> Louise Sailer, like her husband, addressed “the basic experiences of the human spirit,”—“changeless” despite improvements in “scientific knowledge.”<sup>120</sup> She challenged students not to think of Christianity “to rethink Jesus’ message in terms of China, today, and not only to rethink, but to do something about it in our own lives. What would it mean for us in Yenching in the year 1939 if we were to follow Jesus?” According to Louise Sailer, when the Bible did not “fit our twentieth century way of looking at things,” Christians needed to “toil and sacrifice to make justice and brotherhood realities” and to face “the evil ... of economic injustice and imperialism, war, and racial hatred.”<sup>121</sup> Thus, the Sailors were willing to indigenize and adapt the teachings of Christ to meet local needs. According to Louise Sailer, Christians needed to overcome important distinctions in order to address the needs of “every single human being as a child of God” in the specific context of his “own time.” Thus, both Sailers aimed to uncover and meet the needs of ordinary people in their daily lives.

As a part of their mission, the Sailers encouraged students to enter careers of service. Randolph C. Sailer helped to convince Lu Yueshan 盧樂山 (1917), for instance, that because of her natural shyness and tender-heartedness, she was ideally suited to be a kindergarten teacher.<sup>122</sup> Perhaps she inspired one of Sailer’s textbook examples, who

feels shy when she is with others. In her quiet way however she is absolutely dependable, always preservers in anything she undertakes and is careful of details. She studies hard and takes great satisfaction in preparing thoroly [*sic*] for her future vocation, the teaching of small children. She has chosen this vocation because she finds that with children she does not feel inferior, while they appreciate her deep interest in them. When she graduates from college she secures a teaching position, and surprises both herself and her few intimate friends by her great success. She becomes an expert in child education, and finally comes to feel quite at home with others who follow the same profession.<sup>123</sup>

In this passage, Sailer described kindergarten teaching as a “vocation” with religious overtones, because of the deep satisfaction that it potentially provided for both children and teachers. Lu took Sailer’s advice and joined the kindergarten-training program at Yenching, where she established a kindergarten for poor children as a part of her final year of fieldwork, and wrote a brief senior thesis on kindergartens in the Beijing area. (Unfortunately, after returning to China from Canada, where she received a Master’s Degree, she began to teach at Beijing Normal University and chose to burn her thesis and entire private library because of government movements against Western-trained educators in the 1950s.)<sup>124</sup> When Lu was in college, Yenching University offered a two-year and four-year accreditation in a “kindergarten-primary normal course” through the

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<sup>119</sup> Louise Egbert Sailer, *Bible Study To-Day: An Ancient Book and Our Modern World, Based on a series of lectures given at Ninde Chapel, Yenching University, Spring 1939* (Peiping: Yenta Fellowship, 1939), 19.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, 23-24.

<sup>122</sup> Personal communication, 2011. Luo Ronghai is currently writing a short biography of Lu.

<sup>123</sup> Randolph Sailer, 21.

<sup>124</sup> Personal communication, 2011.

Department of Education in connection to the Women's College of Yenching University. Headed by Mrs. Alice Seymour Browne Frame, Dean of the Women's College,<sup>125</sup> and Miss Elizabeth Hobart of the Methodist Mission in Peiping,<sup>126</sup> this program had Christian ties and influences. Students were required to attend a selection of courses on music and education, cross listed with other departments.

Yenching institutionalized the professionalization of services for children and families. In the Department of Home Economics, Camilla Mills offered a class on "Child Care and Child Welfare," about "the physical requirements of childhood, and the factors affecting the health and welfare of children" the course included "training for parenthood, and the work and results of child welfare agencies in various countries."<sup>127</sup> In the Department of Sociology, students could take a class on "Present Day Problems and Methods of Social Work" with a special emphasis on "social pathology, including poverty and vice, recreation, eugenics, the family, and modern industrial conditions." As in the Kindergarten-Primary Course, students conducted field research and were "required to investigate one aspect of the social life in Peking and hand in a written report."<sup>128</sup> Sociology students were required to read Western theoretical work on child development and social welfare.<sup>129</sup> In the Sociology Department, Miss Lei Jieqiong (Kit-king Lei 雷潔瓊 1905-2011) taught a class on "Child Welfare Problems" that offered a "study of the principles of child welfare and of the difficulties involved in meeting social obligations to childhood, child mortality, child health, child training and education, desendent [*sic* dependent] child, child labor, and juvenile delinquency."<sup>130</sup> Through the efforts of Lei and others, Yenching University became an important force in the drive to professionalize child welfare services and early childhood education in China; this professionalization was driven by both academic and political concerns.

Representing a victory for Chinese leadership, child psychology became institutionalized in educational systems in Shanghai's International Settlement. In 1928,

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<sup>125</sup> *Peking University Bulletin*, No. 24 (1924-25), 5. Frame's personal papers and correspondence are available at Columbia University.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.* For mentions of Hobart, see "Year Book, Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Being the Seventy-First Annual Report of the Society (Abridged), 1940 : Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church : Free Download & Streaming : Internet Archive", n.d. <http://archive.org/details/yearbookwomansfo1940woma>. Accessed October 2, 2012.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, 31.

<sup>128</sup> *Peking University Bulletin. No 21-3 Announcement of Courses 1924-25*, 13. Peking University Archives, YJ 1924-0006.

<sup>129</sup> Willystine Godsell, *A history of the family as a social and educational institution* (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1915); Nangold's *Child Welfare*, Lewis Terman's *The Significance of Education in Social Development*, "Social Institutions of Religion," and Blaisdell's *The History of Social Work. Peking University Bulletin. No 21-3 Announcement of Courses 1924-25*, p. 13. Peking University Archives, YJ 1924-0006.

<sup>130</sup> *Yenching University Bulletin College of Arts and Letters 1933-34*, Vol. XVIII No 24, Peiping, China, (August, 1933). See Academia Historica 001-095800-00 for information on the establishment of the Chinese Mental Hygiene Institute. See Shanghai Municipal Archives Q6-9-27 for the registration with the Shanghai Municipal Social Affairs Bureau of the Chinese Child Welfare Society on April 1928. See also Shanghai Municipal Archives Q123-1-543 (April 22, 1936) for information on the Shanghai Child Happiness Committee's request that the Shanghai Government fund a worker's preschool.



Chen Heqin became the Minister of Chinese Education in the International Settlement. In addition to his connections with Westerners and Christians, his credentials as an expert in Chinese childhood psychology helped to justify his promotion to that job. Concerning the specific psychological needs of Chinese pupils, the Federation of Chinese Street Unions argued that “foreign headmasters . . . do not understand the psychology of the Chinese pupils and the needs of the Chinese nation.”<sup>131</sup> Psychology thus provided a basis for educational content and curricula appropriate for Chinese children.

Academics circulated ideas about the Mental Hygiene Movement in textbooks and professional journals.<sup>132</sup> An important magazine for introducing new ideas about educational psychology and mental health was *Education Magazine*.<sup>133</sup> These articles and textbooks helped institutionalize the Mental Hygiene Movement in the normal-school curriculum. By 1934, the Ministry of Education outlined plans for the educational psychology curricula of normal schools.<sup>134</sup> The curriculum included child psychology (including topics such as social development and linguistic development) and mental hygiene (such as issues of infant health, infant and female morality, and abnormal psychology among children), and encouraged students to observe the behavior of children of different ages.<sup>135</sup> Child psychology had been a component of normal school curricula since the 1910s, and could draw upon new trends in mental hygiene.

Psychology was growing not simply as an academic field, but also a commercial industry for self-advancement. For example, popular psychologist Feng Hong 馮洪 translated and edited a number of books on self-improvement,<sup>136</sup> including lessons for “the road to success,” “the road to health,” and the path to marital happiness. Because readers needed to assess their personality type to determine methods best suited for self-improvement, these books echo some of the textbooks, translated from Japanese in the

<sup>131</sup> “Statement of Federal Street Unions,” Report of the Honorable Richard Feetham, CMG, Judge of the Supreme Court of the Union of South Africa to the Shanghai Municipal Council, Volume II (Shanghai North-China Daily News and Herald, Ltd., 1931), 8.

<sup>132</sup> Examples of Republican-era psychology periodicals include *Xinli* 心理 [Psychology], edited by the eminent Zhang Yaoxiang, *Ciyān* 測驗 [Experiment], the Central University Psychology Association’s *Xinli Banniankan* 心理半年刊 [Psychology Biannual Periodical], *Xinli Fukan* 心理副刊 [Psychology Supplement].

<sup>133</sup> For instance, Zhou Shang translated excerpts of Mandel Sherman’s *Mental Hygiene and Education* in this journal before compiling these translations as a book. See also *Mental Hygiene and the School Child*.

<sup>134</sup> *Mingguo fagui jicheng* 民國法規集成 [Collection of Republican-era Laws and Regulations] 59 (Taipei: Huangshan shushe, 1999), 133.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, Volume 58, 505-06.

<sup>136</sup> For example, Marion Sayle Taylor, *The Voice of Experience*, translated by Feng Hong 馮洪, *Shenghuo jingyan tan* 生活經驗談 (Shanghai: Jiliu shudian, 1941); Feng Hong 馮洪, *Lizhi yu xiuyang* 立志與修養 [Leisure and Self-cultivation] (Guilin: Jinri chubanshe, 1941); Feng Hong 馮洪, *Gexing Xiuyang* 個性修養 [Personal Cultivation] (Shanghai: Jiliu shudian, 1946); Matthew Napoleon Chappell, translated by Feng Hong 馮洪, *Lishen jichu* 立身基礎 [Building Individual Foundation] (Shanghai: Jiliu shudian, 1946). Feng Hong 馮洪, ed. and trans., *Xinli xialian: yiming “du chenggong qijing,”* 心理鍛鍊——一名“讀成功奇徑” [Forging Personality: A Primer for Studying the Scripture of Success] (Shanghai: Jiliu shudian, 1940). All preserved in the Remin University of China Library.

late Qing, that explained personality type and cognitive development.<sup>137</sup> In response to the “insatiable desire” of young women to learn about “planning family life,” Feng also co-edited a journal directed specifically to new brides, teaching them “cosmetic arts, childrearing practices, household knowledge, etc.”<sup>138</sup> Parenting manuals thus intersected with a much larger body of work about self-improvement and upward mobility through the artful shaping of the Chinese family.<sup>139</sup>

Popular psychology books and women’s magazine articles also dovetailed with government-led efforts to promote domestic science. The New Life Movement published books instructing women on household finances and childrearing. This advice included Fröbelian ideas about educational toys and motor skills, first introduced in the late Qing. For “family education,” the New Life Movement offered advice about the selection of toys and playmates, and the physical and behavioral contamination of the *wrong* choices.<sup>140</sup> By warning against the dual threat of physical illness and behavioral problems, this New Life Movement manual drew upon the ideas developed by the Mental Hygiene Movement.

The National Child Welfare Association adapted missionary tactics to improve family life. In 1925, the YMCA had begun the Better Home Campaign in China to promote home hygiene, parental training, and family happiness. In 1930, the National Christian Council of China began a tradition of Home Week in the last week of October, and hosted a conference for Christian parenting and homemaking courses. As a member and representative of the National Child Welfare Association, Miss Ting Shu-ching presented the YMCA and National Christian Council historical context for the establishment of the National Child Education Association of China, with its emphasis on “the education of the child in primary school, the kindergarten and the home,” as well as the establishment of the National Child Welfare Association. Such associations promoted family happiness and children’s wellbeing. Yet, whereas the Home Week Campaign “was carried out in churches and mission schools throughout China ... [resulting in] immense good to Christian homes,”<sup>141</sup> the National Child Welfare Association extended these efforts for a broader Chinese audience.

The promotion of “family education” was also a part of an international Christian effort to combat the insidious influences of Communism. In July 1935, the association

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<sup>137</sup> Ōse Jintarō 大瀨甚太郎, and Tachigara Noritoshi 立柄教俊, translated by Zhang Yunge 張雲閣, *Xinlixue jiaokeshu* 心理學教科書 [Psychology Textbook] (Educational Section Publishing House and Zhili School Office for Translation and Editing 學務處排印書印、直隸學校司編譯處譯行, 1903), 22.

<sup>138</sup> Advertisement for Feng Hong, and Lu Ming, eds., *Jiating shenghua duben* 家庭生活讀本 [Family Life Reader] at the back of Feng Hong, ed., *Xinli xialian*, p. 220.

<sup>139</sup> See also Chinese translations of Samuel Smiles (a popular self-help author) in Denise Gimpel, *Lost Voices of Modernity: a Chinese Popular Fiction Magazine in Context* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2001).

<sup>140</sup> *Minguo ershisinian quanguo Xinshenghuo Yundong* 民國二十四年全國新生活運動 [1935 National New Life Movement], p. 383. Academia Historica. I thank my classmate Wennan Liu for giving me this material.

<sup>141</sup> Jabin Hsu and Shu-ching Ting, “Progress of Chinese Family Education,” *The Chinese Recorder* Vol. 66 (September 1935), 535.

sent Miss Ting Shu-ching as a delegate to Brussels to attend the Fifth International Congress of Family Education.<sup>142</sup> This conference, organized by the Catholic Church, welcomed papers on religious schools and social services. Even though Ting and others attended the conference, the organizers stressed that they would focus on “problems at home” because they could not adequately “consider social-service and family problems in mission countries.”<sup>143</sup> The organizers asserted that studying domestic problems would aid missionary work because “Communist propaganda in these outlying sectors, where today it is coming into direct conflict with the missionary work of the Church, would receive inspiration from increased interest in social problems at home.”<sup>144</sup> Despite acknowledging its superior attractiveness,” the organizers criticized “Communism, which succeeds because of its artificial simplification of the issue.”<sup>145</sup> When missionaries abroad were confronted with “Communist propaganda,” Christians defensively reviewed their “social problems at home.” The “anti-family education” of the Communists challenged Christians to re-define “family education” and social work.

#### INSTRUCTING NEW YOUTH AS POTENTIAL PARENTS

The National Child Welfare Association continued the work of psychologists and child experts like Chen Heqin in promoting moderate family reform to counteract more radical proposals. For example, the Family Research Society attacked the power of family patriarchs, who, even under the Draft Civil Code of 1922, enjoyed too many rights and too few responsibilities.<sup>146</sup> Society co-founder Yi Jiayue (1899-1972) criticized the government for giving patriarchs financial and legal power over children.<sup>147</sup> Reformers critiqued the traditional Chinese family structure for treating children as family property.<sup>148</sup> In these critiques of the family, reformers challenged traditional views about the economic value of the child; to borrow the language of contemporary historiography

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<sup>142</sup> Ibid.

<sup>143</sup> The Pilgrim, “With Scrip and Staff,” *America* (April 6, 1936), 621.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid.

<sup>146</sup> Glosser, 42.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid, 43.

<sup>148</sup> For instance, one social commentator comments, “I understand the profound truth that children are the soul of the people; each advanced nation in EuroAmerica has long understood the importance of children to the future.” (吾人深知道兒童是未來民族的魂靈，歐美各先進國家，早已見到兒童在未來社會的重要)。The author goes on to discuss the ways that China “has mistaken children for private property” (以兒童為私有財產錯誤觀念), especially within the family—and thus, China’s orphanages are inadequate because China has too often relegated the entire burden of childrearing to the family. This Communist-influenced article was published in Yunnan. Chen Qi’en 陳期恩, Buxing ertong jiaoyu wenti 不幸兒童教養問題 [Educational Concerns of Children of Misfortune], *Jiaoyu shenghuo* 教育生活, 1937, in *Minguo chenxi duankan duankan 民國珍稀短刊斷刊* [Republican-Era Periodicals ] (Beijing: Xinhua Shudian, 2006), Vol. 3, p. 1456. See also Gao Xuan, “The Evils of the Old Marriage System,” in Glosser 46.

on childhood, children needed to be sentimentally “priceless,” rather than economically valuable as a labor or commodity in marriage exchange.<sup>149</sup>

As a contrast to the radicalism of the Family Research Society, Chen Heqin and Pan Guangdan (1899-1967)’s<sup>150</sup> sociological surveys indicate a countervailing conservative trend.<sup>151</sup> Because of changing expectations about marriage and family, young men could potentially take two wives—an arranged marriage to satisfy their parents in the countryside and a free marriage in the city to a young woman whom they would later abandon.<sup>152</sup> Chen and Pan’s surveys charted the declining popularity of concubinage, etc., but these trends did not necessarily signify a rejection of filial duties. Instead, male students expressed contradictory feelings and even confusion about women’s place in home and society.<sup>153</sup> According to the surveys, male students expected their wives to assume the primary responsibility for childcare while also contributing to society.<sup>154</sup> For historian Susan Glosser, the flaws of New Culture rhetoric (which subordinated individual rights to state goals) and the confusion of college students (who

<sup>149</sup> Viviana Zelizer, *Pricing the Priceless Child: The Changing Social Value of Children* (Princeton University Press, 1994).

<sup>150</sup> For more information on Pan, please see Glosser, p. 217, footnote 110.

<sup>151</sup> Glosser, 63-64. Glosser thus answers her question, “how might readers of New Culture literature have interpreted family-reform ideals?” (54). See also Pan Guangdan, as reprinted and republished in, Li Wenhai 李文海, et al., eds., *Min’guo shiqi shehui diaocha congbian: hunyinjiatingjuan* 民國時期社會調查叢編：婚姻家庭卷 [Republican-era Social Surveys Collection: Marriage and Family] (Fujian: Fujian Educational Press, 2005). Another survey, undertaken in order to serve as a comparison to Pan’s, gives even more credibility to the statement that young people were still very interested in serving their parents. Zhou notes that in Pan’s study serving parents was ranked third and sexual fulfillment was ranked fourth, but in his survey, these were reversed. Zhou also notes that it is interesting that women placed slightly greater weight on serving parents than did men (366). 69% of men and 35% of women agreed that children’s education was the responsibility of parents.

<sup>152</sup> Delia Davin, *Woman-Work: Women and the Party in Revolutionary China* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 82-83. Davin bases this observation on a survey conducted by Olga Lang in 1936-37, 225.

<sup>153</sup> For more information on the legal status of concubines and their children, see Lu Xiehua 呂燮華 *Qie zai falü shang diwei* 妾在法律上的地位 [The Legal Status of Concubines] (Shanghai: Shanghai Zhengmin chubanshe, 1934). According to legal articles, when the husband is inability to finance household expenses, concubines should shoulder the responsibility from their own property, and concubines should also have personal responsibility for their finances when families struggle with household expenses, see *ibid.*, Chapter Three, p. 25, held by People’s University Library.

<sup>154</sup> Glosser, 73. Glosser also cites Chen’s survey as showing that “seventy-one percent believed that “parents themselves should take on the early years of children’s education.” It seems that most respondents expected women to remain at home with their children during the first years. At the same time, a majority of respondents (58 percent) agreed with the statement, “Children should be reared communally to allow the majority of women to avoid losing the opportunity to develop themselves as individuals and contribute to society because of reproduction.” (73). While there clearly seems to be a tension in these two statements, perhaps respondents considered the statement “子女幼年教育，宜由父母自任之” to be a broad, vague statement—meaning that children’s early years of education *are the responsibility of parents (fathers and mothers)*. Because there must have been some overlap of respondents who replied positively both to this statement and to the one about communal education, perhaps respondents felt that when parents take “responsibility” for children’s education, women are not necessarily forced to lose opportunities in personal development and social advancement. Or, perhaps men differentiated between the “childhood years” and the later years of children’s education.

issued mutually exclusive demands on women) created an agenda that purported to liberate women while entrapping them with double-burdens to family and society.

Chen Heqin and Pan Guangdan saw themselves as correcting the excessive radicalism of college youth and influences like the Family Research Society. For instance, one respondent “fundamentally opposed” to marriage, either “Chinese-style large families” or “Western-style small family structure.”<sup>155</sup> He opposed monogamy and instead “promoted free sexual exchange.” He criticized marriage for making “us selfish, and prevent us from developing our personalities, and cause us in society to increasingly commit many despicable acts and crimes.”<sup>156</sup> According to the respondent, he public good was thus more important than private gain, and the public should also assume the private functions of “serving parents and raising children” through “establish public nursing homes and nurseries to manage them outside [the home].”<sup>157</sup> In contrast, Pan affirmed that caring for children and elderly parents “required the family [structure].”<sup>158</sup> Pan criticized such liberal students for “confusing the present with the future”—when nurseries and nursing homes would assume filial obligations. He also stated, “Ideals must rest upon facts and experience” rather than the “delusions of a couple of people.”<sup>159</sup> As a eugenicist who focused on improving childrearing rather than natural selection, Pan introduced trends in child psychological development and the importance of “family education” for preventing crime and improving the race. Like Pan, Chen Heqin critiqued his respondents and exhorted young men and women to heed his parenting advice.<sup>160</sup> If college students were “delusional,” Pan Guangdan and Chen Heqin could justify their own position of authority.<sup>161</sup>

#### MENTAL HYGIENE AS THE BASIS FOR PROFESSIONAL PARENTHOOD

The Mental Hygiene Movement aimed to prevent psychosis in childhood by “professionalizing” parents and training other caregivers. In his textbook, Professor Zhang Yinian<sup>162</sup> quoted Chen Heqin as asserting that childrearing required “rich

<sup>155</sup> My translation. Pan Guangdan, as reprinted and republished in, republished in, Li Wenhai 李文海, et al., eds., *Min'guo shiqi shehui diaocha congbian*, 1:296.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid.

<sup>157</sup> Ibid.

<sup>158</sup> Ibid, 1:303. Having translated work on sexual education and birth control, Pan was not opposed to sexual fulfillment, but clearly saw the family as necessary.

<sup>159</sup> Ibid.

<sup>160</sup> Chen Heqin, “Xuesheng hunyin wenti zhi yanjiu” 學生婚姻問題之研究 [Research on Students' Marriage Issues], *Eastern Miscellany* 東方雜誌 18. 4-6 (February and March, 1921), republished in, Li Wenhai 李文海, et al., eds., *Min'guo shiqi shehui diaocha congbian*, 1:1-33.

<sup>161</sup> Glosser quotes a particularly funny passage by Chen, who recommended that women study home economics in order to create a happy home and satisfy their partners (72).

<sup>162</sup> Zhang Yi (1901 – 1986) completed a Ph.D. in psychology at Washington University in Seattle in 1927. He served as the president of general affairs for the Ministry of Education from 1938 to 1943 and the president of Fudan University in Shanghai from 1943 to 1949. Zhang forfeited his GMD party membership because he refused to go to Taiwan in 1949. After the establishment of the PRC, he resumed teaching, taking a post as professor of psychology at Shandong Normal University, and retired in 1986. For a

knowledge” and “guidance in correcting children’s behavior.” “However,” Chen continued, “in reality, ordinary parents actually have very little preparation for these extremely difficult tasks.” He further complained that professions such as

hair stylists, etc., have all receive appropriate training, but parents with the burdens of raising children are actually seen as something anyone can do...Recently, ordinary occupations require training; and professionals, because of a closer connection to the society in general, require an even lengthier period of training. But [these professions] have only, after all, very limited short-term engagement with humans, so how can it be that their education and training isn’t a strange thing?”<sup>163</sup>

Zhang agreed with Chen that parenting needed to be professionalized because childrearing was a serious social contribution. In an era of professionalization of all services, the family life and childrearing were not sacred or immune from inspection, inquiry, and professionalization. Zhang Yinian implicitly claimed a greater understanding of childhood development because of his professional training, and insisted that parents and other professionals needed his instruction. Ironically, because childhood was sentimentalized, parental instincts were devalued in an effort to provide children with the best upbringing possible.

Zhang Yinian proposed applying knowledge of child expertise beyond the classroom and into the home. According to Zhang, because children were most impressionable between one and five, the home (or the preschool) was even more important than the school.<sup>164</sup> Parents were thus instrumental in inculcating good habits and a healthy outlook. In accordance with the widespread analogy between emotional and physical health in both the New Life Movement and Mental Hygiene Movement, sloppy habits and a pessimistic attitude were “no less evil than communicable diseases.”<sup>165</sup> Like many psychiatrists, Zhang also introduced information on children’s physical health as the biological foundation of mental hygiene. Zhang noted that advances in both medicine and psychology could help prevent physical and mental illnesses in children.<sup>166</sup> Zhang quoted Spencer as having written, “We surrender the destiny of future generations entirely to ignorant customs” and “stupid wet nurses.” Like Song, Zhang also appears most interested in the question of controlling “destiny.”<sup>167</sup> The reference to Spencer

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commemoration of Zhang, please see: Du Zuorun 杜作潤, “Zuwei jiaoyu xuezhe de Zhang Yi” 作為教育學者的章益 [Zhang Yi as an educator], *Fudan jiaoyu luntan* 復旦教育論壇 [Fudan Education Forum], 2. 6 (2004): 77-80.

<sup>163</sup> Zhang Yinian 章頤年, *Xinli weisheng gailun* 心理衛生概論 [Introduction to Mental Hygiene] (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1936), 133. See Chen Heqin, “Tantan zuo fumu de tiaojian” 談談做父母的條件 [The Qualifications of Parents], *Ertong jiaoyu* 5.1 (2005): 39.

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.*, 140.

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>166</sup> *Ibid.*, 136.

<sup>167</sup> Zhang Yinian, 136.

highlights social Darwinist attitudes toward prevention and molding children in body and spirit.<sup>168</sup>

Despite this Spencerian-inspired agenda of controlling human nature and evolution, Zhang warned against “fetal education,” a traditional Chinese practice of educating fetuses by reading aloud classical texts (the rhythms of which the fetuses might recall just a bit more easily later in life), etc.<sup>169</sup> Child psychiatrist Huang Yi and Zhang Yinian denounced fetal education as a “myth,” outmoded in a modern, scientific age.<sup>170</sup> The psychological state of the mothers, who might resent their duties to the fetus, was of the most importance. Zhang’s point about maternal resentment seems strange in a chapter about parental responsibility, with positive references to the sacrifices made by Mencius’s mother. However, continuing trends since the late Qing, Zhang aimed to safeguard physical wellbeing rather than push academic precocity.

Although Zhang’s textbook was primarily addressed to male university students, the audience of *Modern Parents* and much of the popular literature on childrearing was mothers or potential mothers. One such book, *Child Mental Hygiene*, illustrates how women might have formed “mothers clubs” for mutual advice,<sup>171</sup> after turning to a professional doctor for instruction on scientific childcare.<sup>172</sup> The chapter, “When Parents Disagree,” presents the mother as more knowledgeable about the science of childrearing than the father, but she always deferred to her husband in the presence of her children.<sup>173</sup> Thus, as in the late Qing, mothers needed to gain scientific understanding while maintaining social relationships and power hierarchies.

#### INSTRUCTING CHILDREN AS POTENTIAL PARENTS

The National Child Welfare Association and the many child experts affiliated with the organization provided parenting manuals even for students and children. As Chen Heqin had done, Zhang Yinian urged middle-schools and even primary schools to offer parental education as was done in the United States.<sup>174</sup> As we saw in the late Qing,

<sup>168</sup> For the influx of ideas about Charles Darwin and the application of Darwinism to social reform, see James Pusey, *Charles Darwin and China*.

<sup>169</sup> Ibid., 154. For the translation of ancient fetal education into modern terms, see also Nicole Richardson, “The Nation in Utero: Translating the Science of Fetal Education in Republican China,” *Frontiers of History in China* 7. 1 (March 2012): 4-31.

<sup>170</sup> Ibid.

<sup>171</sup> Ibid., 30-32.

<sup>172</sup> Chen Meiyu 陳美愉, Jia Jinhua 賈金華, eds., *Ertong xinli weisheng 兒童心理衛生 [Mental Hygiene of Children]* (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1936).

<sup>173</sup> Ibid., 25.

<sup>174</sup> Zhang Yinian, p.136 cited Clara Basset’s *Mental Hygiene in the Community* to claim that experiments in the United States proved that primary-school students expressed “an unusual interest” in parenthood after such training. See also Clara Basset, *Mental Hygiene in the Community* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1934), 172. For information on the growth of non-academic marriage and parenting courses in American universities, see Beth L. Bailey, “Scientific Truth...and Love: The Marriage Education Movement in the United States,” *Journal of Social History* 20. 4 (July 1, 1987): 711-732.

elementary girls' textbooks had included information on childrearing.<sup>175</sup> Thus, textbooks addressed themselves to children, especially in the political context of shaping youth culture.

What might the Mental Hygiene Movement mean, not only for children, but also to children? Yang Su's *Mental Hygiene Lectures for Children* 兒童心理衛生講話 offered lessons about mental health directly to children themselves. Although adults may have been the actual readers of this text, the book is at least directed toward and designed for children. This primer begins with a strange lesson:

Little friends, do you know what? Those foreign scientists, they are putting together a bunch of stuff to create the semblance of a person, and they've succeeded. The person that they've made has eyes, a nose, hair and everything that a person has, not any different from a real person. If you saw it, you would definitely think that it was a person, a person completely like you. This doesn't make you feel a little strange? Is it possible to create a person? Even though we've heard the story that God created humanity, that's not really true! When it hasn't been witnessed before, how could it really happen now? Little friends, your doubts are correct, furthermore, you're right on target—people really can't create other people...

小朋友，你們知道一件事嗎？外國的那些科學家，他們正在用許多的東西併合起來，造成一個人的形狀，他們都成功了。他們造出來的人，有眼睛，鼻子，頭髮也有人所有的東西，和真的人沒有兩樣。如果你見了，你一定會相信這真是一個人，合你自己一樣的一個人。這不是要使你奇怪嗎？真麼可以造人呢？雖然我們聽見過上帝造人的故事，但是這不是真的啊！雖也沒有看見過，現在真麼有會了呢？小朋友，你們的懷疑是不錯的，而且，你們是猜中了，人的確是不會造人的[...]。<sup>176</sup>

This passage begins with the cliché of introducing children to the wonders of foreign science and new inventions. (As the famous educator Tao Xingzhi declared in his Preface to a book of children's scientific games, "The twentieth century is a scientific world," so China needed a rising generation of scientists freed from superstition; he wrote, "Little friends, transform yourselves into scientific children, and furthermore make China scientific!"<sup>177</sup>) Some commentators argued that children were ideally suited to study

<sup>175</sup> Helen Schneider studies the institutions and implications of home economics courses in her book *Keeping the Nation's House*.

<sup>176</sup> My translation. Yang Su 楊肅, *Ertong xinli weisheng jianghua* 兒童心理衛生講話 [Talks on Child Mental Hygiene] (Shanghai: Ertong shuju, 1923, 1934, 1943), 1.

<sup>177</sup> See Ju Xiaoming 鞠孝銘, *Ertong zhi you: ertong kexue baxi* 兒童之友：兒童科學把戲 [The Child's Friend: Children's Scientific Games] (Shanghai: Zhengzhong Shuju, 1936, 1947), 1. Scientific discovery benefitted personal ambition and state goals, but needed to spark children's creativity and curiosity, with instructions for building scientific toys and science experiments. For example, see Zhang Yiqu 張一渠, *Ertong kexue wanju mucu* 兒童科學玩具目次 [Catalogue of Children's Scientific Toys] (Shanghai: Ertong shuju, 1931, 1948). For example, in the special Children's Day issue on "Hangzhou Children's Science Toys Exhibition" in the journal *Youth*, writers tried to excite children's curiosity in the "strange world" of science while also promoting science to strengthen China. In "The Meaning of the Scientific Toy Exhibition," Luo addressed "little friends" and their parents about the need to catch up to the West; see *Qingnian banyuekan* 青年半月刊 (Hangzhou) 1. 7 (1 February 1935); reproduced in Chen Zhanqi 陳湛綺, ed., *Min'guo chenxi duankan duankan* 民國珍稀短刊斷刊 (Beijing: Quanguo tushuguan wenxian suowei fuzhi zhongxin chubun, 2006), Vol. 9, No. 5. Just as in Chen Heqin's *Family Education*, these authors tried



science because of their lack of prejudicial assumptions,<sup>178</sup> and Yang Su anticipated that his little readers would feel incredulous at marvelous accounts. Yang implicitly contrasted healthy skepticism with a naïve belief that people can be “created,” either by science or by God. Thus, Yang implicitly contrasted scientific investigation and religious faith, even faith in science.<sup>179</sup> According to Yang, mental thought, along with automatic and responsive functions, separate human life from lifeless creations.<sup>180</sup> Given psychologists’ observations of children investing dolls with human characteristics,<sup>181</sup> as well as textbook lessons about lifeless dolls,<sup>182</sup> Yang may have been clarifying the difference between fantasy and reality. By intentionally misleading his audience, Yang began his primer with a small test of deception—and thereby invited his little readers to question his own textual authority.

Yang encouraged his readers not only to adopt skeptical attitudes and conduct psychological experiments. Infants would not respond with fear to “things like non-poisonous snakes,” the teacher assured them; however, if the children introduced these objects with a startling sound, the infants would begin to associate snakes with fear.<sup>183</sup> In order to overcome their own fears, the story’s teacher suggested that the children clinically observe the formation of fear in their younger siblings who were still infants. By encouraging children to think and act as scientists, Yang did not completely reverse

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to use “fun” games to direct children towards adult-centered goals. These goals are perhaps best reflected in global, contemporary efforts to instill comradeship and training in Boy Scouts and military games. For example, in the Preface to a book on military games, one author tells his readers that after they finish reading his book, they should address their friends by saying: “Let’s play some military games! I already know a lot of interesting games” (1), but that these games were “preparation for fighting for the motherland” (4). V. Kompaniets 康柏尼茲, and M. Cherevov 且立夫可夫, translated by Zhong Mao 重矛, *Shaonian junshi youxi* 少年軍事遊戲 [Games of Young Fighters] (Shanghai: Zhengzhong Shuju, 1944 and 1946). Originally published as *Igry iunikh boitsov* (Moscow and Leningrad: Detgiz, 1942). Thanks to David Stone and Kristen Mulready-Stone for help with this citation.

<sup>178</sup> In “Children and Science,” p. 266, Zhou writes, “Children are most suited to scientific research because they do not have prejudices.” (兒童是最合於科學的研究，因為他沒有偏見和成見), reproduced in Chen Zhanqi 陳湛綺, ed., *Min’guo chenxi duankan duankan* 民國珍稀短刊斷刊 (Beijing: Quanguo tushuguan wenxian suowei fuzhi zhongxin chuban, 2006), Vol. 9 No. 5.

<sup>179</sup> Yang Su, 2-3. This strange polemic against creationism seems to indicate that Yang was trying to clarify the distinction between *xinlixue* (study of the mind’s principles) and *xinlingxue* (study of the heart and soul). Please see footnote X about the first translation of psychology into Chinese.

<sup>180</sup> Yang Su, 2. Although Chinese were more likely than Westerners to adhere to an idea of cultivating both the body and mind in tandem, Mental Hygienists also posited a relationship between the mind and body (in which the mind influenced—but was not influenced by—the body). For example, William White, p. 81, quoted Plato’s statement, “My belief is, not that a good body will of its own excellence make the soul good, but on the contrary, that a good soul will by its excellence render the body as perfect as it can be.”

<sup>181</sup> Kurt Koffka 考夫卡, translated by Gao Juefu 高覺敷, *Ertong xinli xuexinlun* 兒童心理學新論 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1929). Translation of Kurt Koffka, *Die Grundlagen der psychischen Entwicklung; eine Einfuehung in die Kinderpsychologie* (Osterwieck am Harz, A.W. Zickfeldt, 1921).

<sup>182</sup> Xin xuezhi shiyong: xin Xiaoxue jiaokeshu: guoyu duben: chuji dierjuan 新學制使用：心小學教科書：國語讀本：初級第二卷 [New Educational System Chinese National Language Readers for Lower Primary School, Volume Two], Guoji bianjiguan (International Translation Bureau, (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1923, 1926), 33.

<sup>183</sup> Yang Su, 18-19.

the roles of authority between scientist and child (as the object of child study); he simply allowed children to assume scientific authority over *yet younger* children.

Yang Su challenged his readers to reassess the roles and influence of their parents and families.

What are the different types of bacteria for psychological diseases? It sounds strange, but it's simply your father, mother, and everyone else who is close to you! You'll all definitely shout, "How can the people we love the most become our most despicable enemies!" Little friends, your surprise is only natural. However, I'm going to say something that is going to make you feel even more shocked! That is, the closer someone is to you, the worse his poison. What's the meaning of this? Once you finish reading this book, it will definitely become clear to you.

心理上各種疾病的蒼一和蚊子是甚麼呢？說來奇怪，那就是你們的父親母親和其他最近的人呢！小朋友一定會大叫，我們最親愛的人怎麼一變了我們最可恨的仇敵呢；小朋友的驚異是怪不得的。但是，我們要說更使你們奇怪的話呢！那就是越親愛的人，那末他那個蒼一愈毒。這是甚麼道理？這在看完了這本書後，定然會明白。<sup>184</sup>

Here, Yang presented a de-sentimentalized vision of family relations. He invited children to observe clinically parental manipulation rather than appreciate parental sacrifices, as so many children primers had done. Given clichés in children's literature, Yang anticipated the shock and disapproval of his readers. Although he promised to explain the mechanism of parental harm through specific case studies, Yang provided a provisional explained, "The people who are nearest to you are also naturally the ones that will carry the most psychological bacteria."<sup>185</sup> It was easy for Yang to offer this analogy, given the persuasive comparison of "biological hygiene and mental hygiene." Mental hygiene, unlike biological health, depended upon not only upon individual cultivation, but also upon a sanitary environment in a healthy family.

The case studies in the book further illustrated the psychological harm resulting from parental manipulation of children. For instance, Yang critiqued grandmothers who secured children inside at night by scaring them with stories of tigers and ghosts.<sup>186</sup> Yang criticized a mother who took pleasure in taunting the girl before indulging her to excess.<sup>187</sup> In another example, an alcoholic father regularly beat his clumsy son.<sup>188</sup> Punishments *reinforced* the very behavior that parents hoped to eliminate. Breaking this vicious cycle, abusive but tractable parents were portrayed as turning to the children's teacher for advice on improving their parenting. Thus, Yang's book could obliquely be read as a parenting manual.

This connection and cycle between parental neurosis and childhood habits, between feudal environmental and continuing injustice was explored in May Fourth

<sup>184</sup> Ibid., 10. My translation

<sup>185</sup> Ibid. My translation

<sup>186</sup> Ibid., 13. During this time, American psychologists also warned of the dangers of "traditional grandmothers" who would use tools of fear to control children, because Americans valued a "cool temperament" that was cultivated with level-headed parenting and bland food. Paula Fass, lecture, "Childhood in America" (Undergraduate Interdisciplinary Studies 140).

<sup>187</sup> Yang Su, 32.

<sup>188</sup> Ibid., 24.

literature. According to Andrew Jones, the famous modern writer Lu Xun questioned China's ability to "save children" who had already been contaminated by the taint of traditional culture.<sup>189</sup> Whereas Lu Xun saw the pall of figurative "cannibalism" inherent in unjust traditional society as a whole, Yang Su constructed the teacher as the modern professional who used scientific methods to transform the lives of his students and their parents.<sup>190</sup>

Yang depicted the modern teacher, educated in mental hygiene as a key agent in professionalizing parenthood in accordance with the recommendations of Zhang Yinian and other child experts and mental hygienists. Unlike Lu Xun, they did not see a fundamental paradox in their methodology; they emphasized logistical obstacles to disseminating their scientific methods in schools and in homes, rather than realizing methodological flaws in their scientific theories.

In the context of the book as a whole, Yang Su encouraged children to understand their parents as flawed people. Yang's analyses accorded with Zhang Yinian's textbook; what makes Yang's book extraordinary was the amount of power and authority that he conferred not only to the modern teacher, but also—at least rhetorically—to children themselves. Yet, in order to gain the proper perspective, Yang was asserting that families needed to consult psychology textbooks and professional teachers. Thus, Yang's book still reflected larger trends in mental hygiene and childhood protection to present childcare as requiring scientific and professional expertise.

## CONCLUSION

Despite the state-centralizing policies of the Nationalist government, the government still relied heavily on para-government organizations to fulfill basic services, such as famine relief and child welfare. The National Child Welfare Association enjoyed a mutually beneficial relationship with the state and provided a venue for intellectuals to enter into that intersection between patriotic duty and individual accreditation. The National Child Welfare Association conferred moral authority on politicians, but also benefitted from their political connections. Similarly, educators and intellectuals used the publishing services of the National Child Welfare Association to promote their own careers, but, in doing so, they also provided the association with intellectual content and scientific authority for its childhood expertise.

As a private, public-oriented organization, the National Child Welfare Association could be seen as a transition between foreign-led missionary groups and state-led childhood services. The association inherited missionary goals and tactics, and received foreign funding and support. Many of its members were Christian, and

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<sup>189</sup> Andrew Jones, "The Child as History," 706.

<sup>190</sup> Yang Su presented teachers as paying home visits, a trend promoted by the National Child Welfare Association's journal *Modern Parents*. *Modern Parents* said that in the United States, there is a special type of elementary school teacher, called the visiting teacher, who specializes in visiting the families of pupils. Liu Shi 流石, "Ertong qianqi de xinli yu jiaoyang," 兒童前期的心理與教養 [Early Childhood Psychology and Training], *Xiandai fumu* 現代父母 [Modern Parents] 3. 2.

Americans emphasized Christian connections. The National Child Welfare Association also continued to draw upon the authority of foreign models and expertise, but was organized by Chinese leadership. Some scholars, especially Yuwu Song, have argued that the New Life Movement cloaked Christian goals under the guise of Confucian rhetoric,<sup>191</sup> and as we will see in Chapter Six, Communists in the 1950s condemned charity organizations as handmaidens of Western imperialism. However, these criticisms do not take seriously the importance of Chinese leadership in the Nanjing decade. Chen Heqin and Song Meiling had served the Child Labor Commission in the early 1920s and understood the importance of Chinese leadership in the context of rising nationalism. This transition toward overt Chinese leadership would help facilitate the development of a standard, in the 1950s, which required Chinese leadership without the benefit of foreign funding.

The government-sponsored New Life Movement has often been considered to be an ineffective, top-down, conservative failure, and despite the persuasiveness of this characterization, adequate scholarly attention has not been given to the connections (highlighted in this chapter) between that movement and the ongoing reform efforts of advocates of children's rights and the welfare of children. Furthermore, in contrast to the characterizations of later critics, the reality of the time evoked a much greater degree of willingness on the part of intellectuals who saw themselves as reformers to be open to Western influences for reforming and preserving the family in China.

In comparison to their counterparts in the May Fourth Movement, the Chinese educators and intellectuals who aligned with the Child Welfare Association tended to be conservative in the sense that they wanted to preserve the family. For instance, in the early 1920s, child psychologist Chen Heqin was promoting the sentimental ideal of childhood happiness to buttress the family against increasingly radical attacks by some members of the May Fourth Movement. He joined the Child Labor Commission, and later, the National Child Welfare Association to continue to develop those trends, as they effectively pushed for a greater degree of state intervention in family affairs. Despite the "conservative" championing of what Helen Schneider calls "the ideology of the happy family," this ideology nonetheless provided the justification for the National Child Welfare Association to act as a watchdog organization that advocated on behalf of abused and neglected children. These institutional practices, along with the intellectual justification of child experts, helped to pave the way for the ability of the state (under the Nationalists and later under the Communists) to interfere in family affairs in order to safeguard children's rights.

Even though child experts and philanthropists argued for the importance of understanding the science behind childhood, children themselves seemed, at times, to be an afterthought. No one apparently wanted children to be the absolute focus of the family. *Modern Parents* cited American scholars to argue that parents "should not become the slaves of their children."<sup>192</sup> Even Chen Heqin argued that children were important

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<sup>191</sup> Yuwu Song, "Mme. Chiang Kai-Shek and her Two Worlds, 55.

<sup>192</sup> Dr. Miler 密爾斯, "Modern Parenting Lectures," *Modern Parents* 3.2 (February 1935): 12. My translation.

*because* they helped a family cohere into a stable unit. Yet, by advocating for children's rights, guaranteed by state law and seen as a public responsibility, rather than a private concern, these intellectuals made the family vulnerable to outside forces that could prioritize children's welfare above family privacy. Ironically, as will be shown in the next two chapters, this fissure in family authority, created by the champions of family values, would widen in the wake of wartime traumas to children and create an opening for the increasing presence of state authority in the 1950s.

**CHAPTER FIVE**  
 “NATIONAL SEEDS” IN GLOBAL SOIL  
 INTERNATIONAL FUNDING FOR CHINESE CHILD SERVICES DURING AND AFTER WAR

Both scholars and historical actors agreed that the Second World War was a “revolutionary” turning point for child welfare relief.<sup>1</sup> During the flight of upwards of 95 million refugees,<sup>2</sup> Chinese were galvanized to “assume financial and moral responsibility” for poor children,<sup>3</sup> who were then considered “seeds of the nation” rather than the property of clans.<sup>4</sup> However, this interpretation focuses solely on the national citizenship of poor children, and reflects historical, Nationalist propaganda that lionized the role of Song Meiling or Madame Chiang Kai-shek and used child welfare as a tool for political and military diplomacy with the United States. Overseas Chinese and American donors also contributed to child welfare efforts; thus, children were not simply “seeds of the nation” or the “warphans” of Madame Chiang Kai-shek, but global citizens as well. The use of poor children as symbols and tools of international diplomacy was a tactic used by both Nationalists and Communists during the war.

Nationalists and Communists both accepted foreign aid and foreign influences for child welfare relief. Nationalists measures for industrial preschools, first proposed during the 1920s, and their rhetoric about factory leadership and cadre management reflect a surprising degree of Communist and Soviet influence during the United Front. Thus, not only did institutions for child welfare attract a new and wider spectrum of children whose parents were involved in the war effort, but industrial crèches and preschools also catered to a new clientele of industrial workers and farmwomen during the war. Communists accepted scientific ideas about medical care and child development from Americans. The Chinese Communist Party even renamed the preschool in the Communist basecamp of Yan’an the Los Angeles Preschool. Communists drew upon the sentimental value of children with a selected emphasis, from American influences, on scientific hygiene and health in wartime conditions, rather than on childhood play and spontaneity. Furthermore, opportunities for cross-cultural communication between the U.S. and the Chinese Communists broke down with Nationalist blockades of U.N. relief after the war.

WARTIME ORGANIZATIONS AND INTERNATIONAL AID

During the war, the Nationalist government continued and intensified the child welfare services and tactics begun by the National Child Welfare Association 中華慈幼協會 explored in the previous chapter. In the spirit of collaboration and unity in 1937 in

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<sup>1</sup> Rose Hum Lee, “Madame Chiang’s Children,” *Survey Graphic* 32.4 (April 1943): 136. See also Colette Plum, *passim* and Stephen MacKinnon, “Refugee Flight at the Outset of the Anti-Japanese War,” in: Diana Lary and Stephen R. MacKinnon, eds., *The Scars of War: The Impact of Warfare on Modern China* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2001), 127.

<sup>2</sup> Stephen MacKinnon, “Refugee Flight at the Outset of the Anti-Japanese War,” 122; 124.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, 144.

<sup>4</sup> Colette Plum, *passim*.

the wartime capital of Hankou, Nationalist and Communist women created the Association for Child Welfare 兒童保育會.<sup>5</sup> Stephen MacKinnon credits the lawyer Shi Lang (1900-1985) with galvanizing and uniting the (politically divided) Song sisters to support relief for child refugees.<sup>6</sup> Song Qingling, widow of Sun Yat-sen, served as honorary chairwoman;<sup>7</sup> Song Meling, wife of Chiang Kai-shek, acted as chairwoman; and Li Dequan 李德全 (1896-1972), wife of “Christian” General Feng Yuxiang 馮玉祥 (1882-1948) was assistant chairwoman. This organization established regional committees to carry out child protection services at the local level and included both Nationalists and Communists.

Wartime aid was a continuation of the international funding explored in the previous chapter. In the period between 1938 and 1944, the National Association for Refugee Children successfully raised funds both in China and abroad.<sup>8</sup> Donations came from non-Chinese and overseas Chinese throughout the world (for example, the United States, Canada, and Burma), especially through overseas Chinese organizations, such as Chinese Friendship Associations, the London Chinese Women’s Relief,<sup>9</sup> and the Chinese Girl Scouts of America.<sup>10</sup> China Child Welfare, renamed the China Aid Council, regularly transmitted donations to the organization.<sup>11</sup> Children’s groups—girl scouts,<sup>12</sup> Sunday school classes,<sup>13</sup> schools,<sup>14</sup> and even kindergarten classes—contributed small donations to Chinese children.<sup>15</sup> Adults approved of the willingness of children, especially Chinese children, to sacrifice their own personal pocket money for their less fortunate peers,<sup>16</sup> so the mobilization of children on behalf of war victims was in itself a fund-raising tactic.

<sup>5</sup> *Feminism and Nationalism in China*, 121. See also Plum, 66.

<sup>6</sup> Stephen MacKinnon, “Refugee Flight at the Outset of the Anti-Japanese War,” in: Diana Lary and Stephen R. MacKinnon, eds., *The Scars of War: The Impact of Warfare on Modern China* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2001), 127-30.

<sup>7</sup> For a selection of photographs and articles indicating Song Qingling’s role in child welfare, see Shanghai Sun Qingling jijinhui 上海宋慶齡基金會 [Shanghai Song Qingling Society], *Song Qingling: ertong jiaoyu sixiang he shijian yantaohui wenji* 宋慶齡兒童教育思想和實踐研討會文集 [Song Qingling: Childhood Education Theory and Practice] (Shanghai: Shanghai Song Qingling ji jin hui, 1993).

<sup>8</sup> Zhanshi Ertong Baoyuhui 戰時兒童保育會 [Wartime Child Welfare Association], *Baoguan Weiyuanhui, Zhengxinlu* 戰時兒童保育會保管委員會徵信錄 [National Association for Refugee Children, Custodian’s Report of Receipts, March 10-1938-June 30, 1944] (1944), in the Hoover Institute, Stanford University Library. During the Second United Front (1937-1946), which reconciled the Nationalist and Communist parties after the kidnapping of Chiang Kai-shek forced him to reverse the White Terror against Communism, this organization included both Nationalists and Communists.

<sup>9</sup> National Association for Refugee Children, *Custodian’s Report of Receipts* (March 10-1938-June 30, 1944), 33.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 70.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> For example, *ibid.*, 71.

<sup>13</sup> Such as the Sunday School of Bethel Presbyterian Church, *Ibid.*, 74

<sup>14</sup> For example, Clara Eves’s Seventh Grade Class in Aitkin, Minnesota. *Ibid.*, 88.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>16</sup> Garside papers.

Because of wartime occupation and retrenchment, the war complicated longstanding trends to tie child welfare to state patriotism. The National Child Welfare Association continued under the Japanese occupation of Shanghai. Longstanding member Lin Kanghou 林康候 became the head of the Board of Directors and registered the organization with the Japanese government's Social Welfare Bureau, thus implicitly accepting the control of the wartime government.<sup>17</sup> Meanwhile, in Nationalist controlled areas, the Chinese Child Welfare Association, still headed by H.H. Kung (Kong Xiangxi), directly reported to the Central Relief Committee (Zhongyang Zhenji Dangju 中央賑濟當局) and reaffirmed its allegiance to the government. For example, the Welfare Association applauded the "stress that the government placed on child welfare services" through Children's Day, children's libraries, physical education facilities, and children's hospitals and clinics.<sup>18</sup> During the War, the Welfare Association received a great deal of funding from the Allied countries.<sup>19</sup> Responding to American demands, the National Child Welfare Association also institutionalized the practice of sending photographs and information about selected children to the United States during the war.<sup>20</sup> Thus, wartime needs pushed the association to comply with American fundraising tactics.

Yet Nationalists still used child welfare as a diplomatic strategy. When Madame Chiang Kai-shek raised funds for Chinese orphans, her larger aim was to elicit American military support.<sup>21</sup> Promoting her own image as a patriotic and humanitarian family, Song Meiling's 1943 tour in the United States expanded the responsibilities and authority of the "First Lady" in China.<sup>22</sup> In the absence of her own biological children,<sup>23</sup> she projected the "requirements of mother inherent in the First Lady Persona," through her cause of war orphans, called "Warphans." Americans perceived the imperial roots of the "Song dynasty."<sup>24</sup> Her stay at the White House strained her relationship to the Roosevelts,<sup>25</sup> despite the continued support of Henry Booth Luce and the China bloc.<sup>26</sup> Despite the overt success of her 1943 trip in the United States, Madame Chiang's failure to secure

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<sup>17</sup> Shanghai Municipal Archives R15-2-38.

<sup>18</sup> Kong Xiangxi 孔祥熙, *Zhonghua Ciyou Xiehui nianbao 中華慈幼協會年報* [Chinese Child Welfare Association Annual Report] (1942), 2.

<sup>19</sup> The Welfare Association received US\$648,524.96 from American and British funders. *Ibid.*, 14-15.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

<sup>21</sup> Daniel Paul Lintin, "From First Lady to Dragon Lady: A Rhetorical Study of Madame Chiang's Public Personae Before and During her 1943 US Tour," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota, 2001, p. 238.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 112.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 117, 146, 163. Linton quotes Clare Boothe as saying that Madame Chiang was "one of the world's best wives" and "one of the world's best mothers." Boothe, 23-24. Jespersen, 83. Rose Hum Lee, "Madame Chiang's Children," *Survey Graphic* (April 1943): 136. See also "Madame," *Time* 41. 9 (March 1943): 25-26, *Academic Search Complete*, EBSCOhost (accessed November 26, 2012).

<sup>24</sup> Anne Walter Fearn, *My Days of Strength; an American Woman Doctor's Forty Years in China*, 1st ed. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers, 1939), 289.

<sup>25</sup> Daniel Paul Lintin, 254.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 144.



America's commitment to military engagement led to disappointment in China<sup>27</sup> and backlash in the United States.<sup>28</sup>

The three Song sisters also used child welfare to raise their status in China. Even before the Second Sino-Japanese War, Song Meiling had taken charge of the Schools for Children of Revolutionary Heroes, an institution for the children of soldiers killed in the Nationalist army campaigns for the unification of China against warlords.<sup>29</sup> New Life Movement journals often depicted photographs of the Song sisters, or of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and his wife, among poor children in orphanages, especially the Geleshan Institution 歌樂山保育院 in Sichuan.<sup>30</sup> The widow of founding father Sun Yat-sen, Song Qingling, was called the "national mother," and Song Qingling's sister, the wife of H.H. Kung, was praised for contributions to child welfare.<sup>31</sup> Before the War, H.H. Kung founded the National Children's Welfare Association (See Chapter Four). The philanthropy and activism of this family, on behalf of children, had thus begun before the War, but the War helped to mobilize and publicize a positive image of the family as a unit.

In the United States, the war helped galvanize American charity for victims in China. In 1940, "The Committee of Five" founded United China Relief, an umbrella organization to coordinate the various charity organizations remitting money to China on February 7, 1941.<sup>32</sup> The new organization included representatives from the American Bureau for Medical Aid to China (ABMAC), the China Emergency Relief Committee, the China Aid Council, the American Committee for Chinese War Orphans, the Church Committee for China Relief, the American Committee for Chinese Industrial Cooperatives, and the Associated Boards for Christian Colleges in China. United China Relief was composed of organizations with Christian ties and influences. The United China Relief organized collective fundraising activities and distributed money to China during the War. Renamed the United Service to China (USC) in 1946, the organization continued to provide economic aid to China in the interwar and Civil War period. As we will see later in this chapter, the drive for organizational unity and bureaucratic coordination in the U.S. would, in the interwar period, help to galvanize similar efforts in

<sup>27</sup> Yuwu Song, "Mme. Chiang Kai-shek and her Two Worlds, 1908-1949," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Alabama, 1999, p. 8.

<sup>28</sup> Daniel Paul Lintin, 242.

<sup>29</sup> Tan Yankai, president of the National Government, asked Chiang to head this institution. Yuwu Song, 47, cites M.S. Chiang, "Bring Up Children of the revolution," Madame Chiang's Messages in War and Peace (Hankow: China Information Committee, 1938), 328.

<sup>30</sup> For example, Jiang furen zhaopian ziliao jijii (ershiqu) 蔣夫人照片資料輯集 (二十七), Academia Historica 002000000190P (1938-1944), and Jiang furen zhaopian ziliao jijii (ershiba) 蔣夫人照片資料輯集 (二十八), Academia Historica 002000000191P (1944-1959).

<sup>31</sup> Liu Qingyang 劉請揚, "Huanying Guomu Sun Furen he Geming Xianjin Kong Furen" 歡迎國母孫夫人和革命先進孔夫人 2.2 (May 1941): 13, in New Life Movement Files, File 56, Hoover Institute, Stanford.

<sup>32</sup> The Committee of Five included Dr. Claude Forkner, Mr. Roger Greene, Dr. Edward H. Hume, Dr. John Earl Baker, and Dr. B. A. Garside. "United Service to China Records, 1934-1967 (bulk 1941-1950): Finding Aid," n.d. <http://findingaids.princeton.edu/getEad?eadid=MC135>.

China.

United Services Relief tended to underfund child welfare programs relative to medical services.<sup>33</sup> From 1941 to 1942, United Relief Service cut its estimated donation to child welfare services.<sup>34</sup> Because child welfare and orphan relief were major focal points for joint United Services Relief fundraising, the China Aid Council received enough individual funding to offset funds for child welfare in China. The China Aid Council thus relied heavily on private donations, especially from Christians groups for child welfare. Furthermore, within China, Christian colleges continued to sponsor, support, and provide services for poor children. Despite their religious background and orientation, universities and programs purportedly considered their work primarily humanitarian rather than evangelical.<sup>35</sup> As explored below, this precedent continued after the war and made the field of child welfare services somewhat more unpredictable and unstable than other fields.

In the early 1940s, the United Services Relief (USR) employed novel fundraising tactics that intersected with consumer youth culture in the United States.<sup>36</sup> To channel money into the war effort, the USR produced Chinese-themed products and attractions, such as tickets to see Lee Ya-qing (Li Yaqing), “the Chinese aviatrix,”<sup>37</sup> and a junk in New York Harbor and a pagoda (to be built) in Times Square.<sup>38</sup> The USR developed a comic strip targeted at young audiences.<sup>39</sup> Walt Disney, the titular head of the USR’s Children’s Division,<sup>40</sup> gave the USR the license and copyright to the *Fantasia* animated

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<sup>33</sup> “First Annual Report of the United China Relief, Inc., for the Year 1941,” (New York: United China Relief, Inc., 1942), Hoover Institute, Stanford, DSC01949.

<sup>34</sup> “Summary Statement of Aid to China through Funds Raised by the United China Relief, Inc., During 1941,” United China Relief Archives, Hoover Institute, Stanford.

<sup>35</sup> United China Relief Archives, Hoover Institute, Stanford.

<sup>36</sup> For more background on the rise of consumer culture among youth, see: Gary Cross, *The Cute and the Cool: Wondrous Innocence and Modern American Children’s Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), and Kelly Schrum, *Some Wore Bobby Sox: The Emergence of Teenage Girls’ Culture, 1920-1945* (City: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).

<sup>37</sup> For more on the attractions of Li Yaqing, see Anne Walter Fearn, 283-286. Fearn noted, “When war broke out in 1937 she gave up her flying; donning white cap and apron, she turned to the imperative and immediate task of caring for the wounded soldiers and civilian refugees in the cold, bleak hospital barracks” (286). She also worked as a propagandist “in order to enlist the aid of the Americans in our cause”; see “China’s First Lady of Flight | History of Flight | Air & Space Magazine,” *Air and Space Magazine*, n.d., [http://www.airspacemag.com/history-of-flight/Chinas\\_First\\_Lady\\_of\\_Flight.html](http://www.airspacemag.com/history-of-flight/Chinas_First_Lady_of_Flight.html) Accessed August 14, 2012. Li appeared in Hollywood movies and became the heroine of a comic strip; see Dave Durian, “Lee Ya-Ching: Flying for Victory,” *Soft Film 軟性電影*, January 22, 2009.

<http://softfilm.blogspot.com/2009/01/lee-ya-ching-flying-for-victory.html>. Accessed August 14, 2012.

<sup>38</sup> “Informal Report of James G. Blaine,” p. 4, in Bettis A. Garside Papers, Hoover Institute, Stanford.

<sup>39</sup> “Informal Report of James G. Blaine,” p. 4; Bettis A. Garside Papers, Hoover Institute, Stanford.

<sup>40</sup> Walter Disney was the titular head, and Henry Seidel Canby was the active head. “Informal Report of James G. Blaine,” Bettis A. Garside Papers, Hoover Institute, Stanford. Disney was the master of licensing and packaging of new consumer products; see Gary Cross, *An All-consuming Century: Why Commercialism Won in Modern America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), 79.

character “Hop Low” (with stereotypical Asian characteristics).<sup>41</sup> The USSR thus not only offered elite Waldorf dinners and Yankee games<sup>42</sup> and Hollywood fashion shows<sup>43</sup> in its efforts to fundraise, but the USSR also produced commercial merchandise and insignia pins to promote its cause, aimed at children in the United States—thus reflecting a new consumer youth culture with global appeal and reach. In some ways, these tactics resonated with the public displays of childhood health and cross-class camaraderie showcased on Children’s Day in China.<sup>44</sup> Fundraising tactics thus reflect particular aims and targets of philanthropy.

#### CHILD WELFARE AND THE UNITED FRONT

By facilitating cooperation between Communists and Nationalists, the Second United Front allowed for a greater degree of cross-pollination of ideas, including those about child welfare and childcare.<sup>45</sup> The Nationalist Party was comprised of many conflicting cliques and actors.<sup>46</sup> Even Christian groups within the party accepted some Soviet ideas about collectivization, as well as industrialization and modernization of the female workforce during the war. The Nationalist Government’s investment in orphanages indicated a shift in emphasis from indirect aid to direct aid of welfare institutions, despite the continued commitment to the ideology of the happy family as the ideal environment for children. In addition to orphanages, the government also encouraged industrial preschools 工廠托兒所 in its effort to mobilize the female work force during the war.<sup>47</sup> This important shift in government policy indicated a new appreciation for women’s industrial work.

Through offices regarding New Life Movement, the Nationalist government continued to promote the professionalization within the home. Despite the necessity of child welfare services, the emphasis on domestic science and family ideology seemed ill-fitting in the context of widespread starvation and death. For example, in 1939, Yang

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<sup>41</sup> “Informal Report of James G. Blaine,” p. 4; Bettis A. Garside Papers, Hoover Institute, Stanford. Jeffrey S. Miller muses, “Of course the Chinese dance in *Fantasia* is racist; of course it can be read as an ur-moment in Disney’s colonization of the world,” but could still delight an eleven-month-old child adopted from China (126). The willingness of Chinese and American children to participate in such consumption complicates our characterization of them as “colonialist” or “racist.” See Jeffrey S. Miller, “Infantasia: A Meditation on International Adoption and American Studies,” *American Studies*, 48:3 (Fall 2007): 125-136.

<sup>42</sup> “Progress Report of the United China Relief,” (May 31, 1941), p. 3, Bettis A. Garside Papers, Hoover Institute, Stanford. See also “Dinner, sponsored by Mr. Thomas W. Lamont, Mr. Wendell L. Wilkie, Mr. Frederick H. Wood in the interest of United China Relief,” (Thursday evening, April 9, 1942), New York: The University Club, preserved at the Hoover Institute, Stanford. DSC02006.

<sup>43</sup> Informal Report of James G. Blaine,” p. 7, in Bettis A. Garside Papers, Hoover Institute, Stanford.

<sup>44</sup> See Chapter Four.

<sup>45</sup> Plum, *passim*.

<sup>46</sup> Lloyd Eastman, *Seeds of Destruction: Nationalist China in War and Revolution 1937-1949* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1984).

<sup>47</sup> Ziyuan weiyuanhui 資源委員會 [Economics Committee] (January 27, 1943 – April 3, 1943), in Academia Historica 0030101021243.

Dianrui 楊崇瑞 (1891-1983)<sup>48</sup> admitted that it “sounded strange to talk about domestic science,” when “soldiers were sacrificing themselves at the front,” because it could at once be seen as being “uptight” and “frivolous” during wartime.<sup>49</sup> Nevertheless, Yang Dianrui explained that home hygiene was not yet incorporated into the “mindset of the masses,” but was necessary for maintaining a strong nation.<sup>50</sup>

The Women’s Advisory Committee of the New Life Movement continued much of the indirect work begun in the Nanjing decade, especially by promoting mothercraft societies and better baby contests.<sup>51</sup> The Department of Child Welfare continued indirect methods, such as contests, models, and awards to celebrate, educate, and popularize the notion of scientific childrearing. Madame Chiang Kai-shek personally distributed cash prizes and awarded goods to infants and toddlers at the Better Baby Contest on February 28, 1939. Better Baby Contests allowed health care professionals to intervene in family life in the countryside. As Professor Franz Michael (1907-1992)<sup>52</sup> explained, “It is not easy to induce a Chinese farmer’s wife to let her child be examined by a foreign-trained doctor; but things become different if there is a “health competition” with prizes for the healthiest children.”<sup>53</sup> The baby contest allowed the National Zhejiang university medical staff to survey children’s health and to offer treatment for widespread eye infections.<sup>54</sup> Better baby contests thus facilitated greater surveillance and distribution of medical services despite the reluctance of some mothers. Newspaper coverage of such activities continued to explain the importance of infant hygiene and child nutrition in terms of children’s roles as the future leaders of the nation. In an article, “The Better Baby Contest: Raising the Nation’s Foundation,” in a Nationalist Party periodical, a reporter blamed China’s backwardness among nations for its failure to protect the health and development of infants, in contrast to the “perfect” example of the Soviet Union’s preschools.<sup>55</sup> This reference, in the government-sponsored *New Life Movement Fifth*

<sup>48</sup> “Yang Dianrui,” Wikipedia entry “楊崇瑞 - 维基百科，自由的百科全书,” n.d., <http://zh.wikipedia.org/wiki/%E6%A5%8A%E5%B4%87%E7%91%9E>

<sup>49</sup> Yang Dianrui 楊崇瑞, Xinyun yu jiating weisheng 新運與家庭衛生 [The New Life Movement and Family Hygiene], *Xin Shenghuo Yundong wuzhounian jinian tekan* 新生活運動勞五週年紀念特刊 7 (Saturday, February 15, 1939): 1.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> Schneider, 163.

<sup>52</sup> Marie-Luise Näth, “Obituary,” *The China Quarterly*, no. 138 (June 1, 1994): 513–516.

<sup>53</sup> Franz Michael, “A University on the March,” reproduced in Hubert Freyn, *Chinese Education in the War*, Council of International Affairs, Political and Economic Studies, no. 9 (Shanghai [etc.]: Kelly & Walsh, Ltd., 1940).

<sup>54</sup> Franz Michael, “A University on the March,” reproduced in Hubert Freyn, *Chinese Education in the War*, Council of International Affairs, Political and Economic Studies, no. 9 (Shanghai [etc.]: Kelly & Walsh, Ltd., 1940).

<sup>55</sup> “Ertong jiankang bisai tejuan: peiyang guojia de genji” 兒童健康比賽特捐：培養國家的根基 [Special Issue on Better Baby Contests: Fostering the Root of the Nation], *Xin Shenghuo Yundong wuzhounian jinian tekan* 《新生活運動勞五週年紀念特刊》 [Circular commemorating the Fifth Anniversary of the New Life Movement], in “New Life Movement, Guomindang,” Hoover Institute, No. 10 (Tuesday, Feb. 18, 1939): 3; “New Life Movement, Guomindang,” Hoover Institute, Box 1, Folder.

*Year Circular*, reflected appreciation for Soviet advising to the Nationalist government during the war, as well as the attractiveness of the state-centered patriotism of the Soviet model.<sup>56</sup>

Communist propaganda organs manipulated street performances to garner popular support more effectively than Nationalists, as Chang-tai Hung notes.<sup>57</sup> Yet, Communists and Nationalists worked together, and both mobilized children's song and dance performances to draw support.<sup>58</sup> Children's Day continued to provide special opportunities for orphanages to display children's nationalist sentiments. The orphans sang lyrics narrating their predicament and their heroism.<sup>59</sup> In *New-style Children's Music Performances*, first published in 1942, Hu Jingxi 胡敬熙 focused on patriotic songs, like "I love China,"<sup>60</sup> with a choreographed flag dance.<sup>61</sup> Following late Qing concerns about over-stimulating children (explored in Chapter One), Hu modified the pacing of fast songs,<sup>62</sup> first composed by a female Christian composer and first published by the National Child Welfare Association.<sup>63</sup> Because the song exhorted everyone to work, as well as to love children, the lyrics thus continued the National Child Welfare Association's message uniting both economic aspirations and sentimentality about childhood.

Children's performances are just one example of the active roles that children played during the war effort. M. Colette Plum argues that wartime was an aberration in the trend of sentimentalizing childhood, because children were portrayed as heroic "super-adults."<sup>64</sup> Orphans remember feeling empowered by their experiences in these

<sup>56</sup> Lisa A. Kirschenbaum, *Small Comrades: Revolutionizing Childhood in Soviet Russia, 1917-1932*, Studies in the History of Education (New York: Routledge Falmer, 2001).

<sup>57</sup> Chang-tai Hung, *War and Popular Culture: Resistance in Modern China, 1937-1945* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).

<sup>58</sup> For examples of Communist children's songs during the war, see the republished Haizi jutuan tuanshi bianji zubian, eds., 孩子劇團團史編輯組編, *Haizi jutuan 孩子劇團* [Children's Troops] (Chengdu: Sichuan Xiaonian Ertong Chubanshe, 1981).

<sup>59</sup> Li Xingyu 李興玉, "Ji zhanshi ertong baoyuhui xilü baoyuyuan 記戰時兒童保育會新律保育院, [Remembering the Wartime Child Protection Society's New Institution] in: Zhongguo Renmin Zhengzhi Xieban Shang Huiyi 中國人民政治協辦商會議 and Xi'nandiqu Wenshi Ziliao Xiezuoyi 西南地區文史資料協作會議, [Historical Collection Committee for the Southwest], eds, *Kangzhan shiqi xinan de jiaoyu shiye 抗戰時期西南得教育事業* [Education in the Wartime Northwest], 369. For more on the history of children's music in Chinese schools since the late Qing, and some background about the composers who wrote them, see Qian Renkang 錢仁康, *Xuetang yuege kaoyuan 學堂樂歌考源* [Review of School Music] (Shanghai: Shanghai Yinyue Chubanshe, 2001).

<sup>60</sup> "Wo ai Zhonghua" 我愛中華 [I Love China], *Xinxing ertong yingyue biaoyan 新型兒童音樂表演* (Shanghai: Zhengzhong shuju, 1942 and 1947), 8.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid, 12.

<sup>62</sup> "Tong'er" [Bell], *Xinxing ertong yingyue biaoyan*, 57.

<sup>63</sup> Hu (née Zhou) Shu'an 胡周淑安 (1894-1974). Hu Zhou Shu'an, 57. Religious organizations, such as the Presbyterian Press of Shanghai, had long published religious songs for children, such as Mrs. Yang's *Kindergarten Songs*. See advertisement in *Qingnian zhi you 青年之友* ["The Young People's Friend"], 6.1 (January 1926).

<sup>64</sup> Plum, 25.

institutions during the war.<sup>65</sup> Plum convincingly portrays young heroes, rather than hapless victims even within a period of wartime expansion of services for children. Nevertheless, children's heroism was likely especially poignant because children had already been sentimentalized before the war.

#### WOMEN'S MOBILIZATION AND INDUSTRIAL PRESCHOOLS

The war changed the commitment of the Nationalist Department of Labor to women workers and their children. Especially after the Nationalists fled from Wuhan to Chongqing, they conscripted male, female, and child labor in order to industrialize the city and aid the war effort.<sup>66</sup> The government called upon every citizen—"male and female, young and old, at the frontlines and in the home front"—to participate in the war effort.<sup>67</sup> The shortage of labor increased the economic value of "female and child laborers" for the nation's war effort. The New Life Movement organizations actively recruited women to work in factories when "the chaos of war scattered over ten thousand female laborers and child laborers."<sup>68</sup> During nationally observed holidays, women volunteered to "visit the wounded, wash their clothes, and promote the war effort overseas, thus proving that the obvious power of the female laborer."<sup>69</sup>

With a commitment to mobilize the female workforce, the Nationalist government took a more active role in industry and in training both female workers and their children. The government had a commitment to training "cadre" (*ganbu*), rather than turning a profit,<sup>70</sup> and "training [female] cadre" incurred "a huge expense."<sup>71</sup> Factory cadre were

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., 25.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., 97.

<sup>67</sup> William C. Kirby, "The Chinese War Economy," in James C. Hsiung and Steven I. Levine, eds., *China's Bitter Victory: The War with Japan, 1937-1945* (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1992).

<sup>68</sup> Xinyunhui funü zhidao weiyuanhui 新運會婦女指導委員會 [Women's Advisory Committee of the New Life Movement], "Guanyu funü zhidao weiyuanhui" 關於婦女指導委員會 [About the Women's Advisory Committee], *Xinshenghuo yundong laogong wuzhounian jinian tekan* 新生活運動勞五週年紀念特刊 [New Life Movement Work Fifth Anniversary Special Publication], no. 5 (February 23, 1939): 2. Although writing for the New Life Movement, the Women's Advisory Committee was principally run by Communist figures such as Deng Yingchao; see Stephen MacKinnon, "Refugee Flight at the Outset of the Anti-Japanese War," 131.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid. The journal could have been referring to overseas Chinese women's organizations that promoted the war effort, such as the Chinese Women's Association, the Chinese Young Women's Patriotic League (CYWPL), and the Chinese Women's Relief Association. See Jingyi Song, *Shaping and Reshaping Chinese American Identity: New York's Chinese During the Depression and World War II* (Lanham, Md: Lexington Books, 2010), 122-26. Jingyi Song discusses Chinese American activism and support for the war effort as an identification with both China and the United States, thus modifying the claims of Gloria Chun and Wayne Hung Wong, who focus more on the Chinese identities of Chinese Americans. See pages 4-5 for Song's treatment of historiography.

<sup>70</sup> The government wartime emphasized training and production over profit or industrialization. During the war, production of goods itself was a form of service. Because of the lack of supplies, factories could not possibly turn a profit, so Zhang Huiwen 張惠文 warned in a government-sponsored circular that people could not expect the government to further lower the price of goods. According Zhang, these factories like

lauded as “not only craftspeople, but also capable managers.”<sup>72</sup> With training from the Women’s Advisory Committee of the New Life Movement,<sup>73</sup> cadre were expected to engage in the War of Resistance against Japan, to share sympathy for the masses, and to be brave and uncorrupt.<sup>74</sup> According to the Women’s Advisory Committee of the New Life Movement, “all work needs to be executed by cadre.”<sup>75</sup>

Given the need for female mobilization for labor production, the government invested in welfare, factory crèches, and skilled labor training. In response to such complaints in government-published journals about low wages and the need for childcare,<sup>76</sup> the National Association for Refugee Children established factory crèches that allowed women to work more productively in factories.<sup>77</sup> For example, the Women’s Federation of Sichuan (home of the Nationalist wartime capital) established a nursery to “free women from their yolk and allow them to single-mindedly serve the nation.”<sup>78</sup> The government thus provided the factory crèches that had been advocated by labor reformers and welfare reformers before the war. (See Chapter Three.) Thus, the war galvanized the government to support preschool education. The Chinese Industrial Cooperative 中國工業合作協會 also supported “crafts societies” that allowed women to work at home rather

the Baisha’s Xinyan Textile Factory (白沙的新淹紡織廠 Baisha de xin yan fangzhi chang) could not be expected to turn a profit because they were institutional experiments rather than true businesses. Zhang Huiwen, “Jianku zhichi zhong de zhanshi funü shengchan shiye” 艱苦支持中的戰時婦女生產事業 [The Arduous Support of Wartime Women’s Production], Xinyun funü zhidao weiyuanhui, ed., 新運婦女指導委員會 [Women’s Committee of the New Life Movement], *Sizhou jinian zhuanhao* 《四週年紀念專號》 [Fourth Year Commemorative Edition], 7 (July 6-7, 1942).

<sup>71</sup> Ibid.

<sup>72</sup> Zhang Huiwen, 7.

<sup>73</sup> *Zhanshi funü shouci* 戰時婦女手冊 [Wartime Women’s Manual] (Shanghai: Shijie shuju), 40.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., 39.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid.

<sup>76</sup> Huang Peilan 黃佩蘭, Gaishan Chongqing fangzhi nügong shenghuo Zengjia zhanshi shengchan de yidian yijian 《改善重慶紡織女工生活增加戰時生產的一點意見》 [A Few Suggestions about Improving Women’s Worker’s Lives and Wartime Sericulture Production in Chongqing], Xinyunhui Funü Zhidao Weiyuanhui [New Life Movement Women’s Advisory Committee] 新運總會婦女指導委員會, ed., *Funü Xinyun* 《婦女新運》 [Women’s New Life Movement], 3 (June 1939): 5, in New Life Movement Files, Hoover Institute, Stanford University.

<sup>77</sup> My translation. 從生產教育中協助抗屬 Xinyunhui funü zhidao weiyuanhui [New Life Movement Women’s Advisory Committee], ed., 新運總會婦女指導委員會編 *Funü Xinyun* 婦女新運 [Women’s New Life Movement] 3 (June 1939): 50, in New Life Movement Files, Hoover Institute, Stanford University.

<sup>78</sup> Sichuansheng Xinshenghuo yundong Cujinhui ershiqi niandu baogao” 四川省新生活運動促進會二十七年度總報告, in *Geshengshi Xinyundong daibiaohui jilu Minguo ershiqi niandu gedi Xinyunhui gongzuo baogao* 各省市新運會代表大會紀錄及民國二十七年度各地新運會工作報告, Collected New Life Movement Documents Series, no. 21, (Printed by Zhong Xinshenghuo yundong cujin zonghui 中新生活運動促進總會, 1938), 20, preserved in New Life Movement Files, Hoover Institute, Box 1, Folder 24.

than send their children to school.<sup>79</sup> The Executive Yuan also encouraged the development of private preschools, as opposed to full-time institutions, to facilitate female factory work.<sup>80</sup>

The contingencies of war pushed government factories to “emphasize welfare” and skilled labor. In a journal issued by the Women’s Advisory Committee of the New Life Women’s Movement, Zhang Huiwen argued, “As we promote production, we need to enable workers to develop their labor capacity, and it is also imperative to improve their standards of life”; furthermore, he advocated rising salaries, adjusting work hours, protecting worker health, and providing for educational opportunities.<sup>81</sup> The New Life Women’s Movement Committee informed women and child laborers about their legal rights and protections.<sup>82</sup> The law further guaranteed the right to rest breaks.<sup>83</sup> Given wartime labor shortages, the government was unwilling to abolish child labor (often meaning girls), but legalized other forms of worker protection that had been raised in the Child Labor Report before the war.

The importance of female workers helped to bring to the forefront the importance of childcare both outside and inside the home because, as one reporter noted, “The burdens of childcare prevent women from more actively participating in work” for the war effort.”<sup>84</sup> The Guizhou Work Society (Guizhou Gongweihui 貴州工委會) established 24 nurseries, 24 factories, child health classes (*ertong baojian ban* 兒童保健班), women’s friendship societies (*funü lianyi she* 婦女聯誼社), and mothers’ discussion groups (*muqin zuotanhui* 母親座談會).<sup>85</sup> The Gansu Gongweihui 甘肅工委會 ran “frugal cafeterias” to provide food in the face of wartime shortages, anti-footbinding campaigns, anti-deforestation campaigns, and factories employing the dependents of military personnel. Thus, the war created opportunities for state organizations to intervene in family life and assume some of the responsibilities of the family.

#### PRESCHOOL COLLECTIVES IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

##### During the Second United Front, Communists, Nationalists, and Christian leaders

<sup>79</sup> *Zhanshi funü shouci*, Part Three, p. 41. For example, in 1939, the government established the Chongqing New Life Female Craft’s Society (Chongqing Xinyun Funü Gongyishe 重慶新運婦女工藝社).

<sup>80</sup> “Sili tuersuo lingdu ji jiangli banfa,” (August 26, 1940 – November 21, 1947), in *Academia Historica* 001012144001.

<sup>81</sup> Zhang Huiwen 張惠文, “Jianku zhichi zhong de zhanshi funü shengchan shiye” 艱苦支持中的戰時婦女生產事業 [Women’s wartime production in the midst of struggle], in Xinyun Funü Zhidao Weiyuanhui, 新運婦女指導委員會, ed., *Si zhounian jinian zhuanhao* 四週年紀念專號 7 (July 6-7, 1942): 7. New Life Movement Files, File 55, Hoover Institute, Stanford.

<sup>82</sup> The law protected women’s workers and child laborers from doing certain types of labor, such as work with high voltage wiring, poisonous materials, or inflammatory materials. See *Zhanshi funü shouci*, Part Three, p. 74.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid*, Part Three, p. 75. My translation.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid*, 51. My translation.

<sup>85</sup> Zhang Huiwen, “Jianku jichi zhong de zhanshi funü shengchan shiye,” 37.



championed collective childrearing and modernization in the countryside. For instance, the YWCA published an elementary textbook for farming women encouraging them to join sericulture cooperatives while sending their children to preschools.<sup>86</sup> The textbook quoted a “smart” woman who suggested, “Since we can cooperate together in agricultural labor, why can’t we use a cooperative method to rear our children together?”<sup>87</sup> The textbook explained the economic benefits, especially during wartime, of placing children, aged three to six, in a preschool for four *jiao* per month in tuition fees and three *jiao* a month for food supplies.<sup>88</sup> With forty children per class, a professional childcare giver could make a decent salary of fifteen *yuan* per month, while training a couple of girls, aged about fifteen or sixteen, who could assist while training in childcare (a precedent begun in the late Qing; see Chapter One). Children would also acquire other good hygiene habits. The reader concluded by arguing that mothers would work more productively knowing that their children were receiving good care.<sup>89</sup> This lesson provides the reader a sense of how private preschools might have been typically organized in the countryside. The explanations offered were very much in line with later Communist arguments about the importance of female mobilization, communal dining, and collective production—modernizing policies that enjoyed broad-based support during the war.

During the war against Japan, the Chinese Communist Party, the Women’s Advisory Council of the New Life Movement, the National Young Women’s Christian Association, and the Chinese Cooperative Work Society 中國工業合作社協會 also urged women in the countryside to join cooperative work societies to facilitate female labor production. Communist areas organized committees to improve women’s lives and representative congresses for women.<sup>90</sup> The Communist Party mobilized women to assume agricultural work so that their husbands could join the army; they also laundered and sewed for the troops.<sup>91</sup> Cai Chang 蔡暢 (1900-1990) described the cooperative work societies in the Communist base camp of Yan’an that helped to provide the management and supplies for sericulture cooperatives in Liulin 柳林. Cai claimed that women in the countryside gained social “respect” through professional work.<sup>92</sup> Conversely, Cai also claimed that, “Because of the necessity of production, the women also began to care

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<sup>86</sup> Yu Qingtang 俞慶棠, ed., *Zhonghua Jidujiao Nüqinghui Quanguo Xiehui: Minzong jiaoyu congshu zhi yi: Funü duben* 中華基督教女青會全國協會：民眾教育叢書之一：婦女讀本 [Chinese National Young Women’s Christian Association: Mass Education Series: Women’s Reader] (Shanghai: Shijie shuju, 1940), 1.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 26.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, 27.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, 28.

<sup>90</sup> Delia Davin, *Woman-Work: Women and the Party in Revolutionary China* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 24.

<sup>91</sup> Davin, 25.

<sup>92</sup> Zhongguo Quanguo Minzhu Funü Lianhehui choubei weiyuanhui 中國全國婦女聯合會籌備委員會 [All China Democratic Women’s Federation Preparation Committee], ed., *Zhongguo jiefangqu funü yundong wenxian* 中國解放區婦女運動文獻 [Documents from the Women’s Movement in Liberated Areas of China], (Shanghai: Xinhua shudian, 1949), 8.

about politics.”<sup>93</sup> Cai thus emphasized the mutual benefit of female liberation, economic production, and Communist politics. While applauding the efforts of work collectives to increase the status of women, Cai also criticized urban female cadre for touting “freedom in marriage selection” and “economic independence” without “learning the truth from facts” in the Chinese countryside.<sup>94</sup> Thus, Cai blamed bad management—rather than underlying conflicts—for the tension between women’s liberation and traditional social order.

The retreat to the countryside also provided educators, like Zhang Zonglin, with an occasion to rethink the traditional “village contract” in terms of education.<sup>95</sup> Xiaoping Cong argues that by retreating to the countryside, educational policies shifted from urban-based to village-based criteria and perspective.<sup>96</sup> Even though preschools and kindergartens had originated in industrial and urban settings,<sup>97</sup> Communist intellectual Zhang Zonglin wrote that preschools, for weaned infants from two to three years of age, and kindergartens, for children aged four to six years, would alleviate burdens on large agricultural families. These institutions would also offer young female caregivers of twelve to thirteen years of age training in responsibility, citizenship, and the women’s movement.<sup>98</sup> Furthermore, Zhang argued that preschools and kindergartens would protect children from contracting diseases, in the years of highest infant mortality.<sup>99</sup> Preschool teachers would help prevent illness by careful monitoring diet and hygiene, etc.<sup>100</sup> According to Zhang, kindergartens should offer a special curriculum with play and music, that would allow children to feel “genuine happiness.”<sup>101</sup>

Children’s institutions continued trends, from before the war, which allowed greater degrees of government surveillance through paperwork. Government journals published forms to record the numbers of children transferred in or out of the institution, ran away, or died.<sup>102</sup> These forms are important because they counteract the claim, made by some journalists after the Civil War, that the Nationalist government had neglected to monitor high rates of infant mortality in the institutions.<sup>103</sup> However, the information on high mortality in children’s homes came from the internal records of the institutions themselves, and may, as Communists later claimed, have been underreported.

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<sup>93</sup> Ibid., 9.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid, 5.

<sup>95</sup> For example, Zhang Zonglin, *Nongcun jiaoyu*, 80.

<sup>96</sup> Xiaoping Cong, *Teacher’s Schools*.

<sup>97</sup> Zhang Zonglin, *Nongcun jiaoyu*, 82.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid., 81.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid., 84.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid, 85.

<sup>102</sup> *Zhanshi ertong baoyu gongzuo* 戰時兒童保育工作 [Wartime Children’s Protection Work], Funü xinyun 婦女新運 2.2 (February 30, 1941), 33. New Life Movement Files, File 55, Hoover Institute, Stanford.

<sup>103</sup> For example, Tsui Tien-pei, General Affairs Secretary at the Tze-ai Home for Babies in Nanking, “The Tze-Ai Home for Babies in Nanking,” The Child Welfare Institute, *Children’s Tears*, (nd), 6.

## YAN'AN'S "LOS ANGELES KINDERGARTEN"

After the "White Terror," Communist forces fled to Yan'an, the most famous Communist-controlled base camps. Yan'an overshadowed other base camps in later historiography because of Mao Zedong's leadership and the influx of leftist intellectuals in Yan'an. In the history of early childhood education, Yan'an Central Party Preschool is especially important because it became the Party's flagship experimental preschool, later called the Los Angeles Kindergarten and subsequently the May First Kindergarten, after it moved to Beijing. Like Chen Heqin, cadre published information and experiences from this kindergarten as a basis for model childcare in the 1950s.

Like the Nationalist Party, the Communist Party leadership mobilized the female workforce, especially during wartime labor shortages. Adopting Engels's position about the liberating power of production, the CCP created leadership and work positions for women.<sup>104</sup> According to one editorial in the *Liberation Daily*, leadership positions earmarked for women went unfilled because party leaders had failed to relieve women of their double burden. The article urged single women to remain single and childless, until the Party could offer a solution to the issue of domestic labor.<sup>105</sup> In this context, the CCP leadership organized the Central Party Preschool.

In 1942, The CCP renamed Yan'an's nursery the "Los Angeles Kindergarten" to acknowledge funding from the United States.<sup>106</sup> The National Association for Refugee Children transmitted through Hong Kong funds donated by the Los Angeles Patriotic Society and other sources.<sup>107</sup> Communists championed the role of Song Qingling, widow of the deceased revolutionary leader Sun Yat-sen, rather her sister Madame Chiang Kai-shek.<sup>108</sup> In part because of these international ties, the Los Angeles Kindergarten became a venue for diplomacy. For example, when Lady Isobel Cripps (1891–1979), president of the United British Aid to China Fund, visited Yan'an, she toured the Los Angeles Kindergarten.<sup>109</sup> Representing China, children danced and sang for foreign dignitaries.

In part because many Yan'an revolutionaries did not subscribe to traditional gender roles, they needed daycare for their children. When comrades studied in the Soviet Union or went to the frontlines, they left their children in Yan'an. The nursery originally cared for seven young children of high-ranking cadre, including Mao

<sup>104</sup> "Dedaole xie shemma jiaoxun" 到的了些什麼教訓 [Attaining What Instructions], *Jiefang Ribao* [*People's Daily*] (February 16, 1942). See Patricia Stranahan, *Yan'an Women and the Communist Party* (Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, Center for Chinese Studies, 1983).

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, 57.

<sup>106</sup> Chen Yunhui, *Luoshanji tuoersuo* (Da Lian: Luda Fulian Zonghui, 1949), 1. See also Wang Ying, *Hong yaolan*, 27.

<sup>107</sup> National Association for Refugee Children, Custodian's Report of Receipts, March 10, 1938--June 30, 1944, p. 68: 26,250 US dollars. 157 USD, p. 71.

<sup>108</sup> Wang Ying, *Hong yaolan*, 35.

<sup>109</sup> *People's Daily*. See also Colin Watson, 'Dame Isobel, Lady Cripps (1891–1979),' rev. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004); online edn, Jan., 2011, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30983>, accessed 24 July 2012]

Zedong's.<sup>110</sup> In time, the kindergarten grew to 90 children.<sup>111</sup> During the war against Japan, the institution divided the children into two classes of sixteen upper-level kindergarten children, aged five to seven; two classes of twelve lower-level kindergarten children, aged four to five; two classes of ten upper-level preschool children, aged three to four; two classes of five lower-level preschool children, aged two to three. Four caregivers managed each class, but six caregivers managed each "upper-level preschool class" of three-to-four year olds. The school employed thirty-three caregivers and tried to maintain a ratio of one caregiver per three children. Caregivers watched over the children as they slept at night, guarding against wartime attack as well as signs of communicable diseases. American relief organizations registered even larger numbers of children and staff for the Los Angeles Preschool after the end of the second Sino-Japanese War.<sup>112</sup>

The Los Angeles Preschool grew to employ a very large management staff with two institute heads, one "childcare affairs officer," two managers, one doctor, one cultural educator, one food collector, two nurses, two kindergarten teachers, five midwives, one accountant, one medicine dispenser, ten cooks (five for the adult kitchen and five for the children's kitchen), one barber, one manager of clothes, three menders of clothes, one communications expert, and two male washers of clothes. All together, the staff totaled forty people. Cadre explained that because the preschool was relocated in the remote mountaintops after the Nationalists' postwar attack on Yan'an, the school required additional workers in order to supply the institution with provisions like water.<sup>113</sup>

At its height, the Los Angeles Preschool was a large complex: four rooms for bathing [children], two rooms for washing clothes; eight classrooms, two visiting rooms, three bathrooms, six clothes rooms, two medicine closets, four sick rooms, four additional sick rooms for especially ill children, four quarantine rooms for children who had newly arrived, four kitchens for children, two water boiler rooms, three kitchens for adult use, eight dinning rooms, and a number of sleeping quarters for adults and offices for staff.

#### FEMALE MOBILIZATION AND DISCIPLINE IN YAN'AN

Professional childcare had, since the late Qing dynasty, been a job for women because of their natural instincts,<sup>114</sup> but as cadre in Yan'an began to emphasize discipline, we will see how Yan'an conceptions of caretakers changed and also became more professional. Although men generated models and established schools, maternal qualities were considered necessary for childcare. Child psychologist Chen Heqin had advocated that fathers become more tender, and reveled when his students referred to him as

<sup>110</sup> Wang Ying, *Hong yaolan*, 19

<sup>111</sup> Chen Yunhui, *Luosanji Tuoersuo*, 4.

<sup>112</sup> Agenda of the 48<sup>th</sup> meeting of the USC Child Welfare Committee, Tuesday, April 15, 1947, at 2 Ku Lou Tou Tiao Hsiang, Nanking.

<sup>113</sup> Chen Yunhui, *Luosanji Tuoersuo*, 6-7.

<sup>114</sup> Helen Schneider.

“Mother Chen.” Even though professional childcare continued to remain in the domain of women at Yan’an, the greater emphasis on discipline and management lent more weight to the advantages of male leadership. For example, Yan’an staff appreciated the contributions of male custodian Zhao Fengqin, who could not only perform demanding physical tasks, such as transporting water to the isolated community, but also forestall tantrums.<sup>115</sup> In Yan’an, cadre management emphasized discipline and regulation to a greater degree than school administration had in the previous decades.

Childcare did not fit into the vaulted categories of “soldier, laborer, and farmer” in Yan’an, and the central administration needed to improve the professional status of childcare and attract caregivers. The revolutionary atmosphere of Yan’an made it difficult to persuade young women to become childcare professionals. In an oral history recorded by Wang Ying, Wang Youping 王蕾平 admitted that she had “gone to Yan’an to join the Revolutionary Army, not to look after little children.”<sup>116</sup> She reluctantly accepted when Professor Zhang Chunhe 張春和 from the Women’s University invited her to care for Liu Taixing 劉太行, the son of General Liu Bocheng 劉伯承 (1892-1986). The General tried to persuade Wang that childcare was “honorable work,” by reassuring her that “caring for children also has revolutionary value.”<sup>117</sup> Kang Keqing 康克清 (1911-1992), General Zhu De’s wife, further assured her that she would be assisting in the General’s work.<sup>118</sup> However, that assurance must have had limited value when the child’s own mother left for the military front.

Wang Youping and a few other women came to work for the Los Angeles Preschool through their employment as private nannies. When Liu Taixing began at the Preschool, Wang followed him there. Another woman, Zhou Guizhi 周桂枝, entered the Preschool after Mao Zedong’s wife Jiang Qing 江青 (1914-1991) vetted her for a position as a private nanny for her daughter Li Na 李訥 (1940-).<sup>119</sup> Although Jiang decided to send Li Na to the Los Angeles Preschool, Zhou thus came into contact with the Los Angeles Preschool. There, Zhou bathed the children and washed their clothes. She was awarded for her economical, but effective, results with the prize of “model staff worker” in Yan’an.<sup>120</sup>

It is significant that official titles at Yan’an’s preschool emphasized a professional rather than a maternal approach to childcare. In 1919, the young women of Peking Women’s Normal College argued that the need to “protect” and “to mother” were etymologically embedded in the word “nanny” (*baomu* 保姆). In Yan’an, cadre de-emphasized the familial aspect of childcare, and instead stressed the professional qualifications for childcare. They replaced the aspect of “mothering” with the idea of

<sup>115</sup> Wang Ying, *Hong yaolan*, 123.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, 116.

<sup>117</sup> 說是一項光榮的任務，帶孩子好，也是革命工作。Wang Ying, *Hong yaolan*, 117.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>119</sup> Wang Ying, *Hong yaolan*, 126. My translation.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.* My translation.

“rearing” children in a new term for caregivers (*baoyuyuan* 保育員). Cadre added a third qualification about offering childcare “under the necessary oversight of cadre.”<sup>121</sup> Once the Los Angeles Kindergarten recruited caregivers, especially from the peasant classes, the cadre had difficulty convincing the women to meet the administration’s standards for professional childcare.

Cadre had a higher degree of literacy, training, and responsibility than caregivers. From the perspective of cadre, “When [caregivers] didn’t put their hearts into the work, we cadres often had to micromanage many things.”<sup>122</sup> Despite their position as cadre, administrators had “to avoid mishaps” by performing basic tasks themselves, such as “washing the children’s faces and bathing them, helping them eat and go to the bathroom, wiping their behinds, watching over the children as they slept.”<sup>123</sup> The ultimate responsibility for the children rested with cadre rather than caretakers,<sup>124</sup> even for accidents involving the loss of a significant amount of blood.<sup>125</sup> Thus, cadre managers were responsible not only for the children, but also for training caregivers to care for them.

The first step in training caregivers was to change their attitudes. According to cadre management, “These peasant women weren’t interested in professional childcare because they didn’t understand the importance of childcare work; furthermore, they hadn’t received collective thought education.”<sup>126</sup> Thought education was necessary for caretakers to appropriate a professional attitude toward. A negative attitude meant that caregivers were “not conscientious and not responsible, and all that was in their heads were thoughts of finding employment.”<sup>127</sup> The work was demanding, and “When the children were disobedient, sometimes they would make the childcare workers so nervous that they cried.”<sup>128</sup> However, cadre blamed the misbehavior of children on the poor models set by caregivers; unaccustomed to the work, newly employed childcare workers “would cry and scream,” creating a bellicose atmosphere.”<sup>129</sup> Instead of acknowledging the demanding tasks of the work, Cadre managers saw labor unhappiness almost tautologically as a symptom of caregivers undervaluing the professionalism of the job. Chen Yunhui explained, “The reason they were uneasy is that they wanted to study to improve themselves. They feared that they had no future.”<sup>130</sup> In response, cadre provided training for caregivers so that they would see their jobs as true professions with valued skills, especially in basic hygiene and child development.<sup>131</sup>

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<sup>121</sup> Chen Yunhui, *Luosanji Tuoersuo*, 8. My translation.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, 60.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, 18.

<sup>125</sup> Wang Ying, *Hong yaolan*, 116.

<sup>126</sup> My translation. Chen Yunhui, *Luosanji Tuoersuo*, 60.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, 45.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*, 45.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, 45.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, 60-61.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, 60.

Caregivers came from a variety of backgrounds. With a few counterexamples, most were illiterate when they came to work at Los Angeles Kindergarten. Zhou Guizhi had come from a backwater in Shanxi, and had bound feet, despite having been born around 1922.<sup>132</sup> (The practice, officially banned since 1902, was abandoned by those in close contact to westernized urban areas since at least that time, and only those out of touch with current trends, in the hinterland, continued the practice in the 1920s.<sup>133</sup>) Scientific training and revolutionary background were requirements for caregivers. After their literacy training in connection to their work, many women could then “write letters, record diaries, compose paragraphs, and some could even read the newspaper for the masses.”<sup>134</sup> Literacy was an important requirement for record keeping, so professional training was necessary for party oversight.

Despite the upwardly mobile aspirations of the caregivers to acquire professional skills, staff tended to emphasize in their memoirs the desire to gain literacy for the sake of the children. For example, the male custodian Zhao Fengqin 趙風欽 slowly gained literacy, word by word; eventually, he kept a diary, wrote reports, and taught individual characters to children using a blackboard.<sup>135</sup> Wang Ying’s narrative implied that Zhao wanted to acquire literacy in order to impart that knowledge to children.

Cadre responded to the stated needs of the caregivers by providing them with literacy training. Teaching staff had to divide the group into several levels to respond to the needs and aptitude of the caregivers. The exact curriculum of the caregivers varied according to level. However, a tattered and undated set of elementary readers in Cotsen Children’s Library gives us a sense of the content of their literacy training. With the rough paper quality and the crude impressionistic drawings, these textbooks begin with depictions of children entering the gate of “Yan’an Elementary School.” (See Figure 19 and 20 of the Appendix.) Like Nationalist elementary readers, the first lesson is a self-referential note about schooling. Both Nationalist and Communist textbooks included political content. For example, the Communist textbooks included rhymed ditties about Japanese soldiers “with no clothes to wear, nor food to eat.” However, unlike Nationalist readers, Communist textbooks focused on the People’s Liberation Army, the Soviet flag, and the Sino-Soviet friendship. Thus, literacy training could provide the basis for “collective thought education.” Cadre saw “thought education” as not simply political, but an important component of workers’ attitudes

Only by convincing caregivers that childcare was a professional occupation were cadre able to increase the level of hygiene. Both cadre and leaders needed to talk to the

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<sup>132</sup> *Hong yaolan*, 126.

<sup>133</sup> Yuhui Li, “Women’s Movement and Change of Women’s Status in China,” *Journal of International Women’s Studies*, accessed online: <http://www.bridgew.edu/soas/jiws/vol1/li.htm>.

<sup>134</sup> Chen Yunhui, *Luoshanji Tuosuo*, 61. The Chinese Communist Party would encourage members to keep diaries as a form of self-cultivation. In a series of lectures in Yan’an in 1939, Liu Shaoqi argued that self-cultivation should be undertaken through traditional methods, such as self-reflection and journaling, as well as practice and struggle. See Liu Shao-chi, “How to be a Good Communist,” Chang-tu Hu, ed, *Chinese Education Under Communism*, (New York: Columbia Teachers College, 1962) 66-79.

<sup>135</sup> Wang Ying, *Hong yaolan*, 125. See also *Luoshanji Tuosuo*, 60.

caregivers, who were then “happy [because] those above respect us, and [we] slowly understand the problems that [we] didn’t understand before.”<sup>136</sup> Many caregivers remember fondly the time spent with Mao Zedong, Zhu De, Zhou Enlai, and other leaders who had children in the Los Angeles Preschool. These caregivers were in a unique position because of their close proximity to, and familiarity with, the families of important leaders.

Despite this attention to discipline, cadre and caregivers also attended to the emotional needs of children. Caregivers took on responsibilities, outside of the preschool, to meet the emotional needs of the children. Some children felt jealous when others received gifts or visits from their parents,<sup>137</sup> especially because some of the children were orphaned.<sup>138</sup> The Los Angeles Kindergarten developed a system by which caregivers and other local women would “adopt” a child for special excursions on Saturday.<sup>139</sup> The administration claimed that this program promoted bonding and a greater sense of belonging to a “large family” in the kindergarten. Thus, despite the communal life and discipline of the Los Angeles Preschool, its caregivers recognized children’s needs for individual attention and emotional bonding.

#### THE SCIENCE OF CHILDCARE IN YAN’AN

While childcare givers understood the importance of literacy training, it was more difficult to convince them of the need to learn about childhood development, especially child psychology. The supervisors of Los Angeles Kindergarten continued longstanding trends to professionalize childcare by emphasizing the importance of hygiene, medicine, and health. Cadre management considered this work to be even more complicated and difficult in the context of the Chinese countryside.

Like the childhood educators of the 1920s and 1930s, the cadre management of Los Angeles Preschool emphasized the importance of childhood development, child psychology, and scientific hygiene as important markers of modern childcare in special institutions. While educators in the 1920s and 30s had complained that parents did not understand the importance of institutionalized childcare, Yan’an cadre and officials willingly sent their children to institutions while they performed other work. Instead, cadre struggled to convince caregivers of the importance of scientific childcare.<sup>140</sup> With training in child management, childhood psychology, and job experience, “they understood that caring for children in an institution was completely different from the methods of regular people [at home].”<sup>141</sup> Caregivers saw that “our children are healthy

<sup>136</sup> The cadre slips into the first-person pronoun when describing the inner state of the caregivers. My translation. Chen Yunhui, *Luosanji tuoersuo*, 62.

<sup>137</sup> Shiyān baoyuyuan 實驗保育院 [Experimental Preschool], “Jie haizi” 借孩子 [Borrowing Children], *Zhongguo jiefangqu de ertong* 中國解放區的兒童, 19.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*, 22.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*, 20.

<sup>140</sup> Chen Yunhui, *Luosanji Tuoersuo*, 63-64.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, 63-64.



while theirs are often sick” because of regulations about boiled water, hygienic conditions, and regular exercise.<sup>142</sup> The value of these scientific theories was proven through practice and real observation. For instance, in the spring of 1945, gastrodia rash broke out among the children of the preschool. Cadre directed caregivers to monitor temperatures and to quarantine infected children. The caregivers displayed an impressive work ethic.<sup>143</sup> Caregivers were delighted “their own skills had improved”<sup>144</sup> and eagerly asked for more information on preventative medicine and first aid. Cadre noted, “Afterwards, they wanted to learn more nursing skills, and felt that their previous unwillingness to study had been wrong.”<sup>145</sup> In these lines, Chen expressed some satisfaction that the caregivers admitted relied on scientific practices after confronting a serious medical crisis. It required time and results to convince caregivers that they needed to be vigilant about boiling water and washing hands. Once Communists gained control of China in the 1950s, cadre in school administration would argue that these institutional practices would eventually transform the daily life and habits of ordinary families.

According to cadre, practical application convinced the caregivers of the need to study theory. With emotional health as with physical health, caregivers understood the importance of these theories only after they tested them in practice. Two caregivers ran to cadre one day to announce, “Today we followed the principles that we learned in class to encourage children, and as a result, the children obeyed us. From now on, we will attend childcare methods and skills class more regularly. [We] truly feel interested in the subject [now].”<sup>146</sup> Afterwards, they quickly followed hygienic practices and preventative measures.

The institution followed hygienic practices that alienated or confused some children. For example, despite coaxing that the Los Angeles Kindergarten was like a “large family,”<sup>147</sup> one young child demanded additional food and the company of other children (during a period of quarantine before the child could enter school), implicitly asserting that the austerity and discipline of the school were at odds with the more comfortable environment of her small family.<sup>148</sup> In contrast to traditional Chinese childrearing practices, the managers of Yan’an warned against overfeeding children,<sup>149</sup> and regularly gave children enemas.<sup>150</sup> Caregivers wore cotton masks over their mouths

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<sup>142</sup> Ibid., 63-64.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid., 64.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid., 64.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid., 65.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid., 65.

<sup>147</sup> Wang Ying, *Hong yaolan*, 101.

<sup>148</sup> Ibid.

<sup>149</sup> For instance, *Hong yaolan*, Here, the advice echoed normal school psychology textbooks from the 1920s, which argued that Chinese parents often pushed their children to eat more than they could possibly consume, thus resulting in illness for the child. See Wu Zhijue 吳致覺, *Xiandai shifan jiaokeshu: jiaoyu xinlixue* 現代示範教科書：教育心理學 [Modern Normal Educational Materials: Educational Psychology] (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan [Commercial Press], 1924), 29-30.

<sup>150</sup> Chen Yunhui, *Luosanji Tuersuo*, 66.

to protect the children from airborne germs, and their long white coats emphasized their roles as professional nurses rather than maternal figures.

Given the shortages of supplies during wartime, the first priority of the institution was to keep the children healthy. The preschool emphasized prevention and containment because they lacked the medical supplies to treat sick children. The school compensated with greater diligence and attention. For example, despite water scarcity, caregivers bathed each child daily, washed their hands, and made them rinse their mouths out after every meal.

Despite the heavy emphasis on discipline, regulation, and hygiene, cadre management taught caregivers about child psychology in ways that would have been familiar to Chen Heqin and other child psychologists. Cadre emphasized the importance of “encouraging” children rather than scolding them. We have already explored the aforementioned example of caretakers’ tantrums negatively influencing children. Traditional China had long held the notion that a child’s environment would influence its emotions, even in the womb,<sup>151</sup> and scholars of childhood development had merely drawn on scientific theories to reinforce traditional warnings about the importance of a mother’s influence in the home. As in the late Qing dynasty, administrators stressed the need for professionally trained childcare workers, but Communist notions of childcare were less overtly maternal than the model that had developed previously.

Like Chen Heqin and other child psychologists, the cadre at Yan’an emphasized much of the same kindergarten curricula: Chinese character recognition based on pictures, numbers, maps, crafts, play, dance, stories, physical education, outdoor activities, and hygienic checkups and the inculcation of hygienic habits.<sup>152</sup> Like Chen, cadre taught the principle that caregivers needed to understand basic principles of child psychology in order to instill obedience. For example, both warned that children could manipulate adults with tears and tantrums. However, while the cadre sometimes explained these theories in terms of children’s natural tendencies and susceptibilities, as Chen did, they described the ultimate goals of kindergarten socialization with Communist overtones about collectivization.

Developing the trend, begun in the late Qing, of using kindergartens as a way to incorporate children into society, Communist cadre more specifically saw preschool as a form of collectivization. The Yan’an Preschool provided an institutional setting for children to acquire “the habits of collective living”:

Collective living habits are also very important. [We] need to inculcate in children the penchant to love labor, in order to prevent them from becoming a generation that is estranged from the laboring folk. We need to teach them that labor is an honor and that every single object comes from labor. We can train from childhood the older cohort of children to dress themselves and to make their own bed, to wash their own bowls... to help us with the younger children, to have a spirit of cooperative friendship, to plant small vegetable gardens, to look after themselves; these methods, we continue ceaselessly to test. The results are good [because] the children show interest. At the same time, we need to be careful that when children do labor, they do not cause

<sup>151</sup> Nicole Richardson.

<sup>152</sup> Chen Yunhui, *Luosanji Tuoersuo*, 45.

harm to their childhood development and physical strength. We shouldn't apply force, but allow them to train slowly.

和集體生活習慣同樣重要的，要養成兒童愛勞動的習慣，使他們不愧為勞動人民的後代，使他們知道勞動是光榮的，一切東西由勞動得來的，大班的兒童，可以從小訓練他們，使他自己學穿衣服鋪床疊被，擦盆子，值日，做手工（包括泥，木，工），使他們幫助小的兒童，有互助友誼的精神，重小菜園子，養小動物，由他們自己照顧，這種方法，我們是連續不斷再實驗中，成績還不錯，兒童興趣很高，做勞動工作時，要注意不妨害兒童發育及各個兒童體力的不同，不能勉強，使他慢慢鍛煉。<sup>153</sup>

This passage reveals a combination of new influences from the Soviet Union and longstanding trends in Chinese history. Cadre managers drew from Soviet models about using preschools and kindergartens as tools for collectivizing childcare and rearing children to accept the demands of collective labor and collective lifestyles. “This generation” of Communists could be trained from childhood. The need to “love labor,” especially through self-management, light gardening, and classroom cleaning. These would become hallmarks of childhood educational policy in Chinese Communism in the 1950s. At the same time, cadre were careful about stunting the growth of children by placing too many physical or emotional demands on them. This concern dovetailed with late Qing critiques of over-stimulating or over-exerting children. (See Chapter One.)

On January 7, 1946, Chiang Kai-shek attacked Yan'an, and the Los Angeles Preschool moved to the Communist base area of Jisui.<sup>154</sup> The injustice of this three-and-a-half-month migration left an indelible impression, and books about the Los Angeles Kindergarten frequently mentioned the suffering that children faced as a result of Chiang's attack.<sup>155</sup> Despite international efforts to bring welfare services to children in all areas of China, these efforts would be complicated by the Civil War. This injustice and inequality, resulting the suffering of children, would enter into historical memories about the failure of the Nationalists to protect children.

#### INTERNATIONAL AID AND THE PROFESSIONALIZATION OF CHILD WELFARE SERVICES

Part Four will show how problems with international aid after the war radically changed perceptions of the effectiveness of aid and conceptions of child welfare in China. In the aftermath of the second Sino-Japanese War, the weakened Nationalist government relied upon limited economic aid from the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (hereafter UNRRA).<sup>156</sup> Sensitive to perceptions of foreign manipulation,

<sup>153</sup> My translation. Chen Yunhui, *Luosanji Tuoersuo*, 48-49.

<sup>154</sup> “Ti haizimen kongsu” [Making a compliant on behalf of children], *Zhongguo jiefangqu de ertong* [Children in Liberated Areas], 25.

<sup>155</sup> For example, *ibid* and *Luosanji Tuoersuo*, Preface.

<sup>156</sup> For more on the economic and political tensions between UNRRA and the anti-imperialist Nationalist state after the War, see Rana Mitter, “Imperialism, Transnationalism, and the Reconstruction of Post-war China: UNRRA in China, 1944–7,” *Past & Present* 218.8 (January 1, 2013): 51–69.

T.V. Soong insisted on Chinese control over the UNRRA funds,<sup>157</sup> and the Nationalist government established in January 1945 the Chinese National Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (hereafter CNRRA). The Communist government likewise established the Communist Liberated Areas Relief Administration 中國解放區救濟聯合會 (hereafter CLARA) before peace negotiations broke down in 1946. Tensions among UNRRA, CNRRA and CLARA resulted in perceptions that the United States was propping up the Nationalist government as a failed state in exchange for conformity to American political ideology; however, U.S. relations with the National government were actually weakening during this period.<sup>158</sup>

In the field of childcare, these international organizations turned away from wartime children's institutions and toward family responsibility and childrearing programs; this tactic reversed wartime trends by pushing the responsibility for children away from the state and toward private families.<sup>159</sup> Despite international organizations' efforts to professionalize and popularize the field of child welfare and social services, these organizations continued pre-War trends to concentrate investments on models for family life rather than institutions for widespread need. Given the continuing symbolic capital of Chinese children's suffering, Communists presented American economic funding as symbols of America's ignorance and negligence and the Nationalist government's corruption and complicity. Communists complained that, despite promises for fair and equitable distribution of postwar relief, Americans had buttressed a corrupt and inept Nationalist government to the detriment of the Chinese people.

At the heart of a tangled web of economic aid between the United Nations and China was the question of prioritizing economic reconstruction or humanitarian aid as the most important foundation for the legitimacy of the Nationalist government in China. George Wei argues that UNRRA and CNRRA clashed in part because Westerners prioritized humanitarianism, as an embodiment of anti-fascist democracy, over state building, while the Nationalist Party prioritized reconstruction, as a protection against foreign invasion in the aftermath of the second war against Japan.<sup>160</sup> When in 1947 U.N. and U.S. aid agencies began reducing China aid to concentrate supplies Europe and other areas, the Nationalist government responded, in part, by rallying Chinese citizens to donate to child welfare in other countries.

UNRRA and the Nationalist government promoted "transnational welfarism."<sup>161</sup> As the president of the United Nations Appeal for Children (hereafter, UNAC) in China,

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<sup>157</sup> C. X. George Wei, *Sino-American Economic Relations, 1944-1949* (Contributions in Economics and Economic History, no. 185; Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1997).

<sup>158</sup> Against the wishes of her husband, Madame Chiang Kai-shek went to the US after the War to raise funds, to the detriment of Sino-US relations. Yuwu Song, "Mme. Chiang Kai-shek and her Two Worlds, 1908-1949," 8.

<sup>159</sup> "1947 Budget Request for the United Service to China Child Welfare Program Presented by the United Service to China Child Welfare Committee, the Committee on Coordination, 44<sup>th</sup> Meeting, November 30, 1976," p. 4366.

<sup>160</sup> C.X. George Wei, 68.

<sup>161</sup> Rana Mitter, 68.

Madame Chiang Kai-shek reminded Chinese elites of the need to repay Allied wartime aid by donating to children in postwar Europe.<sup>162</sup> Acknowledging China's struggle with post-bellum reconstruction, Madame Chiang argued that the sacrifice would be that much dearer.<sup>163</sup> As with the National Child Welfare Association, the *China Child Welfare News* published membership of Chinese branches of UNAC as a vehicle for political publicity.<sup>164</sup> UNAC cooperated with the New Life Movement Committee to host an international children's meeting in Nanjing on February 29, 1948<sup>165</sup> and opened branch offices in major cities in China.<sup>166</sup> The *China Child Welfare News* published photographs of starving mothers and children in India and Eastern Europe to rally support for children around the world.<sup>167</sup> Despite domestic difficulties, Chinese leaders like Madame Chiang were taking difficult domestic steps not only to counter negative impressions as a result of the reduction of UN aid, but also to assert China's parity with other Allied leaders.

Pulling aid out of China in 1947, UNRRA relied on voluntary relief organizations, with foreign economic funding, in order to implement its humanitarian aid program.<sup>168</sup> UNRRA relied increasingly on agencies like the International Children's Emergency Fund and the China Relief Mission to continue welfare operations in China.<sup>169</sup> From the perspective of the welfare agencies that cooperated and coordinated with UNRRA, however, they were professionalizing the field of child welfare in the larger context of developing unified, standard programs for delivering aid to destitute victims of war, inflation, and unemployment.<sup>170</sup>

Nationalists and the Communists continued to use child welfare as a vehicle for international diplomacy. U.S. politicians like Walter Ward (1911-1994) visited Nationalist orphanages.<sup>171</sup> However, international aid actually soured the relationship

<sup>162</sup> "Jiang Furen wei shijie nantong xiang quanguo tongbao qingming: eryueshijiuri Zhongguo weiyuanhui dahui yanzhiqing" 蔣夫人為世界難童向全國同胞請命：二月十九日中國委員會成立大會演致詞 ["Mme. Chiang Kai-shek's National Appeal for the Refugee Children of the World"], *China Child Welfare News* 12 (March 3, 1948), 4.

<sup>163</sup> Ibid.

<sup>164</sup> "Lianheguo quanmu ertong jiujiujin quan Zhongguo weiyuanhui weiyuanmingdan" 聯合國勸募兒童救濟金中國委員會委員名單 [Chinese UNAC Membership List], *China Child Welfare News*, 12 (March 3, 1948), 9.

<sup>165</sup> "Lianheguo quanmu ertong jiujiujin yundong jianshi" 聯合國勸募兒童救濟金運動簡史 [A Brief History of the United Nations Appeal for Children], *China Child Welfare News*, 13 (April 3, 1948), 2.

<sup>166</sup> "Lianheguo quanmu ertong jiujiujin Zhongguo weiyuanhui dongtai" 聯合國勸募兒童救濟金中國委員會動態 [United Nations Appeal for Children] *China Child Welfare News*, No. 13 (April 3, 1948), 7.

<sup>167</sup> *China Child Welfare News*, 12 (March 3, 1948), 11.

<sup>168</sup> United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, *UNRRA; the History of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950), 376.

<sup>169</sup> Ibid., 448.

<sup>170</sup> C.X. George Wei.

<sup>171</sup> Academia Historica, Chiang Kai-shek Files 002050113003296. "Song Meiling peitong Meiguo canyiyuan Zhou Yide yu Xiaguan ertong fulizhan cangan ertong youxi huodong" 宋美齡陪同美國參議員周以德於下官兒童福利站參觀兒童遊戲活動 [Song Meiling and Walter Judd to View Children's Performances at a Welfare Station], (January 17, 1948), Academia Historica, Chiang Kai-shek Files

between the Nationalists and the Americans as well as between the Nationalists and the Communists. Despite substantial aid from the United States, relations between the U.S. and the Nationalist government had become strained during and after the war against Japan and the subsequent civil war.<sup>172</sup> Welfare aid had important diplomatic ramifications for the United States, the Nationalists, and the Chinese Communists.

UNRRA and CNRRA clashed over problems with distribution of American relief supplies, especially to Communist-controlled areas.<sup>173</sup> CNRRA practices sometimes compromised UNRRA's commitment to neutrality and equitable distribution of resources.<sup>174</sup> During the escalating civil war, CNRRA stressed the difficulty of transporting materials inland.<sup>175</sup> Most port cities, where international supplies were unloaded, were usually controlled by the Nationalists.<sup>176</sup> Furthermore, in the international trade of welfare supplies, once in motion, was difficult to halt.<sup>177</sup>

002050113003300. "Xiaguan ertong fulizhan ertongzhan ertong youxi huodong qingxing" 下關兒童福利站兒童遊戲活動情形 [Situation Concerning the Children's Welfare Station Performances], (January 17, 1948).

<sup>172</sup> United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, 382. Some of these American officers and "old China hands" who critiqued the Nationalists were later, in the Cold War, punished for "losing China" due to implicit cooperation with the Communists. For example, Joseph McCartney targeted John Stewart Service (1909-1999), a member of the Dixie Mission to Yan'an who had correctly predicted that the Communists would defeat the Nationalists. Service's personal correspondence, papers, and photographs are housed at the Bancroft Library, Berkeley University. See also John S. Service, *The Amerasia Papers: Some Problems in the History of US-China Relations* (Berkeley: Center for Chinese Studies, University of California, 1971), and John S. Service, *The Amerasia Papers: Some Problems in the History of US-China Relations* (Berkeley: Center for Chinese Studies, University of California, 1971). The FBI also targeted and followed Mildred Price, the Executive Secretary of the China Aid Council in New York. Price worked for the YWCA of New York City, volunteered for the League of Women Voters in St. Louis Missouri. "Madame Sun Yat-sen wanted a sulphur kit and vaccines ... Wilma Fairbank had advised her (Mildred) to try Jack Service and ask him if General Stilwell would give her any advice. Mildred continued that she wrote to Service but had received no answer. Wilma also told Mildred that Michael Lea of the Foreign economic Administration and Major Herbert Little of the Office of Strategic Services could give her advice." Subsection, "RE: Mildred Price, also known as Mrs. Harold Russell Coy," p. 79: <http://www.scribd.com/doc/84214701/FBI-File-Silvermaster-Part-10-December-1945>. Price's cooperation with Song Qingling, the wife of Sun Yat-sen, on behalf of the Los Angeles Kindergarten helped to implicate her. Similarly, in China, postwar international aid to the Nationalist government would help substantiate later Communist claims that the economic funding was a channel for cultural imperialism.

<sup>173</sup> As the UNRRA historian noted in 1950, "Relations between CNRRA and the China Office of UNRRA were, in the early period of active operations, marred by disagreements, inefficiency and considerable friction." United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, 376.

<sup>174</sup> C.X. George Wei, 61.

<sup>175</sup> "No. 53 Thursday, July 1946, Item 778," Ray Franklin Files, Hoover Institution.

<sup>176</sup> "No. 36, Tuesday, 2 July 1946, Item 554," Ray Franklin Files, Hoover Institution. As George Woodbridge, chief historian of UNRRA, wrote in 1950, "The most formidable issue in implementing UNRRA's policies in China arose in connection with the attempt to achieve nondiscriminatory distribution to the people living in Communist controlled areas. This presented an exceptionally difficult and perplexing problem since the work entailed was subject to forces beyond the control of UNRRA, and, indeed, of CNRRA." United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, 382.

<sup>177</sup> U.S. Congressional pressure to stop relief to China because of difficulties with distribution: "Unfortunately, it was just as much a problem to shut off the pipeline as it had been to get it started. Goods

Theoretically committed to distributing welfare to Communist areas, UNRAA left the issue of enforcement to “the local level.”<sup>178</sup> In the larger context of long-term indigenization of welfare in China, this acquiescence to local-level leadership simply contributed to the “...de facto recognition and legalization of the Nationalist’s blockade....”<sup>179</sup> In principle welcoming encouraging reports of successful shipments to Communist areas,<sup>180</sup> CNRRA also protested Communist commandeering of relief supplies for military purposes.<sup>181</sup> The Nationalist blockade of American welfare supplies became a fixture in Communist propaganda about Nationalist corruption and American collusion. In response to Communists complaints,<sup>182</sup> Chiang Kai-shek promised to facilitate the movement of welfare aid to Communist-controlled areas. Zhou Enlai and Tung Piwu (Dong Biwu 董必武 1886 - 1975),<sup>183</sup> Chairman of the China Liberated Areas Relief Association the Director of UNRRA to complain about inequitable distribution of services, despite overt promises on behalf of UNRRA, to reach the needs of all people.<sup>184</sup> These protests were issued when UNRRA was already pulling resources from China. The director’s apologetic, but noncommittal and terse response was reprinted by CLARA as

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were flowing from various countries and could not be stopped.” See “No. 86, Thursday, 12 September 1946,” Ray Franklin Files, Hoover Institution.

<sup>178</sup> “No. 723,” Ray Franklin Files, Hoover Institution.

<sup>179</sup> “Appendix II, Ling Chung to Gen. Lowell Rooks and Harlan Cleveland, October 11, 1947, Shanghai CLARA Office,” *UNRRA Relief for the Chinese People: A Report by CLARA (Continued)* (Information Department of the China Liberated Areas Relief Association, Shanghai, December 1947), p. 7. Ray Franklin Files, Folder 1, Hoover Institute.

<sup>180</sup> “No. 62, Item 896, Wednesday, August 7, 1946,” Ray Franklin Files, Hoover Institution.

<sup>181</sup> For example, CNRRA wrote: “Mr. Farris in Chengchow reports that 10 drivers sent to Shantung with jeeps and weapons carriers loaned to the Communists for distribution of relief supplies have been relieved of their vehicles and returned to Chengchow. The vehicles, the cable reports, are being used for military purposes by the Communists. Dr. D Moulin is being instructed to protest to Chou Enlai in Nanking and a strong written protest is to be made immediately.” See “No. 36, Item 554, Tuesday, 2 July 1946,” Ray Franklin Files, Hoover Institution.

<sup>182</sup> “No. 54, Friday, July 26, 1946, Item 776,” Ray Franklin Files, Hoover Institution.

<sup>183</sup> See also Dong, Biwu, *Memorandum on China’s Liberated Areas; a Factual Report on Chinese Areas Liberated from Japanese Occupation* (San Francisco, 1945). BANC; xHX15.Y3 v.64:10: Yates collection, v. 64, no. 10.

<sup>184</sup> “Appendix B, Chou En-lai and Tung Pi-wu to Fiorello LaGuardia, Director of UNRRA, 29 November 1946, Yen’an,” *UNRRA Relief for the Chinese People: A Report by CLARA* (Information Department of the China Liberated Areas Relief Association, Shanghai, July 1947), p. 21, in Ray Franklin Files, Folder 1, Hoover Institute. Ling Chung (Lin Zhong), Director of Operations for CLARA, wrote to Dr. Harlan Cleveland, Director of the UNRRA China Office, “We have repeatedly advised UNRRA of the flagrant discrimination by CNRRA toward the people in our area. UNRRA has ignored our advice and failed to insist that CNRRA operate in a non-discriminatory manner. Therefore we feel the responsibility rests with UNRRA since it is in a position to enforce a non-discrimination policy if it so desired.” Appendix D, Ling Chung to Harlan Cleveland, 18 June 1947 *UNRRA Relief for the Chinese People: A Report by CLARA* (Information Department of the China Liberated Areas Relief Association, Shanghai, July 1947), p. 26, in Ray Franklin Files, Folder 1, Hoover Institute.

an acknowledgement of UNRRA's failures.<sup>185</sup> The unequal distribution of material aid would support accusations, in the 1950s, that economic aid had been given in exchange for acceptance of American bourgeois ideology.

American funding was becoming increasingly professionalized and secularized in ways that complicated the pre-existing Christian ties between Chinese and American welfare organizations. UNESCO and UNRRA dispersed funding through secondary organizations such as the China Aid Council, a latter incarnation of the China Child Welfare, Inc. (See Chapter Four.) This organization retained ties to Christian organizations, especially Protestant and Catholic orphanages, as well as the National Child Welfare Association.<sup>186</sup> UNRRA workers sent destitute children to orphanages run by the China Children's Fund.<sup>187</sup> The United Service to China reported, "On a long range level, USC [United Service Committee] is working for China's children by supporting child welfare training programs in colleges and universities throughout China."<sup>188</sup> Of the thirteen Christian colleges and two Catholic colleges that were partially funded by the USC, seven offered programs in child welfare training that drew from departments of social work, psychology, medicine, and domestic science.<sup>189</sup> Because students also worked in "day nurseries, schools, and clinics associated with the colleges" or in children's charities, their training directly contributed to child welfare in China.<sup>190</sup>

The United Service to China Child Welfare Council professionalized child welfare services by creating a national organization that would unite and coordinate the work of various fragmented religious charity organizations.<sup>191</sup> Through the United Service Committee, the U.S. government provided funding for social welfare services, often run by religious organizations. At a meeting of CNRRA and the United Service to China, committee members suggested that "representatives from the YWCA and the Catholic group be included because these agencies are very active in Shanghai," as well as representatives from the fields of health and education. As a result, Father McGuire and Chen Heqin were among those who were "nominated and unanimously approved."<sup>192</sup>

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<sup>185</sup> "Appendix IV Harlan Cleveland to Ling Chung, 22 November 1947," *UNRRA Relief for the Chinese People: A Report by CLARA (Continued)* (Information Department of the China Liberated Areas Relief Association, Shanghai, December 1947), 10. Ray Franklin Files, Folder 1, Hoover Institute.

<sup>186</sup> "Minutes of the Meeting of Sub-Committee on Budget Study of the China Welfare Committee, Held on November 11<sup>th</sup> 1947 at 2:00 PM WAC Nanking," China Aid Council, New York Public Library Archives.

<sup>187</sup> Edmund W. Janss, *Yankee Si!* (New York: William Morrow & Co, 1961), 54.

<sup>188</sup> "Private Philanthropy Work in China: The United Service to China Program for 1948," National Headquarters of the United Service to China, 1790 Broadway, New York, New York, p. 10, in Hoover Institute, Stanford University.

<sup>189</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>190</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

<sup>191</sup> "Child Welfare Movement in China: Memorandum to Miss Mildred Price, Executive Secretary From Miss Vinita Lewis, Child Welfare Director of USC in China," (November 15, 1946), China Aid Council and United Service to China, New York Public Library Archives, 4366.

<sup>192</sup> "Minutes of the Reception and Meeting of the Planning Committee for Organization of a Shanghai Child Welfare Advisory Committee," (October 22, 1946), China Aid Council and United Service to China, New York Public Library Archives.



The United Service Committee's Child Welfare Committee allocated the distribution of U.S. funding for playground equipment, student stipends, medical supplies, and social workers for the Catholic Fu Ren University Kindergarten and Children's Clinic and the Jen Tsu Tang Orphanage.<sup>193</sup> The USC support the YWCA Working Mother's Nursery,<sup>194</sup> and the Yu Ying Nursery and the Tientsin YWCA training program.<sup>195</sup> The Tientsin YWCA Program trained women to be caregivers for nursery school students. The YWCA had intended to train 30 students, but only 17 enrolled and a mere 6 passed final examinations; all who enrolled were working at children's institutions, including factory nursery schools.<sup>196</sup> The council promoted research and publications on child welfare, including Miss Kuan Jui Wu's textbook for Yenching University, and books on child welfare legislation, delinquency, and juvenile courts.<sup>197</sup> Thus, we can observe, in the post-WWII period, a continuation of the trend, noted in the previous chapter, for mission colleges like Yenching University to provide academic training for child welfare services.

In keeping with its strong cooperation with UNESCO, the China Aid Council also promoted "Fundamental Education," an educational program endorsed by UNESCO for developing countries.<sup>198</sup> Fundamental Education drew heavily upon John Dewey's ideas about putting education into practice, but was heavily oriented toward vocational training and mass education. Fundamental education was a program for all developing countries and underprivileged peoples, and U.S.-trained educators transplanted these pedagogical practices from schools for minority students in the U.S. to schools abroad.<sup>199</sup> (Here again,

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<sup>193</sup> "Minutes of the 53 Meeting of the USC Child Welfare Committee, Tuesday, September 9, 1947 at 2 Ku Lou Tiao Hsiang, Nanking," China Aid Council, New York Public Library Archives, Mssfile3078\_2488.

<sup>194</sup> Ibid.

<sup>195</sup> "Minutes of the 52<sup>nd</sup> Meeting of the USC Child Welfare Committee, Friday August 8, 1947 at 9:00 AM at 515 Rue Lafayette Shanghai," China Aid Council, New York Public Library Archives.

<sup>196</sup> "Minutes of the 56<sup>th</sup> Meeting of the USC Child Welfare Committee Wednesday, 11:00 AM December 17, 1947, 2 Ku Lou Lou Tiao Hsiang, Nanking," China Aid Council, New York Public Library Archives.

<sup>197</sup> Ibid.

<sup>198</sup> China initiated a pilot program for fundamental education for Nanking:

<http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0014/001451/145171eb.pdf>. The term "Fundamental Education" was coined by Kuo Yu-shu, head of UNESCO's Education Division; see Philip Jones, (Phillip Worner), and David Coleman, *The United Nations And Education: Multilateralism, Development And Globalisation* (New York: Routledge Falmer, 2005), 58. In "What is Fundamental Education," Pedro Orata wrote, "Fundamental education as originally used by UNESCO is a new name for an old idea, in the sense that it aims to provide a "common ground for all peoples" so that the whole of mankind may live together in peace-free from want, poverty, ignorance, fear, exploitation and discrimination. It is a movement, a democratic movement, to free man from himself. Both the illiterates of the East and the highly literates of the West need fundamental education--the former to improve their health and economic well-being through literacy, the latter to improve their attitudes in order to free themselves from prejudice, selfishness and other complexes. The last world wars, if not all wars in the past, were not caused by illiterates, but by so-called leaders of thought and culture who talked peace, but meant war and got it."

<sup>199</sup> Joseph Watras, "Was Fundamental Education Another Form of Colonialism?" *International Review of Education / Internationale Zeitschrift Für Erziehungswissenschaft / Revue Internationale De l'Education* 53. 1 (January 1, 2007): 55-72.

Dewey's American influence on China would make him and his approach to education a lightning rod for Communist attacks in the 1950s; see Chapter Six.)

Despite the transnational nature of the program, adherents insisted that fundamental education “fit China's practical needs.”<sup>200</sup> Echoing adherents of the mental hygiene movement in the 1930s, the post-war Nationalist government argued that democratic education, though American, could find indigenous roots in the ancient teachings of Chinese sages, who had advocated “instruction without discrimination.”<sup>201</sup> The debate in the United States, between either a “child-centered education” or a set (standardized) curriculum, was irrelevant in China because “education must be a tool to construct a progressive society, though not for political, economic or military purposes.”<sup>202</sup> Instead, fundamental education would allow children to “adjust to large social changes”—from being governed to self-government, and from clan-structured relationships to professional social relationships—and to “foster a person's proper knowledge and understanding of society, the nation, and the world.”<sup>203</sup> In this context, kindergarten founder Chen Heqin's speech about his educational principles, translated as “education for life,” given at the Nanjing Child Welfare Conference on May 21, 1947, took on special resonance about the relationship between education and praxis, allowing children to “self-monitor and self-regulate.”<sup>204</sup> Chen repeated Cai Yuanpei's dichotomy, from 1911, between “old education,” dominated by “dead books” and memorization, and “new education,” encouraged by object lessons and exploration;<sup>205</sup> however, Chen added that in the new post-war context, these general principles could be further adapted to a new, democratic situation.

After the end of the war, there was also a significant demographic shift in the distribution of children who attended the nurseries and kindergartens, i.e., from children with mothers holding industrial jobs to children whose mothers did not. In 1947, the majority of children in nurseries and kindergartens in the wartime capital of Chongqing were roughly four to five years old, and they entered the nursery for educational reasons (429 children) or because both parents were employed (161 children), rather than because of family illness or parental absence (13 children).<sup>206</sup> Nurseries offered educational content, with “common knowledge,” and Chinese character recognition, as well as

<sup>200</sup> Nora Tse Hsiung Chu (Niu Xiongzhi) 牛熊芷, “Minzhu yu jiben jiaoyu,” 民族與基本教育 [“Democracy and Fundamental Education”], *China Child Welfare News* No. 5 (1947), 2.

<sup>201</sup> The Preparatory Committee of the Regional Study Conference on Fundamental Education, *Fundamental Education in China: A Report* (Nanking: Ministry of Education, September 1947), 2.

<sup>202</sup> Dr. You-kuang Chu 朱有光, lecture notes recorded by Liao Shengning, “Shechu ertong jiaoyu neirong yu fangfa de shangtao,” 社區兒童教育內容與方法的商討 [“Contents and Method of Education in Child Welfare Centers”], *China Child Welfare News* 5 (1947), 4.

<sup>203</sup> Nora Tse Hsiung Chu (Niu Xiongzhi) 牛熊芷, “Minzhu yu jiben jiaoyu” 民族與基本教育 [“Democracy and Fundamental Education”], *China Child Welfare News* No. 5 (1947), 2.

<sup>204</sup> Dr. H.C. Chen (Chen Heqin), “Huo Jiaoyu” 活教育 [“Education for Life”], *China Child Welfare News* No. 5 (1947), 2.

<sup>205</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>206</sup> “Statistical Summary of the Nurseries and Kindergartens in Chungking,” China Aid Council, New York Public Library Archives, Mssfile3078\_2488.

nursery rhymes, stories, songs, and free play on the schedule of “teaching contents.” In addition, the schools scheduled cleanliness inspections by teachers and nurses. The China Aid Council especially highlighted the number of industrial workers as parents of such children, but the number with working mothers was relatively low (4 mothers to 92 fathers as industrial workers, but 26 mothers to 239 fathers in business) in the wartime capital of Chongqing.<sup>207</sup> In 1950, Communists pointed to the statistic – from the brief period of Nationalist control of Shenyang after WWII – that only 2 of 300 children had working mothers in a factory preschool in Shenyang, and thus claimed that Nationalists “misdirected industrial welfare funds to create a professional preschool” rather than an industrial crèche.<sup>208</sup> Communist critiques thus dovetailed with American observations about the low numbers of workers’ children in industrial preschools, despite the proclaimed commitment of Americans and Nationalists to industrial welfare.

After the war, UNESCO and American aid programs focused on reconstructing educational institutions and lending expertise as well as funding to China. The director of UNRRA noted, “In their concern for the categories requiring special care, UNRRA welfare officers have placed much emphasis upon programs for children. Advisory Child Welfare Committees have been organized, with UNRRA participation, to continue the child-care programs set up during the war.”<sup>209</sup> Advisory Child Welfare Committees pushed for professionalization by promoting the study of child welfare in universities both in China and abroad.

The China Aid Council supported the professionalization of nursery education in China. UNRRA sent Vinita Lewis as a child welfare specialist to China’s CNRRA in August 1945.<sup>210</sup> Lewis had worked for the U.S. Children’s Bureau as an analyst and specialized in “interracial conflict” and “the Negro child.”<sup>211</sup> The selection of Vinita Lewis suggests that the China Aid Council, like Chen Heqin, saw the handling of racial tensions within the United States as a model for dealing with the issue of racial distinction and the indigenization of schooling in an international context. Similarly, Nanjing’s China Aid Council invited Mary Sweeny, Director of the Merrill Palmer School in Detroit, who had earlier served in India on an Agricultural Mission, to come to China to work on child welfare.<sup>212</sup> Like the Child Labor Commission of the 1920s, the

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<sup>207</sup> Ibid.

<sup>208</sup> Shenyang Xiangjiao Qi Chang Tuersuo 瀋陽橡膠七廠托兒所 [Shenyang No. 7 Rubber Factory Kindergarten], “Yige mofan de gongchang tuersuo” 一個模範的工廠托兒所 [A Model Industrial Preschool], originally published in Xinhuashe 新華社 (June 2, 1950) and republished in *Ertong bayou he fuying weisheng*, 19.

<sup>209</sup> “Report of the Director general to the council for the period 1 Jan 1946 to 31 March 1946,” (Washington, DC, 1946), 76, in UNRRA Files, Hoover Institute.

<sup>210</sup> UNRRA Files, Box 3, Hoover Institute, Stanford University. Vinita Lewis is also listed as a contributor to the committee that published *China Child Welfare News*.

<sup>211</sup> Ibid. See also United States Children’s Bureau and Vinita Virginia Lewis, *Selected references on social conditions affecting family and community life among Negroes in the United States* (Washington, D.C., 1945).

<sup>212</sup> “Minutes of the 56<sup>th</sup> Meeting of the USC Child Welfare Committee Wednesday, 11:00 AM December 17, 1947, 2 Ku Lou Lou Tiao Hsiang, Nanking,” China Aid Council, New York Public Library Archives.

China Aid Council of the 1940s solicited professional experts because child welfare was seen as a professional specialization crossing national and cultural boundaries. The China Aid Council brought a series of child welfare specialists to China through the Fulbright Foundation. The Committee outlined different qualifications necessary for the short-term stay of a specialist with “prestige and outstanding leadership, able to give “direction” based on a broad experience to improve the child welfare program,” in addition to “An experienced paragon trained in child welfare able to stay a few years in China to promote programs, give advice and direction, visit the projects, and serve them in any way possible.”<sup>213</sup> The USC also saw the need for a “child guidance specialist” to train Chinese child experts and a specialist “in the industrial arts” to improve “child care institutions.”<sup>214</sup> While professionalizing child welfare services, these institutional developments reinforced the primacy of family care and family education, even through day schools, rather than full-time children’s institutions.

With the end of the war, there was a shift from central to municipal control. Welfare professionals noted that wartime orphanages had become a “victor’s liability” or an economic liability for the victors, for relief organizations like the National Association for Refugee Children. The United China Relief Child Welfare Committee transferred responsibility for these institutions to the Ministry of Social Affairs in Chongqing in December 1945.<sup>215</sup> The possibility of “much good done with small amounts of money” contributed greatly to the perceived “value of *demonstration* [italics in original],” or models in order to influence “children whose parents were alive as the largest group of children needing care.”<sup>216</sup> The YWCA nurseries in Shanghai and Chongqing, for example, “serve the children of working mothers, select applicants on the basis of need, and have long waiting lists because of limited funds.”<sup>217</sup> Despite demand, YWCA nurseries served only fifty children in Shanghai with day and night care, and an additional twenty with day

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<sup>213</sup> “Minutes of the 53<sup>rd</sup> Meeting of the USC Child Welfare Committee, Tuesday, September 9, 1947 at 2 Ku Lou Tou Tiao Hsiang, Nanking,” China Aid Council, New York Public Library Archives.

<sup>214</sup> “Minutes of the 54<sup>th</sup> Meeting of the USC Child Welfare Committee, Monday, October 13, 1947 at 2 Ku Lou Tou Tiao Hsiang, Nanking,” China Aid Council, New York Public Library Archives.

<sup>215</sup> “Child Welfare Program Budget,” p. 2, China Aid Council, New York Public Library Archives.

<sup>216</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>217</sup> “Private Philanthropy at Work in China: The United Service to China Program for 1948,” National Headquarters USC 1790 Broadway, New York, NY, p. 10, Hoover Institute, Stanford.

care, and only thirty with day care in Chongqing.<sup>218</sup> Most of the child welfare institutions were religious institutions founded before the war.<sup>219</sup>

The United China Service Advisory Committee in Beijing relied upon and supported longstanding institutions of child welfare in the local community.<sup>220</sup> Mildred Price pointed to the positive results of Advisory Committees for Child Welfare in Beijing as a model for those services.<sup>221</sup> In Beijing, “demonstration child welfare stations” had been established to serve infants, preschool children, school-aged children, pregnant women, and nursing mothers, especially by providing them with milk and food.<sup>222</sup> At these stations, nurses gave physical examinations and offered practical advice to mothers.<sup>223</sup> Orphanages like Fragrant Hills had rescued children from poverty, rather than abandonment, to provide children with better material conditions and moral habits than their parents were able to offer.<sup>224</sup> By the postwar period, however, the overwhelming majority of children at Fragrant Hills were orphaned or abandoned, and the Advisory Council hoped that the Institution would “demonstrate fully the advantages of this approximated “family life” in a Chinese orphanage.”<sup>225</sup> Thus, especially in the postwar period, preschools and even orphanages were meant to supplement or model family life rather than to substitute for it.

The China Aid Council relied primarily on family networks to shoulder the burden for child welfare. The organization noted that “it should be made possible for everyone of them to go back to their homes, since home is the normal and proper place for children.”<sup>226</sup> Notwithstanding the destruction and population loss during the war, some welfare professionals asserted that Chinese “orphans” had rarely been “true”

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<sup>218</sup> YWCA nursery asked for 12,000,000 USD, along with 4,214,00 USD for equipment, “1947 Budget Request for the United Service to China Child Welfare Program,” p. 4, China Aid Council, New York Public Library Archives.

<sup>219</sup> For example, *Ertong Fuli Tongxun* 兒童福利通訊 [China Child Welfare News] No. 11 (February 3, 1948), passim. The Catholic Foundling home in Shanxi.

<sup>220</sup> “Shanhou Jiuji Zongshu” 善後救濟總署, *Yinian Lai Zhi Ertong Fuli Gongzuo* 一年來之兒童福利工作 [“One Year of Work in Child Welfare”] (1947), 19.

<sup>221</sup> “Minutes of the Reception and Meeting of Planning Committee for Organization of a Shanghai Child Welfare Advisory Committee,” (October 22, 1946) China Aid Council and United Welfare Relief, New York Public Library Archives.

<sup>222</sup> *Shanhou Jiuji Zongshu* 善後救濟總署, *Yinian lai zhi ertong fuli gongzuo* 一年來之兒童福利工作 [One Year of Work in Child Welfare], (1947), 16.

<sup>223</sup> *Ibid.*, 19.

<sup>224</sup> Also see “Education of Parents,” Program of the Child Welfare Planning Conference,” November 4-9, 1946.

<sup>225</sup> “Private Philanthropy at Work in China: The United Service to China Program for 1948,” National Headquarters USC 1790 Broadway, New York, NY, p. 11, in the Hoover Institute, Stanford.

<sup>226</sup> UCR Advisory Committee on Child Welfare and Development, 1790 Broadway, New York 19, New York, “Proposal for the Child Welfare Program of United China Relief,” (January 1946), New York Public Library Archives.

orphans who lacked any kin.<sup>227</sup> As in the United States,<sup>228</sup> both economically and ideologically, placement in families, rather than orphanages, was considered the best solution.<sup>229</sup>

In contrast to wartime efforts to remove children to safe-havens, the Child Welfare Planning Conference of 1946 asserted the “right” of children to a family so, for example, child welfare professionals prioritized subsidies to poor families over the expansion of orphan homes.<sup>230</sup> In keeping with this ideological support of the family, the China Child Welfare Association provided professional child welfare services to support “family education” and daycare centers to support working families. The China Child Welfare Association “promoted exhibitions” and “experimental schools” as a major facet of its work.<sup>231</sup> These “demonstration” preschools and kindergartens showed parents ways to guide the emotional, physical, and moral development of children under the age of six.

In keeping with this focus on the professionalization of family education, the China Aid Council continued programs to improve childrearing through motherhood training by subsidizing mothercraft training programs,<sup>232</sup> continuing the “mothers’ clubs” begun in the Nanjing decade and continued during the war. Unlike local mother’s clubs, the Council monitored the programs and the progress of children within them.<sup>233</sup> Children’s institutions depended upon cooperation with families, especially through home visitations, the study of families’ backgrounds, and the organization of parents’ clubs.<sup>234</sup>

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<sup>227</sup> “Child Welfare Movement in China: Memorandum to Miss Mildred Price, Executive Secretary From Miss Vinita Lewis, Child Welfare Director of USC in China,” (November 15, 1946) China Aid Council and United Service to China, New York Public Library Archives.

<sup>228</sup> See Chapter Four, footnote 40. Begun in 1857, the cottage system was an alternative that would make institutional homes more like a “family” than traditional orphanages; reformers thought that these homes would provide rehabilitative opportunities for juvenile delinquents, but the cottage system encountered obstacles when girls appeared to be more hardened criminals than had been assumed. Arnold Binder, et al., *Juvenile Delinquency: Historical, Cultural, Legal Perspectives* (New York and London: Collier Macmillan, 1988), 207-08.

<sup>229</sup> UCR Advisory Committee on Child Welfare and Development, 1790 Broadway, New York 19, New York, “Proposal for the Child Welfare Program of United China Relief,” (January 1946), New York Public Library Archives.

<sup>230</sup> “Proposal for the Child Welfare Program of the United Child Relief,” UCR Advisory Committee on Child Care and Development, 1790 Broadway, New York 19, New York, p. 2, China Aid Council, New York Public Library Archives.

<sup>231</sup> “Lianheguo Quanmu Ertong Jiujijin yundong jianshi” 聯合國勸募兒童救濟金運動簡史 [Brief History of the UNICEF], *China Child Welfare News* 12 (March 3, 1948), 2.

<sup>232</sup> “Minutes of the 56<sup>th</sup> Meeting of the USC Child Welfare Committee Wednesday, 11:00 AM December 17, 1947, 2 Ku Lou Lou Tiao Hsiang, Nanking,” China Aid Council, New York Public Library Archives.

<sup>233</sup> “Conference on ‘Welfare of Children in Institutions’ Under Auspices of the United Service to China Canton Regional Child Welfare Committee,” China Aid Council, New York Public Library Archives.

<sup>234</sup> Miss Au Kuan Chee, Director of the KIRC Children Training Center 2, “Cooperation with Family in Child Welfare, Conference on ‘Welfare of Children in Institutions’ Under Auspices of the United Service to China Canton Regional Child Welfare Committee,” China Aid Council, New York Public Library Archives.

The China Aid Council also provided scholarships to Chinese students in order to study child welfare in the United States. The China Aid Council funded various projects on the “child welfare field” in Chinese universities.<sup>235</sup> The Council subsidized the Child Welfare Training Program and monitored the job placements of its graduates.<sup>236</sup> The Council granted scholarships to majors of child welfare.<sup>237</sup> Furthermore, seven female students in 1946-47 and four female students in 1947-48 came to the United States to study childcare and development for one year. Most, like Pearl Chien and Hsiung Ya-Na, asked for an extension of two years in order to obtain a degree.<sup>238</sup> Although the committee prized professionalization, “the China Committee took a very serious attitude towards the fact that only two of the seven students whom we sent abroad last year would keep their promises to return to China after one’ year’s study. It was felt that their attitude should be called to the Committee’s attention.”<sup>239</sup> Even though the Committee wanted to select the most committed members of the child welfare community, the Committee also did not want to detract or disrupt their work in the field, and sometimes denied scholarships to the best candidates.<sup>240</sup> Thus, the Committee juggled the tension between training professionals and providing service; the ultimate goal of professional training was to provide better service, but could lead to other opportunities.

These scholarships helped to strengthen existing ties within the child welfare community in China and its connection to the United States, especially to particular programs at Vassar College and the New York School of Social Work.<sup>241</sup> Mildred Price and the other members of the China Aid Council formed personal as well as professional relationships with Chinese professionals like Nora Chu. Within China, candidates were selected by the Child Welfare Committee in Shanghai, so the women were often recommended by the Women’s Advisory Council of the New Life Movement.<sup>242</sup> All candidates were required to have at least five years of work experience, and many had

<sup>235</sup> “Minutes of the Meeting of Sub-Committee on Budget Study of China Welfare Committee Held on November 11<sup>th</sup> 1947 at 2:00 PM WAC Nanking,” China Aid Council, New York Public Library Archives.

<sup>236</sup> “Minutes of the 56<sup>th</sup> Meeting of the USC Child Welfare Committee Wednesday, 11:00 AM December 17, 1947, 2 Ku Lou Lou Tiao Hsiang, Nanking,” China Aid Council, New York Public Library Archives.

<sup>237</sup> “Minutes of the Sub-Committee on Training Program met on October 13, at 2:00 PM WAC Nanking,” China Aid Council, New York Public Library Archives.

<sup>238</sup> Miss Mildred Price in Wilma Fairbank, UNESCO Report, 120.

<sup>239</sup> “Minutes of the 53<sup>rd</sup> Meeting of the USC Child Welfare Committee, Tuesday, September 9, 1947 at 2 Ku Lou Tou Tiao Hsiang, Nanking,” China Aid Council, New York Public Library Archives. Mssfile3078\_2488. One such student was Pear Chien; letter from Mildred Price to Nora Chu, (June 6, 1947), China Aid Council, New York Public Library Archives.

<sup>240</sup> “Agenda of the 48<sup>th</sup> Meeting of the USC Child welfare Committee, Tuesday, April 15, 1947 at 2 Ku Lou Tou Tiao Hsiang, Nanking,” p. 2, China Aid Council, New York Public Library Archives, 3078\_2488.

<sup>241</sup> Kwei-Lan Tien New 牛田貴 “Meiguo Fansai daxue xialing xuexiao” 美國凡賽夏令學校 [“Vassar Summer Institute”], *China Child Welfare News* No. 6 (1947) 6-8. Mrs. David T. New was a member of the Women’s Advisory Council (WAC) in Nanjing, “United Service to China, Inc., Child Welfare Committee Members,” China Aid Council, New York Public Library.

<sup>242</sup> Mildred Price, Letter, in Wilma Fairbank, “Chinese Educational Needs and Programs of US-Located Agencies to Meet Them: A Report Commissioned October 1947 by the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO),” 121.

worked for WAC or the YWCA. The selection process thus heavily favored Nationalist women with wartime volunteer service.<sup>243</sup> When the China Aid Council selected women from Communist areas for training in the United States, their passports were blocked by the Nationalist government.<sup>244</sup>

Despite inequitable distribution of resources, the Child Welfare Committee did provide economic support for children in Communist areas. The Child Welfare Committee of Nanjing allocated 299,700,000 CNC to support the maintenance of ten nurseries in Yan'an, including "the Los Angeles Nursery."<sup>245</sup> The Los Angeles Kindergarten at that time had a total of 2,840 children and 656 staff for a total of 3,496 people in 10 units.<sup>246</sup> Thus, the Los Angeles Kindergarten had expanded greatly after the end of the Sino-Japanese War. The organization outfitted the children with summer and winter clothing as well as with funds "needed to maintain the educational and play facilities of the ten units." The Committee also sent books on infant care and childrearing to these areas,<sup>247</sup> contributing to the professionalization and training of childcare workers at the Los Angeles Kindergarten. In New York, the United China Relief simply referred to "Madame Sun's kindergartens," thus glossing over the Communist leadership of the Los Angeles Kindergarten.<sup>248</sup>

United China Relief promoted the family-focused child expertise that had been popularized by the National Child Welfare Association and the strand of liberal education that had been popularized in China through John Dewey. The *China Child Welfare News* advertised books on child welfare, social work, and intelligence testing. The New York office also directly sent literature, such as "Understanding the Child, Mental Hygiene, Childhood Education, Child Study, Arnold Gesell's 'First Five Years of Life,' and Russell Kurtz's 'Social Work Year Book 1947.'"<sup>249</sup> Graduates of Columbia Teacher's College continued to dominate the Chinese academy and these child protection programs. Tao Xingzhi and Chen Heqin served on committees for the China Aid Council<sup>250</sup> and received funding from foreign sources.<sup>251</sup> The United Services Relief sponsored plays, first performed at Tao Xingzhi's Yutsai School in Chongqing, in which children acted out

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<sup>243</sup> Ibid, 123.

<sup>244</sup> Mildred Price in Wilma Fairbank, UNESCO report, 123.

<sup>245</sup> "Agenda of the 28<sup>th</sup> Meeting of the USC Child Welfare Committee, Tuesday, April 15, 1947 at 2 Ku Lou Tou Tiao Hsiang, Nanking," China Aid Council, New York Public Library Archives.

<sup>246</sup> Ibid.

<sup>247</sup> Mildred Price in Wilma Fairbank, UNESCO Report, 123; for the list of books, see "Helen Darion, Assistant to Miss Price, to Mrs. Nora Hsiung Chu," (May 15, 1947) China Aid Council, New York Public Library Archives.

<sup>248</sup> United China Relief, "Detailed Statement of Aid to China through Funds Raised by United China Relief, Inc., During 1941," Programs in China Sponsored by the 1941 Campaign, (New York: March 1942), p. 15, DSC01860 Hoover Institute, Stanford.

<sup>249</sup> "Helen Darion, Assistant to Miss Price, to Mrs. Nora Hsiung Chu," (May 15, 1947) China Aid Council and United Services Relief, New York Public Library Archives.

<sup>250</sup> For example, "Leonard Sie to Mildred Price," (December 9, 1946) enclosed.

<sup>251</sup> Wilma Fairbank, UNESCO, 30.



narratives of brave escapes during the war.<sup>252</sup> American funding and American influences thus intersected with the development of public displays of childhood vigor and bravery in wartime and in post-war China. American support for these programs would later implicate this strand of liberalism, especially Deweyian pragmatism, as new Chinese-educated intellectuals overturned the dominance of the cohort of students who had been educated at Columbia Teachers College.

The China Aid Council overtly argued for adapting or indigenizing U.S. expertise to the Chinese situation. Fearing that U.S. training would “endow the Chinese student with rigid ideas based on American practice which are inapplicable to conditions in the child health and child welfare fields of China,” some members advocated developing training programs in China, rather than sending students to the United States.<sup>253</sup> With this goal, the China Aid Council sponsored U.S. experts to teach and to conduct survey research in China. Dr. Carson Ryan of the School of Education, University of North Carolina, taught about child welfare, health, and education. In 1946, Ryan helped lead the Child Welfare Planning Conference in Shanghai.<sup>254</sup> Dr. and Mrs. Ernest Osborne of Teachers College, Columbia, surveyed child welfare training programs in 1946-47.<sup>255</sup> They taught in schools with missionary ties: Ginling [Jinling] Women’s College in Nanjing, Lingnan University in Canton, and Yenching University in Beijing; these colleges promoted child-training programs with American funds, but the selection of these schools is also a reminder that, despite the secularization of these schools<sup>256</sup> and child welfare services, these services were still tied to the missionary enterprise in China.

Despite unprecedented allotments of aid,<sup>257</sup> the China Child Welfare Committee was under constant financial pressure, especially as foreign funding began to dwindle at the close of 1947. Because of growing inflation in China, budgetary allotments never met real needs, and China Child Welfare Committee asked for allotments to be doubled for their high-priority projects.<sup>258</sup> The United Services China Child Welfare Committee applied for funding from UNRRA during its liquidation and withdrawal from China.<sup>259</sup> When the New York Committee was deciding the future of the USC on September 18,

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<sup>252</sup> “The Little Masters 小主人, Presented by Yu Tsai School 育才, Sponsored by the United Service to China and the China Welfare Fund,” Cotsen Children’s Collection, Princeton University. Xingzhi Tao, *Yu Tsai School for talented refugee children: aims, guiding principles, facts and criticisms* (Chungking: [s.n.], 1945).

<sup>253</sup> Wilma Fairbank, “Chinese Educational Needs and Programs of US-Located Agencies to Meet them: A Report Commissioned October 1947 by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO),” 122.

<sup>254</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>255</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>256</sup> Wen-hsin Yeh, *Alienated Academy*.

<sup>257</sup> Most given in world history to that point, although the per capita allotment was much smaller in China than in Europe.

<sup>258</sup> For example, “Minutes of the 38<sup>th</sup> Meeting of the child Welfare Committee of the UCR 9:30 June 4, 1946, Apartment 4, 10A Route Winling, Shanghai,” p. 4.

<sup>259</sup> “Minutes of the 53 Meeting of the USC Child Welfare Committee, Tuesday, September 9, 1947 at 2 Ku Lou Tiao Hsiang, Nanking,” China Aid Council, New York Public Library Archives.

1947, they forecast that “the financial prospect is not hopeful for the rest of the year.”<sup>260</sup> Such financial difficulties placed a strain on the deep personal ties between New York and Shanghai. As Mildred Price wrote privately to Nora Chu, “If USC fails, China Aid Council will try to raise funds on its own,” but cautioned that salaries had depreciated, and along with them, philanthropy. Price concluded, “We can’t begin to raise as much as USC raised, especially when the War Fund was in existence, but we might raise some as Chinese children pull at the heart strings.”<sup>261</sup> Price correctly predicted that Chinese children would continue to be an object of pity and aid, and children’s charities would successfully weathered the funding crisis of 1947. When funding dramatically declined in 1947, the American Overseas Aid-United Nations Appeal for Children provided funds allowing the United Service to China to suspend its fundraising in that area.<sup>262</sup> Child welfare continued to be an important draw for private charity in the United States, but the need to rely on private funding put pressure, as Price’s letter indicates, on these organizations and the relationships that tied China to the United States.

Demonstration centers and better baby contests may have done more to hurt than to help the reputation of China Child Services in China. Given widespread homelessness and starvation, the agenda to professionalize childrearing seemed “ridiculous” to some commentators:

Many of the social welfare projects attempted by UNRRA were absolutely ridiculous in view of the fact that China, a nation just struggling to emerge from feudalism, needed aid of another kind. Kindergartens and other such ideas of social work which are fine for Hull House or other settlement institutions abroad are largely wasted in China, where the essential thing is to feed the children and adults and attempt to give them the tools to make their own living in the future. Modern ideas of infant feeding sometimes were hardly worth the effort in China, particularly when special foods and a staff of experts carrying modern equipment had to be transported far into the hinterland.<sup>263</sup>

Despite the perception that UNRRA had failed to “feed the children,” the China Aid Council had distributed 300,000 USD to feed Chinese children, with one cup of milk and one vitamin pill per day.<sup>264</sup> Furthermore, the Council had tried to bring service “far into the hinterland” in an effort toward equitable distribution, given that most aid had simply been distributed in port cities such as Shanghai at the beginning of the war.<sup>265</sup> Even

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<sup>260</sup> Ibid. “Minutes of the 53 Meeting of the USC Child Welfare Committee, Tuesday, September 9, 1947 at 2 Ku Lou Tiao Hsiang, Nanking,” China Aid Council, New York Public Library Archives.

<sup>261</sup> Mildred Price to Nora Chu, January 13, 1947, New York Public Library Archives.

<sup>262</sup> “Seventh Annual Report of the United Service to China, Inc., (formerly United China Relief, Inc.) with the following member agencies American Bureau for Medical Aid to China, American Chinese Committee of the Mass Education Movement, American Friends Service Committee, United Board for Christian Colleges in China, China Aid Council, Church World Service and INDUSCO (American Committee in Aid of Chinese Industrial Cooperatives, For the Year of 1947,” Garside Papers, Hoover Institute, Stanford.

<sup>263</sup> *China Weekly Review* (Shanghai), 1 May 1947; see George Wei, 76.

<sup>264</sup> “Minutes of the 49<sup>th</sup> Meeting of the USC Child Welfare Committee, Friday, May 16<sup>th</sup> at 2 Ku Lou Tou Tiao Hsiang, Nanking,” China Aid Council, New York Public Library Archives.

<sup>265</sup> CX George Wei, 57.

during the war, General Stilwell had sent an x-ray machine to Yan'an's Los Angeles Kindergarten, which was perhaps an example of the inappropriateness of some of these scientific, professionalizing tools for childcare.<sup>266</sup> Huge equipment and idealized models, in the context of dire circumstances, only highlighted the bourgeois origins of family education. The bourgeois, American source of funding would increasingly become a point of contention after the Communist assumption of control in 1949.

## CONCLUSION

The War, interwar, and Civil War years intensified previous trends in China that placed women in factories and children in preschools. The Chinese state, broadly defined in the United Front mobilization against Japan, encouraged women to contribute to the War effort while expanding its sense of responsibility for the “seeds of the nation” rather than the property of the individual clan. Although Chinese children may have been described with this “national” rhetoric for domestic, patriotic purposes, they were also depicted with specifically “Chinese” labels for international, fundraising purposes. In both China and the United States, middle-class children were encouraged to contribute to poor Chinese children. In the United States, such charity intersected with the growing market of young consumers, whereas Children's Day targeted middle-class women with aspirations for upward mobility. In China, children's charities reinforced the idea that economic prosperity and sentimental childhood should be achieved in tandem, so child welfare for working-class families was also tied to scientific motherhood in middle class families. Because of increasing militarization and the threat of war, sentimental childhood needed to be protected and encouraged to an even greater degree.

Both the Nationalist and the Communist administrations received international charity and, during this international war, both welcomed foreign influences. Neither were monolithic entities, and we can see trends in which the Nationalists trained factory “cadre” to oversee female industrial workers and in which the Communists fostered childcare workers to implement scientific childcare practices. Some Nationalists pushed for collectivization, and the Los Angeles Kindergarten in Yan'an accepted the basic tenants of childhood psychology and childcare professionalization. Despite the overlap between these groups, one can nevertheless distinguish a relative emphasis in the Yan'an materials on discipline vis-à-vis a relative emphasis on the “ideology of the family” in the Nationalist materials, since “warphans” were “personally adopted” by Madame Chiang.

These differences were further exacerbated due to American funding in the post-WWII period. Given new limitations on American funding and new goals for Chinese rehabilitation, child welfare services became primarily focused on demonstrating models rather than distributing services. Although the National Child Welfare Association had always, to some degree, followed this economical and highly public method, it appeared grossly misguided and almost callous during the devastation of the post-war period. Furthermore, the “ideology of the happy family,” and its aspirations for upward mobility,

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<sup>266</sup> Wang Ying, *Hong Yaolan*, 103.

sentimental childhood, economic stability, and modern hygiene, seemed especially misplaced in a period of rampant inflation, joblessness, and poverty. The Nationalist government prioritized projects that would rebuild national infrastructure rather than alleviate mass suffering, and they lost the political legitimacy that would have come with a greater degree of humanitarian aid.

Because American organizations failed to distribute aid evenly, they were subject to accusations of partiality and even imperialism. Even though some funding continued to be channeled to the Los Angeles Kindergarten in Yan'an, the extremely uneven distribution of American funding further alienated the Chinese Communist Party from the United Nations and especially the United States. From the perspective of CLARA, the United States had promised equal distribution of goods, but favored Nationalist areas because of their common political ideology. These broken promises, as we will see in the next chapter, became the basis for Communist critiques of existing institutions of child welfare and education.

## CHAPTER SIX

### INTELLECTUAL CRITIQUE, FROM THE STATE TO THE CLASSROOM

At the ceremony establishing the People's Republic of China in 1949, Mao Zedong proclaimed that China had finally “stood up” to foreign imperialism. National unity, after years of foreign encroachment and civil war, ushered in a new era of hope and optimism. At the end of the Civil War, the People's Liberation Army “liberated” children from mission orphanages, washing and feeding the children so that they felt “safe and protected.”<sup>1</sup> This memory of the role of the People's Liberation Army in caring for children (see Figure 21), even after those duties had been taken over by the National Women's Federation, indicates the influence of the military and political context for childcare. In the last chapter, we saw that wartime experiences helped to unite Chinese concern for child welfare. This trend to view childhood health through the lens of political conceptions of Chineseness, rather than racial definitions of Chineseness, continued and intensified in the 1950s, when “re-education campaigns” defined national citizens in political rather than racial terms.

Since the late Qing, national politics have played an important role in shaping the qualifications for teacher training, classroom leadership, and curricular choices. National leaders wanted kindergarten and preschool teachers to have not only scientific training in childhood expertise, but also political training in revolutionary thought. Furthermore, the very nature of childhood was questioned as part of the criticism of Chen Heqin, the “Founder of Chinese Kindergartens,” whose scientific and reform agenda were examined in Chapter Two. Editors of *People's Education* criticized Chen as a proxy to eradicate the influence of John Dewey, Hu Shi, and other progressive moderates. Furthermore, this government-produced journal publicized criticism against these educators as a model to propagate the idea and practice of self-criticism. Self-criticism and self-regulation were necessary in the absence of direct government control of every aspect of the classroom. The context of intellectual rectification campaigns helped push primary school teachers to emphasize classroom discipline and student activism rather than carefree play, and, as a result, helped to push wartime trends in choreographed dances and scripted play that became the hallmark of Chinese Communist childhood.

### WAR WITH AMERICA AND THE BOURGEOIS PAST

Because elite and charity institutions had been so heavily influenced by American missionaries, the government also wanted to excise these influences by reshaping schools. These reforms were informed by the government's ideological campaigns against Nationalist-era intellectuals and educators. Although we saw in the last chapter that the

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<sup>1</sup> “Jiefangjun he yiqun gu'er” 解放軍和一群孤兒 [The People's Liberation Army and a Group of Orphans], Quanguo minzhu funü lianhehui choubei weiyuanhui 全國民主婦女聯合會籌備委員會, ed., *Zhongguo jiefang qu de ertong* 中國解放區的兒童 (Xianggang: Xinminzhu chubanshe, 1949), 31-33; “Yige nü'er de shengming” 一個女兒的生命 [A girl's life], *Zhongguo jiefang qu de ertong*, 34-36.

Central Communist Party had accepted American aid during the war for the “Los Angeles Kindergarten” in Yan’an, much of the critique was based on economic funding as the foundation for ideological aggression.

This movement for educational reform occurred within the broader context of the Central Communist Party’s consolidation of power and control. In March of 1950, the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee had begun to plan the campaign against counter-revolutionaries, but it was only with the Korean War that Chairman Mao Zedong issued the directive against counterrevolutionaries in October 10, 1950.<sup>2</sup> In 1951, Mao further spearheaded an attack on bourgeois reformers,<sup>3</sup> thus expanding the active target from counter-revolutionaries to liberal intellectuals (and business owners in the “three-antis” and “five-antis” campaigns).<sup>4</sup> Concurrent with these efforts, the government targeted educators who were followers of John Dewey’s pragmatism.<sup>5</sup> Chinese alumni of Columbia Teachers College had dominated the Chinese academic world, so their removal would allow the influx of a new group of educational administrators.

The Communists inherited from the Nationalists a legacy of evaluating educational “traitors to the race” (*hanjian*) after the Second Sino-Japanese War. The Nationalist government labeled education under the Japanese occupation as “slave education” (*nihua jiaoyu*),<sup>6</sup> a term that had long been used to describe missionary and colonial education. These judgments also reflected wartime concerns about the mistreatment of Chinese children by Japanese soldiers.<sup>7</sup> After the war, the Nationalist government tried those suspected of collaboration. Despite these accusations of Japanese indoctrination, which often pass for textbook fact today,<sup>8</sup> Sophia Lee has convincingly argued that Chinese school administrators Tang Erhe and Zhou Zuoren “were actually on the periphery of power politics in wartime Beijing”;<sup>9</sup> Japanese authorities were unobtrusive and Japanese lessons ineffective, especially in contrast to their regulation of Taiwan and Korea.<sup>10</sup> Communists would use this rubric of cultural imperialism and slave education to castigate Americanized education during the Nanjing period.

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<sup>2</sup> Kuisong Yang, “Reconsidering the Campaign to Suppress Counterrevolutionaries,” *The China Quarterly* 193 (2008): 102–121.

<sup>3</sup> Yusheng Yao, “The Making of a National Hero: Tao Xingzhi’s Legacies in the People’s Republic of China,” *Review of Education, Pedagogy, and Cultural Studies* 24. 3 (2002): 258.

<sup>4</sup> Mao had taken a stand against Liberalism as early as September 1937 with the essay “Combat Liberalism.” There, he argued that “liberalism negates ideological struggle” because liberals readily support old cronies who may be in the wrong; even if they agree with Marxist principles in the abstract, they are often unable to practice Marxism. See Mao Tse-Tung, “Combat Liberalism,” Chang-tu Hu, ed., *Chinese Education Under Communism* (New York: Columbia Teachers College, 1962), 62–65.

<sup>5</sup> John Cleverley, *The Schooling of China: Tradition and Modernity in Chinese Education* (Sydney and London: Allen & Unwin, 1985), 114.

<sup>6</sup> Sophia Lee, 264.

<sup>7</sup> M. Colette Plum, 63.

<sup>8</sup> See, for example, the exhibit at the Great Hall of the People in Beijing.

<sup>9</sup> Sophia Lee, “Education in Wartime Beijing: 1937–1945,” (University of Michigan, Ph.D. thesis, 1996), 59.

<sup>10</sup> Sophia Lee, 234.

## ANTI-AMERICANISM IN EDUCATIONAL REFORM

In the early 1950s, educational campaigns were deeply colored by the country's besieged and defensive stance toward America. Many Western missionaries fled China by the end of 1948,<sup>11</sup> but the remaining missionaries were optimistic about the prospects of Protestant missions in the People's Republic of China.<sup>12</sup> Missionaries assumed that their social services would continue to be valued by the government.<sup>13</sup> A group of prominent Chinese Christians had written a letter in October 1949 assuring Western missionaries that they were still needed.<sup>14</sup> Throughout the Anti-Christian Movements of 1900 and the 1920s, Chinese Christians had supported Western missionaries and suffered the consequences.<sup>15</sup> But in July 1950, Chinese Christians, led by Christian progressives but backed by a range of denominations among its 1500 signatures, denounced Western missionaries.<sup>16</sup> Missionaries then faced imprisonment or expulsion from the country through legal action.<sup>17</sup> One key difference was that Chinese Christians no longer recognized missionary contributions to social welfare.<sup>18</sup> Instead, the government sought to replace missionaries and their social services.<sup>19</sup> The Manifesto, echoing comments by Zhou Enlai,<sup>20</sup> accused missionaries of harboring imperialist aims. The government moved to use tax breaks as an incentive for Christian churches to denounce foreign missionaries.<sup>21</sup> Meanwhile, the government tried to tax mission schools out of existence.<sup>22</sup> Westerners continued to sponsor charities in China<sup>23</sup> until Washington froze bank accounts for Chinese mission schools on December 16, 1950, which severed

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<sup>11</sup> Peter Varg, *Missionaries, Chinese, and Diplomats: the American Protestant Missionary Movement in China, 1890-1952* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958), 306. Varg also notes that some left-leaning missionaries felt heartened and hopeful in the spring of 1948 because Communists "were in many cases so fair-minded and their troops so well-disciplined," 303.

<sup>12</sup> Bruce Stephen Greenawalt, "Missionary Intelligence from China: American Protestant Reports, 1930-1950," (Ph.D., University of North Carolina, 1974).

<sup>13</sup> Oi Ki Ling, *The Changing Role of the British Protestant Missionaries in China, 1945-1952* (Madison and Teaneck: Fairleigh Dickenson), 141. The China Children's Fund lost between one and two million dollars to Communist appropriation; see Edmund Janss, *Yankee Si!: The Story of Dr. J. Calvitt Clarke and his 36,000 Children* (New York: William Morrow & Co., 1960), 65.

<sup>14</sup> Oi Ki Ling, 151.

<sup>15</sup> Oi Ki Ling, 179.

<sup>16</sup> Oi Ki Ling, 149, 153. See also "The Direction of Endeavour for Chinese Christianity in the Construction of New China," *Tianfeng* (July 1950).

<sup>17</sup> "Go Home!" *Time* 57. 19 (May 7, 1951): 62, *Academic Search Complete*, EBSCOhost (accessed November 26, 2012).

<sup>18</sup> Oi Ki Ling, 182.

<sup>19</sup> Oi Ki Ling, 207; see also Oi Ki Ling (213) about the competition between missionaries and the state to provide welfare services.

<sup>20</sup> Oi Ki Ling, 157. Some progressives like Wu Yaozong ascribed to these views (159), and most Christians did not consider the Manifesto to be a betrayal of faith (160).

<sup>21</sup> Oi Ki Ling, 172.

<sup>22</sup> Oi Ki Ling, 137.

<sup>23</sup> Edmund Janss, 61-62.

churches' ties abroad.<sup>24</sup> The Beijing government's attack on missionaries and mission schools intensified in the wake of the Korean War.<sup>25</sup>

The People's Republic of China increasingly viewed American education as a form of imperialist aggression<sup>26</sup> and even "Fascism."<sup>27</sup> Children's books graphically depicted American imperialism in East Asia as a cruel child's game.<sup>28</sup> (See Figure 22 in the Appendix.) The political climate influenced funding for previously American-run schools. Most American missionaries had fled by the end of 1948,<sup>29</sup> and the United States froze bank accounts for Chinese mission schools in 1951.<sup>30</sup> The Central Government in Beijing informed the schools in 1951 that it would replace foreign aid in order "to combat the influence of imperialism."<sup>31</sup> Municipal governments subsidized the private kindergartens that had been receiving American aid.<sup>32</sup> For example, the Beijing Municipal Board of Education also funded the acquisition of books that would reflect the new revolutionary period.<sup>33</sup> Mission schools and former Nationalist schools were re-appropriated, with detailed lists of their property holdings.<sup>34</sup> By 1953, the government had completed the takeover of all former missionary welfare services, including 247 American and 451 European charities, 198 of which were run by Protestant churches and 208 of which were run by Catholics.<sup>35</sup> The responsibility for taking over these welfare services often fell to the local, municipal level.

Despite offering funding, the government explicitly sought to combat imperialism rather than to aid schools. For example, the Qingsheng Elementary School 慶聲小學, a private elementary school for deaf children applied for government aid, when the teachers themselves were working without salary in the absence of missionary funds. But the government deemed the school "unsatisfactory" because they served "only dozens of

<sup>24</sup> Oi Ki Ling, 137, 148; in December 29, the government responded by ordering churches to sever connections with foreign countries (166). See also *Communist Education*, p. 32.

<sup>25</sup> Before the War, American missionaries were targeted more directly, but after the War, missionaries in general had trouble renewing their residence permits; see Oi Ki Ling, 165.

<sup>26</sup> For example, Li Chunqing 李純青, "Meidi yapo xia de Riben jiaoyu" 美帝壓迫下的日本教育 [Japanese Education Under American Imperialist Coersion], *Xin Jiaoshi* 1. 5 (July 1950): 24.

<sup>27</sup> For example, Jin Bo 金波, trans, "Xian jieduan Meiguo jiaoyu de Faxisihua qingxiang" 現階段美國教育的法西斯化傾向 [America's Recent Fascist Educational Trends], *Xin Jiaoshi* 1. 5 (July 1950): 22-23.

<sup>28</sup> See Appendix and cover, *Xin Ertong* [New Children] (March 1, 1951).

<sup>29</sup> Peter Varg, *Missionaries, Chinese, and Diplomats*, 306. Varg also notes that some left-leaning missionaries felt heartened and hopeful in the spring of 1948 because Communists "were in many cases so fair-minded and their troops so well-disciplined," 303.

<sup>30</sup> Fraser, ed., *Chinese Communist Education: Records of the First Decade*, 100.

<sup>31</sup> "Jiaoyu xiaoxue, youzhiyuan chuli yijian" 教育小學，幼稚園處理意見 [Ideas on Managing Elementary Schools and Kindergartens], Beijing Municipal Archives, 153-001-00985. See also Price, *Education in Communist China*, 32.

<sup>32</sup> "Jiaoyu xiaoxue, youzhiyuan chuli yijian" 教育小學，幼稚園處理意見 [Ideas on Managing Elementary Schools and Kindergartens], Beijing Municipal Archives, 153-001-00985.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> Beijing Municipal Archives, 153-001-00985. Also see Zhang Zonglin, and Fraser, 29.

<sup>35</sup> Linda Wong, *Marginalization and Social Welfare in China* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), 160; cites Wang Kang, p. 51.



students” and decided to close the school temporarily.<sup>36</sup> Thus, despite government subsidies of the incomes of poor teachers that was justified from the standpoint of aiding workers,<sup>37</sup> cadre also criticized and dismissed the Western, capitalist model of “charity,” which disempowered poor recipients and bound them to serve the elite. According to some critics, discussed below, capitalist “charity” had thus simply served as a venue for the most insidious form of cultural imperialism, often in service to American political interests.

In evaluations of missionary schools, educational administrators argued that Americans had used both education and religion as venues for spreading “cultural imperialism.” Zeng Zhaolun (also spelled Tseng Chao-lun 曾昭掄, 1899-1967), Vice-Minister of Education, who held a Ph.D. in Physics from MIT, reported:

For the past hundred years, American imperialism has not only been carrying out the most blatant sort of military, political, and economic aggression against us, but, what is far more pernicious, it has always employed a small part of the spoils derived from the Chinese people for the establishment of missionary schools in China in order to carry out cultural aggression in conformity with the statement that “it is more dependable to further trade by spiritual means than by the military banner” (As contained in a memorandum addressed by President James of the University of Illinois to President Theodore Roosevelt). In these schools, American imperialist elements used to exercise absolute control over the school administration, either in the open or by devious means, in an attempt to achieve the spiritual enslavement of Chinese children and to use through the dissemination of poisonous pro-America, revere-America, and fear-America sentiments...<sup>38</sup>

近百年來美國主義者不但對我國肆行軍事、政治經濟的侵略，更陰險毒辣的是從奪中國人民所得的X物中，拿出一部分，通過教會在我國辦了許多學校，積極從事文化侵略，以達到其「商業追隨精神上的支配，是比追隨軍旗更為可靠」（美國伊里諾大學校長詹姆生致老羅斯福的備忘錄）的目的。在這些學校中，美帝國主義分子公開或在幕後把校政，轉播親美、崇美、恐美的額度思想，妄圖從精神上奴役廣大的中國青年俞兒童，進一步俞蔣匪

<sup>36</sup> Beijing Municipal Board of Education, “Benju guanyu sili xiaoxue tingban wenti yu guanyu xuexiao de laiwang wenjian,” 本局關於私立小學停辦問題與關於學校的來往文件 [Our Board’s Documents about Temporarily Halting [Certain] Private Schools], Beijing Municipal Archives 153 001 00965. Charity schools for the blind were closed down during the War, with only the Nanking Municipal School for the Blind and Dumb moving to the wartime capital of Chongqing; See Hubert Freyn, *Chinese Education in the War* (prepared under the auspices of the Council of International Affairs, Chungking) (Shanghai, Hong Kong, and Singapore: Kelly, Walsh, Limited, 1940), 71.

<sup>37</sup> “Ben gongsi caozuo guicheng (cao’an), laobao hetong (cao’an) bing chanjia, guanli banfa youeryuan (tuosuo) guanli banfa,” 本公司操作規程（草案）、勞保合同（草案）病產假、管理辦法福利金管理辦法幼兒園（托兒所）管理辦法, Beijing Municipal Archives, 120-001-00122. Worker aid took into account family size, and thus also served as a way to promote state pro-natalism in the 1950s. For example, Zhou Minhua, a teacher who had seven children, wrote that she felt grateful to the party for providing 202.6 yuan in supplemental funds to support her family. See Zhou Minhua 周敏華. “Mama he haizi de xingfu” 媽媽和孩子的幸福 [The Happiness of Mothers and Children], *Xiaoxue Jiaoyu Tongxun* 小學教育通訊 [Primary School Education Newsletter] 11 (1956), 11.

<sup>38</sup> Tseng Chao-lun, “The Disposal of American-Subsidized Schools is the Foremost Task on the Cultural Front Now,” in Stewart E Fraser, ed. and trans., *Chinese Communist Education: Select Documents, Speeches, Articles, 1949-1960* (Nashville: George Peabody College for Teachers, 1962), 98-99.

勾結。。。<sup>39</sup>

According to Zeng, missionary schools represented “a far more pernicious” form of imperialism than outright warfare or economic exploitation. Missionary schools taught the youth and children of China to “revere” or worship America. With the “spiritual enslavement of Chinese children,” American-funded mission schools were characterized as having aimed to indoctrinate their pupils against Chinese political interests.

Unions replaced the educational associations as the organizations for educational workers, and helped to funnel and promote criticisms of existing institutions. In 1950, teachers were organized into the All-China Union of Educational Workers, which was attached to the All-China Federation of Trade Unions.<sup>40</sup> Vice-Minister Zeng argued that labor unions were exposing the true nature of the American presidents of Christian universities, and these discoveries then evoked the “hatred, scorn, and disdain for American imperialism amongst the students and personnel of the American-subsidized schools.”<sup>41</sup> The effort to liberate Chinese universities from American financial and cultural domination was recorded, along with Zeng’s statement, in the pages of *New Observer*.<sup>42</sup> Labor unions and investigative teams not only exposed university presidents at Christian universities, but also the leaders of mission schools and orphanages.

Investigative teams and reporters often accused mission schools of not only “spiritually enslaving” children, but also physically harming them. Such accusations were longstanding. We saw, in Chapter One, that Chinese had distrusted foreign mission orphanages and schools since their establishment in the late Qing dynasty. With the introduction of modern technology into China, media changed the way that those accusations were circulated and substantiated; in this dissertation, we have seen how labor reformers and then wartime propagandists used photographs of children in order to rally support for child protection laws and institutions. In the 1950s, reporters and investigators continued these practices by publishing and circulating photographs and personal testimonies. These photographs, of malnourished children and child corpses, were meant to prove that mission schools had abused children. Unlike wartime photographs, these photographs often focused on a “before-and-after” comparison that illustrated the ways in which the children became fat and healthy after the People’s Relief Administration had cared for them. (See Figure 23.)

<sup>39</sup> “Chuli jieshou Meiguo jintie de xuexiao shi dangqian wenhua zhanxian shang de zhongxin renwu” 處理接收美國津貼的學校是當前文化戰線上的中心任務 [The Disposal of American-Subsidized Schools is the Foremost Task on the Cultural Front Now], *Xin GuanCha* 新觀察 2. 3 (February 1951): 3.

<sup>40</sup> Price, *Education in Communist China*, 226.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 101.

<sup>42</sup> For example, Lu Zhiwei 陸志偉, “Yenjing Daxue shoudao de Meidiguo zhiyi wenhua qinlue,” 燕京大學受到的美帝國主義文化侵略 [Americanism’s Cultural Aggression against Yenching University], *Xin GuanCha* 新觀察 2.3 (February 1951): 4-5. Cen Jiawu 岑家梧, “Cong Meiguo zhu yi moshou zhong jiefang le de Lingnan Daxue” 從美國主義魔手中解放了的嶺南大學 [Lingnan University Liberated from the Demon Hands of Americanism], *Xin GuanCha* 新觀察 2.3 (February 1951): 6-7.

Just as wartime propaganda had tried to reach an international audience, these investigative reports also tried to spread a message about China's needs to an international audience. An English-language book, *Children's Tears*, targeted overseas Chinese and sought to disabuse the foreign community of the notion that these institutions had ever helped Chinese children:

The complete disregard shown by these institutions for the lives and health of the children under their charge are eloquent evidence of the fact that they were founded to serve imperialist aims, with "charity" as a convenient form rather than a genuine aim. This is confirmed by the fact that those children who did not die of malnutrition or other causes were educated in a spirit of subservience to everything foreign and alienated from their own families and countrymen.<sup>43</sup>

The authors of the book cited evidence of physical abuse in order to prove that "'charity' was a convenient means rather than a genuine aim"; instead, the authors asserted that the true goal of mission schools was to indoctrinate children "in a spirit of subservience to everything foreign."<sup>44</sup> Although it may seem counterintuitive to mistreat the very people whom one is trying to convert or indoctrinate, indoctrination to a foreign religion would seemingly necessitate the alienation from native values; thus, the authors' main point was that the "genuine aim" of the local missionaries to alienate children "from their own families and countrymen." The authors appealed to the overseas Chinese and foreign Christians to "dissociate themselves from the corrupting influence of imperialism and its 'racial superiority' myths, which lead both to murder and to war," and to respect China's sovereignty, in the spirit of "international peace and friendship."<sup>45</sup>

In part because the book was intended for an international audience, *Children's Tears* placed the blame squarely on the shoulders of local Chinese leadership in the previous regime. In many of the testimonies, Chinese managers and staff committed the worst atrocities against children; the authors were also careful to note that local Chinese had embezzled most of the funds. Blaming local Chinese managers rather than overseas Chinese funders,<sup>46</sup> the authors also mostly blamed the Nationalist government, which had acted as the local manager of international funds. They wrote, "The reactionary regime of Chiang Kai-shek was so uninterested in the fate of its own people, so afraid of offending any foreigner, that it did not institute a single inquest or require a single certification of death among the countless cases we report."<sup>47</sup> In keeping with Mao's speech, these words implied that the new regime had finally stood up to protect Chinese

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<sup>43</sup> *Children's Tears* (Shanghai: The Child Welfare Institute, no date), 2. This book was probably compiled in and published in 1952 or 1953.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., 76.

<sup>46</sup> For example: "Li Chi-yung, the richest preacher in Canton, was the principal of the orphanage. He had a rice store from which he bought the rice for our food. This Li got rich on charity. A few years ago, he went to the USA and collected a large sum in contributions from Chinese there. They say it was around US 150,000. He helped himself to much of the 32 Hongkong dollars supposedly allotted for each orphan's food each month and made us starve until we were thin as scarecrows. Then, in 1950, he made each orphan pay a subsidy of HK 15," Ibid., 28.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., 5.

children and national interests. Within these accusations against the Nationalist regime, the writers also implied that race alone did not satisfy the necessary qualifications for Chinese leadership. Thus, while patriotic sentiment helped secure the Communist victory,<sup>48</sup> these Communist victors wanted to look beyond racial kinship as the primary qualification for national leadership and poor children, as wards of the state, were an important form of their symbolic capital.

According to these critiques, physical abuse was second only to the offense of political brainwashing by these foreign institutions. Despite a contingent of liberal Communist-sympathizers among the missionary community, many missionaries had taught their wards to fear a Communist takeover. Zhang Shunan (Chang Shounan 張淑難), an orphan from the Catholic Renci Orphanage (Ren Tze Orphanage 仁慈堂) in Beijing, recounted her story to a reporter in 1951. (As we will discuss below, the published English translation differs from the Chinese version.)

Before Liberation, the nuns were always abusing the Communists. They said that the Communist Party was Lucifer, whose followers would go to hell. At mass, I prayed that the Communists would not come, that the Communists would repent of their sins. Now I know that the imperialists have been trying to use the Catholic religion as a weapon to further their own interests. They try to hoodwink us by saying that it is sacrilegious to do this, or to say that. I think they themselves are sacrilegious to be doing this.<sup>49</sup>

解放以前，我常到堂裡聽她們講道。她們在講道時，就常誣蔑共產黨，說共產黨就是魔鬼路西扶爾，作惡害人，殺人放火。說誰要信共產黨的話，就是背叛了耶穌，等到世界末日一到就得下地獄。在北京快解放時，我就害怕共產黨進來，我好幾次拿錢進堂作彌撒，祈求共產黨不要來。解放軍進城時，我好幾天不敢上街。你看帝國主義對我的毒害是多麼深啊！<sup>50</sup>

The official English translation omitted or twisted some elements of Zhang's oral testimony, as it appeared in the *People's Daily*. In the original newspaper account, Zhang exclaimed about the depth of the "poison" of imperialism because the nuns had succeeded in creating so much fear in her that she was unable to walk the streets for several days after the People's Liberation Army entered the city. However, the English translation used the language of sacrilege to emphasize the hypocrisy of the nuns in a way that would be familiar and acceptable to liberal Christians. The Chinese version of Zhang's testimony emphasizes that the children's "alienation from their own families and countrymen" was more specifically about alienation from Chinese Communism. Similarly, in a 1951 report about the Mission of the Immaculate Conception in Canton, one reporter noted that the children had once been timid and retreating, but were now friendly and lively, singing "The East is Red" and performing "The Yinko Dance" (a

<sup>48</sup> Chalmers Johnson, *Peasant Nationalism and Communist Power: the Emergence of Revolutionary China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1962), *passim*.

<sup>49</sup> *Children's Tears*, 47.

<sup>50</sup> Zhang Shunan oral testimony, recorded by Liu Zichong, "Tianzhu jiaotu Zhang Shunan kongsu Rencitang diguo zhuyi fenzi de zui'e" 天主教徒張淑南控訴仁慈堂帝國主義分子的罪惡 [Catholic Zhang Shunan Complains of the Sins of the Rencitang's Imperialists], *Renmin Ribao* (July 18, 1951).

Chinese Communist dance). Thus, the children exuded health and wellbeing when they conformed to Chinese cultural standards of childhood exuberance and Chinese Communist political scripts of childhood play.

The government reeducated teachers, many of whom had been taught in American-run institutions, so that they understood the government's perspective on the political implications of cultural imperialism. In 1950, the journal *New Educator* 新教師 explained to teachers that American religious organizations had used orphanages and schools as venues for an imperialist educational agenda.<sup>51</sup> Teachers read these journal articles in small study groups for political thought. For example, the Beijing Municipal Private Zhaohui Kindergarten learned that American aid had really functioned as a venue for extracting material resources from China.<sup>52</sup> While studying the Sino-Soviet Friendship Pact, they distinguished Sino-Soviet short-term loans from American imperialist charity. As some teachers at the Private Bolin Kindergarten wrote in their 1950 Semester Report:

In our studies, we learned that the Soviet Union is our friend. At first, we had some misunderstandings about the nature of Russian aggression in the Northeast [of China], but after we studied, we realized that the Soviet Union is not an imperialist country that wants to invade our country, in the way that the United States is an imperialist country that wants to help us [in order to invade us]....A truly great and strong country does not need to rely on the help of other countries; only this sort of country can truly be called a state.<sup>53</sup>

In their summary, teachers sharply distinguished Soviet loans from foreign charity that had infringed upon China's national sovereignty. Government officials, in turn, summarized these reports with an expression of satisfaction that "the masses understand that the demonstration of spirit by the USSR is notably different from the GMD's relationship to the American alliance."<sup>54</sup> Through articles and study sessions, kindergarten teachers were trained to welcome Soviet influences and discard American ones.<sup>55</sup> Soviet experts inspected Chinese schools.<sup>56</sup> Normal schools replaced English with Russian in their foreign language curriculum and established Sino-Russian translation bureaus.<sup>57</sup> Journals introduced educational psychology and institutional

<sup>51</sup> Beijing Normal University Professor Dong, "America's Educational Plan for Secret Imperialist Control of China," 2.6 (December 15, 1950).

<sup>52</sup> Beijing Municipal Archives, 153-004-02429, p. 37, "Ge shili youzhiyuan 1949 niandu dier xueqi gongzuo zongjie" 各私立幼兒園 1949 年度第二學期工作總結 [Summary Semester Reports of Kindergartens in the Second Semester of 1949] (January 1, 1949 to December 31, 1949). My translation.

<sup>53</sup> "Beijingshi Sili Bomin Youzhiyuan 1950 nian shangbannian gongzuo zongjie" 北京市私立博民幼稚園 1950 年上半年工作總結 [Beijing Private Bomin Kindergarten 1950 First Semester Summary Report], Beijing Municipal Archives, 153 -04 -2429. My translation.

<sup>54</sup> "1950 nian xiabannian Beijingshi youzhi jiaoyu gongzuo jihua cao'an," 年下半年北京市幼稚教育工作計劃草案 [Educational Work Plan for Spring 1950 Beijing Municipal Kindergartens], Beijing Municipal Archives, 153 -001-00716, p. 11.

<sup>55</sup> John Cheverley, *The Schooling of China*, 132.

<sup>56</sup> Beijing Municipal Archives, 153-001-00759.

<sup>57</sup> Personal Communication, Hu Yueshan, 2011.

practices from Russia. An older generation of childhood specialists, such as Chen Heqin, might have had difficulty disaggregating Soviet influences from Western ones,<sup>58</sup> but the economic and political context rendered Soviet educational theories different from American ones to these new teachers. Ironically, from an American perspective, it was because American mission schools had offered free charity that they were more liable than the Soviets to the charge of cultural imperialism.

Some Western scholars have argued that the Chinese government was more concerned with the political implications of international connections than with the religious or educational content of foreign ideologies. The government condemned American cultural imperialism rather than Christian religious thought. The CCP leadership certainly felt vulnerable to political collusion rather than religious heterodoxy, especially in the context of Chinese Christian efforts to “subordinate their religious activities to the new proletarian state.”<sup>59</sup> These conclusions presuppose that government cadre strictly divorced political ideology from religious thought. In the examples I found in the Beijing Municipal Archives, however, even in routine paperwork, politics was deeply connected to social and cultural aspects of educational content and school policy, so that social conditioning and educational content were also very important to many of the party-state administrators who wanted to restructure the educational system. (See the Ministry of Education’s rejection of Du Zhemei’s application to establish a kindergarten and other examples to be discussed below in this chapter’s section, *Worship of America and the Taint of Christianity*.) In the newspaper articles mentioned above, at least some reporters suggested that these religious and cultural environments would isolate Chinese children from society and cause them to be shy and retiring. Thus, while the government publically condemned political imperialism rather than religious worship, these religious and cultural concerns influenced the ways that the state evaluated effective leadership among Chinese teachers and healthy behavior among Chinese children.

#### CRITICIZING DEWEY AND HIS STUDENTS

Along with criticizing American influences on China’s educational institutions, the Chinese government also began to criticize American influences on educational content. The main target of attack was American educator John Dewey<sup>60</sup> and his Chinese students, especially Hu Shi 胡適 (1891-1962),<sup>61</sup> Tao Xingzhi 陶行知 (1891-1946) and Chen Heqin. This campaign indicates the pervasiveness of Dewey’s influence.<sup>62</sup> Dewey

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<sup>58</sup> Chen Heqin remarked at a conference that the Soviet models did not differ significantly from American or European ones. Personal communication, Chen Xiuyun 陈秀云, October 14, 2010.

<sup>59</sup> Peter Varg, *Missionaries, Chinese, and Diplomats: the American Protestant Missionary Movement in China, 1890-1952* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958), 306.

<sup>60</sup> John Cleverley, *The Schooling of China*, 114.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 125.

<sup>62</sup> C. W. Hayford, Review of Robert W. Clopton, and Tsuin-Chen Ou, *John Dewey: Lectures in China, 1919-1920*, *The Journal of Asian Studies* 33 (1974): 695-696. Jessica Ching-Sze Wang, *John Dewey in China* (Albany: State U of New York Press, 2007). Wang closely and superbly examines Dewey’s two-year

had provided the intellectual basis for Wilsonian progressive politics, especially the idea that the aims of education were the aims of a progressive society, providing the basis for liberal internationalism in both the League of Nations and the United Nations.<sup>63</sup> Criticisms of individuals often masked larger campaigns against particular intellectual trends, and these campaigns operated through guilt by association.

Guilt worked in both directions. Not only were political leaders implicated through criticism of their underlings, but intellectual adherents were also implicated through criticism of their teachers. Once the stance against Dewey and his followers had been articulated, others contributed their own voices and distanced themselves from the main targets of attack. For example, with regard to the case of kindergarten educator Chen Heqin, teachers were encouraged and almost required to reflect on their own personal histories and individual stances. The effect of this campaign was to distance teachers from American influences while promoting Socialist-style discipline among their ranks.

Although Dewey himself claimed that his educational theories could be adapted to socialist education,<sup>64</sup> the editors at *People's Education* worked to show that his theories “manipulate the rhetoric of the Left,” while really capitulating to capitalist forces, and therefore only “mimic progressivism.”<sup>65</sup> Dewey admitted that social institutions and economic structures needed to change, but he clung to a “blind optimism” inherited from bourgeois French philosophers, rather than an adherence to the powerful activism outlined by Marx and Engels.<sup>66</sup> *People's Education* editor Cao Fu explained that Dewey opposed Marx's use of violence as a revolutionary tool, and instead wanted to use the tool of knowledge. He quoted Dewey as saying that the aims of Marxism were democratic, but the means were not.<sup>67</sup> By contrasting Dewey's and Marx's definitions of democracy, Cao asserted that democracy should not necessarily require a process of open discussion and public deliberation. Furthermore, Cao noted that Dewey denied the inevitability of historical progress toward Communism, and saw Communism as only one

stay in China and his interactions with Chinese intellectuals. She argues that, even though Dewey was dismissed and Russell was championed by later Chinese Communists, Dewey displayed much more sensitivity and curiosity about Chinese culture. See also Ding Zijiang, “A Comparison of Dewey's and Russell's Influences on China,” *Dao* 6. 2 (June 2007): 149-165. K. Ma, Professor of Chinese Literature, Yenching University, wrote, “Men like John Dewey and Bertrand Russell have had a tremendous influence on the thought and life of Chinese students,” in William Hung, ed., *As it Looks to Young China*, 69.

<sup>63</sup> Phillip W. Jones and David Coleman, *The United Nations And Education: Multilateralism, Development And Globalisation*, 7.

<sup>64</sup> Despite Dewey's criticism of Marx in *Freedom and Culture*, he exposed the need for radical reform in his *Liberalism and Social Action*. Dewey told Jim Cork: “I think that on the basis of *Liberalism and Social Action*, and to some extent *Individualism Old and New*, I can be classed as a democratic socialist. If I were permitted to define socialism and socialist I would so classify myself today...” (450). See Jim Cork, “John Dewey, Karl Marx, and Democratic Socialism,” *The Antioch Review* 9. 4 (December 1, 1949): 435-452, doi:10.2307/4609377.

<sup>65</sup> Cao Fu 曹浮, “Duwei pipan yingdao” 杜威批判引導 [Introductory Remarks Criticizing Dewey], *People's Education* 人民教育 1. 6 (October 1, 1950).

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 24.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 22.

possibility. Cao was careful to note that Marx's historical determinism did not deny human contributions. The main thrust of Cao's critique of Dewey, as used in the classroom, was that he denied teachers the privilege of shaping their students.

In terms of classroom technique, Cao Fu championed revolutionary interventionism in opposition to what he saw as Dewey's "aimless" and "directionless" approach to education. Cao explained Aristotelian ideas of latent potential and "development" to underscore the foundation for Dewey's flawed approach of following the natural growth of children, rather than enforcing scientific discipline in children. Dewey had inherited the precedent of "directionless" education from Rousseau's *Emile*. Thus, to Cao, this bottom-up approach to education was ridiculous:

He [Dewey] did not want students to accept valid scientific conclusions or systems, but wanted students to primitively search for their own scientific conclusions and systems!  
他不要學生接受現成的科學結論或體系，而要學生原始地得出自己的結論與體系！<sup>68</sup>

Dewey claimed that children should act as individual philosophers. According to Cao, not only was Dewey's approach impractical and untenable, but it actually retarded children's development by giving them only the most primitive intellectual tools.

Cao considered Dewey's educational approach to be intellectually and philosophically flawed because Dewey had confused intellectual development with physical growth.<sup>69</sup> According to Cao, just because children grow into adulthood in the way that an acorn grows into a tree did not mean that children could be left to their own devices. Cao drew on Marx's *German Ideology* for another agricultural metaphor, saying that seeds needed the right soil for growth; likewise, children needed the right social conditioning and socialist education.<sup>70</sup> Without revolutionary social conditioning, individual students would remain confused and their insights would remain diffuse, rather than cohere into a larger social movement.

He [Dewey] admitted that education should be a tool for social change, but he was unwilling to allow schoolteachers to show the blueprints for a new society to children and youth, saying that this was adults pressuring children to go toward the direction and aim of social change. Obviously, social change without direction or aim is simply society without change!

他承認教育應該是社會改造的工具，但是他不許可學校教師將未來新社會的藍圖預示給兒童或青年，說這是成人替兒童強制規定了社會改造的方向與目的。很顯然，無方向或無目標的社會改造就是社會不改造！<sup>71</sup>

In contrast, Cao cited Lester Ward (1841-1913) as a better alternative to Dewey because of Ward's emphasis on a strong central government and social engineering.

Dewey was an important target because of his influence on Chinese educators and intellectuals. As Cao Fu noted, "Dewey's educational theories have dominated China for

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., My translation.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., 21.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., 21-28.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., 22. My translation.



thirty years.” Dewey’s influence was pervasive among Chinese intellectuals, in part because of his stay in China and in part because of his students who returned to China. For instance, Dewey’s student Hu Shi had once introduced John Dewey to an audience at a lecture at Yenching University by predicting that Dewey would someday exert greater influence over China than Confucius.<sup>72</sup> Despite this hyperbole, John Dewey had, through the reforms of Tao Xingzhi and other students at Columbia Teachers’ College,<sup>73</sup> profoundly influenced Chinese intellectuals in ways that Communists now worked to excise. Specifically, influenced by Dewey’s liberalism, intellectuals had thought they could “overcome class barriers,” rather than engaging class struggle and dissecting class identity.

These critiques implicated Dewey’s followers and students. In the case of Tao Xingzhi, this required a complete about-face in opposition to Tao’s ongoing popularity. In 1949, publications sympathetic with the Communist cause had remembered Tao Xingzhi as a great patriot, “taught by famous foreign professors of education,” but the “suffering of China made him weep,” especially the plight of child victims of war.<sup>74</sup> In the 1950s, educational journals continued to commemorate Tao Xingzhi.<sup>75</sup> However, at *People’s Education*, Cao Fu directly criticized the late Tao Xingzhi, but acknowledged that Tao had reformulated of Dewey’s principles with minor improvements on the original model. Thus, although lauded by the Chinese Communist Party and progressive intellectuals as a national hero at his death in 1946, Tao Xingzhi was criticized in 1951 for his affiliations with John Dewey.<sup>76</sup> While comrades Dai Baitao 戴白韜, Dong Chuncai 董純才 (1905-1990),<sup>77</sup> and Pan Kaipei 潘開沛 ostensibly discussed the question of what subcategory of petty bourgeois thinker Tao Xingzhi was, they were, in reality, evaluating and condemning Chinese moderates from the era of the Second Sino-Japanese War.<sup>78</sup> As Pan explained, petty bourgeoisie and intellectuals rejected the Communist

<sup>72</sup> Hu Shih, speech introducing Dewey, Peking University Archives BD1919027/1 (May 1919- December 1919). See also H. Peng, “A conversation between Confucius and Dewey on individual and community--- A hope for human unity” (The University of Tennessee Ph.D. thesis, 2007). David L. Hall and Rogert T. Ames, *The Democracy of the Dead: Dewey, Confucius, and the Hope for Democracy in China* (Chicago: Open Court, 1999).

<sup>73</sup> Barry Keenan, *The Dewey Experiment in China: Educational Reform and Political Power in the Early Republic* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977).

<sup>74</sup> “Huainian Tao Xingzhi,” 懷念陶行知 [Remembering Tao Xingzhi] *Xin Ertong* 新兒童 [New Child] 9 (August 5, 1949): 6. The same issue included a story about a boy who was afraid of soldiers, but learned to trust the People’s Liberation Army (p. 15), Cotsen Box 15, Item 10.

<sup>75</sup> Zhang Jinfu 張勁夫, “Huainian Tao Xingzhi” 懷念陶行知 [Remembering Tao Xingzhi], *Xin Jiaoyu* 5.1 (July 1950): 7-10.

<sup>76</sup> Yusheng Yao, “The Making of a National Hero: Tao Xingzhi’s Legacies in the People’s Republic of China,” *Review of Education, Pedagogy, and Cultural Studies* 24. 3 (2002): 251–281.

<sup>77</sup> Dong was a former colleague of Tao Xingzhi. In 1931, Dong began to edit a series on science education for children in collaboration with Tao. In 1937, Dong went to Yan’an to do educational work there. After 1949, he continued in educational work, becoming secretary and then assistant minister for the National Bureau of Education, and head of the Central Education Research Institute (now Shenyang University).

<sup>78</sup> Pan Kaipei’s articles on teaching Chinese language (including some that were originally published in 1948 and 1949) were republished as a book in the early 1950s. Pan wrote about discussing newspaper

Party by creating a “third party” in February 1927. This “third road” was more progressive than the independent property classes because they opposed the Nationalists. However, their educational service in the countryside should not be confused with the revolutionary activities of the Chinese Communist Party. “Rural education became a fashionable slogan among the independent property class,” Pan explained, but they popularized education in order to improve Chinese society and strengthen the political status quo, rather than to directly oppose the Nationalist government.<sup>79</sup> In other words, just as it had been for the Nationalists after the war, it was not enough for the Communists that one worked to aid Chinese people, if that contribution had not supported the right side of the revolution. The message was clear: there was no third road. Apolitical service to the nation was self-contradictory; apolitical education for children was invalid.

The critique of Tao Xingzhi was also about economic funding, as well as ideological orientation. Pan traced Tao Xingzhi’s funding back to the Nationalist government. The Nationalists had funded his educational society (Zhonghua jiaoyu gajin she) since its establishment in 1921 (thus, before the Nationalists rose to power). Tao Xingzhi had also been heavily funded by American aid throughout and after the war, and these relationships with the Nationalists and the Americans influenced his service to the nation. Just as reporters and investigative teams had criticized local, Chinese schools that had received foreign funding, so too they criticized local, Chinese associations that had received foreign funding. Economic aid directly implicated the local, “indigenous” leaders.

Tao was credited with establishing the theory of “Living Education,” which Chen Heqin, the “founder of the Chinese Kindergarten,” was accused of “uncritically accepting.”<sup>80</sup> Chen Heqin was then serving as president of the Women’s Childhood Normal College in Shanghai and as the editor of a journal called *Living Education*.<sup>81</sup> The critiques began when *People’s Education* vice-editor Zhang Lingguang first directly criticized Chen Heqin for “plagiarizing” John Dewey (without reference to Tao) as an intermediary.<sup>82</sup> According to scholar Li Gang, despite Chen’s early cooperation with the government, his work as a “quintessential follower of Dewey” doomed Chen to be

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articles with students, some of whom had not believed the excessive consumption of Nationalists and the process of appreciating the Communists (47-48). He also warned against the trend of teachers to bring their own self-prepared material to class (12). Pan Kaipei, *Guowen jiaoxue de lilun yu shixian* 國文教學的理論與實現 [Theory and Practice of Chinese Language Teaching] (Xibei: Xibei Renmin Jiaoyu Chubanshe, 1951). Reprinted in: Zhongguo yuwen xueshe, editor, *Yuwen huibian* 語文彙編 [Language series] 59.195 (Hong Kong: Zhongguo yuwen xueshe, 1979).

<sup>79</sup> Pan Kaipei, “Tao Xingzhi jiaoyu sixiang zhong de jige wenti” [Some concerns regarding Tao Xingzhi’s educational thought], *People’s Education*.

<sup>80</sup> “Living Education in Jiangxi,” *People’s Education*.

<sup>81</sup> Chen founded the journal *Living Education* in Jiangxi in January 1942 and applied for recognition from the Shanghai Bureau of Social Affairs in 1946; see Shanghai Municipal Archives Q6-12-83.

<sup>82</sup> Zhang, Lingguang 張凌光, “Pipan huojiaoyu de jiben yuanze,” 批判活教育的基本原則 [Criticizing the Basic Principles of Living Education], *People’s Education* 2.6 (March 1, 1951): 20-24.

criticized during the anti-pragmatic campaign.<sup>83</sup> Because Chen had received a master's degree at Columbia Teacher's College, he was especially vulnerable to these criticisms about a connection to Dewey. Even though Chen had never studied directly with Dewey,<sup>84</sup> Chen had devoted an entire issue of *Living Education* to the theme of John Dewey's influence in 1947.<sup>85</sup> In order to disassociate himself from Chen, whom he had been following since 1937, Yu Zhijie 余之介 accused Chen of modeling Gulou Kindergarten on Dewey's ideas. Through the process of self-criticism, Chen admitted that his own work was really an extension of Dewey's, whom he then criticized.

From 1951 to 1953, the government researched "Living Education" through school surveys, textual analysis, and individual interviews in discussion meetings. In September 1951, Chen went to Beijing, where he issued a self-criticism. In the seven months between September 1951 and April 1952, Chen participated in eleven discussion meetings in the cities where he had been most active, principally Beijing, Shanghai, and Nanjing. Each meeting began with Chen's self-criticism. Then, he faced critiques from students and colleagues—all of whom had to indict him, and some of whom had to implicate themselves.<sup>86</sup> Chen expressed gratitude for the "help" of his "comrades" in these meetings, but he also described the accusations as "painful" and "difficult to accept."<sup>87</sup> Under this intense interrogation and prolonged pressure, Chen made concessions that fundamentally undermined and negated his previous contributions to the educational world.

The process of this prolonged "thought reform" is captured in the pages of two journals, *Living Education* and *People's Education*. *People's Education* was a journal founded in July 1950 by the National Ministry of Education, and in December of that year, the journal founded a publishing house with a calligraphic inscription written by Mao Zedong;<sup>88</sup> its editors were thus well positioned within the government. As the

<sup>83</sup> Li Gang 李剛, "1950 niandai dui 'Huo jiaoyu' lilun de pipan--Yi Chen Heqin wei zhongxin de lishi kaocha" 1950 年代對《活教育》理論的批判 [1950s Criticism of the Theory of "Living Education"], *Journal of Nanjing Xiaozhuang University* (May, 2006).

<sup>84</sup> De L. Rinsland, Letter in *Al-For-Wei Zhonghua Ertong jincui de jiaoyujia Chen Heqin 為中華兒童盡瘁的教育家陳鶴琴* [Chen Heqin, the Educator who Exerted Himself on Behalf of Chinese- Children- *Exerting-the-Utmost Educator, Chen Heqin*] (Jiangxi Publishing House and Hong Kong Cultural and Educational Publishing House, 1992), 14.

<sup>85</sup> Dong Renjian, "Duwei xiansheng de sixiang yu xin jiaoyu," [Mr. Dewey's philosophy and new education], Chen Heqin, "Duwei weishenme ban shiyan xuexiao," Li Zhentong, "Duwei shiyan xuexiao zenban de," [How Dewey established experimental schools]; Ma Ketan, "Duwei yu Jinbu Jiaoyu" [Dewey and Progressive Education]; Zhang Wendou, "Huojiayou yu Duwei shiyan jiaoyu," [Living Education and Dewey's experimental education]. Also see Zhang Wendou, "Lun Duwei zhuyizhe," *Huo Jiaoyu* (1948). This issue of Living Education also included a photograph of Columbia Teachers College. For example, Zhang Wendou, "Lun Duwei zhuyizhe," *Huo Jiaoyu* (1948).

<sup>86</sup> Hu Zhuping 盧祝平, "Nanjing Daxue Shifan Xueyuan Pipan Huojiaoyu Zuotanhui Jilu," 南京大學師範學院批判活教育座談會記略 [Record of Nanjing Normal University's Criticism Session of Living Education], *Xin Ertong Jiaoyu 新兒童教育* [New Childhood Education] 8.1 (January 1, 1952) 14-18.

<sup>87</sup> Chen Heqin, "My Further Self-Criticism of Living Education," *Renmin jiaoyu* 2.4 (April 1, 1952).

<sup>88</sup> <http://baike.baidu.com/view/4801090.htm>. Accessed August 9, 2012.

mouthpiece of the government, *People's Education* dominated and changed *Living Education*. After *People's Education* criticized Chen's principles of "Living Education" as a formulation of Deweyism, the editors of *Living Education* issued a statement asking readers for help in identifying the editors' errors.<sup>89</sup> *People's Education* responded with "disappointment" about the statement because teachers should be capable of criticizing themselves.<sup>90</sup> *People's Daily* published Chen's first self-criticism on October 8, 1951. Chen's piece also appeared simultaneously in the October issues of *Living Education* and also *People's Education*. *Living Education* began to publish critiques written by the regular contributors to *People's Education*. Thereafter, the journal *Living Education* was transformed; first, its name changed to *New Childhood Education*,<sup>91</sup> and then the title page dropped Chen Heqin's prominent byline as editor.<sup>92</sup> *Living Education* also published a series of self-criticisms by its editors and contributors, alongside the criticisms from *People's Education*. The "Living Education Investigation Team" invited readers to commence criticism of Living Education. This protracted dialogue helped to establish the prominence of *People's Education* as the authority in all areas of education, even such specialized areas as childhood education. As a result, this dialogue also dramatically politicized the tenor of *New Childhood Education*. The tone of these journals is important because teachers referenced them for pedagogical materials; not only had educational journals become more political in nature, but teachers had also begun to turn to political papers like the *Guangming Daily* as sources for classroom content.<sup>93</sup>

The campaign against John Dewey denigrated the prominence of those who had studied at Columbia Teachers College and helped to identify a new group of child experts, especially those who had ties to the Chinese Communist Party. Zhang Wendou had served as Chen's secretary from 1943 to 1948 and had served as a vocal supporter of *Living Education*, but he distanced himself from Chen by asserting that his views of Chen had changed in 1946, when he had begun to join underground Central Communist Party activities in Shanghai.<sup>94</sup> Zhang admitted to having contradictory ideas about promoting

<sup>89</sup> Huo Jiaoyu She 活教育社 [Living Education Society], "HuoJiaoyushe qing duzhemen dui 'HuoJiaoyu' zhankai piping" 活教育社 請讀者們對“活教育”展開批評 [Invitation to Readers to Commence Criticism of "Living Education"], *New Childhood Education* 6.12 (May 20, 1951): 2.

<sup>90</sup> Lin Yingcai 林英才, "Xiwang changdao 'HuoJiaoyu' de xianshengmen jinxing ziwo piping" 希望倡導“活教育”的先生們進行自我批評 [Hoping to Spark the Teachers of 'Living Education' to Conduct Self Criticism], *Renmin Jiaoyu* 人民教育 [People's Education] (August 1, 1951, reprinted in July 1952), 56-57.

<sup>91</sup> *Xin Ertong Jiaoyu* 新兒童教育 [New Childhood Education] 6.5 (November 7, 1950).

<sup>92</sup> *Xin Ertong Jiaoyu* 7.1 (July 1, 1951).

<sup>93</sup> "Beijingshi Sili Peigen Xiaoxue Fushu Youzhiyuan 1949 niandu di'er xueqi gongzuo zongjie" 北京市私立培根小學附屬幼稚園 1949 年度第二學期工作總結 [Kindergarten Affiliated to Beijing Private Peigen Elementary School 1949 Second Semester Work Report], (July 1950), p. 128, in Beijing Municipal Archives, 153-4-2429 [p. 16 of typed notes].

<sup>94</sup> Li Gang 李剛, "1950 niandai dui 'HuoJiaoyu' lilun de pipan--Yi Chen Heqin wei zhongxin de lishi kaocha" 1950 年代對《活教育》理論的批判 [1950s Criticism of the Theory of "Living Education"], *Journal of Nanjing Xiaozhuang University* (May, 2006).

revolution through traditional methods and was able to escape official criticism.<sup>95</sup> Zhang Zonglin, who had long been involved in the kindergarten movement, was also a CCP member.<sup>96</sup> In the 1950s, Zhang became the head of the kindergarten division, and kindergarten teachers discussed his reports in conjunction with research on Soviet education.<sup>97</sup> Gong Qichang (1905-1989), another critic of Living Education, had graduated in 1929 from Zhongyang University in child psychology. In addition to writing “A Record of Child Life,” he had also reported on kindergarten trends in the Soviet Union in 1934. Even though the criticism campaign seemed to identify a new group of Chinese child experts, the government subordinated educational expertise to political objectives in a way that minimized their prestige and autonomy, even before the government clamped down on psychology as a bourgeois field of study during the Cultural Revolution.<sup>98</sup>

In 1955, the editors of *People's Education* published a collected volume of these articles, called *Criticism of Living Education*, in a way that reflected the entire process, if not the chronological order, of thought reform. The editors began the volume with a conclusive verdict that laid the case against Chen Heqin. They then separated the essays into “early criticism,” ending with Chen’s first self-reflection, followed by the school surveys conducted by the Living Education Investigation Team. The next section dealt with “theoretical critiques,” which analyzed Chen’s prolific body of work. The final section included a selected list of “criticisms and self-criticisms,” which ended, again, with Chen’s. Thus, Chen’s self-criticisms always appeared as concessions, even when they had preceded some of his accusations. As the Afterword, the editors republished a didactic article, “What we should learn from the criticism of Living Education.” Despite the selection and rearrangement of these texts, this book helps to reveal how Communist critics understood the process of thought reform—from early inquiries to research, analysis, and interviews that reinforced initial judgments.

Despite this heavy-handed criticism, Chen was also sometimes commended for his willingness to serve as a model of thought reform. Especially among those who obviously genuinely still admired Chen, he was given credit for his humility and “spirit” of self-improvement.<sup>99</sup> Enough of that praise was handed out by the real authorities (rather than simply his own friends)<sup>100</sup> that Chen believed that he could succeed in

<sup>95</sup> Zhang Wendou, “Wo duiyu *Huo jiaoyu* sixiang de ziwo piping,” 8-9.

<sup>96</sup> M. Colette Plum, “Unlikely Heirs,” 12.

<sup>97</sup> “Benyuan 1950 nian shangbannian youzhi jiaoyu gongzuo jihua zhi shixing qingkuang” 本園 1950 年上半年幼稚教育工作計劃之執行情況, Beijing Municipal Archives, 153-4-2427, p. 113.

<sup>98</sup> Louise Higgins and Mo Zheng, “An Introduction to Chinese Psychology—Its Historical Roots Until the Present Day,” *The Journal of Psychology* 136.2 (March 2002): 225-39.

<sup>99</sup> “My Experiences Reading Mr. Chen Heqin’s Self-Reflection,” *Xin ertong jiaoyu* 7 (December 18, 1952), 4.

<sup>100</sup> Fang Zhi 方直, “Xiezai Chen Heqin xiansheng de ‘chubu shentao’ zhi hou,” 寫在陳鶴琴先生的“初步檢討”之後 [Written After Mr. Chen Heqin’s “First Steps Toward Self-Criticism”], *People’s Education* 6. 3 (October 1, 1951): 20.

“changing himself.”<sup>101</sup> Furthermore, critics focused so narrowly on John Dewey that they sometimes completely omitted any reference to Chen in their attacks on “Living Education.”<sup>102</sup> It must have been clear to Chen that he was being used as a scapegoat for Dewey; before applying to enter the Chinese Communist Party, Chen published a book attacking John Dewey in 1956,<sup>103</sup> but was still rejected.<sup>104</sup> Likewise, many others in the late fifties and sixties would discover that they could not escape their class identities. How did Chen Heqin—a smiling, short, “cute” man in his sixties—become the target of this protracted government campaign?

#### CHEN HEQIN: AN UNLIKELY TARGET?

Chen Heqin had anticipated becoming a contributor to, rather than a victim of, educational reform in the Communist era. In 1949, at the age of 59, he could have retired from public life. Instead, Chen welcomed Communist liberation, and government officials were at first receptive. As scholar Li Gang has noted in his study of Chen’s place in the anti-Dewey campaign, Chen had been welcomed and invited to attend the first Political Consultative Conference 首屆政治協商會議.<sup>105</sup> In the early 1950s, Chen was the president of the Shanghai Women’s Normal College, with an attached experimental preschool with 45 children, aged four months to three years. Chen applied to the municipal government to create a child research laboratory in connection to the school, so he continued to carry out much of the same work that he had done in the 1930s.<sup>106</sup>

Chen spoke out vehemently in 1950 against American imperialism and colonial education during the anti-pollution campaigns in Nanjing.<sup>107</sup> Like Dewey, Chen asserted that his philosophy of “Living Education” could be adapted to socialist education. Today, Chen’s children stress that he had rejected offers to serve as an official in the Nationalist government and moved his school to Jiangxi, one of the Communist heartlands during the Sino-Japanese War; therefore, the family implicitly argues that Chen had sympathized

<sup>101</sup> William Hinton, *Fanshen: A Documentary of Revolution in a Chinese Village* (New York: Vintage Books, 1968).

<sup>102</sup> “Cong piping Huojiaoyu li jiaoshimen yinggai xuedao shenme” 從批評活教育裡教師們應該學到甚麼 [What We Should Learn from Criticizing Living Education], *People’s Education* 5 (May 1, 1952): 55.

<sup>103</sup> Chen Heqin, *Pipan Duwei fan dong jiaouuxue de zhexue jichu: wo xiang zichan jieji da pianzi Du Wei hui ji sanqiang* 批判杜威反動教育學的哲學基礎（我向資產階級大騙子杜威回擊三槍） [Criticizing the Philosophical Foundation of Dewey’s Reactionary Education] (Shanghai: Xin zhishi chubanshe, 1956).

<sup>104</sup> Introductory note to “Shenqing jiaru Zhongguo Gongchandang de baogao” 申請加入中國共產黨的報告 [Application Report to Enter the Chinese Communist Party] (May 1980), *Chen Heqin Quanji* Volume 6, pp. 300-301.

<sup>105</sup> Li Gang, “1950 niandai dui ‘HuoJiaoyu’ lilun de pipan,” 1. The conference took place Septmeber 21-30, 1949 in Beijing.

<sup>106</sup> SMA B105-5-130.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid. See also Li Gang, 1.

with the Communists during the war.<sup>108</sup> However, just as Pan had criticized Tao Xingzhi's rural education movement, Chen's service in Jiangxi did not help his record.<sup>109</sup> Critics had interpreted these moves—unauthorized by Communist headquarters and funded by a “loan” from a friend in the Anglican Church<sup>110</sup>—as acts of attempted sabotage of the Communist base camp.<sup>111</sup>

Some suspected that Chen had attempted to welcome Communist liberation as an ploy for a role in the new regime. On October 11, 1949 (only ten days after Beijing was officially “liberated,” and seven months before Shanghai's “liberation”), Chen went to Beijing Normal University's Number Two Affiliated Primary School to give a lecture on “New Trends in Education” that responded to the new political goals of the Communist Revolution.<sup>112</sup> His long-standing respect for work-study and educational psychology dovetailed, he indicated, with an orientation toward “workers' education” and “scientific learning.” Yet social education and physical labor had both been catch-phrases of Tao Xingzhi and other graduates of Columbia Teachers' College, and Chen's conflation of these ideals belied a deep ignorance of the differences between liberalism and Communism. Critics pointedly asked how such an educational philosophy, so deeply embedded in Deweyism and ignorant of Maoism, could possibly qualify to be the “basis of New Nationalism.” Chen had gained acceptance and entry into Western circles so easily and readily that he perhaps did not realize how much his Christian socialization had conditioned these groups to value him; even if he had had a strong grasp of Communist ideology, he lacked the in-group socialization in Communist communities that would have helped him understand the cultural, as well as the political, underpinnings behind their slogans.

The January 1950 issue of *Living Education* illustrates Chen's ignorance about the Communist agenda. The leading article celebrated the “Los Angeles Preschool” in Mao Zedong's Communist base camp in Yan'an during the White Terror.<sup>113</sup> Given the lengths to which the government meant to expel American cultural imperialism, which (it claimed) had entered China through “aid” to the complicit and corrupt Nationalist regime,

<sup>108</sup> Personal communication from Chen Xiuyun 陈秀云 October 14, 2010. See also *Wei Zhonghua ertong jincui de jiaoyujia Chen Heqin*, p. 54. Chen attended the March 1940 Ministry of Education conference in Chongqing, but refused a government appointment, instead moving the Guoli Youzhi Shifan Xuexiao to Jiangxi.

<sup>109</sup> Zeng Xihong 郑西鸿, “Huo jiaoyu zai Jiangxi” 《活教育》在江西 [*Living Education in Jiangxi*], *People's Education* 4.2 (December 1, 1951): 22.

<sup>110</sup> Personal communication, Chen Xiuyun 陈秀云 October 14, 2010.

<sup>111</sup> Renmin Jiaoyushe [People's Education Society], ed., “Huo jiaoyu de pipan” 活教育的批判 [*Criticism of Living Education*], (Beijing: Renmin Jiaoyushe, 1955).

<sup>112</sup> Chen, Heqin 陈鹤琴, recorded by Dan Quanbi 单权笔, “Ertong jiaoyu de xin fangxiang: 1949 nian 10 yue 11 ri zai Beijing Shifan Daxue Di'er Fuxiao jiang *Huo Jiaoyu*” 儿童教育的新方向: 1949年10月11日在北京师范大学第二附小讲《活教育》 [New Directions in Childhood Education: Lecture on October 11, 1949 at the Beijing Normal University's Second Affiliated Primary School], *Living Education* 6.1 (January 10, 1950): 13.

<sup>113</sup> Chou Zigang 丑子岡, “Luoshanji tuoersuo” 洛杉矶托儿所 [Los Angeles Kindergarten], *Living Education* 6.1 (January 10, 1950).

Communists might not have appreciated the way that the article drew attention to the fact that the Yan'an preschool was named “Los Angeles” after the source of its funding.<sup>114</sup> Chen continued to reference John Dewey as a source of authority<sup>115</sup> because he did not anticipate the new regime’s intense anti-Americanism and anti-Deweyism (which would not appear in print until October of 1950).<sup>116</sup> Critics argued that Living Education was derivative of Dewey’s philosophy.<sup>117</sup> Chen not only misunderstood Communist China’s international relationships, but he also misinterpreted its educational agenda.

Chen’s 1949 lecture, which was recorded and published in his journal in 1950, reflects the degree to which Chen misunderstood the basic goals and policies of the new Communist government. His speech, notwithstanding references to workers and the masses, exposed a weak understanding of Maoism. Chen continued to emphasize the central importance of children’s intellectual and emotional development, and even advocated eliminating age-graded education in favor of a system that would better suit children’s individual needs.<sup>118</sup> In contrast, his critics emphasized military discipline and political ideals, rather than childhood creativity and spontaneous play. (See Figure 24 for a 1950 cover photograph of Gulou Kindergarten, and compare with Figure 25, depicting a patriotic Chinese family, just one month later, after the editors of *People’s Education* had politicized the journal.)

One critic, Gong Qichang 龔啓昌, labeled Chen’s emphasis on childhood development as “childhood-in-itself” 以兒童為本體, which had obscured the scientific role of class as the determining factor of social identity.<sup>119</sup> In the pages of *People’s Education*, Gong identified a fundamental, philosophical flaw in the methodology of “childhood-in-itself”:

The principle of the so-called “concretizing of psychology” does not need to consider the particular characteristics of children’s ages and bodies and minds. Children’s physical and emotional development cannot be ignored, but [we] definitely cannot allow children’s physical and emotional conditions to limit education and pedagogy. We should believe that children’s physical and emotional development and adaptability is mainly due to the result of education and to the result of society’s complex influences. To believe that the result is the cause is incorrect.<sup>120</sup> 即所謂“心理學具體化”原則也必須參照兒童的年齡與身心的特徵，兒童的身心發展狀況是不可忽視的，但決不能把兒童身心狀況看做是約束教育與教學過程的因素，我們應該相信

<sup>114</sup> Chen Heqin “Ertong jiaoyu de xin fangxiang,” 13.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid.

<sup>116</sup> Cao Fu 曹浮, “Duwei piping yindao” 杜威批判引導 [Introductory Remarks Criticizing Dewey], *People’s Education* 人民教育 1.6 (October 1, 1950): 21-28, and continued 2.1 (November 1, 1950): 22-29.

<sup>117</sup> Zhang Lingguang 張凌光, “Pipan Huojiaoyu de jiben yuanze” 批判活教育的基本原則 [Criticizing the Basic Principles of Living Education], *People’s Education* 2.6 (March 1, 1951): 20-24.

<sup>118</sup> Chen Heqin, “Ertong jiaoyu xin fangxiang,” 15.

<sup>119</sup> Gong Qichang 龔啓昌, “Ping Huojiaoyu de jiaoxue yuanze,” 評《活教育》的教學原則 [Criticizing the Principles of Living Education], *New Childhood Education* (formerly called *Living Education*) 7.1 (July 1, 1951): 2-4.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid.



兒童身心的發展與變化，主要是由於教育的結果，由於社會的一切複雜的影響的結果。倒果為因是不對的。

It is important to note, here, that not everyone agreed with Gong's views on childhood psychology; educational journals continued to focus on childhood psychology and age-appropriate education, but presented translations of Soviet scholars for reference.<sup>121</sup> The journal *Educational Research* exhorted teachers to “learn from the achievements of Soviet education.”<sup>122</sup> However, Gong followed the general trend of emphasizing discipline and order over play and exploration. Furthermore, Gong's critique anticipated Andrew Jones's critique of May Fourth ideology about “liberating” children and using child psychology as a basis for a new political philosophy: Only a few intellectuals, such as Lu Xun, understood that it was a tautological endeavor to shape childhood and to study childhood at the same time.<sup>123</sup> In effect, people like Chen Heqin, who raised a child while studying that same child to form the basis of “Chinese childhood psychology,” had indeed committed a methodological error.

Chen Heqin conceded a major point to Gong in his “early reflection,” when Chen implied that he had always recognized that education was a unilateral process of students learning from teachers, rather than teachers learning from children. Chen admitted that he had hoped to manipulate that process, not to discover Chinese childhood, but rather, in order to change the very nature of what it meant to be Chinese. He wrote in his “early stage” of self-reflection:

Later, I thought even more about how Chinese people were inferior to foreigners and had been humiliated [by them] because Chinese people's bodies were “not good.” If we could train the Chinese “person” well, so that he had complete health, a cooperative attitude, and a cosmopolitan vision, creative ability, and the spirit of service, then foreigners would not humiliate us. Therefore, I selected education as my method of saving the country, and I always thought that the backwardness of Chinese society, the reason imperialism was able to invade us, and the poverty and weakness of the people were all the result of opposing the [global] system. But if we do not oppose the system, we could not save the country; in these ten years, I've hidden in the beautiful dream of education's multi-functionality and have not been able to wake up.

後來，我便想中國人為甚麼不如外國人，受人欺侮，是因為中國人本身“不行，”要是能把中國的“人”教好了，使他們具有健全的身體，合作的態度，世界的眼光，創造的能力，和服務的精神，那麼別人也不會來欺侮我們了，於是，我選定了教育救國的道路，從來不認為中國社會之所以落後，帝國主義之所以要侵略我們，老百姓之所以貧弱，都是反動系統

<sup>121</sup> “Wo zenyang lai yanjiou wode xueshengmen” 我怎樣來研究我的學生們 [How I Research my Students], *Jiaoyu tongxun* 教育通訊; originally published in Russian.

<sup>122</sup> Preface to 杜伯洛維娜 Dubaigeweina, “Sulian de jiaoyu gongzuo,” 蘇聯的教育研究 [Soviet Educational Work], *Jiaoyu Yanjiu* 10 (December 1949), 1. This Soviet expert gave a speech in Shenyang that was reprinted in *Jiaoyu Yanjiu* and in the *People's Daily* (December 1949). See also “Zai Heshi Jiaoyu Gongzuozhe Zuotanhui Shang de Jianghua” [Speech at the Heshi Educational workers Conference] *Jiaoyu Yanjiu* 11 (February 1950), 3.

<sup>123</sup> Jones, “The Child As History in Republican China,” 695-727.

的結果，不推翻反動系統，便不可能救國；以致數十年來，陶醉在教育萬能的美夢中而不能驚醒。<sup>124</sup>

Many other teachers were repeating the catch-phrase, “multi-functionality of education,” which pointed to the wayward liberal expectation that education would solve multiple national problems;<sup>125</sup> Chen called the promise of that “multi-functionality” a “dream.” Chen played with the words “beautiful dream” (*meimeng*), which was only one character short of the “American dream” (*meiguomeng*). Chen had bought into the American dream of self-advancement and self-improvement, even though he intended to promote education and national achievement.

By asserting that he could not awaken from this dream about the promise of educational advancement, Chen echoed language that the famous literary figure, Lu Xun, had used to describe China’s predicament of sleeping in the “iron house.”<sup>126</sup> However, the iron house was, in Chen’s formulation, the American promise of educational advancement. Even though Chen had always presented himself as a representative of China to the West, here he had to present himself as a representative of the West to China. As someone who had prided himself on being an ardent patriot and dedicated scientist, Chen was forced to admit to a certain amount of disdain for China and Chinese people, especially in terms of their imperfect bodies; the malleable immaturity of childhood had become, in the context of these criticisms, the recognized imperfection of race. Moreover, Chen conceded to manipulating his scientific observations of children for political purposes. Thus, Chen’s statement fundamentally undermined the scientific nature of his work. Of course, there is no way to access the validity of this retrospective statement, which was made under duress. Nevertheless, Chen articulated the tension between studying human nature and encouraging educational improvement in a way that reflected the shift from biological developmentalism to political education.<sup>127</sup>

#### DECONSTRUCTING BIOGRAPHY AND IDENTITY

During the 1950s, critics mined Chen’s prolific body of writing—from textbooks to reports—for information about him, and his autobiography, *My Half Life*, made him an

<sup>124</sup> Chen Heqin, “Wo dui *Huo jiaoyu* de chubu shentao” 我對《活教育》的初步檢討 [My Initial Criticism of Living Education], 2. My translation.

<sup>125</sup> Li Gong, 4.

<sup>126</sup> For example, see Leo Ou-fan Lee, *Voices from the Iron House: A Study of Lu Xun* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987). Given Lu Xun’s severe criticism of the “Chinese character,” Chen could have been making this reference in order to deflect attention away from himself.

<sup>127</sup> Political education sometimes functioned to validate or acknowledge the status of those who had to undergo it. For example, Neil Diamant shows that the wives and family members of “revolutionary martyrs had to undergo “political education” because they do “do not appreciate their own glorious status,” and instead sometimes wanted to divorce their husbands; see Neil J. Diamant, “Between Martyrdom and Mischief: The Political and Social Predicament of CCP War Widows and Veterans, 1949-66,” in: Stephen MacKinnon, “Refugee Flight at the Outset of the Anti-Japanese War,” in: Diana Lary and Stephen R. MacKinnon, eds., *The Scars of War: The Impact of Warfare on Modern China* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2001), 163.

especially vulnerable target. One of his critics, Luo Han 洛寒, noted that Chen wrote the autobiography for his own biological children, while a preface also advertised that parents and teachers could read the book as a manual on childrearing.<sup>128</sup> Luo seemed to infer that, because he addressed the book to his children, Chen's intentions were always absolutely sincere (rather than sometimes playful and hortatory), and that the book held a certain standing in the larger educational world. Indeed, the autobiography served both a celebratory and a didactic purpose as a life story of an educator. The book contained eight prefaces written by a variety of teachers, colleagues, and students who congratulated Chen on reaching his fiftieth birthday and wished him another fifty years of life. Portions of the autobiography had been serialized in Chen's own journal, *Living Education*. Just as his journal had combined the public (scientific) and the private (personal), so too did this autobiography cross those boundaries in important ways.

For critics, this self-advertisement—coupled with Chen's tendency to brand his name in a prominent place on his educational toys, textbooks, and journals—indicated a self-aggrandizing desire for advancement and promotion—a desire that he had admitted in his own autobiography.<sup>129</sup> Critics ignored the context of Christian self-confession, in which he had struggled to transcend his desire for self-promotion and to turn instead to Christian selflessness. Despite this misreading of Chen's autobiography, critics were perhaps responding to the audacity that Chen displayed when he had tried to remain a leader of the educational world under the new regime.

Critics felt that Chen was still deeply embedded in the “old” order of Chinese education, which reached back not only to the Nationalist regime, but also to the dynastic order. For example, critic Luo Han took out of context a story in which Chen's grandfather once hit Chen's six-year old father so hard that the father bled. Here, Chen had apparently expected his own children to be shocked by this vile behavior, so he contextualized the story in terms of the filial order; he also mentioned that, at the time, a doctor (who happened to be present) scolded his grandfather for endangering the health of his only son. However, Luo excerpted Chen's explanation of filial piety to suggest that Chen was apologizing for traditional values even in extreme cases such as child abuse.<sup>130</sup> Luo must have also read, but did not mention, Chen's diatribes against traditional Chinese “stern fathers.”<sup>131</sup> Yet, Luo also drew upon Chen's regret that his brother—whom he called a “child genius” because he passed the county examinations at just thirteen *sui* (perhaps twelve years of age)—was not able, because of local family politics, to test further.<sup>132</sup> For Luo, Chen's sense of regret indicated that he was still deeply entrenched in the hierarchy of the imperial examination system.

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<sup>128</sup> Luo Han 洛寒, “Cong ‘Wode bansheng’ kan Chen Heqin de jiaoyu sixiang” 從“我的半生”看陳鶴琴的教育思想 [Understanding Chen Heqin's Thought on the Basis of *My Half-Life*], *People's Education* 4.2 (December 1, 1951), 19-21.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, 19-21.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, 19.

<sup>131</sup> For example, in *Family Education*, Chen writes, that fathers had been too stern in the past, and they needed to learn how to be their children's playmates (伴侶).

<sup>132</sup> Chen Heqin, *Wo de bansheng*, 14.

It is especially ironic that whereas Chen had presented himself as a critic of the old order, his new comrades saw him instead as a conservative who wanted to revive the imperial system of Chinese education.<sup>133</sup> The issue was really that his critics could not, or would not, disaggregate the “modernity” and “science” of Chen’s innovations from their Western aesthetic packaging. For Chen, finding a “modern” system of education meant applying “scientific” principles and methodologies to the situation in China, but the form and structure of his education felt—to his critics as well as perhaps to us today—to be very Western in style and flavor.

#### WORSHIP OF AMERICA AND THE TAINT OF CHRISTIANITY

Critics often noted that Chen’s educational philosophy was “full of the color of religion” 宗教色彩.<sup>134</sup> Chen’s colleagues also said that they “worshipped” him, even though Chen had, in his personal conversations, “followed foreigners too much.”<sup>135</sup> When Chen wrote a glowing letter of recommendation for former student Tu Zhemei 屠哲梅 to become a primary-school principal, the Shanghai Ministry of Education dismissed the application with a note that “her connections to Christians are deep, and her knowledge of politics is superficial.”<sup>136</sup> Here, the Ministry of Education posited politics as a form of “knowledge,” in opposition to religion as a system of networks. Normally, the debate between “red and expert” pitted political loyalty against scientific expertise, but here, “knowledge” connoted political theory in contrast to religious superstition. Tu Zhemei had co-authored a number of books about kindergarten education with Chen Heqin (edited by Tao Xingzhi) in the mid-1930s.<sup>137</sup> However, it was not simply identity as a Christian that was presented as problematic, but the ways in which Christianity was reflected in his outlook and pedagogy.

<sup>133</sup> Wang Tairan 王泰然, “Huo Jiaoyu de zhuzhang neng shi Zhongguo jiu jiaoyu bianhuo ma?” 活教育的主張能使中國舊教育變活嗎 [Is An Emphasis On Living Education Able to Revive China’s Old Education?], *People’s Education* 3.5 (September 1, 1951): 33-35.

<sup>134</sup> For example, Zeng Xihong 鄭西鴻, “Huo Jiaoyu zai Jiangxi,” 《活教育》在江西 [Living Education in Jiangxi], *Renmin Jiaoyu* 人民教育 [People’s Education] 4.2 (December 1, 1951): 22.

<sup>135</sup> Zhu Sunru 祝蓀如 “Huiyi Shanghai Gongbuju de ‘Huaren jiaoyu’ yu Chen Heqin xiansheng” 回憶上海工部局的“華人教育”與陳鶴琴先生 [Remembering the “Chinese People’s Education” of the Ministry of Industry in Shanghai and Mr. Chen Heqin], *People’s Education* 4.2 (December 1, 1951):25.

<sup>136</sup> “Shanghaishi Jiaoyuju dui gequ xiaoxue ji longya ertong xuexiao xingzheng renyuan renmian de peiling (er),” 上海市教育局對各區小學及聾啞兒童學校行政人員任免的派令(二) [Shanghai Municipal Board of Education’s Temporary Orders for Each District’s Primary Schools for the Deaf and Mute (Two)], in Shanghai Municipal Archives, B105-1-279 (February 1951-October 1951).

<sup>137</sup> Tao Xingzhi’s Xiaozhuang School 曉莊學校 published a series of books through Shanghai’s Children’s Book Company, Ltd 上海兒童書局. Chen Heqin wrote a number of those books, including, with Tu Zhemei, *Ertong youxi xinfa* 兒童遊戲新法 [New Rules for Children’s Play], in Cotsen Children’s Collection, Princeton University. See the advertisement for those books in *Jiaoshi zhi you* 教師之友 [The Friend of Teachers, original English title], 1.1 (January 1935).

One critique, written by Sun Zhaoying, a former student at Shanghai's Women's Childhood Normal College, crystallized the way that the Christian elements of Chen's principles could not suit the socialist era. "In this revolutionary period, a young person should struggle," she wrote, but Chen had urged his students instead to "reflect upon the cross" and to respond to degrading humiliation with thoughtful humility.<sup>138</sup> Sun considered Christian humility to be a sign of a "slave" 奴隶 mentality. Furthermore, this philosophy not only devalued teachers' status, but also constrained their ability to exercise discipline. "When [in class] a boy shirks his responsibilities, causing a girl to scold him, and he hits her in response," she wrote, it is "clear" to a teacher who is in the wrong, but if we were to follow Chen's principles, the teacher "could not express too much anger," but needed—quoting Chen's words—"patiently" to explain to the boy his error rather than disciplining him.<sup>139</sup> Thus, Christian elements served to weaken a teacher and render her incapable of enacting justice; by disseminating a philosophy full of "religious color," Chen was, according to this rationale, weakening and disempowering a new generation of socialist teachers.

In their self-confessions, educators often reiterated the phrase "worship of America"—usually in the context of disclosing their backgrounds in mission schools or in foreign universities. One woman, who had served as a nanny in a Yan'an preschool while married to a CCP member, admitted that she had wanted to study abroad in America because of both career ambitions and "America worship" (*chongmei*).<sup>140</sup> Her father, she explained, had been an honest, low-level trader who had sought the legal protection of missionaries because he had been so often cheated by conniving merchants, and she had consequently acquired an education through mission schools. Thus, as sociologist Eddy U has argued for Yan'an revolutionaries in general,<sup>141</sup> this woman also tried to re-present the weaknesses in her biography as elements of victimization, while highlighting her connections to the party. Unfortunately in Chen's case, he had published some ill-fated exaggerations about believing, before his study-abroad, that America was like "Heaven on Earth" 人間天堂.<sup>142</sup> It is worth noting the religious imagery of "America worship," since the government in some ways paired religious and political affiliation, just as they connected cultural and political imperialism.

One of the most central causes for the attack on Chen Heqin was his stance toward "minority Chinese education 華人教育." As discussed in Chapter Two, Chen had

<sup>138</sup> Sun Zhaoying 孙肇英, "Huo Jiaoyu gei wo de yingxiang" 活教育給我影響 [*Living Education Influenced Me*], *Renmin Jiaoyu* 人民教育 [People's Education] 5 (May 1, 1952): 54.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid.

<sup>140</sup> The author disclosed this information about herself while applying to establish a private kindergarten. "Sili Youhao Youzhiyuan shenqing banyuan cailiao," 私立友好幼稚園材料 [Submission Materials to Establish the Private Youhao Kindergarten], (December 2, 1954), Beijing Municipal Archives, 153-1-723. My translation.

<sup>141</sup> Eddy U, "The Formation of the CCP's Category of Intellectuals in Yan'an," paper prepared for "Organized Knowledge in Action: Intellectuals, Professions, and Social Change in Twentieth-Century China," Paper presented at the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences, Shanghai (November 2-4, 2010).

<sup>142</sup> Chen Heqin, *Wo de bansheng*, 71.

served as the leader of the first Chinese-American Boy Scout Troop while he was in New York, and he had told his scouts to read Booker T. Washington's autobiography meant to inspire Chinese American boys to do well as minorities in the United States. Critics pointed to the praise that Chen had offered for Black schools in the American South and for Chinese education in the "American colony of the Philippines" to illustrate his willingness to make Chinese education subservient to the White imperialists. The "*Living Education* Investigation Team" found evidence that Chen had "emphasized America, the English language, and the Christian religion."<sup>143</sup> They believed Chen had stressed Christian values and Western customs so that Chinese children would become "Westernized little devils" 洋行小鬼 who could better serve Western imperialism.<sup>144</sup> Thus, whereas Chen had assumed the immutability of race, Communists criticized him for ethnic mimicry, which, in the context of semi-colonialism, was tantamount to servitude to foreigners and betrayal of China.

In essence, Chen had believed in a much greater degree of flexibility in terms of identity. Chen had praised African-American teachers for appropriating multiple roles, as both teachers and pastors—just as he himself had tried to be both father and researcher. As a father and as a teacher, he prided himself in the fact that his students called him "mother"<sup>145</sup> because he had feminized fatherhoods by condemning traditional Chinese "stern fathers." In contrast, Communists considered this flexibility in roles to be a denial of the premise of class-identity. Chen's brand of Booker T. Washington-inspired "racial self-strengthening" seemed ill-fitting with China's new class-consciousness.

#### SELF-CRITICISM AND TRANSFORMING THE CLASSROOM

Because the government needed to encourage the expansion and development of private kindergartens, it would seem counterintuitive for the government to censor the founders of kindergartens. These same economic constraints prevented the government from hiring entirely new personnel and therefore pushed the government to re-educate rather than replace teachers. Apart from the efforts of the Women's Federation and other newly trained teachers, some kindergarten staff remained the same. For example, the head of the board of trustees of Shanghai Municipal Xixi Kindergarten, Chen Yimin, had also presided over Shanghai Kindergarten during the Nationalist period.<sup>146</sup> In Beijing, the Fragrant Hills Orphanage continued to hire the same caretakers who had been serving there for several decades; reports of the school emphasized that despite the maturity and experience of the nannies, they lacked the energy necessary for childcare.<sup>147</sup>

<sup>143</sup> Editors of *People's Education*, *Huo jiaoyu de pipan* 活教育的批判 [Criticism of Living Education], 15. My translation.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid.

<sup>145</sup> Personal communication, Chen Xiuyun 陈秀云 October 14, 2010.

<sup>146</sup> "Shanghaishi Xixi Youzhiyuan" 上海市新習幼稚園 [Shanghai Xixi Kindergarten], Shanghai Municipal Archives, B105-1-46.

<sup>147</sup> For instance, the Fragrant Hills, "Xiangshan Youyuan," [Fragrant Hills], in "Ge shili youzhiyuan 1949 niandu diyi xueqi gongzuo zongjie" 各市立幼稚園 1949 年度第一學期工作總結 [Summary Semester

Semester reports noted that elderly women were so experienced that they were uninterested and unwilling to attend political meetings.<sup>148</sup> Picking up on these threads, government regulations emphasized that young women were especially “suited” for the work of childcare.<sup>149</sup> Government leaders tried to reconfigure the composition of the teaching population by overtly emphasizing the age and gender of young, female caregivers, with hidden ramification for their religious and political backgrounds.

While introducing this shift in the beneficiaries of reform, the government challenged teachers’ attitudes. In political reform meetings, teachers recognized that, during the previous regime, they had served bourgeois housewives and the capitalist class because of their “small capitalist class consciousness” 小資本階級的意識. Some teachers admitted to having favored “white, plump, pretty and clean children,” but they realized, while accepting students according to new recruitment guidelines, that they needed to “care for workers’ children” and restrain their natural tendency to favor the “plump white children” of the elites.<sup>150</sup> Teachers often repeated that they now needed to “serve the children of workers and soldiers.”<sup>151</sup> This demographic was especially encouraged to overcome traditional barriers against the obtainment of education, and from 1952 to 1958, enrollment of students of workers and peasant origin steadily climbed in universities, from 20.46% to 36.42%.<sup>152</sup> As kindergarteners, these students often arrived with a more diverse set of emotional and physical needs than wealthy children.<sup>153</sup> As this chapter will later suggest, some teachers responded to problem children through new disciplinary techniques that they learned from their own re-education and self-criticism.

The gender of young female teachers subtly helped to reconfigure their ethnicity as well. All teachers, including minorities, had to fill out forms in which “religious or party affiliations” were placed on the same line and therefore in some sense were

Reports of Kindergartens in the First Semester of 1949] (January 1, 1949 to December 31, 1949), Beijing Municipal Archives, 158-4-2428.

<sup>148</sup> Ibid.

<sup>149</sup> For example, Diyici quanguo daibiao dahui tongguo 第一次全國代表大會通過 [Authorized by the First National Congress Representatives], “Zhongguo funü yundong dangqian renwu de jueyi” 中國婦女運動當前任務的決議 (Resolution on the Current Obligations of the China’s Women’s Movement), in Zhongguo Quanguo Minzhu Funü Lianhehui choubei weiyuanhui bian 中國全國婦女聯合會籌備委員會編 [All China Democratic Women’s Federation Preparation Committee], eds. *Zhongguo jiefang qu funü yundong wenxian* 中國解放區婦女運動文獻 [Documents From the Women’s Movement in Liberated Areas of China], (Shanghai: Xinhua shudian, 1949), 57. My translation.

<sup>150</sup> “Beijing Sili Xuanwai Yongguangshi Zhongjie Youzhiyuan: 1949 nian diyi xueqi gongzuo zongjie,” 北京私立宣外永光中街幼稚園 [Beijing Private Xuanwai Yongguangshi Middle Road Kindergarten: 1949 First Semester Work Report], in Beijing Municipal Archives, 153-004-02428, p. 4.

<sup>151</sup> [1950 Bomin Kindergarten Report], in Beijing Municipal Archives 153-4-2429, p. 61.

<sup>152</sup> Price, *Education in Communist China*, 169. These figures are based on the *Peking Reivew*’s reports in May 1958.

<sup>153</sup> For example, “Yiwen Youzhiyuan zongjie baogao” 藝文幼稚園總結報告 [Yiwen Kindergarten Summary Report], in Beijing Municipal Archives, 153-4-2429.

equated.<sup>154</sup> Rosters in municipal archives also indicate that male elders formed the largest group of teachers for Islamic schools at the time that the government surveyed the schools in 1949.<sup>155</sup> Young, male Muslims, along with other teachers, often took summer courses on education.<sup>156</sup> Furthermore, a new crop of young, female Han Chinese schoolteachers began to serve in Islamic schools. The government also began to monitor statistics about the number of ethnic students and faculty in schools.<sup>157</sup> Given that religious education for ethnic minorities such as Muslims was a protected right in the PRC,<sup>158</sup> this reconfiguration of the age and gender of teachers was a subtle method of controlling religious schools.

The government emphasized the generational divide in the new teaching force and its connection to schoolchildren. In 1953, the leader of the New Democratic Youth League—and future Chairman of the People’s Republic of China and Party General Secretary—Hu Yaobang 胡耀邦 (1915-1989) said, “Young teachers, who are fairly large in number in various schools, are a new force for educational work; National Democratic Youth League members who are teachers should unite with other young teachers and grown-up teachers to play an active role in teaching work.”<sup>159</sup> The distinction between “young teachers and grown-up teachers” sounds strange to Western ears, but these terms reinforce the generational divides in the teaching staff. According to Hu, young teachers should play a leading role in directing their colleagues in the “noble cause of fostering children comrades,” especially through institutions like the Young Pioneers.<sup>160</sup> The Communist Party immediately disbanded boy scouts and established instead in the Children’s Corps of China in October 1949.<sup>161</sup> In June 1953, this organization was renamed the Young Pioneers of China for children aged 9-15.<sup>162</sup>

This ethic of hard work and cooperation with the state was instilled in students. Middle school-students in 1950 were directed to write comments on the topic: “the Youth Corps should lead classmates to further study.” One middle school student titled his

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<sup>154</sup> Beijing Municipal Archives, 153-1-953. The male teachers are all labeled as Muslim, and the Muslim elders often wear traditional ethnic garb in their photographs. The young female teachers, not in Muslim clothing, are often not labeled as having an ethnicity. This file also lists a bibliography for the schools’ libraries.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid. See also Beijing Municipal Archives, 153-1-949.

<sup>157</sup> For example, Beijing Municipal Archives, 153-1-566. Han (Chinese), Hui (Muslim), Meng (Mongolian), Zang (Tibetan) were the most common ethnicities. The government allowed schools to fill in the name and title of the ethnic minorities.

<sup>158</sup> Chen Heqin, “Shifan Jiaoyu de xin fangxiang,” 2-3.

<sup>159</sup> Hu Yao-pang [Hu Yaobang], “Rally the Youths of China to Forge Ahead in Great Columns for National Construction,” translated and republished in Stewart E. Fraser, *Chinese Communist Education: Select Documents, Speeches, Articles, 1949-1960* (Nashville: George Peabody College for Teachers, 1962), 188, translated in *Current Background*, No. 257 (Hong Kong, United States Consulate General, July 24, 1953), originally published by New China News Agency, June 6, 1953.

<sup>160</sup> Ibid. The government also established institutions for higher education targeted specially toward minorities; see Price, 143.

<sup>161</sup> Price, *Education in Communist China*, 249.

<sup>162</sup> Ibid., 250.



response, “China’s Youth Corps is welfare” (*fuli*), explaining that Chairman Mao had helped the Youth Corps to build a better China.<sup>163</sup> Hu and this middle-school student emphasized the active role of students rather than the paternalistic role of the state, a distinction that was reinforced by the public-oriented term “welfare” (*fuli*) rather than the private-oriented “charity” (*cishan*). Young teachers and the Youth Corps would help China to replace the Nationalist government’s private charity (based on personal connections to people like Madame Chiang Kai-shek) with the Communist government’s institutional welfare.

In addition to promoting a new teaching demographic, the PRC also encouraged thought reform among existing teachers as a part of its larger efforts to re-educate the old intelligentsia through “self-education.” Despite the relatively low status of kindergarten teachers, they nevertheless also participated in rectification campaigns. Kindergarten teachers participated in “daily one-hour group political study sessions (beyond self study).”<sup>164</sup> In one kindergarten, teachers arrived at school an hour early, but were often interrupted because students were coming in earlier and earlier with the lengthening of summer days, so they moved their political study sessions to coincide with the children’s afternoon siesta.<sup>165</sup> In small study sessions, teachers learned about the Sino-Soviet Pact, the new Marriage Law, and other policy issues. They also learned through large lectures about the revolutionary history of the Chinese Communist Party and the material basis of historical change.

In these meetings, younger and newer teachers had an advantage over older and more experienced teachers. Eddy U has pointed to the importance of generational divides in conflicts over school administrative control in Shanghai in the 1950s.<sup>166</sup> Likewise, a kindergarten report from 1950 described a teacher named Zhao, who complained about being displaced after twenty-nine years of experience. “However,” the report noted, “through Marxist self-study and official classes, this teacher was able to reform previous ways of thinking and admit mistakes.”<sup>167</sup> The archive file further noted that many teachers had the wrong attitude towards criticism sessions, assuming that criticism sessions must be disruptive and acrimonious. This school administrator admitted that older teachers were more difficult to reform, but argued that the goal of criticism sessions and Marxist study was reform, rather than dismissal.

<sup>163</sup> The back of this quiz was re-used to note the change in terminology from “childish gardens” to “kindergartens” and from “Northern city” to “Northern capital” on forms, which comprises the actual content of the file as it existed in the government bureau. Beijing Municipal Archives, 153-4-2432. The student received a full two points for his or her response.

<sup>164</sup> “Beijingshi Shili Dafangjia Hutong Youzhiyuan xueqi gongzuo zongjie” [Beijing Municipal Dafangjia Hutong Kindergarten Semester Work Report], Beijing Municipal Archives, 153-4-2428, p. 26.

<sup>165</sup> “Beijingshi Sili Kongde Youzhiyuan” 北京市私利孔德幼稚園 [Beijing Municipal Confucian Virtue Kindergarten Fall 1949 Report], (July 1950), in Beijing Municipal Archives, 153-4-2429, p. 26.

<sup>166</sup> Eddy U focuses on middle and high school teachers: “The Hiring of Rejects: Teacher Recruitment and the Crisis of Socialism in the Early PRC,” *Modern China* 30.1: 46-80.

<sup>167</sup> “Beijing Shili Annei Fensiting Youzhiyuan xueqi gongzuo zongjie” 北京市立安內分司廳幼稚園學期工作總結 [Beijing Municipal Annei Fensiting Kindergarten Semester Work Report], Beijing Municipal Archives, 153-4-2427, p. 97.

## CLASSROOM DISCIPLINE AND THOUGHT RE-EDUCATION

When teachers gathered information about the socioeconomic backgrounds of their pupils, they were not just relaying statistics to the government; they were gathering necessary and important information about their own pupils. Given the emphasis on class identity, teachers used this information about socioeconomic background as a lens to understand student behavior. One teacher wrote that her unspoiled, working-class kindergartners walked to class, even in the rain; government officials highlighted complaints in this particular report about insufficient funds for vaccination and health programs.<sup>168</sup> Most kindergartens, however, admitted that their students had acquired bad attitudes from their elite upbringing. Elite parents could be guilty of overly regulating or under-policing their children. The 1950 Yiwen Kindergarten complained, for example, that when “parents watch over their children too carefully, even though their children seem to understand matters and can talk about hygiene, the children are spoiled and retiring, and show no signs of loving hard work or the masses”; yet, when artsy “parents have completely loosened their grip on their children, the children seem refined...but do not follow the rules.”<sup>169</sup> These comments indicate some of the ways that teachers evaluated and linked the class backgrounds and psychology of their students.

The process of thought reform greatly influenced the ways in which even kindergarten teachers instructed their students. Even if some teachers, like Chen’s former student Sun Zhaoying, had responded to Chen’s “Living Education” by criticizing it for lacking a rationale for greater and stricter discipline (as discussed earlier), others may have taken to heart the government’s overarching message that reform was possible.<sup>170</sup> Semester-end reports in the Beijing Municipal Archives noted the degree to which teachers went to deal with “special children” 特殊兒童 to reform them into “regulation-abiding children” 很守紀律的孩子.

Because children do not come from the same families, some children manifest special phenomena. For instance, in the morning class for older children, there are several people who fight and lose their tempers. ... Some children are impossible to care for; especially because one such child was already seven years old, he had lost all interest in the kindergarten work [activities]. [We] held a discussion meeting for him [underlining done by a different hand], and the little friends raised

<sup>168</sup> “Beijingshi Shili Xuanwai Yongguangsi Zhongjie Youzhiyuan 1949 du diyi xueqi gongzuo zongjie” [Beijing Municipal Xuanwai District Yongguang Temple Middle Road Kindergarten 1949 First Semester Report] 北京市市立宣外永光寺中街幼稚園 1949 度第一學期工作總結 (1949), Beijing Municipal Archives, 158-4-2428, p. 1.

<sup>169</sup> “Yiwen Youzhiyuan zongjie baogao” 藝文幼稚園總結報告 [Yiwen Kindergarten Report] (July 25, 1950), in Beijing Municipal Archives, 153-4-2429, p. 3.

<sup>170</sup> For a broader reflection on the idea of self-transformation in Chinese thought, see Donald Munro, *The Concept of Man in Early China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1969), and his *The Concept of Man in Contemporary China* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1977).

many issues with him, and told him that the teacher loves and protects all the little friends. As a result, he accepted the criticism of the little friends, and was willing to be a good child.<sup>171</sup>

由於兒童來自不同的家庭所以有些兒童常發現特殊現象如上午大班打架罵人淘氣的花樣很多承認壞的習慣染了不少經過教師長期的調查了解了他的家庭環境因為孩子多照顧不到更因為他已經七週歲對於幼稚園的工作不感覺興趣對他作了一次討論會小朋友對他提了許多意見叫他聽老師愛護小朋友結果孟慶森接受小朋友的批評願意做個好孩子

Here, the teacher at the Yongguang Temple Street Kindergarten attributed students' bad behavior to their family backgrounds and particular circumstances. This child had been intractable before his peers criticized him in a discussion meeting; however, his classmates convinced him to "be a good child" by pointing to the good will and loving protection of their teacher. Already too mature to enjoy classroom activities, the student needed an alternative model of correction; teachers positively reinforced his good behavior by co-opting him as a teacher's helper. In this example, the benevolent teacher relied on the support of the entire class to reinforce good behavior—as well as to recognize the authority of the teacher.

The extension of these techniques to kindergarteners, while based on published models, was neither conventional nor expected. The teacher's report in many ways followed the advice of Zhang Wendou's *Elementary School Education for Children with Special Needs* (for example, behavioral problems).<sup>172</sup> Like the teachers in Zhang's models, the teacher at the Yongguang Temple Street Kindergarten had "investigated" the situation by making a record of the child's erratic behavior. Like Zhang, the teacher had provided some analysis of the conditions (such as age) that contributed to his problem behavior. However, Zhang had not advocated the type of "discussion meeting" that the teacher had performed. In the government's files, a bureaucrat from the Childhood Education Bureau had underlined the words "held a discussion meeting" 對他作了一次討論會 and placed a question mark in the margins. Thus, the bureaucrat may have been surprised or confused by the idea of criticism meetings for kindergartners, especially since government cadre had responded with criticism to reports recommending that middle school and high school students be entrusted with the duty of criticizing teachers; the cadre reasoned that since the students' knowledge of the old society was superficial and their participation could possibly hurt them rather than help their teachers.<sup>173</sup>

<sup>171</sup> "Beijingshi Shili Xuanwai Yongguangsi Zhongjie Youzhiyuan 1949 du diyi xueqi gongzuo zongjie" 北京市市立宣外永光寺中街幼稚園 1949 年度第一學期工作總結 [Beijing Municipal Xuanwai District Yongguang Temple Street Kindergarten 1949 First Semester Work Report], Beijing Municipal Archives, 153-4-2428. My translation.

<sup>172</sup> Zhang Wendou 張文都, *Xiaoxue teshu ertong jiaoyu* 小學特殊兒童的教育 [Elementary-school Education for Children with Special Needs], (Shanghai: Shangwu shuguan, 1951).

<sup>173</sup> "Tuan zhongyang bangongshi guanyu zai zhongxuesheng zhong jinxing sixiang gaizao wenti gei tuan'an weisheng gongwei de xin" 團中央榜公示關於在中學生中進行思想改造問題給團安徽省工委的信 [Agency's Central Office Letter to Agency Hygiene Officials Regarding the Problem of Advancing Thought Reform of Middle School Students], *Tuannei Tongxun* 團內通訊 [Inner Agency Newsletter] (August 8, 1952): 2-3.

Furthermore, official rules and regulations for preschools, written by the government, continued to recognize the importance of age grouping and age-appropriate behavior – concepts that began to take effect in China in the early twentieth century (as discussed in Chapter One).

If there were no regulations for teachers to hold discussion sessions for children, why did they do it? These methods of behavior correction exactly mirrored the kinds of “discussion meetings” and peer criticism that the teachers themselves had faced. Such teachers had taken the initiative to use the model of their own reeducation campaigns as a form of discipline for their students; it must have seemed natural to these teachers to employ in their own classrooms the same disciplinary devices that had been used to reform their own behavior and ideology. However, given the marginal notation of the educational bureaucrat, there were apparently no rules allowing or forbidding the teachers to discipline kindergartners in this way.

Nonetheless, these reports continued the trend, begun in the Republican era, of privileging teachers over parents, because they had psychological insight into the lives of children. Zhang Wendou’s model reports included sections on “psychology,” which explained the problem behavior of children in terms of their home life, such as their disadvantaged position as poor children within a rich “large (extended) family” or their intense jealousy of younger siblings.<sup>174</sup> These comments (and the structure of analyzing case studies) echo those made in Zhang Su’s *Mental Hygiene Lectures for Children*, discussed in Chapter Four.<sup>175</sup> Both of these authors believed that teachers should investigate and understand the psychological causes for some of their pupil’s behavioral and physical problems, and they would agree that teachers should interview parents and students to discover the root of their problems. However, while Zhang Su had illustrated examples of a teacher creatively disciplining and teaching his students, Zhang Wendou (a Communist who had broken with Chen Heqin after serving as his secretary for five years) suggested that teachers place students with certain needs in separate classes. In other words, Zhang Wendou’s solution is bureaucratic and institutional, rather than confrontational and interventionist. Zhang Wendou explicitly revealed the vantage point of the school system; he noted that a six-year-old girl had begun acting out in kindergarten, but the behavior of such a small girl had been ignored, and these problems were only exacerbated for elementary school teachers. Indeed, when teachers encountered conflicts with mothers about “special children,” the kindergarten teachers alerted first-grade teachers.<sup>176</sup> Thus, while these reports showed elements of teaching and psychology from the Republican era, the new reports took a much more institutional and bureaucratic standpoint.

Kindergartens in the 1950s continued the trend, begun in the late Qing, of relaying demographic and statistical information to the government. Kindergarten reports included demographical statistics about the economic backgrounds of the students’

<sup>174</sup> Zhang Wendou, *Xiaoxue Teshu Ertong Jiaoyu*, 29.

<sup>175</sup> Yang Su 楊肅, *Ertong xinli weisheng jianghua* 兒童心理衛生講話 [Talks on Child Mental Hygiene], (Shanghai: Children’s Books Press, 1923, 1934, 1943).

<sup>176</sup> Zhang Wendou, *Xiaoxue Teshu Ertong Jiaoyu*, 28.

families, including the category of class. (See Figure 26 as an example.) In the first few years after 1949, teachers sometimes used their own definitions of class that were inconsistent (e.g., with varying levels of specificity). Teachers also continued to visit children in their homes. In addition to their work in schools, kindergarten and elementary school teachers also helped the government to conduct census work with household registration.<sup>177</sup>

Teachers provided officials not only with examples of how parents influenced children but also how children could influence parents. In 1950 at the Dafangjia Hutong Kindergarten, for instance, a report asserted, “Because of the parents’ [word struck and replaced in document] family’s negative influence, there are also those who dislike labor, but for these little friends [i.e., children], the teachers have already had contact with the elders in order to enact education in a timely manner.”<sup>178</sup> This revision in the document reflected the reality that it was often the grandparents and other family members—rather than merely the parents—who were the main influence on young children at home. The report also offered two examples of ways that children had positively influenced their parents. When one child, surnamed Yu, was walking past a flag-raising ceremony with his mother, he told his mother to stop at attention; the mother related this story to his teachers, who praised the student for his patriotism.<sup>179</sup> The report was careful to note that children were always helpful and respectful to their elders: even when another child, surnamed Li, refused to drink the cold water that his mother had given him because, according to his teachers, only boiled water was hygienic.<sup>180</sup> Their emphasis on the respect and compliance of children surely underscores an effort to obscure the tensions that arose when teachers contradicted parents. In these stories, parents are sometimes less willing to listen to the advice of the teachers than to cave to the directives of children. Thus, in these reports, schoolteachers emphasized their unique access to parents through children.

If kindergartens served as a tool for political discipline, politics also served as a tool for kindergarten discipline. Teachers resolved conflicts through the means of storytelling colored with political innuendos. At the Dafangjia Hutong Kindergarten, after a six-year old class clown, surnamed Gao, attacked another child with a bicycle wheel, a teacher told a story in order to reconcile the two children. After they agreed to stop fighting, the teacher further prodded them: “Whom do we fight?” Both children said: “The Nationalist reactionaries.”<sup>181</sup> The teachers relied not only on children’s stories, but also on the children themselves to reinforce their understanding of the stories to one another. For instance, teachers reported that, with the appropriate conditioning,

<sup>177</sup> “Beijing Shili Dong Sishier Tiao Youeryuan 1949 xueqi gongzuo baogao,” Beijing Municipal Archives, 158-4-2428, p. 37 [19]. See also Thomas Mullaney, *Coming to Terms with the Nation: Ethnic Classification in Modern China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011).

<sup>178</sup> “Beijing Shili Dafangjia Hutong Youzhiyuan gongzuo zongjie” 北京市里大方家胡同幼稚园工作總結 [Beijing Municipal Dafangjia Hutong Kindergarten Work Report], in Beijing Municipal Archives, 153-4-2427, p. 22.

<sup>179</sup> *Ibid.*, 20.

<sup>180</sup> *Ibid.*

whenever a child strayed from the line, other children would yell, “The little duckie has dropped out of line!” And the offending child would quickly return to the line.<sup>182</sup> Through the use of stories, teachers could condition children to exert peer pressure in productive ways.

Teachers reported that they “enacted thought education” in the kindergarten classroom. They chose songs that praised Chairman Mao and condemned “Old Chiang,” i.e., Chiang Kai-shek.<sup>183</sup> Like the wartime children’s primers that we examined in the last chapter, these teachers emphasized the special love that Chairman Mao had for children:

“Who are our national leaders?” “Chairman Mao” is an answer that all children know [because] teachers tell the children that Chairman Mao loves children the most. “Do you know that Chairman Mao loves little children?” “Yes, he loves children,” the children not only answer this question, but they also want to be [the sort of] child whom Chairman Mao favors. Furthermore, we let the children know that the reason we can live happily today in kindergartens is because of the [good] fortune that Chairman Mao has provided for us. This way, the love that children have for the leaders is true and ardent; children love their parents, sisters, families, friends, and kindergarten, and are even more willing to live happily. Teachers must emphasize to students: American imperialists do not want us to be happy, and they have invaded our neighbor Korea, have destroyed Korea’s kindergartens and preschools, and have killed our little Korean friends’ fathers and mothers; moreover, and they still want to invade China.

“国家的领袖是谁？”“毛主席”这是每一个孩子都可以答覆的问题，教师告诉孩子们毛主席是最喜欢小孩子的，“你们知道毛主席喜欢什么样的小孩子么？”“喜欢好孩子”孩子们不但能答覆这个问题，而且都愿意做个毛主席的好孩子，接着就告诉孩子们，我们今天能够快乐的生活在幼稚园完全是毛主席给我们的兴福，这样孩子们对领袖的爱就是真诚而热烈的，孩子们爱父母，爱姐妹，爱家庭，爱小朋友也爱幼稚园，更愿意过快乐的生活，教师必需尊重的告诉孩子：“美帝国主义不□[unclear character]意我们快乐，也侵略了我们的邻居朝鲜，坏毁了朝鲜的幼稚园、托儿所、杀死朝鲜小朋友的爸爸妈妈，并且还要侵略中国。”<sup>184</sup>

When talking to their students, teachers noted the brutality of destroying Korean kindergartens, in contrast to government accounts of the deaths of Korean children along with their parents.<sup>185</sup> It was common for propaganda to emphasize the tender love that national leaders have toward children.

These comments continued longstanding trends in terms of elevating politicians to positions of paternal authority over the national family. Primer Xiong Xiling 熊希齡 (1870-1937) and his wife had established the influential Fragrant Hills Orphanage, and

<sup>182</sup> “Beijing Shili Annei Fensiting Youzhiyuan xueqi gongzuo baogao” 北京市立安內分司庭幼稚園學期工作總結 [Beijing Municipal Annei Fensiting Kindergarten Semester Report], in Beijing Municipal Archives, 153-4-2427, p. 108.

<sup>183</sup> “Yangzheng Youzhiyuan 1949 niandu di’er xueqi gongzuo zongjie” 養正幼稚園 1949 年度第二學期工作總結 [Yangzheng Kindergarten 1949 second semester work report], in Beijing Municipal Archive, 153-4-2429, p. 81.

<sup>184</sup> Beijing Municipal Archives, 153-4-2438.

<sup>185</sup> Li Zhuang 李莊, “Weile Chaoxian de haizi” 為了朝鮮的孩子 [For Korean Children], *Xin Guancha* 新觀察 2.7 (April 1951): 20-21.

the Song sisters, as the “National Mother” and wife of the Generalissimo, had projected themselves into a position of maternal authority over the national family. Although all of these figures had established and run institutions, they had also emphasized the “ideology of the happy family” to a greater degree than the above-quoted passage, which more explicitly referred to schools as important intermediary institutions that connected family and the state. Furthermore, children’s “happiness” or good fortune is directly related to state interests: American imperialists have killed not simply Korean soldiers, but “fathers and mothers” of Korean children; American imperialists have not simply invaded Korea, but “destroyed Korean kindergartens and preschools.” Thus, teachers tried to elevate the role of kindergartens in the relationship between children and the state.

Thought education included labor education. In the Five-Love Educational Movement, teachers fostered “a love of labor” and a positive “labor attitude.” Teachers defined kindergartners’ work primarily in terms of self-maintenance and cleaning up after one’s self. After children went to kindergarten, they purportedly volunteered to help out around the house.<sup>186</sup> Teachers approvingly reported that “the little friends all volunteer to help their comrades move desks and chairs,”<sup>187</sup> thus adding a political dimension to the simple cooperation of kindergarten life. When students wanted to toil and tarry too long in the school vegetable plot, teachers complained, “Our kindergartners love labor to an extreme” and reminded the kindergartners that labor was just one scheduled activity with its own timed schedule.<sup>188</sup> Instead of couching children’s joy in the outdoors as a “natural” characteristic of childhood, as Chen Heqin had done, these teachers defined garden work and classroom cleanup as “labor” in a Marxist political context. Thus, the light-hearted complaint that kindergartners were overzealous in their love for garden “labor,” nevertheless seriously affirmed this work as important training for future careers. The term “labor attitude” also appeared in the Women’s Federation analysis of female laborers under the Nationalist government (under the auspices of the Women’s Advisory Committee of the New Life Movement), whose experiences with the dole had ruined their own relationship to labor. What was at stake was the “habit of loving labor.” The focus on “inculcating good habits” is reminiscent of childhood psychology in the Republican era, despite important differences in the institutions that shaped those habits.

#### CONCLUSION: TEACHERS, FROM CITIZENS TO COMRADES

Western-style kindergartens had entered China in the early twentieth century through two venues: elite schools and charitable institutions. These twin braids had become increasingly “indigenized” as a response to local resistance, and the international dimensions of support and funding for these institutions had also changed because of the war. In addition to changes in control over these institutions, control over the classroom had also helped change the standard of childcare, especially requiring a commitment to hygiene as an important aspect of care. Chinese governments had long hoped to

<sup>186</sup> Beijing Municipal Archives, 153-3-2428, p. 21.

<sup>187</sup> Ibid.

<sup>188</sup> Beijing Municipal Archives, 153-4-2429, p. 135.

transform charity into welfare under state supervision. Despite these institutional continuities, however, there were also important cultural considerations in the nurturing of children that were raised in the thought reform of the 1950s. For instance, was race enough to make a teacher or a kindergartener Chinese? When funding or information came from foreign imperialists, would teachers and children mimic these foreign sources?

Ryan Dunch has insightfully noted that the rubric of cultural imperialism diminishes the agency of the Chinese intellectuals, like Chen Heqin, who adapted Western models to the Chinese situation.<sup>189</sup> Communist critiques reduced Chen to a mere plagiarizer and propagandist. Nonetheless, as I have demonstrated in this dissertation, it was really the definition of the “indigenous,” in terms of either Chinese ethnicity or class politics, that pre-constructed the question of whether or not an educational system has been either “indigenized” or “assimilated.” The term “self-colonization” is sometimes used critically in China today (to refer to China’s preference for foreign architecture and models), but it will be difficult to tell—in this contemporary context of growing Westernization under the continuation of Communist leadership—how these current and future generations will define the parameters of “true” Chineseness as opposed to “little foreign devils.” Chinese awareness of the 1950s criticisms also surely weighs on the minds of many reformers wrestling with Western ideas and models in contemporary China. This is yet another relevance of this particular history for our understanding of current debates in China over Western culture and Chinese traditions.

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<sup>189</sup> Ryan Dunch, “Beyond Cultural Imperialism: Cultural Theory, Christian Missions, and Global Modernity,” *History and Theory* 41. 3 (Oct., 2002): 310-311.



**EPILOGUE**  
 FROM INDIGENOUS CHARITY TO POLITICAL WELFARE:  
 1950S CHILDHOOD EDUCATION

Despite abrupt political ruptures, long-term structural continuities, economic necessities, and intellectual trends persisted in preschool education and its function in society from the Nationalist into the Communist era. The professionalization of childcare continued to be motivated by a statist goal to mobilize the female workforce and modernize the Chinese economy. Teachers also continued to include science and hygiene in the classroom. Child experts had, from the Child Study Movement to the Mental Hygiene Movement, increasingly argued for state cooperation, trends that ironically led to the campaigns that ended the era of the child expert. Even more so than before 1949, school administrators recorded and remitted information about children to the government.

As Chapter Five illustrated, educational and ideological campaigns in the 1950s decreased the status of child psychologists. As the editors of *People's Education* attacked an older generation of educators, who had been influenced by John Dewey and Columbia Teacher's College, they also limited of their own power and influence by arguing that social reform ought to be orchestrated by the government, rather than slowly fostered in the classroom. Although PRC government journals continued to publish on pedagogy and childhood psychology under the leadership of Soviet specialists in the 1950s, the era of notable child experts, like Chen Heqin or Zhang Zonglin, had passed. Knowledge production about childrearing fell instead to the Women's Federation as a collective entity. As in the Republican period, child welfare and advocacy remained in the domain of women, but these activities were couched as worker mobilization rather than elite charity.

With the increased power of the state, the Communist government was able to implement some of the reforms proposed in the 1920 and 1930s, especially establishing and making accessible preschools and kindergartens for the working poor. Preschool had remained at the periphery of the educational system, either as elite kindergartens for middle-class patrons or mission schools and welfare institutions for the poor. The Child Welfare Association under the Nationalists attempted to redress basic social inequalities through humanitarian aid, but did so by projecting middle-class values onto welfare institutions rather than subverting existing inequalities. The PRC attempted to bridge the gap between elite and charity schools, a legacy since the late Qing, through subsidies to poor kindergartens, and to overturn inherited notions of class privilege through political education. Local administrators excised missionary influences by renaming schools, but the schedule and structure of classes remained largely the same.<sup>1</sup> Under government leadership, kindergarten teachers reversed class discrimination in favor of workers rather

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<sup>1</sup> “Jiaoyu bu: guanyu you'eryuan youer de zuoxi zhidu he gexiang huodong de guiding,” 教育部：關於幼兒園幼兒的作息制度和各項活動的規定 [Ministry of Education: Regulations Regarding Kindergarten Children's Rest Schedule and Activities] BMA 153-4-2481; reproduced in *Beijing jiaoyu dang'an wencui*, 1524-29.

than intellectuals. The government built preschools with special facilities and capacity to house children for extended periods, sometimes from Monday through Saturday, for the offspring of cadre, because those parents needed to be on duty full-time.<sup>2</sup> Despite efforts to “bring education to the masses,” the PRC government retained the Nationalist strategy of subsidizing elite “key schools” 重點學校 with greater amounts of funding from higher levels of government (for instance, the provincial rather than the municipal level). Despite traction in bringing government control to preschools, there persisted many of the same problems of the Nationalist period: unequal access and distribution of services, concern for the malnutrition and mistreatment of children, the need to professionalize childcare along scientific lines, and parental resistance to outside constraints.

### PRESCHOOLS TO FACILITATE FEMALE MOBILIZATION

As we have seen in Chapter Five, the Chinese Communist Party voiced a commitment to institutionalize childhood education as a means for freeing mothers to enter the workforce.<sup>3</sup> This trend culminated in intensified campaigns during the Great Leap Forward, when the government tabulated, economic increases gained from the mobilization of the female workforce.<sup>4</sup> Through its Department of Welfare for Women and Children, the All-China Democratic Women’s Federation helped establish and run

<sup>2</sup> “Shi renmin zhengfu, shi caizhengju, guanyu ganbu zinu jiaoyangfei, jiashu buzhu, tuersuo gonggei biao, yuying baomufei jiguan gonghui jingfei de guiding banfa,” 市人民政府、市财政局、关于干部子女教养费、家属补助、托儿所供给标准、婴儿保姆费及机关工会经费的规定办法 [Municipal people’s government, municipal Ministry of Finance directives on expenses for children of cadre, family allowances, standards for preschools, fees and regulations for unions for infant caretakers] (January 1, 1950 - December 31, 1950) BMA 123-1-91.

<sup>3</sup> Kimberley Ens Manning calls the CCP approach to women the “Marxist Maternalist Equality,” and she differentiates this approach from Frederick Engels’s “vision of sexual equality,” because the “democratic socialist family” was still the foundation of society. She writes: “The Marxist maternalist approach to the mobilization of women combined Engelsian principles of sexual equality with a republican maternalist concern for protecting reproductive health and maintaining the family at the center of the national project.” See Kimberley Ens Manning, “Communes, Canteens, and Crèches: The Gendered Politics of Remembering the Great Leap Forward,” in Ching Kwan Lee and Guobin Yang (eds.), *Re-envisioning the Chinese Revolution*, (Woodrow Wilson Press and Stanford University Press, 2007), 96-97. In *Chinese Women in the Great Leap Forward* (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1960), Chinese cadre reported that communes offered “temporary nurseries and kindergartens” to allow women to work in the fields (“Ah Tsou, “Women do Well in the People’s Communes,” 19, 25), and even asserted, “The coming of the commune has in particular basically solved the problems of those who lack labour power but have many children to feed (25). In the same volume, Wang Huan-tou asserted that Chiu Erh-niang’s family had become more democratic as a result of the commune taking care of the “age-old problems” of childcare and elderly care (Wang Huan-tou, “A Family in a People’s Commune.”) Just as in the Shanghai factory in the 1950s, her baby is brought to her at regular times to nurse, and the children are happy and healthy as she diverts attention to the Communist Youth League (39).

<sup>4</sup> “Yixie quxian weihe shifulian guanyu jianli nongcun, jiedao shitang, tuersuo deng wenti de bagao” 一些区县市委和市妇联关于建立农村、街道食堂、托儿所等问题的报告 [Some area, county and municipal women’s organization’s reports concerning the establishment of country and street cafeterias and preschools] (October 1, 1949-December 31, 1968) BMA 1-6-1377.

preschools and kindergartens (as well as to train a new workforce of caregivers).<sup>5</sup> Through its Department of Propaganda and Education, the Women's Federation published journals and a series of books on subjects that ranged from model female workers to infant care. The Women's Federation argued that preschools would mobilize and strengthen the female workforce and increase female workers' productivity.<sup>6</sup> The Federation based some of the evidence for these books on the experiences derived from preschool institutions, and thus continued the trend that we have seen, from the Qing dynasty, for childhood experts to publish findings gathered from kindergartens.

The Women's Federation was first founded in March 24, 1949, even before the official establishment of the People's Republic of China on October 1. The Women's Federation accepted as institutional members the Preparatory Committee of Women's Federations in Liberated Areas, the Women's Federations in Liberated Areas, the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the Young Women's Christian Association, and the Women's Friendship Association. It targeted elite, intellectual women of the Women's Christian Temperance Union and the Young Women's Christian Association, and the fact that these organizations joined immediately in 1948 indicates the positive response on the part of such women.<sup>7</sup> Because the Women's Federation accepted women from former Nationalist and Christian organizations,<sup>8</sup> it sheltered some women (often the wives of mid-level cadre) who otherwise had bad class backgrounds. Because the Women's Federation was under the official leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, membership in the organization appeared as a qualification on applications to become school administrators. Given the dearth of women cadre,<sup>9</sup> the Women's Federation helped build female leadership. At the local level, the Women's Federation recruited women to enter the Chinese Communist Party and to become officials in local divisions of the Communist Party.<sup>10</sup> These female officials brought New China's maternal and child welfare to the people.

<sup>5</sup> For example, Quanguo Minzhu Fulian Ertong Fuli Bu 全國民主婦聯兒童福利部 [All-China Democratic Women's Federation, Children's Welfare Bureau], "Yinian lai ertong baoyu shiye de fazhan," 一年來兒童保育事業的發展 [One Year of Developing the Field of Children's Protection Services], originally published in *Xin Zhongguo Funü* 新中國婦女 [New Chinese Women], republished in Zhonghua Quanguo Funü Lianhehui 中國全國婦女聯合會 [All China Women's Federation] eds, *Ertong baoyu he fuying weisheng* 兒童保育和婦嬰衛生 [Children's Protection and Maternal and Infant Hygiene] (Xinhua Shudian, 1950), 14.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid, 17.

<sup>7</sup> Delia Davin, *Woman-Work: Women and the Party in Revolutionary China* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 62.

<sup>8</sup> Nihua Zhang, "The All-China Women's Federation, Chinese Women and the Women's Movement: 1949-1993" (Michigan State University, 1996).

<sup>9</sup> Davin, 57.

<sup>10</sup> For example, Anhuisheng Minzhu Funü Lianhehui 安徽省民主婦女聯合會 [Anhui Province Democratic Women's Federation] "Youxiu de jieshengyuan xu yuehua," 優秀的接生員徐月華 [Excellent Childbirth Deliverer Xu Yuehua] in Quanguo minzhu funü lianhehui funü ertong fuli bu, 全國民主婦女聯合會婦女兒童福利部編 [Edited by the All-China Democratic Women's Federation Committee, Child Welfare subdivision] "Xin Zhongguo daigei Muqin he haizi de fuli" 新中國帶給母親和孩子的福利 [New China's Maternal and Child Welfare] (Beijing: Qingnian chubanshe, 1953), 8.

The top leadership of the Women's Federation often held concurrent roles in other political bureaus. For example, Cai Chang 蔡誠 (1927-2009) was the chair of the Women's Federation and concurrently the head of the Women's Movement Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.<sup>11</sup> Vice-chairs included Li Dequan 李德全 (1896-1972), the Minister of Public Health, and Shi Liang 史良 (1900-1985), the Minister of Justice; honorary chairs included Song Qingling (Soong Ch'ing-ling 宋慶齡 1893-1981), the wife of Sun Yat-sen and the Vice President of the Central People's Government, and He Xiangning, head of the Overseas Chinese Affairs Bureau.<sup>12</sup> These interlocking positions of the top leadership helped to align (in the years before China declared in 1956 that it had arrived at the Socialist stage of development) the Women's Federation with the major interests of the Party.<sup>13</sup> By the mid-1950s, municipal departments of education also evaluated the Women's Federation in its organization and leadership of child welfare stations and preschool organizations,<sup>14</sup> and the Women's Federation consequently lost power and standing in the government.<sup>15</sup> Although many scholars have emphasized the ways in which the Women's Federation (and other earlier Chinese women's organizations) subordinated women's issues to state interests,<sup>16</sup> Wang Zheng reminds us that archival materials have often hidden the "quiet resistances" of members of the Women's Federation.<sup>17</sup>

During the 1950s, Women's Federation pushed for the institutionalization of childcare in order to mobilize the female workforce outside the home. The Federation helped to expand the number of daycare centers, from the preexisting 147 facilities in 1949 to 15,700 in 1952; women workers increased threefold during that time.<sup>18</sup> Among these daycare facilities, 2,738 were factory day-care centers; 4,345 were neighborhood-based; 148,200 were "busy season" day care centers serving roughly 850,000 children whose mothers were working in the fields in the countryside.<sup>19</sup> In the countryside, these "busy season" or "mutual help" daycare centers were often loosely run by elderly, often

<sup>11</sup> Cai Chang had spoken out against feminist writer Ding Ling and other Westernized feminists in a speech in the Central Committee in February 1943. Because women's liberation had already been won, policies and judgments disproportionately favored women, and women cadre needed to turn away from issues of women's liberation and toward strengthening society, family, and childrearing. See Delia Davin, *Woman-Work: Women and the Party in Revolutionary China* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 36-37.

<sup>12</sup> Nihua Zhang, 193.

<sup>13</sup> Davin notes that trends in the Women's Federation parallel larger political trends. Davin, 67-68.

<sup>14</sup> BMA 2-8-194.

<sup>15</sup> Elisabeth Croll, *Feminism and Socialism in China* (London; Boston: Routledge & K. Paul, 1978), 287.

<sup>16</sup> Justina Ka Yee Tsui, "Chinese Women: Active Revolutionaries or Passive Followers? A History of the All-China Women's Federation, 1949 to 1996" (MA, Concordia University (Canada), 1998).

<sup>17</sup> Wang Zheng, "'State Feminism'? Gender and Socialist State Formation in Maoist China." *Feminist Studies* 31, no. 3 (October 1, 2005): 542.

<sup>18</sup> Nihua Zhang, 155.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.* See also *Huibian*. Delia Davin considers, "Creches and nurseries were a natural extension of such arrangements" of ad-hoc babysitting, "especially when the formation of mutual-aid teams and co-operatives provided organizations on which they could be based." She adds that day-care centers in the countryside were partially subsidized, and that "for as long as the mother is considered responsible for the cost of looking after her children, the value of her earnings is reduced in her families eyes by the amount that must be paid for their care." See Delia Davin, *Woman-Work*, 126.

illiterate, ladies in exchange for extra meals or personal gifts.<sup>20</sup> During the expansion of preschools in agricultural areas during the Great Leap Forward, the conditions of preschools and the quality of staff further declined.<sup>21</sup> These daycare centers were overseen by officials in the local ministries of education, departments of health, and branches of the Communist Party, and were led and organized by local branches of the Women's Federation.<sup>22</sup>

The Women's Federation explicitly argued that the institutionalization of childcare spurred the female workforce to greater economic production. The federation offered specific examples of increased productivity from individual woman workers after their children entered the factory crèche: from 20 yards to 30 yards of cotton per day in a Shanghai textile mill, and from 20 to 100 nets per day for a newly appointed "model worker." The Women's Federation noted, "According to the statistics of the crèche of the same factory, in April, 1949, the productive efficiency of the 985 female employees there increased by 65% since they were able to send their children to the new factory crèche."<sup>23</sup> Although factory managers since the 1910s had argued in favor of banning infants from factory floors to increase industrial discipline, the Women's Federation implied that previous efforts had failed because the conditions of factory crèches in the capitalist system had been too poor to allow women to entrust their children with peace of mind.

Instead of entrusting children to factory managers, missionaries, or philanthropists, workers could assert a degree of input in creating or supporting their own preschools. For example, a small-group cell of the Women Workers' Organization of Shanghai 婦聯上海工会 started a collective daycare because the mothers wanted and needed to share the burdens of childcare in order to work.<sup>24</sup> According to a report, female comrades voiced the issue at the Women's Federation meeting. They initiated and funded the drive to create the daycare center. Comrade Jiang Yiwa donated the use of her own home and two thirds of the expenses for daycare, and Comrade Ding Xiling covered the remaining one-third. Together, they opened the Shanghai Hengfeng Private Kindergarten.<sup>25</sup> Yet, the Women's Federation sometimes depicted female workers as needing their expertise and direction to support collective daycare.

<sup>20</sup> Hebeisheng Tongxianzhanqu Minzhu Funü Lianhehui 河北省通縣專區民主婦女聯合會 [Hebei Province Tongxianzhan District Democratic Women's Federation] "Mama qu shengchan, haizi zenmeban?—Jieshao Hebeisheng Tongxian Zhuanqu Nongcun Tu'er Huzhuzu," 媽媽去生產，孩子怎麼辦？——介紹河北省通縣專區農村托兒互助組 [Mommy Goes to Work, but What About the Children?—Introducing Mutual Aid Nurseries in Hebei's Countryside] in: Quanguo minzhu funü lianhehui funü ertong fuli bu, 全國民主婦女聯合會婦女兒童福利部編 [Edited by the All-China Democratic Women's Federation Committee, Child Welfare subdivision] *Xin Zhongguo daigei muqin he haizi de fuli* 新中國帶給母親和孩子的福利 [New China's Maternal and Child Welfare] (Beijing: Qingnian chubanshe, 1953) 24.

<sup>21</sup> BMA 1-6-1377, p. 22.

<sup>22</sup> Hebeisheng Tongxianzhanqu Minzhu Funü Lianhehui, "Mama Qu Shengchan, Haizi Zenmeban?" 26.

<sup>23</sup> Zhonghua quanguo funü lianhehui, *Chinese Women in 1950* (Peking: All China Democratic Women's Federation, 1950), 22.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> "Shanghaishi Sili Hengfeng Youzhiyuan," 上海市私立恒豐幼稚園 SMA B105-5-441-12.

Concerns about expendable, unskilled labor plagued the childcare profession. The Women's Federation published a report about the young female cadre of Jinsui, who faced "mental blocks" about the childcare profession:

At first, most of the mothers had the mentality of simply shipping off their children, and were not willing to partake in childcare work. Some feared that once they entered the profession [of childcare], they would not be able to leave it; others dismissed the job, saying that it "had no future," even saying that it was something for relations and farming women to deal with. At the same time, there were some who were willing to manage children's groups, and some childless female comrades took the attitude of spectators, and others had no confidence in the project: "Female comrades, after all, are only a farce, and can't do it!" Thus, there was a need to combat these mental blocks.

首先在母親們的思想中大部分只想把孩子送了去，而自己不遠參加托兒所工作，有的怕擔任了保育工作，將來脫離不開了；有的輕視這工作，說是“沒前途，”並提出這是家屬和農村婦女的事。同時有的對兒童集體托管有願意，而一些沒有孩子的同志有的採取了旁觀的態度，有的則毫無信心：“女同志到一塊是一台戲，辦不成！”為此，克服思想障礙就成為當前重要的事情。<sup>26</sup>

Like the young women who staffed the wartime Los Angeles Kindergarten in Yan'an, these women feared that childcare had "no future." Thus, the Women's Federation echoed the analysis of the cadre who had overseen Yan'an's Los Angeles Kindergarten in the 1940s; female caregivers only improved when the girls began to see themselves as professionals. With shifts in the profile of kindergarten teachers, kindergartens were no longer run by elite, local women, but by women who needed jobs.<sup>27</sup> Like the United Service Relief after the Second Sino-Japanese War, the Women's Federation supported the field of early childhood education, but pushed for popularization and political education, rather than institution-building and scholarships for higher education. As with the kindergarten teachers mentioned in Chapter Six, the Women's Federation organized study groups and criticism sessions to reform the attitude of these women.<sup>28</sup> Once the mothers began actively to support the preschool, their children were healthier and livelier.<sup>29</sup> The Women's Federation aimed to increase the status of women by mobilizing the female workforce, but complained when women refused low-skilled jobs in childcare.

In the early 1950s, the Women's Federation began publishing about information on childrearing. For example, the book *Childcare and Women's Hygiene* reported about the establishment of workers' overnight nurseries and daycare centers. The Women's

<sup>26</sup> Jinsui Jiguan Tuoersuo 晉綏機關托兒所, "Jinsui Yige Jiguan de Biangong Huzhu Tuoersuo," 晉綏一個機關的變工互助托兒所 [A Mutual-Aid Preschool in Jinsui] Zhongguo Quanguo Minzhu Funü Lianhehui Choubei Weiyuanhui Bian 中國全國婦女聯合會籌備委員會編 [All China Democratic Women's Federation Preparation Committee], eds. *Zhongguo jiefangqu funü yundong wenxian*, 中國解放區婦女運動文獻 [Documents From the Women's Movement in Liberated Areas of China] (Shanghai: Xinhua shudian, 1949), 4-5.

<sup>27</sup> The majority of kindergarten teachers continued to be women. "Beijingshi youeryuan jiaozhi yuangong shu tongjibiao," 北京市幼兒園教職員工數統計表 [Statistical Table of Numbers of Kindergarten Teachers in Beijing Kindergartens, 1949-1953] (March 1953) BMA 11-1-79, p. 155.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid, 5.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

Federation noted, “Women were at first reluctant to send their children to daycare...but after an initial group of women sent their children, the other mothers saw how clean and fat the children were, so they were then willing to send their children as well.”<sup>30</sup> Despite overt comments on the part of the Women’s Federation, oral testimonies indicate that women in the countryside preferred to relay on mothers in-law or take their children out into the fields because they did not feel comfortable leaving them in daycare.<sup>31</sup>

Female workers were allowed to come to the nursery to breastfeed their children, but for only up to “a half an hour at most.”<sup>32</sup> During that half hour, the nannies lectured the mothers about proper hygiene and childrearing.<sup>33</sup> The Women’s Federation reported a dialogue between the two groups:

Some of the mothers said to the nannies: “How tired are you after a day of caring for the children?” The childcare workers responded, “Simply do your best to increase production, and it doesn’t matter if we are a little bit tired.” This [response] moved the mothers even more, and the managing director, Dong Xiuzhen, said to everyone, “The nannies treat our children so well that we need to be even more diligent in production in order to express our thanks!”<sup>34</sup>

有的母親對保育員說：“孩子交給你們一天，你們多累？”保育員回答：“只要你們在生產上好，我們累點也沒關係。”這樣更敢動了媽媽們，整理科董秀珍對大家說：“保育員對咱孩子這樣好，我們要在生產上更加努力，表示感謝！”

In the 1920s, the Chinese Communist Party had supported women workers in their strikes for the right to breastfeed at work. However, in the 1950s, the Women’s Federation assumed that female workers were completely fulfilled as the proletariat owners of the means of production, a precondition for satisfying the workers’ demands to breastfeed at work while also fulfilling statist goals for labor segregation and industrial discipline.

Despite the importance of socioeconomic class as an indicator of political identity, the history of the Women’s Federation reveals that neither class nor gender alone determined revolutionary fitness. In an internal report, the Women’s Federation reported that in a factory formerly subsidized by the Nationalist government (like those profiled in Chapter Five), female workers suffered from the wrong attitude; they

<sup>30</sup> “Zhonghua quanguo minzhu funü lianhehui funü lianhehu funü ertong fuli bubian,” 中華全國民主婦女聯合會婦女兒童福利部編 *Zenyang ban ertuozhan* 怎樣辦托兒站 [How to Establish a Children’s Station (Preschool)] (Beijing : Renmin jiaoyu chubanshe, 1953).

<sup>31</sup> Manning, 106.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> Breastmilk was considered better than cow’s milk, and the Shanghai Ministry of Health continued to encourage working mothers to breastfeed their children. In preschool, children were given cow’s milk every day. See Shanghai Weisheng Ju 上海衛生局 [Shanghai Ministry of Health], *Tuoersuo shipu* 托兒所食譜 [Nursery Diets] (Shanghai: Shanghai weisheng chubanshe, 1957) 1, 20.

<sup>34</sup> Li Huimin 李慧敏, “Tianjin Zhongfang Sanchang Tuoersuo shi Zenyang Peihe Dashengchan Yundong de,” 天津中紡三廠托兒所是怎樣配合大生產運動的 [How the Tianjin No. Three Silk Factory Preschool Promotes the Production Movement] in *Zenyang ban ertuozhan*, 65. Originally published: *Gongren Ribao* 工人日報 [Worker’s Daily] July 23, 1950. My translation.

“dreamed of marrying cadre, just as they had once dreamed of marrying bureaucrats.”<sup>35</sup> These female workers attempted to gain skills to safeguard against becoming expendable.<sup>36</sup> Even though the government often subsidized the living expenses or wages of staff, especially those who had multiple children, we can see here that Chinese Communists felt that the Nationalists had created expectations for charity without rigorous work.

The Women’s Federation handled special issues and took over during periods of transition. For example, the Women’s Federation managed the Shengci Preschool of Beijing during legal controversies in February 1950. In the midst of the Japanese Occupation in 1942, Shengci Preschool was founded in by Zhao Shixia, who had attended Huabei Medical School.<sup>37</sup> In 1949, the school submitted a pamphlet on infant care along with its rules and regulations. The school had 55 students aged 2 to 13. Most of the students had families, but eight children “belonged to the institution.”<sup>38</sup> After a doctor confirmed that a kindergartener was seriously ill, his mother and three other mothers brought a lawsuit against Zhao. A slew of accusations then dogged Zhao: failing to quarantine sick children, reserving medical rations for teachers rather than distributing them to children, watering down the children’s powdered milk,<sup>39</sup> and even selling orphans.<sup>40</sup>

Fantastically exceptional, this lengthy case expressed ongoing parental fears about mistreatment, especially malnutrition, and even kidnapping. In 1958, rumors circulated in the Chaoyang district that mothers were not allowed to breastfeed, and even that boys were being kidnapped and set to the USSR because of its gender imbalance.<sup>41</sup> There, women reportedly said, “If you want to take my child, you will have to kill me first!”<sup>42</sup> Even in 1958, government reports noted approvingly when women happily placed children in preschools.<sup>43</sup> While Zhao was facing criminal charges, the government placed the Women’s Federation in charge of the Board of Trustees.<sup>44</sup> The government also suspended subsidies for the school until the embezzled funds were repaid; the school submitted detailed lists of monthly expenditures in order to ensure the proper running of the school.<sup>45</sup> The Women’s Federation had argued that well-run preschools would grant parents the peace of mind necessary for efficient production, but this example shows us that adults continued to harbor suspicions about preschools and kindergartens.

<sup>35</sup> “Nugong gongzuo zongjie 1949\*10” [Summary of women workers’ work, October 1949] 女工工作總結 1949 年\* 10 Beijing Municipal Archives 101-001-00262 pg. 40

<sup>36</sup> “Nugong gongzuo Cailiao Zengli 1949\*7\*9,” [Collected materials of women worker’s work, July 9, 1949] 女工工作材料整理 1949\*7\*9 Beijing Municipal Archives 101-001-00262 pg. 25

<sup>37</sup> BMA 153-1-727, pp. 1-2.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 35.

<sup>39</sup> BMA 153-1-728.

<sup>40</sup> BMA 153-1-727, p. 135.

<sup>41</sup> BMA H1-179-1.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

<sup>43</sup> BMA 1-6-1377.

<sup>44</sup> BMA 153-1-739.

<sup>45</sup> BMA 153-1-729.



## STATE REGULATIONS

The Women's Federation helped to establish and led early childhood education, with help from the Bureau of Education and the Department of Health in handling issues of hygiene and public health in preschools and kindergartens. Preschool reports were sent to the Department of Health, while kindergarten reports were sent to the Department of Education. Although the government included kindergartens in documents and files for general primary and secondary education in the Municipal Board of Education (then called the *wenjiaoke* 文教科), the government also created a Bureau of Childhood Education (*youjiaoke* 幼教科) that coordinated files on preschool and kindergarten education.

The Women's Federation justified reforms by referring to the 1949 pro-tem constitution as an impetus for change. When establishing clinics or publishing books, the Women's Federation referred to Article 48, promoting public health and safeguarding the health of mothers, infants, and children. Article 42 called for the love of fatherland, the people, labor, science, and public property; these "five loves" constituted the Five Love Educational Campaign, developed in a series of conferences from 1949 to 1951, with feedback from schoolteachers who experimented with the program.<sup>46</sup> The replacement of these articles in the 1949 pro-tem constitution with relatively vague guidelines in the official constitution, on September 20, 1954, bespoke the difficulty of enacting these laws and regulations.<sup>47</sup> Despite the ineffectiveness of similar laws for childhood protection in the Nationalist period (discussed in Chapter Three), the Women's Federation acted as an enforcement mechanism in helping to carry out some of these directives.

The collection of data about families, a trend begun in the late Qing, culminated in regulations and practices by the People's Republic of China. Private kindergartens and preschools directly reported to the government. Each semester, private kindergartens filed reports to the Municipal Board of Education. In these reports, administrators and teachers responded to questions published in newspapers. With varying degrees of specificity, these reports evaluated political study sessions among teachers and their implementation of educational directives.<sup>48</sup> Teachers monitored students' health, preformed medical examinations, and recorded height and weight.<sup>49</sup> Teachers also systematically enumerated—sometimes with pie charts and graphs—the socioeconomic backgrounds of the parents of children in the school. These socio-economic categories varied and were sometimes idiosyncratic. Government officials then re-tabulated this information into larger statistical data about the socioeconomic composition of different

<sup>46</sup> Also see "Yingjie 'Liuyi' guoji ertongjie yinyibu kaizhan ertong gongzuo," 迎接「六一」國際兒童節 便進一步開展兒童工作 [Introducing May First International Children's Day to Develop Further Children's Work] in: Zhonghua quanguo funü lianhehui 中國全國婦女聯合會 [All China Women's Federation]. *Ertong Baoyu he fuying weisheng* 兒童保育和婦嬰衛生 [Children's Protection and Maternal and Infant Hygiene] (Xinhua Shudian, 1950), 4.

<sup>47</sup> Price, *Communist Education*, 29.

<sup>48</sup> "Guanyu Beijing shi you'eryuan yinian lai de qingkuang," 關於北京市幼兒園翌年來的情況匯報 BMA 1498-1499.

<sup>49</sup> BMA 153-4-2429.

types of schools.<sup>50</sup> Even though the Nationalist government also required extensive reporting and oversight, 1950s kindergarten reports sometimes included individual names of “special children,” thus arriving at a much more detailed level of oversight.

Government oversight was limited by practical concerns about processing paperwork. In 1950, the central government also began a program of directly monitoring selected kindergartens (meant to be representative rather than special),<sup>51</sup> but complained about the level of minute narrative detail seemingly unrelated to political concerns. Outside of these special schools, kindergarten reports to the municipal government became less detailed and more streamlined over the course of the decade. Administrators began to fill out forms within the spatial confines of pre-printed forms, rather than extemporaneously responding to general questions. These pre-printed forms presented standardized categories for tabulation.<sup>52</sup> For example, the preprinted forms provided tables about the numbers of ethnic minorities among the students and faculty.<sup>53</sup> These forms also asked for the highest degree of education attained by numbers of staff of different rank and reflect a continued concern for the professionalization of childcare staff.<sup>54</sup> The board of education also awarded special prizes to elementary and kindergarten teachers for excellent service.<sup>55</sup>

The drive to mobilize the female workforce sometimes conflicted with efforts to equalize socioeconomic inequalities because cadre schools were prioritized. There was an inequality in the spatial distribution of preschools that reflected pre-existing socioeconomic patterns. In 1950, the Beijing Municipal Government mapped all of the city’s schools, from kindergartens to middle schools and factory schools, by district, and charted plans to create new schools within the first Five Year Plan.<sup>56</sup> Although the distribution of these schools appeared to be equitable when sorted on paper by district,<sup>57</sup> the map showed that these schools were clustered in the economically prosperous regions of the city. When archivists in the Beijing Municipal Archives viewed the map, they voluntarily commented, to me, that Beijing continues to suffer from this unequal distribution; they still found it difficult in 2011 to find preschools and kindergartens for their own children, in the relatively underdeveloped southwestern quadrant of the city. Yet the existence of this map, and of government incentives to private citizens to open daycare, indicates that the government recognized the need to enhance geographical equity in the distribution and access to daycare. Despite this recognition, the government

<sup>50</sup> For instance, see BMA 153-1-561.

<sup>51</sup> “Zhongyuan renmin zhengfu jiaoyu bu zhishi chu yi zhi di 55 hao wei jianli zhijie lianxi lianxi xi xuanding ruogan xian he xiaoxue, youzhiyuan zhijie xiang wo bu huibao zhidui you,” 中央人民政府教育部指示初一字第 55 號為建立直接聯繫聯繫希選定若干縣和小學，幼稚園直接向我部匯報制度由 BMA 153-4-2117. One of the schools that was selected was Beijing’s Dafangjia Kindergarten; see BMA 153 004 02431.

<sup>52</sup> As one example of the printed form of the “Youeryuan baobiao” 幼兒園報表 [Kindergarten Report], see BMA 39-1-375 or BMA 39-1-401.

<sup>53</sup> For example, BMA 39-1- 375; BMA 39-1-385; BMA 39-1-399.

<sup>54</sup> BMA 39-1-375.

<sup>55</sup> BMA 153-4-264.

<sup>56</sup> BMA 2-2-218.

<sup>57</sup> BMA 153-1-561.

also faced logistical difficulties when schools were too far away from teachers' homes.<sup>58</sup> Furthermore, in order to facilitate the ultimate goal of mobilizing the female workforce, the government prioritized preschools for cadre and workers.

In Beijing, kindergartens expanded enrollment and classes, but that new kindergartens were generally not being built. In terms of kindergartens, in Beijing from 1949, there was growth in the number of municipal and work-unit kindergartens, but a slight reduction in the number of private kindergartens; one additional national-level kindergarten (from two to three) had been established in the intervening years.<sup>59</sup> There was a staggering amount of growth in the number of cohorts offered by municipal, affiliated, and private kindergartens, but slow growth the number of cohorts offered by national-level kindergartens.<sup>60</sup> The number of kindergarteners rose from 1,312 children in 1949 to 2,509 children in 1953 in municipal kindergartens; 663 children in 1949 to 2,042 children in 1953 in private kindergartens, and no children to 1,231 children in 1949 in work unit kindergartens. By contrast, the number of children in national-level kindergartens had increased only from 280 children in 1949 to 364 children in 1953.<sup>61</sup> In terms of teaching personnel, the number of staff at all schools increased, but it increased at a far greater ratio per student for national-level schools than for private schools.<sup>62</sup> These numbers indicate how many resources were being concentrated in national-level kindergartens from 1949 to 1953, especially relative to other types of kindergartens.

In the early 1950s, government laws encouraged the private expansion of kindergartens to meet the needs of working parents. Because of economic constraints and social need, the government gave latitude to childhood education. In 1956, the Beijing Municipal Department of Education wrote, "There are diverse types of kindergartens and there is no need, at present, to unify or standardize them."<sup>63</sup> Furthermore, the government actively encouraged private citizens to establish kindergartens by granting public prizes and plaques.<sup>64</sup> The government provisionally promoted private kindergartens because there was a far greater demand than supply. For example, in Beijing in July 1954, there were 1030 applicants, but only 190 spaces available, for the Dafangjia Hutong Kindergarten.<sup>65</sup> Thus, even in urban areas with a long

<sup>58</sup> Price, *Education in Communist China*, 113.

<sup>59</sup> "Beijingshi 1949-1953 nian gongsili youeryuan gaikuang," 北京市 1949—1953 年公私立幼兒園概況 [Conditions of Beijing municipal private and public kindergartens, 1949-1953] graph 1 BMA 11-1-79, p. 146.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., Graph 2, p. 146.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., Graph 7, p. 147.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., Graph 4, p. 147.

<sup>63</sup> "Guanyu tuersuo youeryuan jige wenti de lianhe tongzhi," 關於托兒所幼兒園幾個問題的聯合通知 in: Beijing Municipal Archives, ed. "Beijing Jiaoyu Dangan Wencui," Volume III, Huayi Publishing House, pg. 1506.

<sup>64</sup> "Beijingshi Jiaoyuju: Guanyu guanyu guanche jiguan qunzhong zi ban youzhiyuan wenti de baogao," 北京市教育局：關於貫徹機關群眾自辦幼稚園問題的報告 [Beijing Municipal Board of Education: Report on the Masses Themselves Opening Kindergartens] (54) 4382 in: Ibid, 1501.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid.

history of kindergartens, there was a pressing need for preschools and kindergartens.<sup>66</sup> In addressing this challenge, the Chinese state increased its emphasis on modernization and discipline.

As in the wartime Los Angeles Kindergarten, school planning and discipline became the priority in childhood education. In 1949, government files reported that preexisting schools lacked order and discipline.<sup>67</sup> Kindergartens and preschools were organized with greater oversight by administrators as well as more input from teachers.<sup>68</sup> The Beijing Municipal Women's Federation organized the May First Kindergarten (formerly the Los Angeles Kindergarten) according to interlocking divisions of teachers and administrators, with each group meeting once every two weeks; in conferences, teachers and staff discussed their "research" of childhood and childrearing issues, engaged in "criticism and self-criticism," and reviewed the leadership of the small-cell groups.<sup>69</sup> The division heads, who also met once every two weeks, discussed their observations of the teachers and suggestions proposed by teachers.<sup>70</sup> Teachers needed to create more detailed curricula, and schools outlined regular menus according to nutritional guidelines.<sup>71</sup> The Municipal Board of Education wanted to "change the classroom atmosphere of unruly, screaming children" and old practices of spoiled habits."<sup>72</sup> The government changed the term for "kindergartens from "childish gardens"

<sup>66</sup> For example, "Beijingshi Jiaoyuju: Guanyu guanyu guanche jiguan qunzhong zi ban youzhiyuan wenti de baogao," 北京市教育局：關於貫徹機關群眾自辦幼稚園問題的報告 [Beijing Municipal Board of Education: Report on the Masses Themselves Opening Kindergartens] (54) 4382 Ibid, 1501. This idea, about the prerequisite need for childhood education in order to mobilize women, is found in just about every notice that kindergartens were expanding to day-schools.

<sup>67</sup> "Shanghaishi Jiaoyuju dui gequ xiaoxue ji longya ertong xuexiao xingzheng ren yuan renmian de peiling (er)," 上海市教育局對各區小學及聾啞兒童學校行政人員任免的派令 (二) Shanghai Municipal Archives, B105-1-279 " (2/1951-10/1951)

<sup>68</sup> "Beijingshi wenjiaoj: guanyu xiafa youzhiyuan zhanxing guicheng cao'an yu youzhiyuan gongzuo ren yuan fuwu guicheng cao'an de tongzhi," 北京市文教委：關於下發幼稚園發行規程草案與幼稚園工作人員服務規程草案的通知 BMA 153-4-2441.

<sup>69</sup> Zhonghua Quanguo Minzhu Fumin Lianhehui, Funu Ertong Fuquanbu bian, 中華全國民主婦女聯合會，婦女兒童福權部編 [All-China Democratic Women's Federation, Women and Children's Welfare and Rights Bureau, ed], *Youer jiaoyu zong de jige wenti* 幼兒教育中的幾個問題 [Some Concerns in Childhood Education], (Beijing: Renmin Jiaoyu Chubanshe, 1953 [3<sup>rd</sup> printing]), 1.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> 關於街道幼兒園調查情況和意見 Beijing Municipal Archives, ed. "Beijing Jiaoyu Dangan Wencui," Volume III, Huayi Publishing House, 1539. Preschools did indeed offer lists of the food that they offered to children, for example, see 北京兒童福利示範佔交接清冊 BMA153-1-726, pg. 87; 105-06. In 1950, when the head of a preschool watered down the milk powder for her students in order to save money, and they became sick as a result, she was accused not only of neglecting the children (and "deceiving the parents" on "mother's day"), but also of embezzling funds and selling the orphans who were institutionalized in her school. As a result, not only was she punished, but her preschool/orphanage also came under the purview and control of the National Women's Control Association. See BMA 153-1-726; 153-1-727; 153-1-728; 153-1-729.

<sup>72</sup> "Beijingshi wenjiaoj: guanyu Beijingshi youeryuan yinianlai de qingkuang huibao," 北京市文教委：關於北京市幼兒園一年來的情況匯編 [Beijing Board of Education: Concerning the Collected Reports of Beijing Kindergartens in the Last Year] (August 5, 1952) BMA 153-1-718.

(*youzhiyuan* 幼稚園) to “children’s gardens” (*youeryuan* 幼兒園)<sup>73</sup> in part because kindergartens needed to be less “childish” and unruly. The ethos of health and discipline, and the sensibility of communalism and regimentation, structured even the kindergarten classroom. Thus, in the 1950s, regulations emphasized health and hygiene, enforced through strict discipline, rather than play and exploration that were highlights in Chen Heqin’s kindergartens.

#### POLITICAL DIMENSIONS OF HYGIENE IN THE KINDERGARTEN CLASSROOM

In this dissertation, we have seen that scientific experts and public administrators used hygiene as a foothold into factory floors, domestic spaces, and family life. Specifically, in Chapter Three, we saw that state economists advocated a type of “industrial hygiene” to encourage adult factory discipline by placing infants and toddlers in preschools. Like the Child Labor Commission, the Women’s Federation also associated preschool institutionalization with factory safety, and the government filed provisions for the creation of preschools for working mothers under the same file and rubric as factory safety and accident prevention.<sup>74</sup> According to Ruth Rogaski, hygienic modernity culminated in wartime propaganda that analogized enemies as bacteria during the Korean War.<sup>75</sup> James Pusey also blamed China’s human rights abuses on longstanding literary metaphors demonizing enemies.<sup>76</sup> Despite the long history of these metaphors, political and scientific analogies appeared fresh and new in kindergarten classrooms.

Teachers echoed the constitutional goal of “imparting a love of science” and hygiene (as one of the “five loves”) to children; however, it was not the idea of science, but the configuration of its political relationships, that was new. In 1950, teachers at the Bomin Kindergarten wrote:

Another misconception that we had in the past was that we felt satisfied with ourselves because we worked hard every day, and we were never late arriving or early leaving, so we could consider ourselves good citizens. Now we understand that this is not enough... workers and soldiers do so much for us, and we need to guide them in loving science and improving their hygienic habits. Only by accomplishing this can we be considered teachers of the people.<sup>77</sup>

If teachers and students had transitioned from subjects to citizens during the late Qing to the early Republic, these teachers clearly saw themselves as transitioning from “good citizens” to competent comrades. As “teachers of the people,” science education was an

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<sup>73</sup> BMA 153-4-2432.

<sup>74</sup> BMA 120-1-122.

<sup>75</sup> Ruth Rogawski, *Hygienic Modernity: Meanings of Health and Disease in Treaty-Port China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004).

<sup>76</sup> James Reeve Pusey, *Lu Xun and Evolution*, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998).

<sup>77</sup> BMA 153-4-2429, pg. 61. My translation.

important part of their mission. Even though teachers presented this objective as a new goal, the Nationalists had in fact long emphasized science education and good hygiene.<sup>78</sup>

Teachers mediated between family and state to help the government with its childhood vaccination campaigns. Vaccinations had been a part of Chen Heqin's Gulou Kindergarten curriculum in the 1920s as a part of a larger, longstanding urban concern. Continuing those trends, teachers lent their authority to promote vaccination health projects with government support. For instance, in Zhenbao Kindergarten in 1950, teachers "used red balls and praise as incentives for children to comply with vaccination shots; sometimes, when the children resist, the teachers model for the students."<sup>79</sup> In the early 1950s, kindergarten teachers combated tuberculosis through BCG injections.<sup>80</sup> Parents were initially reluctant to vaccinate their children with the experimental drug. But after a school lecture, and promises to pay by school administrators for hospital fees if the children experienced any negative side effects, parents vaccinated not only their kindergarteners, but also the younger siblings in their families.<sup>81</sup> Thus, with the help of teachers, kindergartens provided a venue for government campaigns into the realm of family life. In government documents, pediatricians claimed that the government had "fundamentally eliminated" diseases like smallpox through public health campaigns<sup>82</sup> and claimed that infant mortality dropped from 124.9 per thousand in 1948 to 46.1 per thousand in 1954.<sup>83</sup> The Director of the Children's Hospital in Peking wrote, "I firmly believe that in our prosperous and happy big family under socialism, all children will be able to enjoy a happy and healthy childhood, and grow into well-developed men and women."<sup>84</sup>

Teachers integrated health and political education together throughout the curriculum. In an article for a government educational journal, teacher Ren Yichun argued that her school needed to reinforce and integrate political messages into the larger curriculum, and she drew in a patriotic message about protecting national property in a lesson about personal hygiene.<sup>85</sup> Likewise, in archival reports to the municipal government, teachers report the seamlessness of science lessons and political slogans in the classroom. For example, in a lesson on combating pests, a group of kindergarteners volunteered observations and comments that culminated in the following lines:

Swatting a fly seems like [throwing] a hand grenade;  
Fight, quickly slap, slap.  
Don't wait for it to lay eggs.

<sup>78</sup> Megan Greene, *The Origins of the Developmental State in Taiwan: Science Policy and the Quest for Modernization* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008).

<sup>79</sup> BMA 153-4-2429, 153.

<sup>80</sup> BMA 153-4-2427, p. 103.

<sup>81</sup> BMA 153-4-2427, p. 104.

<sup>82</sup> Chu Fu-tang, "Protecting the Health of Children," *Children of China* (1956), 8.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

<sup>85</sup> Ren Yichun 任一春, "Woxiao jinxing jiankang jiaoyu de jige wenti," 我校進行健康教育的幾個問題 [Some issues regarding how my school enacts health education] *Jiaoyu yongxun* No. 1, Vol 5, Issue 24 (June 1, 1951), 18.

More and more [flies] come to harm humanity,  
Quickly strike the enemy.

蒼蠅拍好像手榴彈，  
大家快快早下手，  
不要等它甩了子，  
越來越多來害人，  
快快起來打敵人。

The teacher was obviously impressed with the powerful imagery of warfare. The slogan associated the hand as a projectile from an instrument of war; the arch of the arm, and the slam of the hand, struck with the force of a grenade. This image, commented the report, “was one that the teachers would never have imagined.” Although the class must have regularly sung about Nationalist reactionaries as well as the Korean War, the teacher credited her students with associating insect extermination with enemy combat. The class continued to revise these slogans throughout their course on hygiene and science. After one child commented that his mother “said to spray DDT,” the children decided to add the lines:

Throughout the kitchen and bathroom, we spray DDT,  
And exterminate the enemy thoroughly.

我們噴射滴滴涕，蚊蠅地，廚房廁所都噴到，  
消滅敵人要徹底。<sup>86</sup>

In Chinese, the word-compound for *enemy* contains the element of *person*, so the original clearly transitions from the pestilent insect to the human foe.

The teacher emphasized the voices of the students themselves and named each child individually as a contributor to a larger discussion about pests and politics. Thus, the class worked as a committee to create content that the teacher deemed to be more imaginative than, and thus superior to, top-down curricula. Her attitude reflects other comments about the kindergarteners, who were more “revolutionary” and “progressive” than their old-fashioned teachers. These teachers may have simply been echoing what they thought that the municipal authorities wanted to hear and to prove the strength of the teachers’ political effectiveness. However, in the context of public criticisms of educators, teachers may have wanted to efface their own roles and to depict students as the vanguard of the classroom. The true agency of the students may never be entirely clear, but these classroom strategies helped continue the development of “scripts” for childhood performance.

#### A MODEL KINDERGARTEN

After 1949, the Los Angeles Kindergarten was renamed “May First Kindergarten” and transferred to Beijing as a national-level school. Within the unique political jurisdiction of Beijing as both the national capital and its own province, May First Kindergarten and other schools were among a few elite schools directly subordinate to

<sup>86</sup> Beijing Municipal Archives 153-4-2427, pg. 107.

the central government. The government then shifted this kindergarten, along with two elementary schools, from central to municipal control despite continuing partial federal subsidies.<sup>87</sup> The government would continue to pay 1,247,043,844 yuan and expected the municipal government to cover the excess of 8,353,956,156 yuan for the full-time May First Kindergarten;<sup>88</sup> this budget was far greater than the estimated 2,115.05 yuan allocated for the 1958 budget of a part-time kindergarten in the Xuanwu district.<sup>89</sup> Especially as the initial Soviet loans were running out, the government reevaluated educational costs. For example, the State Council (*guowuyuan* 國務院) also proposed eliminating subsidies for middle-school normal students if they were from relatively affluent families.<sup>90</sup> Just as the Nationalists had faced in the postwar period, the government could not push expenses onto parents without encountering some degree of backlash.

The Beijing government took a strategic and incremental approach to raising tuition. In 1957, the municipal government discussed increasing tuition fees for cadre schools to cover growing costs.<sup>91</sup> In 1958, administrators proposed extending care to cover summer and winter breaks as an impetus to charge more money for tuition fees.<sup>92</sup> This plan would achieve state goals of mobilizing the female labor force while solving the problem of increasing institutional costs; schoolteachers and caregivers would take vacations on a rotating basis to maintain staff levels without violating workers rights. In keeping with this logic, officials advocated increasing fees “while parents are pleased with new regulations that allow kindergartens to operate during winter and summer breaks.”<sup>93</sup> These officials completely misread the expectations and attitudes of parents.

Cadre parents directly protested to the Beijing mayor, Peng Zhen 彭真 (1902-1997). In a letter, one anonymous parent complained that the tuition for a single child to enter May First Kindergarten would be raised 40 RMB; yet, the average cadre’s salary was only 80 to 100 RMB per month, so the educational expenses of a *single* child was now roughly half of the parents’ income.<sup>94</sup> Because of pro-natalist government policies,<sup>95</sup> many cadre families had multiple children, so the tuition increases made it impossible for most households to send all their children to school.<sup>96</sup> (The writer further complained

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<sup>87</sup> BMA 002-004-00125, p. 29.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid.

<sup>89</sup> BMA 39-1-405.

<sup>90</sup> BMA 2-10-224, p. 12.

<sup>91</sup> BJMA 002-009-00169.

<sup>92</sup> BMA 002-010-00227.

<sup>93</sup> Wang Dujian to the Shi Renmin Weiyuanhui BMA 002-10-221, p. 3.

<sup>94</sup> BMA 001-006-01269.

<sup>95</sup> Although the PRC, to some degree, began to become concerned about population control in the 1950s, continued the legacy of “prenatal communist military doctors and staffed by anti-contraceptive holdovers from the Republican period.” Susan Greenhalgh, *Governing China’s Population: From Leninist to Neoliberal Biopolitics* (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2005) 65. Wang Zheng suggests that housewives in the All-Democratic Women’s Federation wanted to limit birth, but their voices were silenced by pro-natalist government policy: “‘State Feminism’? Gender and Socialist State Formation in Maoist China,” *Feminist Studies* 31, no. 3 (October 1, 2005): 519-551.

<sup>96</sup> BJMA 001-006-01269.



that these fee increases were announced *after* the school year had started and other schools had already been filled, so there were no other options available.) Because the letter writer was familiar with internal government documents, he or she knew that the government had increased its school budget from 38,189,000 *yuan* in 1957 to 40,540,000 *yuan* in 1958.<sup>97</sup> Thus, parents' positions inside the government directly influenced their assessment of the true financial conditions the schools. Furthermore, the letter writer placed these economic figures in a specific context that differentiated the new socio-economic classes of the Communist era.

Responding with vehement offense at reports of “special privileges” of cadre schools, the letter writer protected cadre from accusations that would label cadre families as elite. Critics in the central government had warned that cadre was forming “a new class of nobility who were separated from the masses.”<sup>98</sup> In response, the parent insisted that such critics did not understand the unique childcare needs of cadre households. Cadre mothers sent “their children to boarding schools,” the parent wrote, “not because they hoped to receive special treatment, but because they need to resolve practical childcare problems.” Furthermore, the letter writer further parsed class categories to create new divisions, claiming that an analysis of the tuition and salary figures showed that the new tuition costs would divide the “high-class cadre” (*gaoji ganbu*) with “middle-to-low-level cadre” (*zhongxiaceng ganbu*), who would be completely cut off from the possibility of going to school at all; thus, “high-class cadre will not only be cut off from the masses, but cut off even from the middle-to-low-level cadre.” This assault on high-level government administration continued:

Furthermore, if “Northern Sea,” “May First” and other kindergartens' equipment are relatively better [than non-cadre schools], with some “gentrification,” in order to impress foreign visitors, this was the illness of contemporary leaders [who established the schools] and was definitely not the demand of the kindergarteners' parents, so if we push the burden of this over-expansion onto the shoulders of the parents, it is not entirely fair.

另外“北海”、“六一”等幼儿园的设备条件较好,有些“贵族化”,有的是为了给外国人来参观,这是当时领导上涉及的毛病,并不是幼儿家长的要求,如今把这些幼儿园过大的开支家在家长身上,拟也不完全合理。<sup>99</sup>

Thus, the letter writer levied the familiar complaint—that Chinese were toadying to impress foreign powers—at the government administration itself. We have seen this complaint emerge as accusations of Qing-dynasty capitulation to Western semi-colonialism and missionary “slave education,” and protests that Nationalists had practiced “America worship.” The letter writer also incorporated long-standing Communist complaints during the Nationalist era that the lower classes had to pay for the high-level government mismanagement. Both the critique—that the schools had become elite institutions that had “separated from the masses”—and the response—that cadre should be further disaggregated into separate sub-classes—formed repeated refrains during the Cultural Revolution.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid, pg. 4.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid, pg. 2.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid. My translation.

Municipal response to this letter was swift and decisive. The letter was stamped as urgent, copied, and circulated. Under the leadership of cadre Zhang Youyu, in cooperation with the mayor and vice-mayor of Beijing, the government committed to lowered tuition increases to 5 yuan for living expenses, while investigating ways to reduce costs.<sup>100</sup> For example, instead of schools providing school uniforms, parents could buy clothes for the children.<sup>101</sup> Belt-tightening was still a struggle, however. Cadre kindergartens and preschools had provided a costly bus service that delivered children home, and cadre parents were loathe to give up this service because the schools were located far from city centers.<sup>102</sup>

### CONCLUSIONS

Despite important political shifts in the twentieth century, certain continuities remained. State modernizers had predicted that preschools would help to galvanize the Chinese economy by allowing women to work and by facilitating discipline in factories. Preschools would also help prevent the spread of disease through vaccination and scientific approaches to modern childrearing. By providing parents with additional resources, information, and support, preschool education had been meant, since the late Qing dynasty, to buttress “family education” and the strength of the Chinese family as the foundation of the state. Even in the revolutionary 1950s, the Chinese Communist Party continued to champion the idea of a strong and healthy family.

These promises belied difficulties in the implementation of state-wide plans. The idea that all children deserved a happy childhood revealed huge inequalities between the wealthy and the poor. Because, as Janet Chen has argued, welfare institutions campaigned against “indigence” rather than poverty, there was a gross difference between such institutions and the ideal of a non-productive childhood. Many poor, working mothers were reluctant to entrust their children in factory crèches, concerned especially about breastfeeding and the proper nutrition of their children. These concerns about malnutrition continued, especially during the famine years of the Great Leap Forward. Even though the socioeconomic makeup of the elite had changed, there remained huge discrepancies between elite and non-elite schools. Because preschools were meant to socialize children, government leaders worked to forestall the possibility that the children of cadre at May First Kindergarten would grow up separated from the masses. However, questions of equity and distribution were structural, rather than ideological, issues; furthermore, the more preschools established by the Women’s Federation in the Great Leap Forward, the less control the government had over the quality of staff or kindergartens.

Whereas Chinese leadership had been a sufficient qualification for the indigenization of education in the 1920s and 1930s, the Chinese Communist Party shifted these terms from race to class, so that what mattered most was not the educator’s racial

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<sup>100</sup> BMA 2-6-169, p. 11.

<sup>101</sup> Letter from Wang Dujian to the Renmin Weiyuanhui, (March 18, 1957) BMA 2-6-169, p. 14.

<sup>102</sup> BMA 2-6-1969.

category, but his class background. It was only after the post-reform era of the 1980s that Chen's sanguine confidence in the innate uniqueness of Chineseness would once again seem reasonable and attractive. 1980 was roughly the date of the enforcement of the one-child policy. That year, Chen revised his parenting manual and reapplied to the Chinese Communist Party, and he succeeded. In what seems like an ironic twist of affairs, what had changed was not so much Chen, but rather the Chinese Communist Party's receptivity to the type of bourgeois sentimentalism that they felt Chen embodied. His edited parenting manual was republished six times in two years, and it now joins shelves of books about rearing only children and training one's child to get into Harvard. The reemergence of Chen's work demonstrates his contributions and, in fact, his success as an actor across both shifts in his career—both his appropriation of racial categories and then his later embrace of Socialism.

In many ways, the CCP seems to be returning to the openness of the 1920s and 1930s. China welcomes a bourgeois, sentimental image of childhood and youth, even in the corporate packaging of a consumer youth culture with global reach—which intersects, for example, with China's "little emperor" phenomenon. However, the utilitarian subservience of this ideal of childhood to the relentless pursuit of academic achievement and upward mobility reveals that questions of ideological drive behind its sentimental appeal remain pertinent and important—and that Chineseness, and especially little Chineseness, is as much a contested site as it ever was.

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- Beijing Municipal Archives 153-4-2426. “Ge shili youzhiyuan 1949 niandu diyi xueqi gongzuo zongjie.” 各私立幼儿园 1949 年度第一学期工作总结 [Summary semester reports of kindergartens in the first semester of 1949.] January 1, 1949 to December 31, 1949.
- Beijing Municipal Archives 153-4-2427. “Ge shili youzhiyuan 1949 niandu diter xueqi gongzuo zongjie.” 各市立幼儿园 1949 年度第二学期工作总结 [Summary semester reports of kindergartens in the second semester of 1949.] January 1, 1949 to December 31, 1949.
- Beijing Municipal Archives 153-4-2428. “Ge shili youzhiyuan 1949 niandu diyi xueqi gongzuo zongjie.” 各市立幼稚园 1949 年度第一学期工作总结 [Summary semester reports of kindergartens in the first semester of 1949 (includes reports from a different set of schools than in 153-4-2426.)] January 1, 1949 to December 31, 1949.
- Beijing Municipal Archives 153-4-2429. “Ge shili youzhiyuan 1949 niandu diter xueqi gongzuo zongjie.” 各市立幼儿园 1949 年度第二学期工作总结 [Summary semester reports of kindergartens in the second semester of 1949.] January 1, 1949 to December 31, 1949.
- Beijing Municipal Archives 153-4-2431. “Guanyu xuanding shili fensiting ji Dafangjia youeryuan zuowei shiyanyuan de tongzhi.” [Notice regarding the selection of the municipal sub-division office and Dafang Kindergarten to serve as a lab school.]

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- Beijing Municipal Archives 153-4-2436. “1950 niandu diyi xueqi gongzuo zongjie ge shili youerzhiyuan.” 1950 年度第一学期工作总结《各市立幼儿园》 January 1, [Summary semester reports of *public kindergartens* in the first semester of 1950.] 1950 to December 31, 1950
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- Beijing Municipal Archives 153-4-2438 “1950 niandu di’er xueqi gongzuo zongjie (yi).” 各幼儿园 1950 年第二学期工作总结（一） [Summary semester reports of kindergartens in the first semester of 1950 (one).] January 1, 1950 to December 31, 1950
- Beijing Municipal Archives 153-4-2439 “1950 niandu di’er xueqi gongzuo zongjie (er).” 各幼儿园 1950 年第二学期工作总结（二） [Summary semester reports of kindergartens in the first semester of 1950 (two).] January 1, 1950 to December 31, 1950
- Beijing Municipal Archives 153-4-2441. “Guanyu taolun youzhiyuan tingxing guicheng cao’an de tongzhi.” 关于讨论幼稚园暂行规程草案的通知 [Draft interim order regarding kindergartens.] January 1, 1951 to December 31, 1951
- Beijing Municipal Archives 153-4-2442 “Guanyu taolun youzhiyuan tingxing guicheng cao’an de tongzhi.” 关于讨论幼稚园暂行规程草案的通知 [Draft interim order regarding kindergartens.] January 1, 1951 to December 31, 1951
- Beijing Municipal Archives 153-4-2444. “1951 niandu ge youeryuan di’yi, er xueqi gongzuo zongjie.” 1951 年度各幼儿园第一、二学期工作总结 [Summary semester reports of kindergartens in the first and semester of 1951.] January 1, 1951 to December 31, 1951
- Beijing Municipal Archives 153-4-2445 “Sili quan rui, shili yongguangsi youeryuan he shifan xuexiao fushu youeryuan gongzuo zongjie.” 私立全瑞、市立永光寺幼儿园和师范学校附属幼儿园工作总结 [Summary work reports of the private Quanrui kindergarten, public Yongguangsi Kindergarten and the Normal School Affiliated Kindergarten] January 1, 1951 to December 31, 1951

- Beijing Municipal Archives 153-4-2447. “Beijingshi gongsiting youeryuan diaocha baobiaoshi *jiaoyubu yinfa*.” 北京市公司厅幼儿园调查报告书《教育部印发》 [Beijing City Hall kindergarten’s investigative report, *Issued by the Board of Education*.] January 1, 1952 to December 31, 1952
- Beijing Municipal Archives 153-4-2448. “Youeryuan bianzhi wenti.” 幼儿园编制问题 [The question of the organization of kindergartens.] January 1, 1952 to December 31, 1952
- Beijing Municipal Archives 153-4-2453. “Jiaoyubu guanyu youeryuan zhanxing guicheng *cao’an* shiyong qixian de tongzhi.” 教育部关于幼儿园暂行规程《草案》使用期限的通知 [Board of Education kindergarten interim regulations draft and notice of period of enforcement.] January 1, 1953 to December 31, 1953
- Beijing Municipal Archives 153-4-2461. “Youeryuan cailiao.” 幼儿园教材 [Kindergarten educational materials.] January 1, 1953 to December 31, 1953
- Beijing Municipal Archives 153-4-2462. “Guanyu zhaokai Jing Jin liangshi youeryuan jiaoyangyuan gongzuo jingyan jiaoliu de tongshi.” 关于召开京津两市幼儿园教养员工作经验交流会的通知 [Conference for kindergarten teaching staff in Beijing and Tianjin to exchange work experiences.] January 1, 1954 to December 31, 1954
- Beijing Municipal Archives 153-4-2463. “Guanyu youeryuan jiben shebei he sheji zeliao.” 关于幼儿园基本设备和设计资料 [Concerning basic equipment and design plans for kindergartens.] January 1, 1954 to December 31, 1954
- Beijing Municipal Archives 153-4-2464. “Guanyu chedi jiguan, junzong ziban youeryuan wenti he youguan fangzhen de xuanchuan banfa.” 关于贯彻机关、群众自办幼儿园问题和有关方针的宣传办法 [Plans for kindergartens implemented by government organs, but run by the masses and related policy measures] January 1, 1954 to December 31, 1954
- Beijing Municipal Archives 153-4-2466. “1954 shili youeryuan zhaosheng banfa he qingkuang.” 1954 年市立幼儿园招生办法和情况 [Recruitment measures by public kindergartens in 1954.] January 1, 1954 to December 31, 1954
- Beijing Municipal Archives 153-4-2467. “Beihai youeryuan zhidu, zhanxing guiding he gongzuo ren yuan shougui.” 北海幼儿园制度、暂行规定和工作人员守则 [Beihai kindergarten administration, interim regulations and personnel rules.] January 1, 1954 to December 31, 1954
- Beijing Municipal Archives 153-4-2468. “1954 niandu youeryuan gongzuo jihua.” 1954 年度幼儿园工作计划 [1954 kindergarten work plans.] January 1, 1954 to December 31, 1954
- Beijing Municipal Archives 153-4-2471. “Buzhu shili youeryuan shebei, wanju he yangzheng, tongsheng deng siliyuan jingfei buzhu de qingshi.” 补助私立幼儿园设备、玩具和养正、通胜等私立园申请经费补助的请示 [Requests to subsidize equipment and toys for public kindergarten and private kindergartens such as Yangzheng and Tongshen.] January 1, 1954 to December 31, 1954

- Beijing Municipal Archives 153-4-2472. “Youeryuan zhaosheng gongzuo youguan cailiao.” 幼儿园招生工作有关材料 [Materials regarding kindergarten recruitment and enrollment.] January 1, 1955 to December 31, 1955
- Beijing Municipal Archives 153-4-2475. “Zuzhi youeryuan xiaozu jiancha de youguan cailiao.” 组织幼儿园小组检查的有关材料 [Materials regarding small teams to investigate kindergartens.] January 1, 1955 to December 31, 1955
- Beijing Municipal Archives 153-4-2478. “Youeryuan gongzuo jihua zongjie.” 幼儿园工作计划和总结 [Summary report of kindergarten work.] January 1, 1955 to December 31, 1955
- Beijing Municipal Archives 153-4-2480. “Renmin laixin fanying di’si, diliu youeryuan yuanzhang gongzuo zhong de wenti bing jianyi chengli wanju yanjiuhui.” 人民来信反映第四、第六幼儿园园长工作中的问题并建议成立玩具研究会 [Letters from private citizens (parents and staff) regarding no. 4, no. 6 kindergarten principals and a question regarding the establishment of a toy research society.] January 1, 1955 to December 31, 1955
- Beijing Municipal Archives 153-4-2481. “Zhongyang jiaoyubu guanyu youeryuan youer zuoxi zhidu he gexiang huodong de guiding.” 中央教育部关于幼儿园幼儿作息制度和各项活动的规定 [Central Board of Education activity regulations regarding work and leave regulations for kindergarten staff.] January 1, 1956 to December 31, 1956 (Also available in the published archival collection.)
- Beijing Municipal Archives 153-4-2482. “Zhongyang jiaoyubu jieshao guanyu shidao gongzuo de wenjian ji shidao dongdan qu youeryuan jiaoyu gongzuo jihua.” 中央教育部介绍关于视导工作的文件及视导东单区幼儿园教育工作的计划、总结 [Federal Board of Education documents regards the oversight work and plans to oversee the Dongdan district kindergarten educational work.] January 1, 1956 to December 31, 1956
- Beijing Municipal Archives 153-4-2483. “Guanyu buzhu jiedao you’eryuan feiyong de qingsi he fenpei qingkuang.” 关于补助街道幼儿园费用的请示和分配情况 [File regarding subsidy situation for street children’s centers’ expenses.] January 1, 1956 to December 31, 1956
- Beijing Municipal Archives 153-4-2490. “Bufen shili you’eryuan gongzuo jihua he zongjie.” 部分市立幼儿园工作计划和总结 [Summary work reports of some public kindergartens]. January 1, 1956 to December 31, 1956
- Beijing Municipal Archives 153-4-2491. “Zaolin qian jie deng wu ge you’eryuan laixin fanying gongzuo zhong de kunnan ji shili di liu you’eryuan yaoqiu jianmian jiaoyangyuan zhu yuan fangzu shuidian fei he jiaju fei de qingshu.” 枣林前街等五个幼儿园来信反映工作中的困难及市立第六幼儿园要求减免教养员住园房租水电费和家俱费的请示 [Letters from Zaolin Street and other kindergartens, reflecting the difficulty in their work and public no. six kindergarten’s request to reduce (subsidize) the water, electric, and boarding expenses. (The caregivers live far away from their homes, and often cannot return home at night, so they incur

- greater expenses when they sleep at the kindergarten.)). January 1, 1956 to December 31, 1956
- Beijing Municipal Archives 153-4-2493. “Beijing shi yuetuo tuo’ersuo, youeryuan zhaoshou ertong zhangcheng *cao’an* ji duanji you’er shifan ban, you’er shifan xuexiao zhaosheng tongzhi.” 北京市月托托儿所、幼儿园招收儿童章程<草案>及短期幼儿师范班、幼儿师范学校招生通知 [Draft of Beijing city monthly preschool center, kindergarten recruitment and enrollment regulations and short-term childcare education teaching programs, and notice of recruitment for childhood education programs.] January 1, 1957 to December 31, 1957
- Beijing Municipal Archives 153-4-2609. “Guanyu jieban Yucai, Huabei xiaoxue, liuyi you’eryuan jiaotong bu, renming yinhang zidi xiaoxue juan.” 关于接办育才、华北小学、六一幼儿园交通部、人民银行子弟小学卷 [Running Yucai and Huabei elementary schools and Liuyi kindergarten and the elementary school for children of those working at People’s Bank]. January 1, 1952 to December 31, 1952.
- Beijing Municipal Archives 153-4-2612. “Zhong xiaoxue, you’eryuan gongnong zhi, yeyu xiaoxue pucha cailiao.” 中小学、幼儿园、工农职、业余学校普查材料 [Investigation materials regarding primary and secondary school, kindergartens, and schools for workers, farmers, and other industries.] January 1, 1952 to December 31, 1952
- Beijing Municipal Archives 153-4-2619. “Sili zhongxiaoxue youzhiyuan zhizi banxuexiao gaikuang.” 私立中小学幼稚园识字班学校概况 [Situation regarding private primary and secondary education and kindergartens, and literacy schools.]. January 1, 1953 to December 31, 1953.
- Beijing Municipal Archives 153-4-264. “Beijingshi gequ xiaoxue, youeryuan, shoujiang ren yuan qingkuang (yi).” 北京市各区小学、幼儿园受奖人员情况卷（一） [Information on awarded teaching staff of Beijing elementary and kindergarten (one).] January 1, 1955 to December 31, 1955.
- Beijing Municipal Archives 153-4-50. “Zhongyang jiaoyubu zhuanfa guowuyuan guanyu gongtie qiye ziban zhongxiaoxue le you’eryuan de guiding.” 中央教育部转发国务院关于工矿企业自办中小学了幼儿园的规定 [Federal Bureau of Education’s submission to the State Department regulations concerning primary and secondary schools and kindergartens run by the mining industry] January 1, 1955 to December 31, 1955
- Beijing Municipal Archives 153-4-784. “Youguan zhongxiaoxue, youeryuan, tuoersuo jiaozhigong shenghuo fuli wenti.” 有关中小学、幼儿园、托儿所教职工生活福利问题 [Concerning standard-of-living welfare concerns for elementary, middle school, and kindergarten staff.] January 1, 1956 to January 1, 1957.
- Beijing Municipal Archives 153-4-821. “Beijing shifan fushu xiaoxue, Yuying Xiaoxue ji youeryuan jiaozhigong mingce.” 北京师范大学附属小学、育英小学及幼儿园教职工名册 [Beijing Normal affiliated elementary school, Yucai elementary school and kindergarten staff rosters.] January 1, 1957 to January 1, 1958.



- Beijing Municipal Archives 196-1-83. 1949. Beiping Shimin Zhengju. Investigation of a case of food poisoning that was put into the rice, donated by the United Nations, for children. Includes information about the hospitals that the patients went to. The rice was eaten three times, and the poison was put in between the second and third times that it was eaten. The rice had been given to the Fragrant Hills Orphanage. Includes information about the four directors of Fragrant Hills. All four had studied abroad—three in the United States and one in Japan.
- Beijing Municipal Archives 2-1-76. “Huabei renmin zhengfu zhengbu guanyu chongxin guiding shuishou ruku zhe mibanfa, beipingshi junguanqu 3 yuefen shuijin gongzi mi jia tongzhi, chengshi qiren yixia xiao danwei shixing bao gan tonggei zhi de tongzhi, huoshifei, gong zafei jisuan biao zhun de tongzhi, qiansan jiu renyuan buzhu fei ji lufeifei banfa, baoyuyuan, tuosuo yifa xiangshou bayou youer gonggei biao zhun.” 华北人民政府财政部关于重新规定税收收入库折米办法、事业费米价折算办法、北平市军管区3月份薪金工资米价通知、城市七人以下小单位实行包干供给制的通知、伙食费、公杂费计算标准的通知、遣散旧人员补助费及路费发给办法、保育院、托儿所依法享受保育幼儿供给标准 [Huabei bureau of civil affairs and ministry of finance standards regarding methods to re-provision taxes on stored rice, conversion standards regarding the price of rice, notice regarding Beijing police’s salaries for march, notice regarding units of seven people or less, severance allowances, notice regarding standard plans for miscellaneous fees, severance (retirement) allowances for the elderly, standard (subsidies) for orphanages and preschools.] March 1, 1949 – November 30, 1949.
- Beijing Municipal Archives 2-10-221. “Jiaoyuju guanyu youeryuan cunzai de wenti, zai gongyuan nei kaizhan erbu zhi xuesheng xiaowai huadong, diaocha tongzhou deng sigu qu zhongxin xiaoxue fei biao zhun de qingshi ji renwei bangongting de pifu.” [Request for instructions by the Bureau of Education concerning the existence of kindergartens, the extracurricular activities, and standard expenses for elementary school students and the response of the Office of the People’s Committee.] 教育局关于幼儿园存在的问题、在公园内开展二部制学生校外活动、调整通州等四个区中心小学杂费标准的请示及人委办公厅的批复 February 1, 1958 to August 31, 1958.
- Beijing Municipal Archives 2-10-224. “Guowuyuan zhuanfa di’er bangongshi guanyu gaijin zhongyang guojia jiguan youeryuan, tuosuo gongzuo de baogao, jiaoyubu guanyu zengjia gaoxiao zhaosheng renwu, daixun gezhong zhuan ye jishu renyuan de han, renwei bangongting guanyu baosong xuesheng dao Nanjing hangxiao xuexi de han, jiaoyubu guanyu gaoxiao peiyang yanjiu de han, weihua, caizhengju guanyu diaozheng xiqu xuexiao zhuxuejin, yiyao fei biao zhun de qingshi ji renwei ban.” 国务院转发第二办公室关于改进中央国家机关幼儿园、托儿所工作的报告、教育部关于增加高校招生任务、代训各种专业技术人员的函、人委办公厅关于保送学生到南京航校学习的函、教育部关于高校培养研究生的函、文化、财政局关于调整戏曲学校助学金、医药费标准的请示及人委办

- [Reports, forwarded from the Department of State to the second office, regarding changes in federal key kindergarten and preschool work; files from the Board of Education regarding the cultivation of graduate students; the Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Finance regarding adjustments in opera school scholarships, and questions about standards for medical-school tuition.] January 1, 1958 to July 31, 1958.
- Beijing Municipal Archives 2-10-227. “Jiaoyuju guanyu yanchang zhong, xiaoxue hanjia shijian, youeryuan zhengban he bu fanghanjia renyuan zhuanxiu, jiaoshi gongzuo fuxi shou zhongxiaoxue ganbu gongzuo qingkuang, diaozheng ertong jiaoyangyuan, juban chuanguang ganbu xuexiao bu ban he daike jiaoshi gongzuo fuxi shou.” 教育局关于延长中、小学寒假时间、幼儿园增班和不放寒假人员轮休、教师工作服吸收中小学干部工作情况、调整儿童教养院、举办厂矿干部学校补班和代课教师转正的请示及人委办公厅的批复 [The Board of Education’s review over extending the primary and secondary school winter vacation and increasing the number of kindergarten classes and the winter-vacation staff’s rest days (in rotation), cadre work situation concerning primary and secondary schools, adjustment of youth centers, and review and approval of requests to hold classes in cadre schools, factories, and mines.] December 1, 1957 to April 30, 1958.
- Beijing Municipal Archives 2-15-392. “Jiaoyuju guanyu gaibian shisuo zhong, xiaoxue xingzheng lingdao guanxi, minzhengju, jiaoyuju, tuanshiwei guanyu xingdao.” 教育局关于改变十所中、小学行政领导关系、民政局、教育局、团市委关于街道少年儿童活动经费、郊区、县中、小学住宿费伙食管理费、校外教育活动、中、小学校历、中小学、幼儿园请假办法、组织归侨学生暑期活动、广播函授毕业生升学就业安排、驻外工作人员子女寄宿制学校问 [The Board of Education regarding changing the administrative leadership relations of ten primary and secondary schools; the Bureau of Civil Affairs and the Board of Education and the Municipal Council regarding (institutionalized) street youth activity expenses; district and county elementary school and middle school boarding fees and food management fees, extra curricular activities; primary and secondary school and kindergarten requests for vacation; the organization of returned (overseas Chinese) summer-vacation activities, broadcasting correspondence, arrangements for graduates to find jobs, and the question of school and board for children of staff dispatched overseas.] March 1, 1953 to December 31, 1963.
- Beijing Municipal Archives 2-15-50. “Minzheng deng ju guanyu ertong jiaoyang renyuan peibei, xicheng renwei juban jiaogong youeryuan, weishengju zai Beiyisan fu yiyuan ban hushi xuexiao, jiaoyuju deng danwei jinyibu diaocha zhongdeng shifan, laodongju huifu sisuo jixiao, wenhuaju zhexiao liu qiye yu wenhua ganxiao de qingshi ji renwei bangongting de pifu.” 民政等局关于儿童教养人员配备、西城人委举办教工幼儿园、卫生局在北医三附医院办护士学校、教育局等单位进一步调整中等师范、劳动局恢复四所技校、文化局撤销六联业余

- 文化干校的请示及人委办公厅的批复 [Bureau of Civil Affairs approval of childcare staff and the Xicheng People's Committee Kindergarten, Ministry of Health's No 3 Affiliated Hospital's Nursing School, Ministry of Education and other units' efforts to ] May 1, 1957 to December 31, 1963.
- Beijing Municipal Archives 2-16-401. "Jiaoyuju guanyu jieguan youeryuan, bayoujie kaizhan re'ai haizi pingxuan yundong de jiangpinfei de qingshi ji shirenwei de pifu." 教育局关于接管幼儿园、保育界开展热爱孩子评选运动的奖品费的请示及市人委的批复 [Board of Education's files awards for selecting those in the kindergarten and childcare community who most love children, and the review and approval of the Municipal People's Committee] February 1, 1963 to December 31, 1963.
- Beijing Municipal Archives 2-19-43. "Shi weishengju guanyu tuo'er gongzuo de jidian yijian de qingshi ji dangqian tuo'ersuo youeryuan gongzuo zhong de wenti he jidian juti yijian deng youguan wenjian." 市卫生局关于托儿工作的几点意见的请示及当前托儿所幼儿园工作中的问题和几点具体意见等有关文件 [Municipal Board of Health's files concerning several opinions regarding preschool work and several concrete suggestions arising from previous preschool and kindergarten work.] September 1, 1966 to January 31, 1967.
- Beijing Municipal Archives 2-2-218. "Beijing shiqu jiefang qianhou ji 1950 niandu xinjian weisheng yiliao ji guan fen bu tu, sili zhongxiaoxue ji youeryuan butu, Beiping shi qu chengtu." 北京市城区解放前后及 1950 年度新建卫生医疗机关分布图、私立中小学及幼儿园分布图、北平市区区域图 [Beijing city maps of newly constructed clinics in 1950.] January 1, 1949 to December 31, 1950.
- Beijing Municipal Archives 2-20-1134. "Guanyu youeryuan, tuo'ersuo lingdao wenti gei Fan Li tongzhi baogao." 关于幼儿园、托儿所领导问题给万里同志报告稿 [Report to Comrade Fan Li about leadership questions concerning kindergartens and preschools.] December 20, 1962 to December 20, 1962.
- Beijing Municipal Archives 2-20-1136. "Zai jiedao dundian liaojie de youguan ceng zuji, tuo'ersuo, gongshe gongye, qingjian, fanxi deng fangmian cailiao." 在街道蹲点了解的有关基层组织、托儿所、公社工业、精简、返乡等方面材料 [After an extended investigation, stream-lined reports with insights into grass-roots organizations, such as preschools, communal industries and other materials.] January 31, 1962 – December 28, 1962.
- Beijing Municipal Archives 2-20-1319. "Ben jiguan you'eryuan jiaoyangyuan, baoyuyuan pingding ji biehua mingce." 本机关幼儿园教养员、保育员评定级别花名册 [This department's rosters of the selection of kindergarten teaching staff and childcare staff.] January 1, 1956 to December 31, 1956.
- Beijing Municipal Archives 2-4-125. "Jiaoyuju guanyu jieban sizhong ji bufen sili xiaoxue xiang jiaoyubu de baogao, jiaoyubu, caizhengbu guanyu Liuyi Youeryuan, Yucan Xiaoxue, Huabei Xiaoxue jihua benshi lingdao hanjian." 教育局关于接办私立中学及部分私立小学向教育部的报告、教育部、财政部关于六一幼儿园、育才小学、华北小学划规本市领导的函件 [Reports to the Board

- of Education concerning private middle schools and some private elementary schools and the rules concerning the city's leadership of May First Kindergarten, Yucai Elementary School, and Huabei Elementary School.] July 1, 1952 to November 30, 1952.
- Beijing Municipal Archives 2-8-194. "Shirenwei pizhuan jiaoyuju guanyu mingque gezhong youeryuan lingdao fengong de qingshi de tongzhi, jiaoyuju guanyu zuzhi dao youer cankao banfa de qingshi ji renwei bangongting de pifu." 市人委批转教育局关于明确各种幼儿园领导分工的请示的通知、教育局关于组织道幼儿参考办法的请示及人委办公厅的批复 [Municipal committee review concerning requests to clarify the leadership of technical schools and each type of kindergarten and methods for organizing children's participation.] September 21, 1956 to September 21, 1956.
- Beijing Municipal Archives 2-9-169. "Guowuyuan renshiju guanyu 'yucai' deng zhushezhi xiaoxue he 'liuyu' deng youeryuan jashoufei wenti de qingshi baogao." 国务院人事局关于“育才”等住宿制小学和“六一”等幼儿园增加收费问题的请示报告 [State Council Bureau of Human Affairs petitionary report to increase tuition fees at Yucai Elementary and other boarding schools and Liuyi and other kindergartens.] January 1, 1957 to March 31, 1957.
- Beijing Municipal Archives 39-1-357. "1952 niandu diyi xueqi gexiaoxue, youeryuan ji xiaoxue jiaogong pucha zonghebiao." 1952 年度第一学期各小学、幼儿园及小学教工普查综合表 [Elementary and kindergarten summary report for the first semester of 1952.] January 1, 1952 to December 31, 1952
- Beijing Municipal Archives 39-1-375. "1954 nian she ge youeryuan baobiao." 1954 年设各幼儿园报表 [1954 charts on the establishment of kindergartens.] January 1, 1954 to December 31, 1954.
- Beijing Municipal Archives 39-1-385. "Gexiaoxue youeryuan jiaozhiyuan gong jiben qingkuang baobiao." 各小学幼儿园教职员工基本情况报表 [Informational charts on the basic situation of elementary-school and kindergarten staff.] January 1, 1955 to December 31, 1955.
- Beijing Municipal Archives 39-1-386. "1955 nian youeryuan biaobiao." 1955 年幼儿园报表 [Information charts on kindergartens in 1955.] January 1, 1955 to December 31, 1955.
- Beijing Municipal Archives 39-1-392. "1956 nian diyixueqi ge xiaoxue youeryuan zonghe baobiao." 1956 年第一学期各小学幼儿园综合报表 [Summary information charts on elementary schools and kindergartens in the first semester of January 1956.] January 1, 1955 to December 31, 1955.
- Beijing Municipal Archives 39-1-398. "Ge xiaoxue, youeryuan, xiaonian jia xiao she." 各小学、幼儿园、少年之家校舍面积调查表 [Survey charts from elementary schools, kindergartens, and youth homes.] March 1, 1957 to September 30, 1957.
- Beijing Municipal Archives 39-1-399. "1957 nian xiaoxue qichu zonghe baobiao, youeryuan zonghe baobiao." 1957 年小学期初综合报表、幼儿园综合报表

- [Elementary school and kindergarten summary charts at the beginning of the 1957.] March 1, 1957 to September 30, 1957.
- Beijing Municipal Archives 39-1-401. “1957 nian 7 – 9 yuefen ge youeryuan laodong gongze baobiao.” 1957 年七~9 月份各幼儿园劳动工资报表 [Working hours for kindergartens from July to September, 1957.] January 1, 1957 to December 31, 1957.
- Beijing Municipal Archives 39-1-402. “Ge youeryuan 1957 nian yusuan tongjibiao.” 各幼儿园 1957 年预算统计表 [Statistical plans for kindergartens in 1957.] January 1, 1957 to December 31, 1957.
- Beijing Municipal Archives 39-1-405. “1958 niandu yi, er jidu ge youeryuan yusuanbiao.” 1958 年度一、二季度各幼儿园预算表 [Plans for kindergartens for the first and second quarter of 1958.] January 1, 1958 to December 31, 1958.
- Beijing Municipal Archives 4-8-279. “Gongyong ju guanyu zilai shuigongsi gouzhi Chongchuang tuoersuo fangwu, shuini dian.” 公用局关于自来水公司购置冲床托儿所房屋、水泥电捍等的请示及财委的批复 [Municipal bureau of public services’ review of the water company’s purchase of the Chongchuang preschool and requests to begin cementing]. January 1, 1953 to December 31, 1953.
- Beijing Municipal Archives 45-1-25. “Beijingshi qiqu gongsuo guanyu qunei shinei sili zhong, xiaoxuexiao, youeryuan de qingkuang diaochabiao.” 北京市七区公所关于区内市私立中、小学校、幼儿园的情况调查表 [Survey report of private primary and secondary schools and kindergartens in seven districts of Beijing.] January 1, 1949 to December 31, 1949.
- Beijing Municipal Archives 5-1-918. “Shijiwei, wenwei, caizhengju dui jiaoyuju suo shu shifan xueyuan, qishisan zhong, xiaxie jie xiaoxue, Xiang Jia tongzhi you’eryuan deng jijian jihua, jiaoyu jingfei, shili xiaoxue yuangong bili, jiaoshi rongliang jia baogao de pifu ji youguan fujian.” 市计委、文委、财政局对教育局所属师范学院、七十三中、下斜街小学、港家胡同幼儿园等基建计划、教育经费、市立小学员工比例、教室容量价查报告的批复及有关附件 [Municipal Planning Commission and Ministry of Finance’s response to the Board of Education’s normal-school institute, the 73<sup>rd</sup> center, Xiaxie Street Elementary School, and Comrade Xiang Jia’s Kindergarten and other basic plans, educational expenses, statistics on municipal elementary-school staff, surveys of classroom capacity, and related reports.] January 1, 1955 to December 31, 1955.
- Beijing Municipal Archives 59-1-21. “Youguan tuoersuo de wenjian.” 有关托儿所的文件 [Documents concerning preschools.] January 1, 1954 to December 31, 1954. (Detailed reports about the Da Hutong Kindergarten, its administration and staff, nutritional content of its meals, and an inventory of its equipment, including a piano for 1500.00 yuan.)
- Beijing Municipal Archives 6-7-279. “Shi zilaishui gongsi guanyu sijiao waibu tuo’ersuo deng qixiang gongcheng guanlixian tu ji shijianwei de han.” 市自来水公司关于西郊外郊部托儿所等七项工程管理线图及市建委的函 [Municipal

- Construction Committee's files on the water company's piping maps of the Western District's preschool and seven other items.] (February 1, 1953 to February 28, 1953).
- Beijing University Archives 1947335.
- Beijing University Archives 1947336. June 1947.
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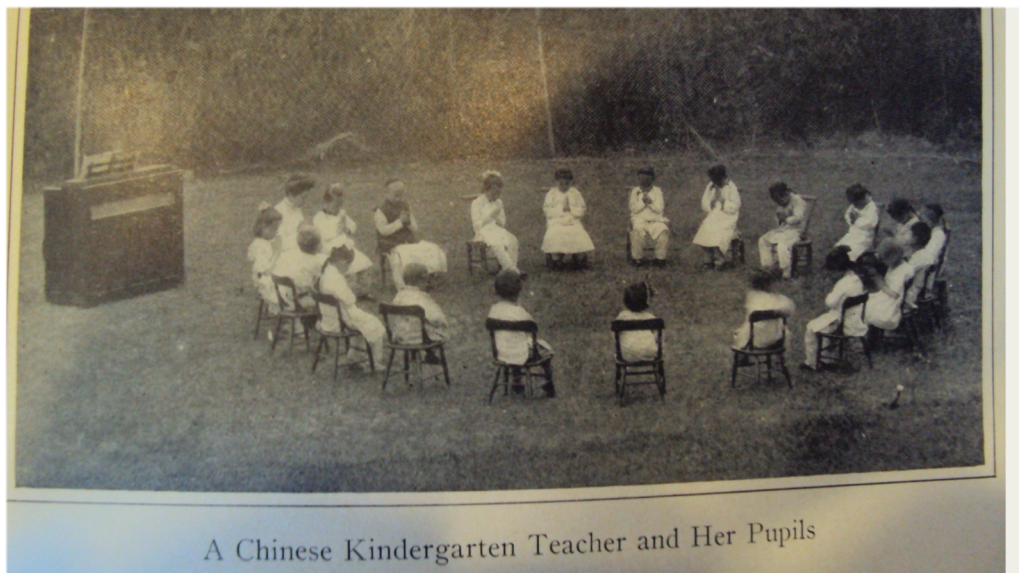
**FIGURES**

Figure 1





Figure 2



A Chinese Kindergarten Teacher and Her Pupils

Figure 3





Figure 4

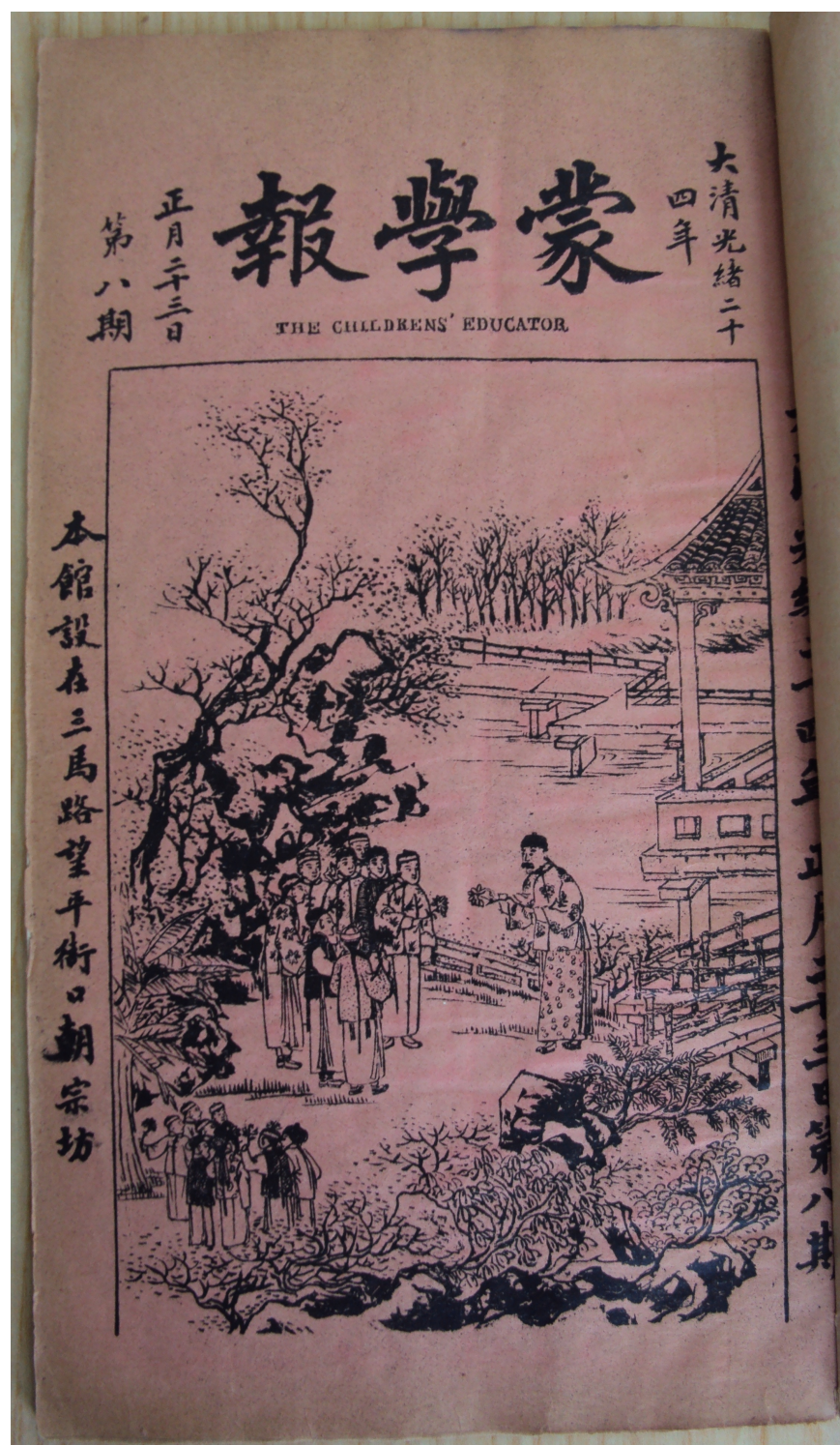


Figure 5





Figure 6

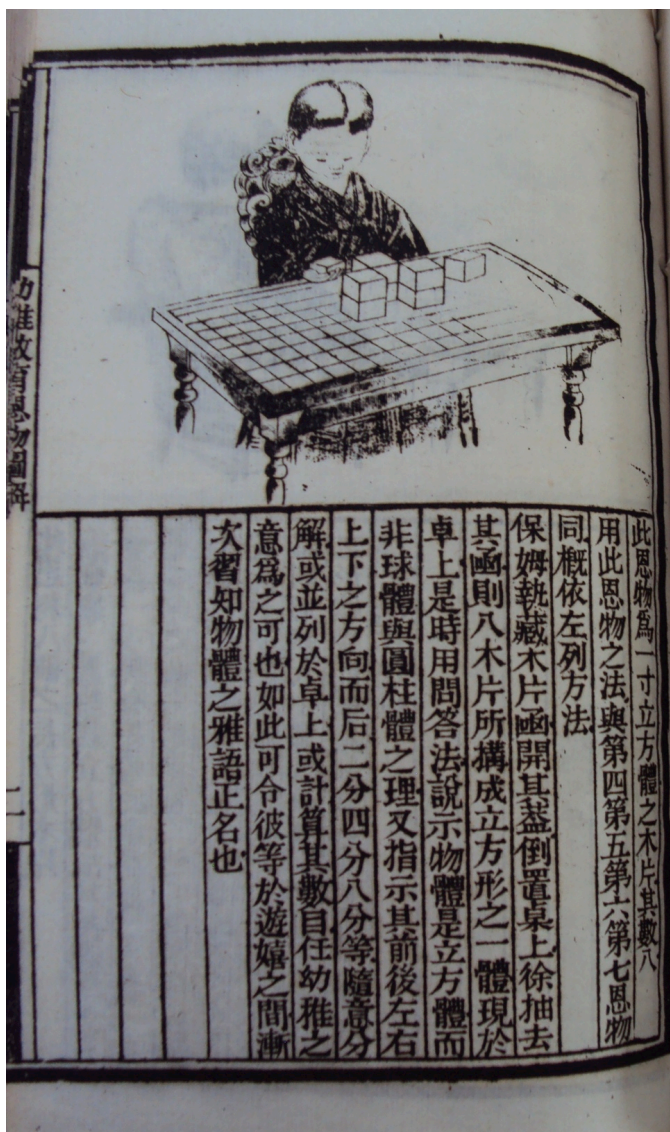


Figure 7



Figure 8



兩歲4個月 喜歡玩水。從此種玩耍，他可以慢慢知道水的性質。小孩應有這種機會，不要因為有危險，就奪去他這種應享的權利。



Figure 9

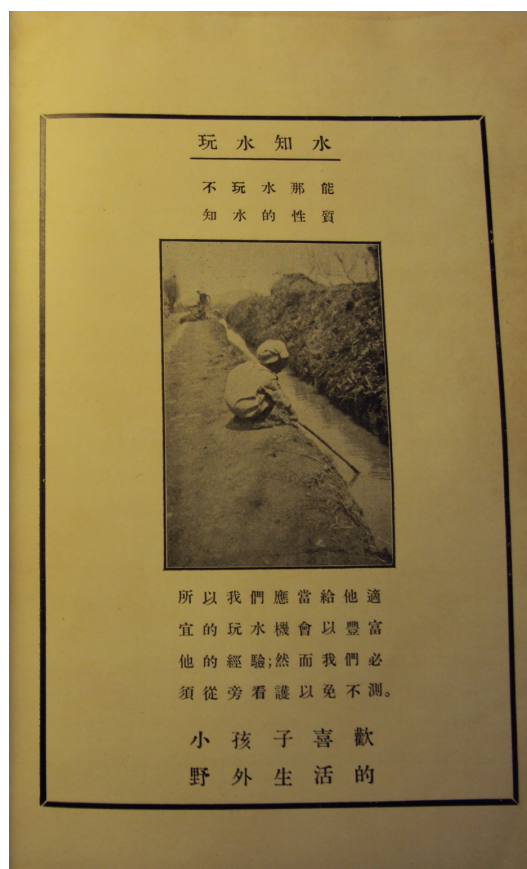




Figure 10

花 固 可 愛  
小 孩 子 尤 其 可 愛  
教 小 孩 子 要 從 小 教 起 的。



優 良 的 天 賦，  
美 備 的 環 境，  
健 全 的 教 育，  
是 小 孩 子 一 身 幸 福 的 根 源  
今 日 之 孩 子  
即 他 日 之 國 民

Figure 11

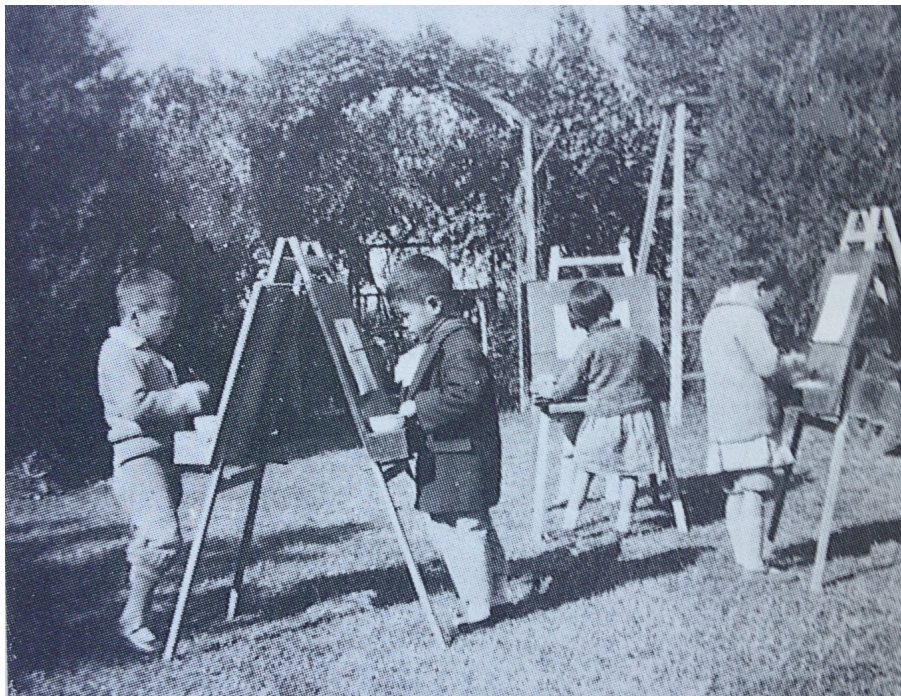


Figure 12



Figure 13





Figure 14

306

SHANGHAI: ITS MUNICIPALITY AND THE CHINESE

## LIST OF MILLS AND FACTORIES.

List of Mills and Factories in the Shanghai Foreign Settlement, and Chapei and Pootung, showing Nationality and Number of Adults and Children Employed.

*N.B.—The figures given were found to be approximate only and in some instances inaccurate. In certain cases, particularly with reference to silk filatures, the nationality given is no doubt merely that of a foreign nominee, lending his name for the purpose of obtaining foreign registration. The evidence given before the Commission was to the effect that there was little, if any, foreign capital invested in silk filatures.*

## HARBIN ROAD DISTRICT.

Name and Address.	Nationality.	No. of Male Em- ployees over 12 years of age	No. of Female Em- ployees over 12 years of age	No. of Male Em- ployees under 12 years of age	No. of Female Em- ployees under 12 years of age
Yui Ching Silk Filature, 1 Wuchow Road .. ..	Chinese	—	500	—	—
Tung Wei Silk Filature, 1 Wuchow Road .. ..	"	—	500	—	—
Yui Foong Silk Filature, 2 Wuchow Road .. ..	"	—	580	—	—
Ching Yung Silk Filature, 399 Chaoufoong Road ..	"	120	200	—	3
Tien Chong Silk Filature (now called Ziang Woo Silk Filature), 80 Tung Chow Road .. ..	"	—	150	—	—
Chung Yih Tinfoil Factory, 1009A Wuchow Road ..	"	80	60	—	—
Yui Lung Cotton Thread Factory, 1010 Wuchow Road ..	"	15	10	—	—
Tsung Mai Tinfoil Factory, 398 Wuchow Road ..	"	74	168	—	—
Shanghai Ice & Cold Storage Co.'s Saw Mill, 9 Thorne Road .. ..	American	175	—	—	—
Shanghai Ice & Cold Storage Co., Ltd., Works, 8 Thorne Road .. ..	British	40	—	—	—
B. A. T. Cigarette Factory, 56 Dixwell Road .. ..	"	200	380	—	—
Tsok An Stocking Factory, 1045/8 E. Yuhang Road ..	Portuguese	75	80	—	—
Woo Tsen Tinfoil Factory, 890 E. Yuhang Road ..	Chinese	40	100	—	—
Lou Zung Kee Cigar Factory, 787 E. Yuhang Road ..	"	7	54	—	—
Shanghai Tinfoil Factory, 1009A Wuchow Road ..	"	100	170	—	80
Fong Yuen Carpet Factory, 243 Juikin Road .. ..	"	150	—	—	—
Yah Kee Glass Factory, 81 Juikin Road .. ..	Japanese	140	—	—	—
Yah Zung Safe Factory, 404 Urga Road .. ..	Chinese	90	—	—	—
J. F. Woodworth Engineering Works, 1045 E. Yuhang Road .. ..	American	25	—	—	—
Zung Hyung Cotton Ginning Mill, 302/7 Hailar Road ..	Chinese	30	44	—	—
Yan Hyung Iron Founders, 273 Hailar Road .. ..	"	26	—	—	—
Yah Yoong Iron Founders, 272 Hailar Road .. ..	"	21	—	—	—
Ziang Fah Iron Founders, 272 Hailar Road .. ..	"	50	—	—	—
Mo Nyoen Zung Engineering Works, 271 Hailar Road ..	"	34	—	—	—
Hyung Tai Iron Founders, 270 Hailar Road .. ..	"	25	—	—	—
Hwa Tung Engineering & Electric Works, 738 Dixwell Road .. ..	"	63	—	—	—
Yoong Tai Iron Founders, 169 E. Yuhang Road .. ..	"	35	—	—	—
Yah Woo Cotton Thread Factory, 268 Hailar Road ..	"	23	14	—	—
Yah Woo Cotton Thread Factory, 258 Hailar Road ..	"	22	16	—	—
Te Jung Engineering Works, 401 Chaoufoong Road ..	"	38	—	—	—
Foh Chong Engineering Works, 401 Chaoufoong Road ..	"	16	—	—	—
Tuh Chong Engineering Works, 44 Tungchow Road ..	"	10	—	—	—
Yah Chong Ziang Engineering Works, 222 Tungchow Road	"	13	—	—	—
Hyung Yueh Engineering Works, 47 Yoehow Road ..	"	20	—	—	—
Hwa Chong Electric & Engineering Works, 295 Sawgin Road .. ..	"	12	—	—	—
The Asiatic Rubber Factory, 296 Mukden Road .. ..	Japanese	14	10	—	—
Yoong Chong Iron Foundry, 156 Tung Sah Ka .. ..	Chinese	16	—	—	—
Kyung Tsaung Engineering Works, 1074/5 Sawgin Road ..	"	12	—	—	—
Foong Tai Engineering Works, 1031 Sawgin .. ..	"	30	—	—	—
Kung Lee Engineering Works, 123 Sawgin Road .. ..	"	12	—	—	—
Tsing Yih Engineering Works, 10 Sawgin Road .. ..	"	8	—	—	—
Yi Tai Engineering Works, 1289 Sawgin Road .. ..	"	14	—	—	—
Yuen Chong Engineering Works, 13 E. Yuhang Road ..	"	97	—	—	—

## APPENDIX

307

Name and Address.	Nationality.	No. of Male Em- ployees over 12 years of age	No. of Female Em- ployees over 12 years of age	No. of Male Em- ployees under 12 years of age	No. of Female Em- ployees under 12 years of age
Zung Ts Sing Engineering Works, 3158 Point Road ..	Chinese	13	—	—	—
Lee Da Engineering Works, 411 Point Road ..	"	21	—	—	—
Ing Yoong Zung Iron Foundry, 412 Point Road ..	"	11	—	—	—
Kyung Chong Iron Works, 3093 Point Road ..	"	36	—	—	—
Da Sung Engineering Works, 3091 Point Road ..	"	9	—	—	—
Zen Chong Zung Engineering Works, 3023 Point Road ..	"	22	—	—	—
Wong Yui Kee Iron Foundry, 280 Point Road ..	"	14	—	—	—
Kawakita Co., 167 E. Yalu Road ..	Japanese	23	—	—	—
Tsing Kung Engineering Works, 141/5 E. Yalu Road ..	Chinese	24	—	—	—
Chang Lui Engineering Works, 798 E. Yalu Road ..	"	34	—	—	—
Hyung Kee Iron Foundry, 799 E. Yalu Road ..	"	29	—	—	—
Zen Chong Ziang Iron Foundry, 1185 Wuchow Road ..	"	22	—	—	—
The Shanghai Zeh Zeh Sin Wen Zo (Printing Dept.) 10 Wuchow Road ..	Japanese	66	—	—	—
Zung Fok Chong Engineering Works, 560 Sinkeepang Road ..	Chinese	22	—	—	—
Tsang Meu Chong Engineering Works, 424 Sinkeepang Road ..	"	17	—	—	—
Yah Tai Chong Iron Foundry, 288 Urga Road ..	"	22	—	—	—
Hoong Tai Engineering Works, 167 Urga Road ..	"	12	—	—	—
Hang Hyung Chong Iron Founders, 149 Urga Road ..	"	50	—	—	—
Nyoen Hyung Chong Engineering Works, 163/4 Urga Road ..	"	20	—	—	—
Van Tai Engineering Works, 352 Urga Road ..	"	15	—	—	—
Kyeu Da Engineering Works, 406 Urga Road ..	"	16	—	—	—
Hoong Hyung Engineering Works, 407 Urga Road ..	"	17	—	—	—
Zung Ping Kee Engineering Works, 409 Urga Road ..	"	39	—	—	—
Hyung Chong Engineering Works, 477 Urga Road ..	"	28	—	—	—
Tai Chong Iron Foundry, 460 Urga Road ..	"	22	—	—	—
Kung Sing Chong Engineering Works, 488 Urga Road ..	"	14	—	—	—
Yoh Hyung Kee Engineering Works, 491 Urga Road ..	"	10	—	—	—
Foh Chong Ziang Engineering Works, 4 Urga Road ..	"	18	—	—	—
Kung Zung Chong Iron Foundry, 490 Urga Road ..	"	19	—	—	—
Zuh Sing Printing Co., 247 Urga Road ..	"	38	—	—	—

## WAYSIDE DISTRICT.

Liddell Bros., Ltd., 29 Yangtzepoo Road ..	British	80	400	—	—
Pao Yuen Paper Factory, 32 Yangtzepoo Road ..	Chinese	120	4	—	—
Oriental Cotton Mill, 36 Yangtzepoo Road ..	British	560	1,350	110	—
New Engineering Works, 37-45 Yangtzepoo Road ..	"	1,570	—	—	—
Laou Kung Mow Cotton Mill, 40 Yangtzepoo Road ..	"	300	1,100	300	250
Tsing Chong Ziang Engineering Works, 609 Point Road ..	Chinese	40	—	—	—
Yah Zung Iron Works, 610 Point Road ..	"	34	—	—	—
Wu Zung Shing Iron Works, 633 Point Road ..	"	30	—	—	—
Tuh Tai Engineering Works, 734 Point Road ..	"	80	—	—	—
Wah Sun Electrical Engineering Works, 2861 Point Road ..	"	90	—	—	—
Yah Lee Iron Works, 2863 Point Road ..	"	42	—	—	—
Ching Wei Cotton Mill, 31 Yochow Road ..	"	110	270	—	—
Ching Yen Silk Godown, 121 Yochow Road ..	"	38	—	—	—
Tsung Tong Engineering Works, 148 Yochow Road ..	"	35	—	—	—
Zung Wu Iron Works, 214 Yochow Road ..	"	50	450	—	—
Ching Wah Lead-foil, 219 Yochow Road ..	"	150	450	—	—
Foh Lee Hat Maker, 230 Yochow Road ..	"	12	10	—	—
Tuh Sing Engineering Works, 256/7 Yochow Road ..	"	42	—	—	—
Yuen Chong Lead-foil Factory, 280 Yochow Road ..	"	60	130	—	—
Nie Lee Printing Co., 281/2 Yochow Road ..	"	90	—	—	—
Hop Lee Iron Works, 31/2 Yuenfong Road ..	"	23	—	—	—
Ling Bei Kee Iron Works, 34 Yuenfong Road ..	"	34	—	—	—
Hop Chong Iron Works, 74 Yuenfong Road ..	"	38	—	—	—
Kung Yih Yah Kee Engineering Works, 1206 Sinkeepang Road ..	"	20	—	—	—
Scott, Harding & Co., 1338 Sinkeepang Road ..	British	15	—	—	—
Van Chong Engineering Works, 13 Hwakee Road ..	Chinese	60	—	—	—
Sing A Lee Engineering Works, 95-7 Hwakee Road ..	"	28	—	—	—
Kwan Tai Kee Boat Coolies, 721 Hwakee Road ..	"	90	—	—	—
Van Zung Yah Kee Engineering Works, 642 & 723 Hwakee Road ..	"	29	—	—	—
Ward Printing Co., 63 Kungping Road ..	"	36	—	—	—
Tai Shing Iron Works, 145 Kungping Road ..	Japanese	15	—	—	—
Dah Loong Iron Works, 2 Dalny Road ..	Chinese	198	—	—	—
Sze Tuh Shing Box Maker, 7/8 Chusan Road ..	"	30	—	8	—
Tsing Yih Cotton Factory, 400 McGregor Road ..	"	12	5	5	—
Zung Wah Iron Works, 401 McGregor Road ..	"	47	—	—	—
Nanyang Bros. Tobacco Co., 299 Broadway ..	"	1,530	3,400	—	—
Kwan Chong Iron Works, 639 Broadway ..	"	40	—	20	—
Tsang Yung Yuen Engineering Works, 1288 East Seward Road ..	"	22	—	—	—
Yah Tai Engineering Works, 24 Kwenming Road ..	"	30	—	—	—
Yung Shing Ziang Iron Works, 24 Kwenming Road ..	"	20	—	—	—
Mei Chong Sing Engineering Works, 195 Kwenming Road ..	"	20	—	—	—
Yah Dah Engineering Works, 250 Kwenming Road ..	"	35	—	—	—

Name and Address.	Nationality.	No. of Male Em- ployees over 12 years of age	No. of Female Em- ployees over 12 years of age	No. of Male Em- ployees under 12 years of age	No. of Female Em- ployees under 12 years of age
Tsung Wah Twine Maker, 251 Kwenming Road ..	Chinese	60	50	—	—
An Tai Engineering Works, 252 Kwenming Road ..	"	30	—	—	—
Yah Sing Engineering Works, 252 Kwenming Road ..	"	26	—	—	—
Central Printing Co., 39 Tongshan Road ..	"	80	6	—	—
Fuh Zung Engineering Works, 202 Tongshan Road ..	"	25	—	—	—
Zou Chong Ziang Engineering Works, 1006 Tongshan Road ..	"	23	—	—	—
Dah Foong Dyeing Works, 1741 Tongshan Road ..	"	140	—	—	—
Sing Ming Engineering Works, 1741A Tongshan Road ..	"	40	—	—	—
Sing Shing Ziang Engineering Works, 1742 Tongshan Road ..	"	20	—	—	—
Yuen Who Silk Factory, 1844 Tongshan Road ..	"	250	150	—	—
Yuen Chong Tai Iron Works, 1948 Tongshan Road ..	"	20	—	—	—
Sih Chong Match Factory, 2010 Tongshan Road ..	"	130	150	—	60
Way Chong Engineering Works, 24 E. Yuhang Road ..	"	80	—	—	—
Zou Foong Weaving Factory, 149 E. Yuhang Road ..	"	—	15	—	—
Yuen Chong Tai Iron Works, 682 E. Yuhang Road ..	"	30	—	—	—
Sih Chong Iron Works, 684 E. Yuhang Road ..	"	30	—	—	—
Dee Yih Carpet Factory, 689 E. Yuhang Road ..	"	150	150	—	—
Mei Suh Cotton Factory, 729 E. Yuhang Road ..	"	20	20	—	—
Asiatic Engineering Co., 120 E. Yuhang Road ..	American	60	—	—	—
Ito Tobacco Factory, 88 Wayside Road ..	Japanese	60	70	—	—
Tsung Loong Iron Works, 484 Wayside Road ..	Chinese	38	—	—	—
Wah Tai Engineering Works, 485 Wayside Road ..	"	30	—	—	—
British & American Publishing Co., 82 Baikal Road ..	British	360	—	—	—
Ku Wah Hosiery, 1480 Baikal Road ..	Chinese	20	50	—	—
Yuen Nih Tobacco Co., 1549 Baikal Road ..	"	20	10	—	—
Loh Sih Kai Ice Factory, 67 Ward Road ..	"	20	—	—	—
China Tobacco Co., 69 Ward Road ..	"	80	200	—	—
Sincere's Factory, 70 Ward Road ..	"	180	40	—	—
Trollope & Colls, Ltd., 70 Ward Road ..	British	24	—	—	—
American Tobacco Co., 50 Yulin Road ..	American	310	270	—	—
Sung Kee Engineering Works, 300 Yulin Road ..	Chinese	60	—	—	—

## YANGTSEPOO DISTRICT.

Ewo Cotton Spinning & Weaving Co., 46 Yangtzepoo Road ..	British	1,450	4,160	150	40
Heng Foong Cotton Mill, 1 Whashing Road ..	Chinese	500	1,850	200	400
Yangtzepoo Cotton Mill, 1 Wetmore Road ..	British	650	2,450	400	300
Shanghai Cotton Mfg. Co., No. 1, 68 Yangtzepoo Road ..	Japanese	632	1,990	18	10
Shanghai Cotton Mfg. Co., No. 2, 90 Yangtzepoo Road ..	"	528	1,437	22	13
Shanghai Cotton Mfg. Co., No. 3, 90 Yangtzepoo Road ..	"	1,050	3,200	—	—
Yuen Lung Cotton Mill, 71 Yangtzepoo Road ..	"	110	86	—	—
Eastern Engineering & Shipbuilding Works, 65/66 Yangtzepoo Road ..	"	300	—	—	—
Kong Shing Iron Foundry, 3272 Yangtzepoo Road ..	"	100	—	—	—
San Tsing Lumber Co., 900 Yangtzepoo Road ..	"	100	—	—	—
China Offset Printing Co., 4 Tsitsihar Road ..	"	150	—	—	—
Pao Shing Tinfoil Factory, 7 Thorburn Road ..	Chinese	100	—	—	—
Japanese Brass Foundry, 700 Thorburn Road ..	Japanese	100	—	—	—
Japanese Cigarette Factory, 700 Thorburn Road ..	"	100	150	—	—
Kong Tai Hosiery Factory, 76 Ward Road ..	"	100	100	—	—
San Sing Cotton Mill, 87 Yangtzepoo Road ..	Chinese	1,378	3,531	70	360
Hou Sung Cotton Mill, 22 Lay Road ..	"	540	1,800	100	100
Wei Tung Cotton Mill, 12 Lay Road ..	"	500	900	80	100
Toong Wo Cotton Mill, 37 Ward Road ..	Japanese	225	2,100	75	500
Pioneer Knitting Factory, 1050 Rangoon Road ..	Chinese	104	536	16	64
Wing On Cotton Mill, 10 Seoul Road ..	"	180	1,400	20	400
Kung Dah Cotton Mill, Pingliang Road ..	"	337	930	23	370
Dah Kong Cotton Mill, 2 Tengyueh Road ..	Japanese	753	1,496	20	150
Yui Foong Cotton Mill, 98 Yangtzepoo Road ..	"	400	120	60	520
S. Behr & Mathew, 77 Yangtzepoo Road ..	British	200	110	—	—
Chang Shing Loong Iron Foundry, 487 Pingliang Road ..	Chinese	30	—	—	—
Dong Shing No. 2 Mill, 90A Yangtzepoo Road ..	Japanese	630	1,008	—	—
Amos Bird & Co., 1 Tengyueh Road ..	American	140	400	—	—
Mai Wah Hosiery Mill, 17 Hachow Road ..	Chinese	240	15	—	—
Kung Gin Iron Foundry, 53 Linching Road ..	"	70	—	—	—
Chingyuan Mill, 299 Tanyang Road ..	"	60	24	—	—

## GORDON ROAD AND BUBBLING WELL DISTRICTS.

Chang Foong Flour Mill, 4 Ichang Road ..	Chinese	150	—	—	—
Foh Sing Flour Mill, 5 W. Soochow Road ..	"	480	—	—	—
Foo Foong Flour Mill, 25 Mokanshan Road ..	"	400	—	—	—
Hong Chang Weaving Factory, 53 Markham Road ..	"	250	950	50	50
Hong Chang Cotton Mill, 53 Markham Road ..	"	300	480	—	—
Hung Yue Cotton Mill, 55 Markham Road ..	"	600	1,700	100	200
Doong Shing Cotton Mill, 181 Gordon Road ..	Japanese	650	1,300	50	100
Japanese Cotton Mill, Nos. 3 & 4, 19 W. Soochow Road ..	"	1,400	1,350	100	150
Japanese Cotton Mill, Nos. 5, 7 & 8, 14 W. Soochow Road ..	"	1,020	2,762	80	180
Japanese Cotton Mill, No. 9, 60 Markham Road ..	"	1,000	1,950	—	50

## APPENDIX

309

Name and Address.	Nationality.	No. of Male Em- ployees over 12 years of age	No. of Female Em- ployees over 12 years of age	No. of Male Em- ployees under 12 years of age	No. of Female Em- ployees under 12 years of age
Pao Zung Cotton Mill, Nos. 1 & 2, Robison Road	.. Chinese	1,137	977	122	100
Poo Yih Cotton Mill, 37 W. Soochow Road	.. ..	250	350	50	100
Sung Sing Cotton Mill, No. 1, Brenan Road	.. ..	700	3,000	100	200
Sung Sing Cotton Mill, No. 2, 2 Ichang Road	.. ..	650	1,540	20	30
Tung Yih Cotton Mill, 10 Mokhanshan Road	.. ..	1,170	2,300	30	100
Toyoda Cotton Spinning & Weaving Co., 200 Jessfield Road, O. O. L.	.. .. Japanese	500	3,300	50	150
✓ Shanghai Silk Spinning Co., 138 Jessfield Road, O. O. L.	.. Chinese	973	715	15	24
✓ Sing Chang Silk Filature, 161 Jessfield Road, O. O. L.	.. ..	—	1,400	—	100
Tsung Hwa Kung Yih Lace Mill, Z 400 Brenan Road	.. ..	410	110	40	20
✓ Tien Lung Silk Filature, 40 Ferry Road	.. ..	70	—	—	—
Hemp Sack Factory, 64 Robison Road	.. .. Japanese	300	550	100	50
Kung Yih Cotton Mill, 150 Robison Road	.. .. British	400	1,350	100	150
Japan-China Spinning & Weaving Co., 98 Robison Road	.. Japanese	622	1,333	80	120
Japanese Cotton Mill, No. 12, 14 W. Soochow Road	.. ..	384	300	—	—
Japanese Cotton Mill, No. 13 & 14, 62 Robison Road	.. ..	568	1,494	—	—
Japanese Cotton Mill, No. 15, 146 Gordon Road	.. ..	177	422	—	—
Sung Tuh Lace Factory, 999 Ferry Road	.. .. Chinese	245	120	—	—
✓ Zung Tsong Silk Filature, 32 Connaught Road	.. ..	—	360	—	30
✓ Ting Kee Silk Filature, 32 Connaught Road	.. ..	—	300	—	30
Price Candle Factory, 3 Robison Road	.. .. British	400	—	—	—
Arts & Crafts Factory, 85 Kiaochow Road	.. ..	700	—	—	—
American Manufacturing Factory, 15 Robison Road	.. American	450	—	—	—
Shanghai Brewery, 40 Gordon Road	.. .. Swedish	50	—	—	—
Edison Electric Factory, Robison Road	.. .. American	800	—	—	—
WEST HONGKEW DISTRICT.					
✓ Mei Ching Silk Filature, 51 N. Soochow Road	.. .. Italian	40	460	40	540
✓ Say Hwa Silk Filature, 42 N. Chekiang Road	.. .. British	20	500	200	720
✓ Yung Foong Silk Filature, 88 Kansuh Road	.. ..	50	250	150	450
✓ Yung Tai Silk Filature, 1 Tsepo Road	.. .. Italian	80	900	200	1,180
✓ Yung Yui Silk Filature, 5 Winchester Road	.. .. French	60	630	170	860
✓ Yui Foong Silk Filature, 1 Alabaster Road	.. .. Italian	30	500	200	730
✓ Yung Yui Silk Filature, 15 Dong Ka Loong	.. .. French	75	798	202	1,075
✓ Yung Kong Silk Filature, 51 N. Soochow Road	.. .. British	9	228	92	329
✓ Jen Foong Silk Filature, 1 Alabaster Road	.. ..	7	200	50	300
✓ Luen Ziang Silk Filature, 54 N. Soochow Road	.. ..	8	210	60	290
✓ Zu Shing Silk Filature, 54 N. Soochow Road	.. .. Chinese	10	250	90	320
SINZA DISTRICT					
✓ Foong Tah Silk Filature, 9 N. Chengtu Road	.. .. Chinese	15	820	—	10
✓ Tai Kong Silk Filature, 9A N. Chengtu Road	.. ..	14	660	—	10
✓ Zung Shing Silk Filature, 15 N. Chengtu Road	.. .. Italian	14	700	—	10
Poh Sing Flour Mill, 17 N. Chengtu Road	.. .. Chinese	200	—	—	—
✓ Toong Dah Silk Filature, 5 Markham Road	.. ..	15	712	—	20
✓ Wei Fong Silk Filature, 5 Markham Road	.. ..	18	580	—	10
✓ Ewo Silk Filature, 5 N. Chengtu Road	.. .. British	30	1,000	—	30
HONGKEW DISTRICT.					
✓ Zen Lung Silk Filature, 25 Miller Road	.. .. Chinese	100	1,700	—	200
Sino-Belgian Tobacco Co., 1176 Woosung Road	.. Belgian	20	30	—	—
Ching Lung Underwear Factory, 284 Dixwell Road	.. Chinese	30	220	—	—
CENTRAL DISTRICT.					
Liddell Bros. Packing & Sorting Godowns, 12 Foochow Road	.. .. British	150	500	—	—
McKenzie & Co., 7 Canton Road	.. ..	300	500	—	—
CHAPEI DISTRICT.					
✓ Yung Zung Silk Filature, 524 Tiendong Road	.. .. American	20	450	—	150
✓ Yung Zung Silk Filature, 1870 Tiendong Road	.. ..	20	450	—	150
✓ Doong Foong Yoong Silk Filature, 408 Tiendong Road	.. .. Italian	20	300	—	150
✓ Tien Chong Silk Filature, 312 Fung Sz Miao	.. .. Chinese	20	450	—	150
✓ Zaug Nyoen Silk Filature, 399 Veh Wo Road	.. .. American	20	600	—	200
✓ Toong Yuh Silk Filature, 244 Veh Wo Road	.. ..	20	650	—	250
✓ Ching Chong Silk Filature, 276 Veh Wo Road	.. ..	20	300	—	100
✓ Veh Wo Silk Filature, 276 Veh Wo Road	.. ..	20	600	—	250
✓ Tsing Zung Silk Filature, 38 Hung Foong Road	.. .. Chinese	36	550	—	100
✓ Lien Yuh Silk Filature, 38 Hung Foong Road	.. .. British	40	600	—	130
✓ Hsu Chong Fok Silk Filature, 294 Hung Foong Road	.. .. Chinese	27	500	—	100
✓ Yah Foong Silk Filature, 293 Hung Foong Road	.. ..	22	380	—	150
✓ Hung Chong Silk Filature, 293 Hung Foong Road	.. .. Chinese	20	367	—	143
✓ Pah Sz No. 1 Silk Filature, 55 Kwang Fok Road	.. .. French	50	502	—	102
✓ Pah Sz No. 2 Silk Filature, 68 Kwang Fok Road	.. ..	12	250	—	90
✓ Yah Ou Silk Filature	.. .. British	35	360	—	140



Name and Address.	Nationality.	No. of Male Em- ployees over 12 years of age	No. of Female Em- ployees over 12 years of age	No. of Male Em- ployees under 12 years of age	No. of Female Em- ployees under 12 years of age
✓ Da Zung Silk Filature, 45 Kwang Fok Road ..	.. Chinese	24	340	—	120
✓ Hung Tai Koong Silk Filature, 312 Chang An Road ..	.. "	26	350	—	130
✓ Hsu Chong Zen Silk Filature, 189 Chang An Road ..	.. French	22	480	—	100
✓ Nyoen Nyoen Silk Filature, 220 Chang An Road ..	.. Chinese	34	350	—	200
✓ Hsun Chong Silk Filature, 220 Chang An Road ..	.. "	36	480	—	200
✓ Zoen Foong Silk Filature, 19 Chang An Road ..	.. "	42	510	—	110
✓ Chung Wo Yoong Silk Filature, 19 Chang An Road ..	.. "	45	530	—	110
✓ Tien Lai Silk Filature, 33 Koong Woo Road ..	.. "	40	373	—	124
✓ Da Lai Silk Filature, 33 Koong Woo Road ..	.. "	31	400	—	100
✓ Kyung Foong Silk Filature, 4 Wo Zung Road ..	.. Italian	22	180	—	70
✓ Tsung Da Silk Filature, 4 Wo Zung Road ..	.. Chinese	30	170	—	80
✓ Yoong Nyoen Zung Silk Filature, 4 Wo Zung Road ..	.. "	23	200	—	100
✓ Hsu Chong Yoong Silk Filature, 1 Nai Mei Yuen Road ..	.. "	23	520	—	130
✓ Da Lung Silk Filature, 152 Wong Ka Zah, Jukong Road ..	.. "	30	300	—	100
✓ Hsun Lee Silk Filature, 9 Manchuria Road ..	.. "	29	480	—	120
✓ Yu Kong Zung Silk Filature, 9 Manchuria Road ..	.. "	25	500	—	120
✓ Yui Yui Silk Filature, 209 Wong Pang Jao, Paoshan Road ..	.. "	42	600	—	200
✓ Tsung Shen Silk Filature, 92 Wong Pang Jao, Paoshan Road ..	.. "	34	320	—	80
✓ Kiu Kyung Silk Filature, 16 Tientoong An Road ..	.. "	20	300	—	80
✓ Tuh Shen Silk Filature, 10 Tientoong An Road ..	.. "	20	420	—	100
✓ Yu Foong Silk Filature, 170 Koo Ka Wai ..	.. British	16	270	—	80
✓ Hung Loong Silk Filature .. ..	.. Italian	17	420	—	90
POOTUNG DISTRICT.					
Nikka Cotton Mill .. ..	.. Japanese	784	2,442	—	—
B. A. T. (Old Factory) .. ..	.. Brit. & Amer.	874	1,305	180	84
B. A. T. (New Factory) .. ..	.. "	791	2,022	67	234

Figure 15



TAKEN FOR THE CHILD LABOR CAMPAIGN, JUST  
AS SHE CAME OUT FROM A COTTON  
MILL IN SHANGHAI

*Courtesy of Mitchell Library, Sydney. Papers of and concerning Agatha Harrison, collected by Eleanor M. Hinder. MLMSS 770202.*

Figure 16

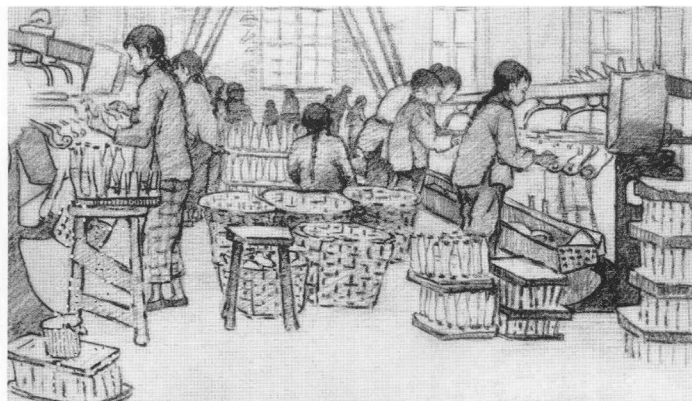


Figure 17

上海的童工問題	
<p>近讀大阪編軍英字日報和上海密勒氏評論周報第二九卷第八號，內載有關於上海童工問題的資料，頗值我們注目。茲為約敘其要如次：</p> <p>上海的外人自治會，曾為調查和研究上海的童工組織一委員會。委員會費了一年的工夫，研究這個問題。據其調查的結果，系把上海市分為十區，共得僱用童工的大小工廠二百七十五個。童工總數有十七萬三千二百七十二人；就中含有十二歲以上的男工四萬四千七百四十一人，女工十萬零五千九百二十一；十二歲以下的男童工四萬四千七百七十五人，女童一萬八千一百三十五人。這二百七十五個工廠主所隸之國籍：日本三十二，英國二十四，美國十二，義大利七，法國五，葡萄牙、瑞典、比利時各一，英美合辦者二，其餘一百九十廠均為華人所營辦。</p> <p>茲更按其所分十區調查的結果，統計之如下：</p>	
(一) 哈爾濱路 (Harbin Road) 區	
工廠數	78 (日 4、英 2、美 1、葡 1、華 65)
十二歲以上的男童工總數	2,675
十二歲以上的女童工總數	3,036
十二歲以下的男童工總數	0
十二歲以下的女童工總數	83
合計	5,794
(二) 提籃橋區	
工廠數	78 (美 5、日 2、美 2、華 64)
十二歲以上的男童工總數	8,321
十二歲以上的女童工總數	8,300
十二歲以下的男童工總數	438
十二歲以下的女童工總數	310
合計	17,364
(三) 楊樹浦區	
工廠數	31 (日 15、英 3、美 1、華 12)
十二歲以上的男童工總數	11,757
十二歲以上的女童工總數	29,793
十二歲以下的男童工總數	1,254
十二歲以下的女童工總數	8,327
合計	46,131
(四) 小沙渡區	
工廠數	34 (日本 10、英 3、美 2、瑞典 1、華 18)
十二歲以上的男童工總數	17,206
十二歲以上的女童工總數	30,363
十二歲以下的男童工總數	1,087
十二歲以下的女童工總數	1,934
合計	50,590
(五) 西虹口區	
工廠數	11 (英 5、日 3、法 2、華 1)
十二歲以上的男童工總數	389
十二歲以上的女童工總數	4,936
十二歲以下的男童工總數	1,454
十二歲以下的女童工總數	6,794
合計	13,573

## (六) 新開区

工厂数	7 (英 1、又 1、华 5)
十二岁以上的男童工总数	306
十二岁以上的女童工总数	4,472
十二岁以下的男童工总数	0
十二岁以下的女童工总数	90
合計	4,868

## (七) 虹口区

工厂数	3 (比 1、华 2)
十二岁以上的男童工总数	150
十二岁以上的女童工总数	1,950
十二岁以下的男童工总数	0
十二岁以下的女童工总数	200
合計	2,300

## (八) 中央 (Central) 区

工厂数	2 (英)
十二岁以上的男童工总数	450
十二岁以上的女童工总数	1,000
十二岁以下的男童工总数	0
十二岁以下的女童工总数	0
合計	1,450

## (九) 關北区

工厂数	88 (美 6、又 3、英 3、法 3、华 23)
十二岁以上的男童工总数	1,038
十二岁以上的女童工总数	15,802
十二岁以下的男童工总数	0
十二岁以下的女童工总数	5,079
合計	21,919

518

## (十) 浦东区

工厂数	3 (日 1、英美合办 2)
十二岁以上的男童工总数	2,449
十二岁以上的女童工总数	6,269
十二岁以下的男童工总数	247
十二岁以下的女童工总数	318
合計	9,283

又据他們的調查，上海的下层劳工(如苦力、人力車夫等)的所得，比中国任何地方算是較高的。平均計之，苦力月得十五元，人力車夫月得八元，而一人及其妻孥的生活費，最苦的月亦須十六元，方能过活，今共所得，最多者且不过十五元，上海苦力及人力車夫生活的苦况可想而知了。中国乡下兒童的身体尙好，至于都市兒童的身体，都在西方各国的准位以下，含有結核性的病症，流行极多，而以上海为尤甚。上海工人在身体上精神上受极重的损伤，而童工为尤烈，这都是長時間工作疲劳过度之所致。童工被備于家内鋪店、小工厂、家庭工业、洗衣房、并建筑业及大工厂等。女童工間有淪落而为娼为婢者。徒弟的年齡，以工作的性質而有不同，其期限則依慣例为五年。在此期間，普通多不給報酬，即偶有給与報酬者，其数亦极少。很多的不过六岁的童工，在大工厂里工作，十二小时内，仅給他們一小时的工夫去吃飯。他們大都是站立着工作。分日夜两班換班，直到一星期終了的时候，才停一班。工錢只按日給与。一天的工錢，至多不过二角。工作場所的卫生设备极坏。那些兒童，多由包工者 (Contractor) 由多間招来，一个月只給他們的父母銀二元，而包工者則一个月由工厂主得到銀四元。那些兒童們

519

Figure 18





Figure 20



Figure 21

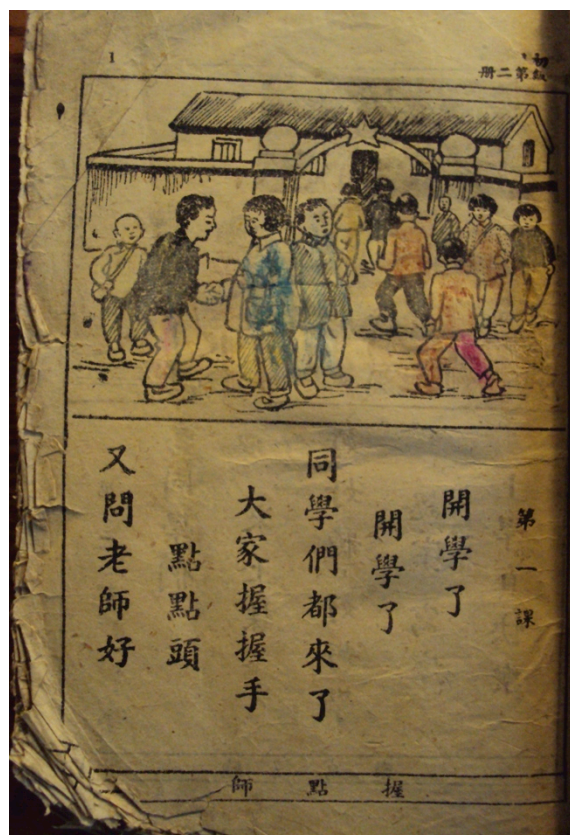




Figure 22



Figure 23



Figure 24



Figure 25





Figure 26



Figure 27

017		家長職業		行政 (3)	
		大	中小	大	中小
		甲	乙	甲	乙
工廠企業 (17人)		1	1		
工人					
技術人員		4	1		
職員		5	4	公務員	1 2
勤雜工役				技術人員	
獨立勞動者				工役	
商業 (33人)				公安 (1)	
股東				警官	
經理		2	5 2	警士	
店員		5	9 5	其他(當初級)	1
小販		2	3	自由職業 (14)	
金融業 (20人)				教職員	6 5
銀行經理主任		1	1 1	中 醫	1
行員			5 9 3	西 醫	2
勤雜工役			1	文化工作者	2 2
其他(銀行職員)		2	1	記 者	2 1
交通 (7人)				律 師	
技術人員		1	1	其 他	4
職 員		1	3 1	宗 教 (1)	
工 人				牧 師	
獨立勞動者				傳 教 士	1
農 業				無 業 (3)	
地 主				有 產	
富 農				無 產	3
中 農				黨 務 工 作 人	
貧 農				其 他	