

以儿童发育科学为职业的陈鹤琴先生（草稿）

田梅

新知识·新学科·新职业国际学术研讨会

各位老师师兄师姐大家好。我首先要感谢上海社会科学院组织这个研讨会，也要感谢复旦大学去年提供的奖学金。希望得到大家的意见以后，就会进一步修改我的文章，对于自己的“新知识”和“职业性”有所帮助！

“培养孩子”一般算不上什么“职业”。1936年心理学家章頤年提到著名的儿童教育家陈鹤琴就说，连发师都得到职业性的训练，对社会更重要的父母怎么都没有一点的职业教育呢？章教授赞成了陈氏和他人在慈幼协会所提高儿童的地位并且普及师资和其他职业对于儿童的认识的活动。虽然章教授的书是新领域的专用课本，但是他也希望它也能够作为私人家庭的参考书。

我今天想要问一下：老师们为什么要即时普及化跟职业？这样普及新式的“家庭教育”以及儿童福利跟新的儿童教育心理学的领域有什么关系？为了稍微探讨这些问题，我要以陈鹤琴为例。国内的学者已经讨论过陈先生对于儿童教育的中国化、科学化的贡献。我要肯定他们的研究成果，而且今天希望能进一步讨论他对普及化和职业化的贡献。

虽然他自己没有怎么说，但是，在我看来，陈先生留美以后也认为他能够得到“儿童专家”（child expert）的地位。因为陈鹤琴在美国只拿到硕士学位，他对初等教育能够扮演较大的角色。虽然用到一些

美国的模型，西方的理论，但是也强调中国的特色因为他在中国毕竟能够开“中国儿童心理学”的新领域。我今天的报告要谈到三个方面。

陈鹤琴与达尔文：观察儿童的发展

1. 达尔文的研究方法 陈鹤琴观察他儿子一鸣的日记

达尔文影响了很多“儿童专家”。他观察了自己的儿子，以孩子为动物。陈先生也要观察自己的儿子，他认为中国的孩子跟西方的孩子不一样。

2. 美国社会上的人种概念

陈鹤琴觉得中国孩子有一些自然而然的特点，肯能收到美国对于种族的观念。他在美国当了少数民族，组织美国第一个华人童子军，也特别同心黑人问题、观察了南方的黑人学校的民族复兴情况。

3. 美国学术界的人种概念

美国的教育心理学家鼓励了陈先生以及其他中国学生研究种族问题，因为中国学生能够用自己小社会的关系来施行实验。陈先生后来也用自己的家庭来作为实验幼稚园的地方。

4. 日记中的矛盾：客观观察还是疼爱孩子？

达尔文认为孩子像动物一样，也有动物的感觉和想法。陈非常疼爱孩子，他不是完全安心地把孩子看成动物。比如说，他写孩子哭了“這恐怕是兩種緣故，第一是飢餓，第二他不見了最親愛的人。”ⁱ

* 陈想要用西方科学的方法来研究中国的孩子

普及家庭教育以及父母的“职业化”

1. 美国的儿童专家和家庭教育

满足美国妇女求学的要求、克服美国社会经济变化的问题

[在二十一世纪出的美国，儿童专家还是一个新的领域，而且儿童的主题是跨领域的：心理学、医学、和法学的专家都来专门研究儿童的问题。这些专家不但在大学里有学位，而且在社会中有权威。在社会中有权威的学者才会得到二十一世纪初新设立的大学的有钱的资助人。最初出来的儿童专家也设立“儿童观察社”并且收集了母亲们的研究成果。

儿童专家和“科学”母亲有复杂的关系。二十一世纪初期的中级阶层女人都收到了教育，常常远远超过男人的教育水平，毕业以后就没有工作。家里的事也少了因为出生率也降低了。因此多学“科学”的观察、培养儿童的方法恰好适合这个时代的家庭妇女的心理需要。而且，男生的教育正在提高，母亲希望能够让儿子“准备”好进入明天的行业。

虽然家政 (home economics) 的专家一般都是女人，儿童专家都是男人。他们一般的听众都是母亲。母亲最挂心的孩子一般是儿子，不是女儿。]

2. 中国《现代父母》的科学性

慈幼协会的杂志对于上层阶级的父母

3. 美国的家庭教育潮流跟陈鹤琴的《家庭教育》的不同

鼓励父母多同心孩子，跟孩子玩

4. 陈鹤琴的日记跟《家庭教育》的“矛盾”

跟他的“儿童观察”来比，《家庭教育》不是那么客观，注重孩子的天真性。他毕竟要提高孩子在家庭里面的地位。

*** 陈先生于西方不同的地方是注重“感情”和“国情”的概念，他的目的是提高儿童在社会和家庭中的地位**

儿童的“制度化”

1. 学前师资的职业化

中华儿童教育社

2. 儿童福利与儿童的社会地位

慈幼协会

3. 提高儿童地位等于提高专家地位

儿童节的活动

4. “以儿童为主”的概念和福利

燕京大学儿童福利课程、论文；战时杂志

***提高儿童地位也等于提高自己的职业，不过重要目的是为了帮助儿童**

Margaret Tillman
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DRAFT: Please do not circulate.

Introduction

Childcare is not something that we ordinarily consider a “profession.” Indeed, in 1936, psychology professor and future university president Zhang Yinianⁱⁱ cited the famous child expert Chen Heqin’s complaints that “even hair dressers receive professional training now,” but, despite the much greater importance of parenting to society, no one considered it necessary to professionalize parents.ⁱⁱⁱ Zhang applauded the efforts of Chen and the National Child Welfare Association in raising the status of children and promoting professionalization of their caregivers. He also wanted to popularize his study among parents, teachers, doctors and judges^{iv} while also promoting the specialization of his academic field in China’s modern university system.^v Although Zhang wanted to foster popular recognition for his professional

subject, these methods and strategies are relatively familiar to us as academics. The professionalization of early childhood education, and even preschool education, however, was less directly regulated and studied by university professors, but this level of education bore and even greater bearing on the popularization of educational psychology and childhood development.

This paper focuses on the career of Chen Heqin, who tried to draw upon the American model of the “child expert” to professionalize childcare among early childhood educators and other professions during the Republican era. Building on Chinese scholarship,^{vi} which has noted Chen’s role in making childhood education “indigenous and scientific,”^{vii} and drawing on my own research, this paper examines the strategies that Chen used to position himself as a “child expert,” especially by investigating psychology, popularizing education, and institutionalizing childhood.

Chen Heqin and Charles Darwin: Child Observation

In order to found a Chinese childhood psychology, Chen followed the methodology of the most eminent figure in Western science among Chinese audiences, Charles Darwin.^{viii} Darwin’s 1877 article “A Biographical Sketch of an Infant” placed “child observation” in the realm of scientific inquiry. 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.”^{ix} 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. Just as Gesell and others had been trying to professionalize the field of

“childhood expertise” in the United States,^x so, too Chen Heqin attempted to pioneer the field of childhood expertise in China.

Like other Chinese, Chen drew upon the idea of Darwinian evolution in quasi-political ways; he argued that childhood played an important function in the evolutionary development of man, so children were vital to the survival of the species as well as the stability of marriages.^{xi} This example illustrates that Chen’s social Darwinism often reinforced his understanding of concrete concerns about family life rather than abstract concerns about political order. Contemporary scholars often argue that Chinese scholars creatively adapted and even willingly misinterpreted social Darwinism for their own political purposes.^{xii} However, I would like to argue that Chen Heqin focused primarily on using the methodologies of Darwin rather than accepting Darwin’s conclusions; he was indeed influenced by the political framework of evolutionary development and racial difference, but race was a scientific category that he had learned in his studies in the United States.

When Chen studied and observed a specifically “Chinese” child psychology, he assumed that race was an immutable category. His understanding of the immutability of race was greatly informed by his experiences as a racial minority in the United States. There, Chen visited Black Schools in the American South, where Americans had rarely seen Chinese people before.^{xiii} These Black Schools also provided a model of “racial self-strengthening” and acculturation^{xiv} that Chen considered positive.^{xv} Chen’s advisor had guided him for a year in preparing to write a dissertation on the ways that the factor of race influenced intelligence testing, so Chen had been trained to see race as a legitimate category of scholarly

analysis. A dissertation written by another student suggested that Chinese students had special access to the Chinese-American community to conduct research for racial analysis.^{xvi} Professors of education in the United States may have felt that minorities were in a better position than Caucasians to implement studies on race because of their connections within their own communities.^{xvii} Later, Chen also used his own home as a platform for his career.

Chen tacitly embraced the immutability of race when he founded a Chinese childhood psychology. Chen assumed that the Chinese child was psychologically and developmentally different from the Western child, so he could his study own son as the material base for observation. In his journal of his son's life, Chen made a special effort to maintain a scientific tone. For example, he referred to himself in the third person when discussing the child's relationship to *his* father. Like the eminent American pediatrician and "child expert" L. Emmett Holt,^{xviii} Chen tried to interpret "the cry" and its different meanings. In keeping with Darwinian analysis, he pondered the ways that basic animal instincts played a role in these cries, and he juxtaposed the survival instinct with sentimental feelings of love. Given the sentimental adoration that Chen expressed for his children elsewhere, we can surmise that he had made a special effort to maintain a tone of scientific distance in keeping with Darwin's enterprise.

Despite his relatively low status as a normal school instructor, Chen's journals were well received by the increasingly professionalized scientific establishment in China. In *The National Central Journal of Psychology*, Fei Jinghu drew from Chen's journals in conjunction with others in order to make some cross-

cultural claims about childhood in different cultures.^{xix} Chen was also followed by educational psychologist Ge Cengxun, who recorded a journal about his daughter.^{xx} Chen and Ge later collaborated on a book about intelligence testing in China. Thus, Chen's journal helped him to gain recognition in China and to develop scholarly ties to established academics. In addition to "speaking" to the growing academic community of educational psychologists, Chen also hoped to popularize his ideas among parents. In the next section, I would like to discuss how Chen adapted this practice from child experts in the United States, but stressed "sentimentality" and "national sentiment" much more than his foreign counterparts.

Chen Hegin and Child Experts: Family Education

By the turn of the century in the United States, "child experts" served as public intellectuals in an effort to gain credibility among the wealthy "gilded-age" patrons who funded their universities and who encouraged the popularization of science. Child experts began to address not only university students, but also "scientific mothers." These women had often received high levels of education, and without the possibility of entering the workforce and with a decreasing fertility rate, they enjoyed the opportunity to learn how best to prepare their sons for a volatile and changing work environment. The earliest child experts "envisaged mothers as their able collaborators in a data-gathering enterprise that had just begun."^{xxi} These male child experts would try to inform and reform "scientific" motherhood in the United States, and their work was referenced in Republican Chinese journals for women;^{xxii} the female-dominated field of home economics^{xxiii} and "scientific motherhood" also came to China.^{xxiv} Although Chen also often addressed mothers,

however, he emphasized much more than his American counterparts the importance of the father's new role as a kind rather than a stern, a democratic rather than a dictatorial, parent because his ideas reflected new assumptions about authorial power in post-imperial China.^{xxv}

Chen drew upon his child observation, personal experiences, and scientific knowledge to write his popular parenting manual *Family Education* 《家庭教育》.

Like Zhang Yinian, Chen had elsewhere advocated that young people especially needed to learn how to parent;^{xxvi} Chen argued that Chinese youth lacked the proper knowledge and family commitment.^{xxvii} Furthermore, Chen had emphasized in his scientific works that childhood was crucial to the development of the species and the stability of the family.^{xxviii} His scientific training about the value of childhood and his political commitment to the institution of marriage thus reinforced his understanding of the importance of "family education." Likewise, Chen's manual was child-centered while offering parents the information that they needed to understand and guide the physical and emotional development of children, so he balanced child needs with parental control.

Even though *Family Education* was based on Chen's child observation, the parenting manual differed in tone and content because it reflected Chen's political rather than academic goals. Whereas Chen had been careful to posit himself as an objective scholar, rather than a loving parent, in his scientific journals, Chen encouraged parents in *Family Education* to indulge in a sentimentalized view of children and childhood. Here, Chen differed completely from American child experts, who wanted to replace sentimentality with science. Chen, however,

presented this sentimentality as a new innovation in modern parenting.^{xxxix}

Influenced in part by May Fourth representations of the Chinese past,^{xxx} Chen argued that previous generations of stern Chinese parents had treated children as miniature adults.^{xxxi} Yet if parents enjoyed playing with their children, they would find, Chen argued, that they could much more effectively influence their children's behavior with suasion rather than with punishment, so parents could reach traditional goals, such as encouraging their children to study, through these modern techniques. Likewise, if Chen's indulgent and sentimental tone in his parenting manuals seems to differ from his objective and scientific stance in his child observation, his basic goal nevertheless remains the same in both works. Both parental sentimentality and evolutionary developmentalism functioned to raise the status of childhood within the family as well as in China, in ways that ultimately (Chen noted) strengthened the bonds within family institution^{xxxii} and the cohesiveness of Chinese society. I argue below that by raising the status of childhood, Chen also promoted creating a professional space for the field of childhood expertise in Chinese institutions.

The Institutionalization of Childhood

Shortly after Chen returned to China in 1919, the Peking Normal Women's College compiled an edited volume in 1920 that called for the further professionalization of kindergarten teachers, called "baomu," 保姆 and the indigenization of childhood psychology.^{xxxiii} Chen, likewise, saw that despite the professionalization of educational psychology for higher education, there was a need for the professionalization of early childhood education in the 1920s, which he

could fill.^{xxxiv} Chen responded to this call by emphasizing that education should be adapted to Chinese “national sentiment” (guoqing).^{xxxv} He not only created a “Chinese” child psychology, but also helped found professional associations that aimed to “promote a professional spirit among educators.”^{xxxvi}

Chen helped in 1926 to found the Chinese Educational Society, which aimed to professionalize childcare among teachers in lower-education.^{xxxvii} The Chinese Educational Society’s members were originally drawn from the Gulou Kindergarten, the Central University’s Experimental School and the Xiaozhai Normal School. However, the Society expanded to include 1600 members in 1934. Chen described the Society as “a pure research organization that studies primary school, childhood education, and family education; with an emphasis on practical problems concerning childhood education and providing practical reference materials for childhood education.” Thus, Chen emphasized the new, scientific goals of the organization.

With the creation of a professional society for lower-education teachers, teachers were able to publish and circulate their ideas. The Society met annually during the thirties to discuss different themes in childhood education. The Society published a periodical, “Children’s Education” (*youzhi jiaoyu*), which was edited by Gulou Kindergarten, as well as a series of books for and about children. Children’s Education was later published by the Commercial Press. Thus, the Society provided Chen with a venue to publish his findings, textbooks, and curricula, which he developed at Gulou Kindergarten. Since Cai Yuanpei had announced in 1912 that the “new” form of education would “conform to childhood psychology,”^{xxxviii} there

was a recognized need for textbooks that were well-informed by childhood psychology.^{xxxix} Furthermore, the Society offered lower-education teachers opportunities for professional advancement by allowing some of its members to survey schools in Euro-America.^{xl} The use of Euro-America as a model (like the use of Japan as a model in the late Qing) emphasized the unique and special origin of the knowledge.

The Society focused on childhood not only as a special field of study and knowledge, but also as a target of welfare and service. Among the professionalizing goals of the organization was to “push for progress in children’s welfare services.”^{xli} Chen was also a prominent member of the Chinese Children’s Welfare Association. The Chinese Children’s Welfare Association had lobbied for the creation of “Children’s Day” on April 4th in order to “raise children’s status” and ensure “children’s happiness.”^{xlii} Shanghai even created a “Childhood Happiness Commission,” of which Chen was a member, that subsidized events, such as free movies, for children on Children’s Day.^{xliii} Despite the benign nature of these events, they also belied a political^{xliv} and professional ambition to increase the prominence of children’s rights and childhood expertise.

The Association hoped that Children’s Day would help to promote children’s rights in ways that would ensure children’s special and separate status. For example, the Association lobbied for the creation of juvenile courts for children and youth.^{xlv} Zhang Yinian applauded these efforts, and he also addressed portions of his book specifically to judges and other professionals who needed to have special training in children’s issues. Thus, the promotion of children’s rights did not only

require institutionalizing children in schools, but also ensuring that they would be separately institutionalized from adults in hospitals, courts, and perhaps even jails.

Yenching University's curriculum for social workers reflected these ideas about childhood. The Sociology Department regularly listed a class on "Child Welfare Problems" that offered a "study of the principles of child welfare and of the problems involved in meeting social obligations to childhood, child mortality, child health, child training and education, desendent [sic] child, child labor, and juvenile delinquency."^{xlvi} In a 1937 senior thesis written under the direction of the professor who offered this class, the student asserted that all children have "the right to a normal life" and a permanent home.^{xlvii} The student also noted that the Chinese government had begun to offer welfare as early as the Zhou dynasty, and to promote child welfare through the granary system as early as the Song, even if the government lacked the regulatory insight of an institutional bureau that could help place children with loving parents and help distribute funds for needy children. Thus, the professionalization and institutionalization of social workers was a key innovation in the improvement of traditional family values and social welfare. The wartime journal *Child Welfare* indicates that childhood educators considered themselves social workers, who provided educational and welfare services for poor and sometimes destitute children. Thus, although I have been arguing that people like Chen were trying to advocate their own professionalization, they did so because they were driven by an idealistic desire to help children.

Conclusion

Had Chen Heqin, Zhang Yinian and others succeeded in fully institutionalizing children and regulating childhood rights, they would have also been able, at the same time, to ensure the recognition of “childhood expertise” in China. Just as in the United States, parents should ideally recognize the superior knowledge of child experts and turn to them for advice about providing “family education,” nutritional diets, and proper care for their children. Furthermore, this field of knowledge would be required for further specialization for not just early childhood educators, but also for certain social workers, judges, and doctors who would provide children with the services that they needed. We can see in this example how the creation of a field of knowledge not only dovetails with the institutionalization of professions, but also its popularization—not only using popularization as a means of gaining widespread recognition for the scientific profession, but also using institutionalization as a means for promoting widespread distribution and consumption of the scientific knowledge among the populace.

ⁱ *Chen Heqin Jiaoyu Wenji* (Beijing Shi Jiaoyu Kexue Yanjiu, pg. 68)

ⁱⁱ 胡延峰 “留美学者章頤年与大夏大学心理学会” 徐州師範大學學報(哲學社會科學版) 35 卷 1 期 (2009/01), pg. 5-8. See also Yanfeng Hu’s 近代留學生與學校心理學科學共同體建設的歷史考察《歷史教學·高校版》2008 年第 6 期 Yinian Zhang also became president of Hangzhou Normal University. Please see: http://www.hzarchives.gov.cn/gczn/qzml/jzqscda/t20050329_6331.htm

ⁱⁱⁱ **Zhang Yinian, Mental Hygiene, 1936**

^{iv} 倘如教師，父母，以及醫生，法官，實業界的領袖們能夠因這本書而主意到久經忽略的問題，使大眾底心理健康，有一些進步，那末，著者所得到底報酬實在太大了！(Zhang, 1)

v Zhang reproduced in an index information on the Chinese Association for Mental Hygiene (中國心理衛生協會). However, he himself did not attend the original meeting. For further information about its members, please see Academia Historica 001-095800-002. The Chinese Journal of Psychology advertised the book as suitable for both a popular manual and an academic textbook, especially when paired with Randolph C. Sailer's *Personality and Everyday Behavior*. Randolph C. Sailer, *Personality and Everyday Behavior*, Peiping: The San Yu Press, 1935. The Chinese Journal of Psychology (Quarterly). Edited by CW Luh, Yenching University and Siegen K Chou, Tsinghua University, KH Sun Tsinghua University Vol. I No 2 (December 1936) 177.

vi Since Chen's death in 1982, his seven children have compiled, edited, and published his papers, so there has been a proliferation of articles and conferences devoted to Chen. I have also used these collected publications and read some of the articles that have been produced, and have been especially influenced by Li Xuan's. Please see Chen Yifei. "Summary of Twenty Years of Research on Chen Heqin's Thought." Volume 6 (2003) 陈一飞 二十年来陈鹤琴教育思想研究概览 《教育研究》 Li Xuan, *Chen Heqin yu Zhonghuohua, Kexuehua de Ertong Jiaoyu* (Chen Heqin on the Sinification and Science of Child Education). Journal of Haidian College. 2005 15(2) 李瑄 陈鹤琴与中国化, 科学化的儿童教育 《邯郸学院》, 教育系, 河北, 邯郸

vii Li Xuan, *Chen Heqin yu Zhonghuohua, Kexuehua de Ertong Jiaoyu* (Chen Heqin on the Sinification and Science of Child Education). Journal of Haidian College. 2005 15(2) 李瑄 陈鹤琴与中国化, 科学化的儿童教育 《邯郸学院》, 教育系, 河北, 邯郸

viii Charles Darwin, "A Biographical Sketch of an Infant," *Mind* 2, no. 7 (July 1877): 285-294.

ix Arnold Gesell, "Charles Darwin and Child Development," *The Scientific Monthly* 49, no. 6 (December 1939): 548-553.

x Joseph M. Hawes, "Child Science and the Rise of Experts," in *Childhood in America* (New York: New York University Press, 2000).

xi "The Meaning of Childhood," Chen collection Volume One, page 60.

xii For example, Benjamin Schwartz, *In Search of Wealth and Power: Yen Fu and the West* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1964). Susan Glosser, *Chinese Visions of Family and State, 1915-1953* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).

xiii **My Half Life**

xiv Chen described a group of home economics students at Tuskegee Institute by saying: 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. 91

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。

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- ^{xv} Chen Heqin: Heqin Chen, *Huo jiao yu de chuang zao : (li lun yu shi shi)* (Shanghai: Hua hua shu ju, 1948). 《活教育的创造》 Shanghai Botanical Gardens Branch campus.
- ^{xvi} Mien Woo, "A Study of the Effects of Some Incentives upon Mental Efficiency of School Children," University of California, Berkeley, 1929. Born in 1892 in Yangzhou, Woo had served as the principal of an elementary school for two years before attending Fudan College and moving to the United States in 1920, where he was a teacher of Chinese at the Morning Bell School in San Francisco. Chen and Woo thus crossed paths, but there are still some similarities in their topics.
- ^{xvii} Paula Fass argues that race became an especially important factor after the IQ test began to be used in schools. Paula S. Fass, "The IQ: A Cultural and Historical Framework," *American Journal of Education* 88, no. 4 (August 1980): 431-458.
- ^{xviii} L. Emmett Holt, "The Cry," in *Childhood in America* (New York: New York University Press, 2000) 52-54.
- ^{xix} Fei, Jinghu. "Six Months' Observations of the Psychophysical Development of a Newborn Child." (Original translation of title.) *The National Central Journal of Psychology*. June 1, 1934 Volume 1, Number 2. 費景瑚 均六個月的身心發展 《心理半月刊》
- ^{xx} Ge also explicitly drew upon the example of Darwin, and juxtaposed Darwin's findings with his own observations of his son, in his other work. 葛承訓 〈兒童心理與興味〉 教育叢書 上海：中華書局
- ^{xxi} Ann Hulbert, *Raising America: Experts, Parents, and a Century of Advice About Children*, 1st ed. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003), 10.
- ^{xxii} H.L. Yu, "Religious Education for Children," *The Green Year* (December 1930) Vol IX No. 10, pg 12 于化龍《兒童的宗教教育》女青年 12 in 中華基督教女青年會全國協會書報部, *女青年*, 1st ed., 中國近現代女性期刊匯編 (北京市: 線裝書店, 2007) 2212
- ^{xxiii} Helen Schneider, "Keeping the Nation's House," (University of Washington, Seattle. Ph.D.)
- ^{xxiv} Xiaojing Ke, "Creating New Mothers," Tsinghua University, Hsing'chu, MA thesis, 2007. 柯小菁, "塑造新母親,"
- ^{xxv} Andrew Jones; Mechthild Leutner, "Entwufe zur Vorschulerziehung in der Republikzeit und der besondere Beitrag Chen Heqins" (The Development of Preschool in the Republican Period and the Special Case of Chen Heqin) in Helle Jorgensen, *Frick, Heike; Leutner, Mechthild; Spakowski, Nicola, eds. 'Die Befreiung der Kinder': Konzepte von Kindheit im China der Republikzeit. Hamburg: Lit Verlag, 1999. 382p. (Berliner China-Studien, 34), 1999.*
- ^{xxvi} Zhang Yinian 136. Zhang cites Basset's "Mental Hygiene in the Community" to confirm that certain middle-school and even primary-school classes increased student interest in parenting in the United States
- ^{xxvii} Chen Heqin. "Xuesheng Hunyin Wenti zhi Yanjiu [Research on Students' Marriage Issues]." *Eastern Miscellany*, Vol. 18, Nos. 4-6. Republished in: Li Wenhai, et al ed. *Minguoshiqi Shehuidiaocha congbian: hunyinjiatingjuan* [Republican-era Social Surveys Collection: Volume One, Marriage and Family]. Fujian: Fujian

Educational Press, 2005, 1-33. “學生婚姻問題之研究” 《東方雜誌》第 18 卷，第 4，5，6 號，1921 年 2 - 3 月 Glosser 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 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)*.

xxviii Fiske etc article

xxix Chen, comments about miniature adults.

xxx Andrew F. Jones, “The Child As History in Republican China: A Discourse on Development,” *positions: east asia cultures critique* 10, no. 3 (2002): 695-727.

xxxi Family Education

xxxii 幼兒期的意義 兒童心理之研究 《陳鶴琴全集 第一卷》（北京市教育科學研究所編 江蘇教育出版社，1987）60

xxxiii 述我底幼稚教育方針〉胡人哲 北京女子高等師範幼稚教育研究會 《北京女子高等師範幼稚教育研究》第一期 中華民國 9 年 12 月 北京白紙仿財政部印刷局

xxxiv Chen, Heqin. “My Further Self Reflection of Living Education,” *People’s Education*, Volume 2 Number 4 (April 1, 1952) 8

xxxv 中国学前教育史》（人民教育出版社 1999）108

xxxvi “Zhonghua Ertong Jiaoyushe Shezhang.” Pg. 264-67

xxxvii “Zhonghua Ertong Jiaoyushe Gaikuang (1932).” Originally broadcast over the radio in December of 1932; originally published as in “Ertong Jiaoyu” Volume 4, Number 10. Volume Six.

xxxviii Sally Borthwick, *Education and social change in China*, Hoover Institution Press publication, ISSN 0073-3296 (Stanford, Calif.: Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University, 1983).

xxxix Many textbooks begin with a preface stating that they try achieve this goal.

xl “Zhonghua Ertong Jiaoyushe Zhuxi Chen Heqin Zai Di Wu Jie Nian Hui Shang Zhi Kaimuci (1934).” Chairman of the Chinese Childhood Education Society Chen Heqin’s speech at the opening ceremony of its Fifth Annual Meeting (1934), pg. 261-62. Originally published in October 5, 1934 in Ertong Jiaoyu. Volume Six.

xli “Zhonghua Ertong Jiaoyushe Shezhang.” Pg. 264-67

xlii The Chinese Child Health Association (Nanjing) 中國兒童健康協會 also lobbied for children’s health contests during Children’s Day. **Academia Historica**, The Shanghai Child Happiness Committee asks the Shanghai Government for funding for

a worker's preschool. April 22, 1936. See Shanghai Municipal Archives Q123—1—543

^{xliii} Academia Historica 001—051616—0023. Children who participated wore ribbons with the date and place of the Children's Day celebration, and the Republic of China insignia.

^{xliv} Collette Plum has argued that the wartime experience helped Chinese people in general understand that children belonged to the "nation" rather than simply the "family." See M. Colette Plum, "Unlikely heirs: War orphans during the Second Sino-Japanese War, 1937--1945" (Stanford University, 2006). Susan Glosser has argued that the family came under the purview of the nation even in the 1930s. When I mention politics, I do not necessarily mean one particular party of political orientation, since I think that people across the political spectrum all presented themselves as groups that would help save the nation's children. In terms of the KMT, the Ministry of Education in August 1931 published a "Plan to Commemorate Children's Day" to promote the "spirit of patriotic families" (愛國家家庭之心理).

"兒童節紀念辦法" in 民國法規集成 (中華民國史檔案史料叢書: 黃山書社, 1999) Volume 58, page 424. However, the "nationalization" of children as collective property could also have Communist-leaning implications. For instance, one social commentator comments on the passing of Children's Year by saying, "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. 陳期恩 "不幸兒童教養問題" 教育生活 1937 in 民國珍稀短刊 斷刊, (北京: 新華書店, 2006), Volume 3, page 1456.

^{xlv} The Chinese Charitable Association for Youth (中華慈幼協會) petitioning for this holiday as one of "many methods to protect children's rights" (維護兒童權利之種種辦法). Academia Historica, 001—051616—0023.

^{xlvi} "Yenching University Bulletin College of arts and Letters 1933-34," Vol XVIII No 24 Peiping China August 1933. Taught by Miss KK Li.

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^{xlvii} Zhu Baolin, "The Study of Child-Placing System in the Child Welfare Program," (Yenching University, BA Thesis, 1937) 67. Approved by Kit-king Lei.